

This volume, *Celebrating Multiple Identities: Opting out of neocolonial monolingualism, monoculturalism and mono-identification in the Greater Caribbean*, is a collection of peer reviewed articles that present a critical perspective on the languages, literatures, and cultures of the Greater Caribbean. The book is part of a two-volume set published annually since 2009, which provides a platform for recent writing from and about the Greater Caribbean in general in one volume and about the Dutch Caribbean in particular in the other. The contributing authors include a wide range of voices old and new from the Caribbean and beyond.

Celebrating Multiple Identities

Edited by
Nicholas Faraclas
Ronald Severing
Christa Weijer
Elisabeth Echteld
Wim Rutgers
Robert Dupey

Celebrating Multiple Identities

Opting out of neocolonial monolingualism, monoculturalism,
and mono-identification in the Greater Caribbean



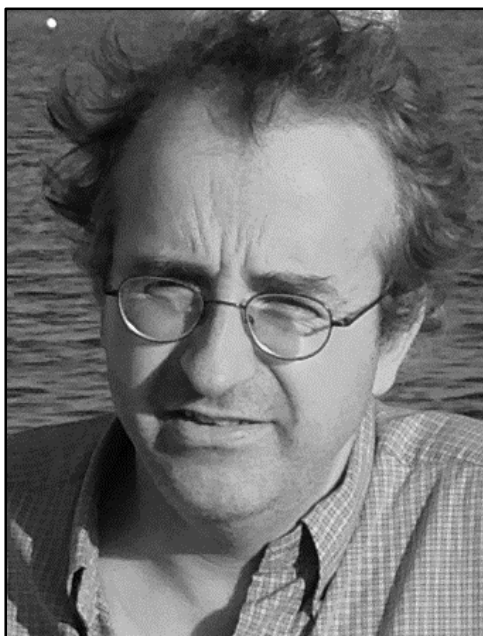
Faraclas | Severing | Weijer
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Celebrating Multiple Identities
Opting out of neocolonial monolingualism, monoculturalism
and mono-identification in the Greater Caribbean

Dedication



Prof. Dr. Javier Gutiérrez-Rexach (1967-2016)

A native of Spain, Prof. Dr. Javier Gutiérrez-Rexach completed his PhD in Linguistics at the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA) in 1997 under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Ed Keenan with the dissertation entitled: “Quantification, Context Dependence and Generalized Minimalist Grammar”. That same year he joined the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at The Ohio State University as an Assistant Professor of Hispanic Linguistics and Adjunct Professor of Linguistics. Soon after that, in 2004 he was promoted to Full Professor. In those years, Javier developed into one of the leading syntacticians and semanticists in the United States, Europe, and Latin America. Javier wrote more than one hundreds articles, books, and book reviews on Spanish syntax and semantics, philosophy of language, and other topics. He had a solid foundation in syntax and semantics, coupled with a keen eye for data, which helped the field of Hispanic Linguistics to develop. His *Fundamentos de Sintaxis Formal* (Foundations of Formal Syntax), coauthored with Ignacio Bosque, and published by Akal in 2009 will remain one of his main contributions to Hispanic Linguistics, as will his *Enciclopedia de Lingüística Hispánica* (The Encyclopedia of Hispanic Linguistics), published in 2016 by Routledge. His research interests spanned from linguistics to other areas such as film studies, philosophy, literature, sociology, and the arts. He truly inspired his students, colleagues, and friends. On Sunday April 10, 2016, Javier passed away in Columbus, Ohio of heart disease. A beloved father, husband, and friend, Javier Gutiérrez-Rexach will be deeply missed.

Dr. Melvin González-Rivera

Celebrating Multiple Identities

**Opting out of neocolonial monolingualism, monoculturalism
and mono-identification in the Greater Caribbean**

Volume 2

Edited by

Prof. Dr. Nicholas Faraclas

Prof. Dr. Ronald Severing

Drs. Christa Weijer

Dr. Elisabeth Echteld

Prof. Dr. Wim Rutgers

Prof. Dr. Robert Dupey



**UNIVERSITY
OF CURAÇAO**
DR. MOISES DA COSTA GOMEZ



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Volume 2

Edited by Nicholas Faraclas, Ronald Severing, Christa Weijer, Elisabeth Echteld, Wim Rutgers and
Robert Dupey

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University of Curaçao (Universidat di Kòrsou)

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

University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras (Universidad de Puerto Rico, Recinto de Río Piedras, UPR)
San Juan, 00925, Puerto Rico, www.uprrp.edu

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This book forms part of a two volume set, with this volume focusing on the Caribbean region and the second volume focusing on the ABC-islands (Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao) and other parts of the (former) Dutch 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.

This publication received generous support from the University of Curaçao.

The Editors

**MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, LANGUAGE USE AND LANGUAGE
ATTITUDES IN THE GREATER CARIBBEAN AND
AFRO-ATLANTIC**

APOLOGIES IN ENGLISH IN GHANA

JEMIMA ASABEA ANDERSON

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON

Introduction

Apologies have been described as speech acts that are produced when speaker(s) acknowledge that an offence has been committed and they (the speaker(s)) are partially involved or responsible for this violation (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper, 1989). They are therefore used to remedy or repair the damage caused by intentional or unintentional offences. By using apologies, speakers are able to re-establish social harmony between them (or the people they represent) and aggrieved parties who are often times (but not always) their addressees. These speech acts have been studied extensively in pragmatics. In speech act theory, they are categorized on the basis of felicity conditions as expressives (Trosborg, 1995) and they are typically realized with an apologetic performative verb and an expression of regret (Suszczyńska, 1999). Goffman (1971) describes them as remedial action or as ‘acts of verbal redress used to re-establish social harmony after a real or potential offence.’ This view is shared by Owen (1983) who also sees an apology as a type of ritual action which is employed in a remedial interchange. Leech (1983) says they are ‘convivial in nature’ while Olshtain and Cohen (1983) explain them as acts of verbal redress which are utilized in situations where social norms are violated by a real or potential offence.

Brown and Levinson (1987) describe apologizing as an attempt by a speaker to make up for a previous action that interfered with the addressee’s face wants. According to them, apologies are face-threatening acts because they damage the speaker’s positive face wants. When a speaker admits that he or she has caused an offence or done something wrong, this admission threatens the speaker’s face. Apologies are thus negative politeness acts because they convey a feeling of deference and distance rather than that of friendliness. In Brown and Levinson’s view, apologies directly damage the speaker’s positive face wants and as such threaten the speaker’s positive face. Apologies however have a positive effect on the addressee’s face because they enhance his or her face/image and acknowledge that the addressee’s face should not be imposed upon. They are therefore face-threatening for the speaker but face-saving for the receiver. For Olshtain (1989), an apology is “a speech act which is intended to provide support for H (hearer) who was actually or potentially malaffected by a violation X”.

Several studies in pragmatics and sociolinguistics have examined apologies in different languages and cultures. Some of these studies have examined apologies in native varieties of English (Holmes, 1990; Deutschmann, 2003) while others have compared apologies produced by speakers of British or American English to speakers of other languages like Hebrew (Cohen & Olshtain, 1981; Olshtain, 1989); Russian (Olshtain, 1983); Danish (Trosborg, 1987; 1995); Spanish (Garcia, 1989); German (House, 1989); Austrian German (Meier, 1996; 1997; 1998); and English, Polish and Hungarian (Suszczyńska; 1999). Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) study apologies in English, Danish, German, Canadian French and Hebrew as part the CCSARP (Cross-Cultural Study of Speech Act Realization Patterns) project. Three varieties of English were investigated for this project: Australian English, American English and British English. Other studies have looked at apologies in Asian cultures and languages. Ang-Abbey (1991) focuses on apologies in Hokkien Chinese; Kumagai (1993) studies apologies in Japanese; Bergman and Kasper (1993) investigate apologies in Thai; and Wouk (2006) studies apologies in Lombok, an Indonesian language. Additional studies have looked at apologies in different varieties of Arabic: Jordanian Arabic (Hussein & Hammouri, 1998; Bataineh & Bataineh, 2006; 2008); Egyptian Arabic (Rizk, 1997; Soleiman, 2003); Tunisian Arabic (Jebahi, 2011); Sudanese Arabic (Nuruddeen, 2008); and Yemeni Arabic (Alfattah, 2010).

There are also studies that have discussed the politeness strategies that are employed in apologizing in different cultures (Garcia, 1989; Marquez-Reiter, 2000). Others have focused on how cultural values in specific languages have shaped apologies produced in these languages (Cordella, 1990). A few studies have also investigated gender variation in the use of apology strategies (Holmes, 1995) and some others have compared the apology strategies used by native and non-native speakers of different languages (Trosborg, 1987). The findings from these and other related studies on apologies have strengthened the argument that although apologies are found in all societies, there are cross-cultural variations in the choice of strategies and in the relative frequencies of these different strategies in different cultures and in different languages.

In spite of the large numbers of studies on apologies from different languages and different cultures cited above, there are very few studies that have focused on apologies in both native and non-native languages in the African context. Although Obeng (1999) and Agyekum (2006) have described apologies in Akan and Kasanga and Lwanga-Lumu (2007) have described apologies in English and Setswana, these studies based on African languages and other colonial languages used in Africa are very few compared to the studies that have come from other regions of the world, especially considering the number of languages that we have in Africa. This article therefore seeks to bridge this gap by describing apologies in English in Ghana. Even though the present study does not study apologies that occur in an African or a Ghanaian language, it examines apologies in a variety of English that has come into contact with Ghanaian languages.

This article seeks to describe the apology strategies English-Akan bilinguals use when they speak English. The motivation for choosing English-Akan bilinguals for this study is that research on apologies in Akan which can serve as a basis of comparison has been conducted by Obeng (1999) and Agyekum (2006). The data for the present study is generated from responses to a discourse completion test administered to students selected from a university in Ghana. This study assumes that there are several linguistic and socio-cultural differences between speakers of Ghanaian languages and speakers of native varieties of English. These differences are reflected in rules of expected linguistic behaviour and social interaction. As Goffman (1967) observes, every society has its own socio-cultural and communicative behaviours that relate to face. When bilinguals learn a second language, they have the socio-cultural rules of their first languages and the second language they are learning at their disposal and they have to select which rules to follow. They can choose to follow the rules of their first languages or the rules of their second languages. They may even choose to merge the rules of the two languages at their disposal.

The main argument of this article is that apology strategies that are used by speakers of English in Ghana have features of apology strategies from Ghanaian languages because these bilingual speakers conform to the sociocultural rules of their first languages. Thus, there are two socio-cultural and communicative behaviours that are competing in the Ghanaian-language/English bilingual's linguistic space. While it may be possible for these bicultural/bilinguals to choose either the Ghanaian language or the English language socio-cultural norms, it is also possible for them to use a merger or fusion of the norms from these two cultures. Our argument here is that the speakers of English in Ghana transfer the pragmatic rules of Ghanaian languages into the variety of English they speak. The article therefore seeks to describe the forms and functions of apologies in English in Ghana, by focusing on the outcome of the fusion of apology strategies from two different languages and cultures in an emerging variety of English.

Review of relevant literature

Apologies, as we have already indicated, are speech acts that have been studied extensively across various cultures using different theoretical frameworks. The literature reviewed in this section is therefore not meant to be an exhaustive one. Our intention here is to provide a summary of findings of major studies on apologies. One of the earliest scholars who mention apologies in face-to-face interaction is Goffman (1971). Goffman argues that a successful apology must meet certain felicity conditions. The key condition, however, is that the apologizer must acknowledge that an offence has taken place and must accept responsibility for that offence and finally the apologizer must offer some compensation or reparation for the offence. Following Goffman (1971), intense interest in the study of apologies emerged in the early 1980s with the work of researchers such as Cohen and Olshtain (1981), Edmondson (1981), Fraser (1981), Coulmas

(1981), Owen (1983), Olshtain & Cohen (1983), Blum-Kulka & Olshtain (1984) and Trosborg (1987; 1995). Some of these researchers have proposed linguistic classificatory systems that have been used as models or frameworks of analysis in many studies on apologies (Fraser, 1981; Olshtain & Cohen, 1983; Trosborg, 1987; 1995; Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 1994).

Fraser (1981), for instance, proposes four direct and five indirect strategies for performing apologies. The direct strategies are: (1) announcing the apology, (2) stating one's obligation to apologize, (3) offering to apologize and (4) requesting acceptance. The indirect strategies are (5) expressing regret, (6) requesting forgiveness, (7) acknowledging responsibility, (8) promising forbearance and (9) offering redress. Olshtain and Cohen (1983) reduce these nine strategies proposed by Fraser to five. There are some overlaps in the strategies proposed by these scholars. Three strategies: acknowledgement of responsibility, offer of repair and promise of forbearance occur in both sets of strategies (Fraser 1981; Olshtain & Cohen, 1983). The first two strategies on Olshtain and Cohen's list however conflate Fraser's first six strategies. Olshtain and Cohen's five strategies: are (1) an expression of apology which usually contains the verb "apologize, forgive, excuse, pardon or be sorry"; (2) an explanation or account of the situation, (3) an acknowledgement of responsibility, (4) an offer of repair and (5) a promise of forbearance.

Trosborg (1987) also proposes another framework which includes four of the strategies that are suggested by Fraser (1981) and Olshtain & Cohen (1983). She however introduces two new strategies which minimize the degree of offence either by blaming someone else or by discussing its pre-conditions and expressing concerns. The four other strategies she shares in common with Fraser (1981) and Olshtain & Cohen (1983) are acknowledgement of responsibility, implicit or explicit explanation or account of what occurred, offer of repair and promise of forbearance. In another work, Trosborg (1995) presents two broad categories of strategies: minimizing the degree of offence and acknowledgement of responsibility with this acknowledgement executed either by an explanation/account or by an expression of an apology. Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1994), who studies apologies in French also proposes two forms of apologies: an act of apology and an act of justification for wrong doing. The act of apology which is an explicit apology is the head act which directly offers reparation for the offence while the act of justification for wrong-doing is an implicit apology which acts as a supportive act. Either the explicit form or the implicit form could be used for apologizing but it is also possible to combine the two forms. It is the combined form that she refers to as a 'complex' apology.

These different models that have been proposed have been applied in different studies and they have yielded various results. Olshtain (1983), for instance, investigates how English and Russian learners of Hebrew apologize in the second language they learn and in their first languages. Following the procedure employed by Cohen and Olshtain

(1981), she examines the strategies native speakers of Hebrew use to produce apologies and compares these to the non-native apologies produced by English and Russian learners of Hebrew. Her findings show that compared to the English group, the Russian group apologized more frequently in Hebrew. The English group which apologized less frequently in Hebrew, surprisingly, apologized more frequently in their L1. In another study, Olshtain (1989) compares the apology strategies used by speakers of four languages: English, German, French and Hebrew. She observed that there were similarities in the selection of the illocutionary force indicating devices (IFID) in these different languages. On the basis of this observation, she concludes that different languages will realise apologies in similar ways.

This observation has however been countered by other studies on apologies, and we hope to show in this article that different languages realise apologies in different ways. Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) and Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) study apologies in six different languages and three varieties of English as part of the CCSARP (Cross-Cultural Study of Speech Act Realization Patterns) project. The project compared apologies in American English, Australian English, British English, Canadian French, German, Danish, Hebrew and Russian. In that project, data were gathered from role plays enacted by four hundred university students. The project sought to compare and contrast the realization patterns of apologies and requests produced by native and non-native speakers of the selected languages and also to determine the extent to which the pragmatic rules of learners' L1 are transferred to an L2.

Apologies in Akan

In order to explain how features of apologies in a Ghanaian language influence apologies in the variety of English that is spoken in Ghana, I shall review two studies which describe the features of apology in Akan. Obeng (1999) discusses the notion of apologies in Akan and shows the way in which Akans conceptualize apologies. He observes that apology strategies in Akan differ from apology strategies in other cultures and how they involve what he calls 'complex and compound reparation'. The complex apology is a combination of two different apology strategies: an explicit and an implicit apology. He notes that in Akan, the explicit apology always precedes the implicit apology and it acts as a reinforcement. The compound apology on the other hand is made up of two or more implicit apologies. It may occur in the form of "admission of guilt, acceptance of blame, and provision of reasons for the offense committed" (Obeng, 1999: 717).

Obeng also indicates that in Akan, the Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID) alone may not be suitable or acceptable as an apology. For this IFID to be accepted as an appropriate apology, it has to be followed by another apology strategy which will usually be an explanation for the offence or some other form of implicit apology. Thus typical Akan apologies are what Obeng describes as "complex apologies". They are made up of an explicit apology and this is followed by an implicit apology act. Thus

while apologies in native English could be made up of only explicit apologies, Akan Apologies have to be made up of both explicit and implicit apologies. These observations by Obeng have very serious implications for this study since our objective is to find out if apologies in English in Ghana follow the conventions of native English or Akan apologies. One of our aims in this article is to examine if these complex and compound apology structures are attested in our data.

Obeng also points out that among the Akans, apologies do not threaten the face of only the apologiser. For example, in cases where the offense committed is socially stigmatized, the apologies offered threaten the face of the apologizer, the recipient of the apology as well as the entire group to which the apologiser belongs. This may be an ethnic group, the extended family, a political party or even a religious group. According to him: “Face (and politeness) among the Akan is a phenomenon belonging to the level of the society and of the individual. Individual members of the Akan society are expected to behave properly in conformity to the Akan society’s code of conduct” (p. 715). Again he observes that apologies sometimes threaten the face of the addressee (apology recipient) more than they threaten the face of the apologizer. This happens because for the Akans, the individual’s face is situated in the group face (Obeng, 1999: 711). Obeng argues that much as the group face is important in Akan culture, “the individual’s face is equally important” (Obeng, 1999: 711). Another important observation which Obeng makes which is relevant to this study has to do with the verbs or verb phrases that are used for apologies. He notes that in Akan, the verbs or verb phrases that are frequently used for apologising are:

<i>pa kyɛw</i>	remove one’s hat	[i.e. apologize], (Please/sorry)
<i>sɛ</i>	beg	[i.e. apologize] (Please/sorry)
<i>koto sɛ</i>	kneel down and beg	[i.e. apologize]
<i>di fɔ</i>		[i.e. to be guilty]
<i>di ntwo</i>		[to lose or to be guilty]
<i>di bem</i>		[grant someone their innocence]
<i>fa kyɛ</i>		[forgive]

Another important work on apologies in Akan is Agyekum (2006). This study focuses on forms, functions and major features of Akan apologies. Like Obeng (1999), he observes that the major forms that are used to apologize in Akan are:

<i>Me pa wo kyɛw</i>	I doff your hat.
<i>Me sɛ wo</i>	I beg/plead with you (Please forgive me)
<i>Fa kyɛ me</i>	Take give me (Forgive me)
<i>Kosɛ</i>	Sorry/have my sympathy
<i>Kafra</i>	Sorry/ have my sympathy

Agyekum points out that in Akan, each of these apologetic expressions can usually be intensified by using Akan intensifiers such as ‘*pɪi*’ ‘*pa ara*’ or ‘*paa*’.

The data samples for the different studies which have been reviewed here have been collected by means of Discourse Completion Tests (DCTs), role-play tasks, through ethnographic interviews or by observations in natural situations. Of all these methods, the DCTs which come in the form of oral or written questionnaires are by far the most popular and the most convenient means of collecting data on apologies. Ideally, ethnographic data is the most suitable data sample to be used for studies on apologies. The few studies which have used ethnographic data (Holmes, 1989; Bean & Johnstone, 1994; Aijmer, 1995; Obeng, 1999) have shown that collecting such data is cumbersome and that the data that are collected usually allow very little room for comparative studies to be carried out. For this reason, in this study, we chose to use data collected by means of DCTs.

Pragmatic transfer

Pragmatic transfer as a linguistic phenomenon has been very difficult to define. While some scholars such as Kasper (1992) have used the term to cover a wide range of linguistic behaviours, other scholars have restricted the use of this term to specific linguistic behaviours. Research in interlanguage pragmatics has shown that second language learners transfer some features of their first languages into the second language they are learning when they perform speech acts in the second language. Such transfers have been described as *pragmatic transfer*. Second languages learners of English, for example, tend to transfer the pragmatic rules of their first languages and cultures into their second language variety of English. Pragmatic transfer has been investigated using different languages and different speech acts (Beebe, Takahashi & Uliss-Weltz, 1990; Jaworski, 1994; Hassal, 2003; Byon, 2004 and Huth, 2006). There have been claims, for instance, that there is a relationship that holds between L1 pragmatic transfer and L2 proficiency. Generally, there are three positions:

For some scholars, L1 pragmatic transfer has a positive correlation with learner's L2 proficiency.

For other scholars, L1 pragmatic transfer has a negative correlation with learner's L2 Proficiency.

For yet another group of scholars, L1 pragmatic transfer has no correlation with learner's L2 proficiency.

Scarcella and Brunak (1981) and Takahashi and Beebe (1987), for example, observe that L2 learners who have low proficiency in the L2 are less likely to transfer the pragmatic rules of their L1 into their L2 while L2 learners who have a high proficiency level in the L2 are more likely to transfer sociocultural norms from their L1 into the L2. Blum-Kulka (1982) who studied the speech act production of Canadian learners of Hebrew also support this position that learners with insufficient L2 knowledge are less likely to transfer the pragmatic norms of their L1 into the L2 they are acquiring. Olshtain

and Cohen (1989) who study data produced by Hebrew learners of English support this position as well when they report that their respondents did not transfer the apology strategies of their L1 and the modifying devices they used in the L1 into the target language. For them, this did not happen because of the low level of proficiency of the respondents in their L2. In a related study, Scarcella and Brunak (1981) also noted that Arabic learners of English did not use a wide range of politeness strategies when they produced requests in English. This he attributed to their low level of proficiency in English.

Contrary to the studies which have been cited above, there are a few other studies which have countered the claim that there is a correlation between the level of proficiency of speakers and pragmatic transfer. Using data produced by Danish learners at three different levels of proficiency, Trosborg (1987) reports that the levels of proficiency of these respondents did not have any effect on their L1 pragmatic transfer. What she did was to compare the frequencies of strategies used by respondents at the beginner, intermediate and advanced levels to those of native Danish and native English speakers. Her findings showed that the levels of proficiency did not in any way affect pragmatic transfer. Takahashi and Duffon (1989) who studied the pragmatic features of 9 female Japanese learners of English in Honolulu also confirm that these Japanese learners of English did not transfer their indirect request strategies from Japanese to English. In another study, Maeshiba, Kasper and Ross (1996) considered the features of apology strategies produced by 30 intermediate and 30 advanced Japanese learners of English. Once again their findings support the position that there is no correlation between the level of proficiency of learners and their pragmatic transfer.

In this study we do not claim any correlation between the level of proficiency of speakers and their pragmatic transfer. Instead what we propose is that because English has been used in the Ghanaian context for a long time, there is a process of nativization that is taking place. Speakers are beginning to transfer pragmatic features of their first languages into the English language not because of their level of proficiency. Instead, we suggest that it is the length of time during which English has been used in Ghana and the close contact between the English language and the indigenous Ghanaian languages that have led to the emergence of a nativized variety of English in Ghana. Ghanaian speakers speak English in the domains which were traditionally reserved for the indigenous languages. Because of this, they subject the English language to the rules of their first languages. Following Schneider's Dynamic Model of Post-Colonial Englishes (2007), we suggest that English in Ghana is beginning to define its own norms of language use. Thus pragmatic norms from the indigenous languages are transferred into the emerging variety of English used in Ghana.

Methodology

The respondents in this study were 120 Level 100 (freshmen/women) undergraduate students selected from the University of Ghana. Sixty of them were male and the other sixty were female. The respondents were selected from introductory Academic Writing classes. They were registered for various courses offered by the university. None of the respondents, however, was an English or Linguistics major student. We exempted English and Linguistics major students because we wanted to prevent a situation where the respondents had been exposed to an analysis of cross-cultural variation in speech acts production in class. The mean age of the participants was 24 years. Each of the respondents was bilingual in English and Akan and about 50% of them also spoke Ewe and Ga as well. All the respondents gave their consent for their responses to be used for this study by signing a consent form before the data collection procedure started.

The study is based on a corpus of 120 apologies collected by means of a written discourse completion questionnaire (DCT) consisting of 10 scenarios. The scenarios were designed to elicit apologies in different situations (see Table 1 below). The questionnaire was divided into two sections. The first section was an introductory section which required the respondents to provide information on their age, gender, first language, other languages spoken, etc. This section was followed by the second section which described the ten situations or scenarios that were expected to trigger the apologies. Two social variables were built into the questionnaire: social distance and power. By social distance, we mean the degree of familiarity between the addressee and the apologizer. The ten scenarios are presented in Table 1 below:

Table 1 Scenarios and Role Constellations

Scenario	Social Distance	Power
Bumping into your lecturer	medium	S<H
Damaging a friend's car	low	S=H
Arriving late for a job interview	high	S<H
Hurting the foot of a fellow passenger	low	S=H
Damaging a book of a classmate	low	S=H
Delaying return of a lecturer's book	medium	S<H
Opening a lecturer's office door	medium	S<H
Mishandling a roommate's food	low	S=H
Breaking a secretary's umbrella	medium	S<H
Breaking a roommate's photo frame	low	S=H

After the 120 completed DCT questionnaires had been collected from the respondents, they were coded and analysed using SPSS Version 11 software. Following Blum-Kulka et al. (1989), we made a distinction between the head act and the supportive moves. The

head act is the part of the response which carries the illocutionary force of the IFID. The head act can co-occur with one or more optional supportive move(s). The supportive move(s) may either precede or follow the head act. The supportive move which is also referred to as the 'redressive action' by Brown and Levinson may occur in the form of a reason, a repair or a promise.

The model used for the analysis of the data collected is that which was proposed by Cohen and Olshtain (1981) based on Fraser (1981). This model was later developed by Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) and Blum-Kulka et al. (1989). The model has been tested on several languages for its universal applicability. Basically, the model proposes six major strategies for performing apologies. These are

Illocutionary Force Indicating Devices (IFIDS)

An expression of regret

An offer of apology

A request for forgiveness

Explanation or Account

Any external mitigating circumstances, objective reasons for the violation.

Taking on responsibility

Explicit self-blame

Lack of intent

Expression of self-deficiency

Expression of embarrassment

Self-dispraise

Justify hearer

Refusal to be angry

Denial of responsibility

Blame the hearer

Pretend to be offended

Concern for the hearer

Offer of repair

Promise of forbearance

Results

Situation 1 describes a scene where a student bumps into a lecturer which causes the lecturer to drop his/her books. In this situation, compound and complex apologies dominated in the various forms of apologies that were given as responses. Respondents also made use of interjections and other intensifiers in this situation. About 70% of the respondents used strategies that involved an IFID. About this same percentage also combined two or more apology strategies or a repetition of the same strategy as shown in example 1 below:

“Sorry sir. I ‘m very, very sorry. I didn’t see you approaching.”

Here we have two explicit apologies (IFIDS), ‘sorry’ and *I’m very sorry*’ and an implicit apology which tries to explain why the infraction had occurred, *‘I didn’t see you approaching.’*

As shown in example 1, there was also a frequent use of intensifiers. In all, only about 34% of the total responses used IFIDs without any intensifiers. In such situations, the offender apologized by simply saying *“I am sorry sir”* or *“forgive me sir”*. The other 66% used intensifiers and interjections or both. Interjections such as *“Oh”* and *“Oops”* were found in the responses. Intensifiers such as ‘very’, ‘very, very’, *“really”* and *“so”* were frequently used to qualify the IFIDs. For instance a respondent in situation one said:

“Oh Sir, I ‘m very, very sorry. I didn’t see you coming.”

Since the lecturer is older and more powerful than the apologizer, the respondents use appropriate address terms such as ‘sir’ or ‘madam’ before or after the explicit apology. In Ghanaian culture, age and authority are very important. Traditionally, older people and people in authority are not expected to apologize to younger or less powerful people even when they (superiors, older people) offend them. Once offenders are older and more powerful than the persons they offend, they can get away without apologizing to the offended party. The culture grants them some form of ‘immunity’ because of their age and their status. (They can apologize if they want to, but it is not obligatory for them to apologize. It is even face threatening for them to apologize because they lower themselves or lose face by apologizing to a subordinate or a younger person). Since people who have more authority are not under obligation to apologize to people of a lower social status, politicians, government officials, traditional leaders, chiefs etc. who are more powerful than the average citizen can get away with many offences. They are not accountable to anyone. They only apologise to people who have more authority than they do or to people who are older than they are.

In situation 2, the offender runs his friend’s car (that he/she had borrowed) into a lamp-post. A total of 93% IFID statements were used in this situation. These IFIDs were used with intensifiers in about 39% of the total responses. In addition, 14 % of the responses were expressed with a lack of intent to damage the car. Thus in these cases, the offender explicitly offered an apology with an IFID and also added an implicit apology which indicated that s/he did not intend to cause the damage. About 50% of the respondents used two IFID statements such as *“I beg, please forgive me.”* From Obeng (1999) and Agyekum (2006) we observe that *‘I beg’* is an English translation or paraphrase of the Akan form: *‘mɪ srɛ wɔ’* which is a frequently used expression for apologizing in Akan. What this means is that, speakers transfer this form from Akan into the variety of English that is spoken in Ghana. So when Ghanaian English speakers say ‘I beg’, they are

apologizing for an offence. Thus ‘I bey (you)’ in English in Ghana is equivalent to ‘I am sorry.’

There were three tokens that showed a form of self-dispraise from the offender. Self-dispraise occurs when the offender tries to ridicule him/herself for the wrong that has been committed. Also there was a single token that indicated that the offender was embarrassed as a result of the incident. An example of such self –dispraise occurs in example 3 below:

“Sorry man. I really did something stupid. I was reversing and inadvertently I bumped your car into a lamppost. I am really, really sorry.”

In example 4 below, the apologizer expresses embarrassment when he/she says:

“I am sorry to tell you this, but I think you should know. The car has been damaged and I feel bad about it. I want to take it to the workshop for repairs.”

Another interesting observation about this situation is that 56 % of the respondents made offers to repair the damage, due probably to the magnitude and the nature of the offence. Unlike situation 1, situation 2 had a greater number of respondents providing an explanation for why the situation had occurred. Again, there was a higher number of responses that showed that offenders assumed responsibility for whatever had happened. For example, an offender responded to this situation by saying:

“God! Please I have damaged the rear of this car. I was reversing. I don’t know what happened. I am really sorry. I will fix it for you.”

24 In this example, there is an assumption of responsibility and a provision of an explanation of what had happened, an IFID statement with an intensifier as an apology and finally a provision of an offer to repair the damage that had been caused. So once again, we see the balance between an explicit apology followed by an implicit apology and then an offer of repair.

Situation 3 describes a scenario where a job applicant is caught up in traffic and as a result turns up late for a job interview. Explicit apologetic forms dominated in this situation. 91 % of the respondents used explicit apologetic forms. About 60% employed more than one explicit apologetic form. For example, a respondent said:

“Please forgive me. I am very sorry for being late. I was caught up in a traffic jam.”

In this regard, the respondent clearly expresses how sorry s/he is by expressing her/his apology with two explicit apology forms (“please forgive me” and “I am sorry”). Implicit apologies were also used to explain why the lateness had occurred. So once again, we see the complex and compound apologies showing up here. About 27% of the total responses in this situation also used statements that involved the use of intensifying adverbials. However, no interjectory forms were used in this situation. About 10% of the respondents express forbearance by promising not to commit that offence again. For example, a respondent says:

“I am sorry for keeping you waiting. I promise it won’t happen again.”

Situation 4 describes a scene where the offender's heavy piece of luggage falls on the foot of another passenger in a bus. All the responses in this situation had explicit apologetic expressions. Thus IFID forms were clearly used in this situation. Whereas 30 % of the responses involved an intensifying adverbial, 16% of the responses given used interjections. There were also certain respondents who intensified their apology by using both intensifiers and interjections:

"Oh! I am so, so sorry. It won't happen again."

Offer of repair and forbearance occurred less frequently here. This may be due to the nature of the offence.

In situation 5, the offender borrows a rare book from a friend and this book is damaged by a child in the offender's home. Explicit apologies were once again very frequently used in this situation. 95 % of the responses occurred as explicit apologies. In about 51 % of the responses, the offenders offered explanation as to what happened. In contrast, only 13 % of the total responses involved the offender assuming responsibility for what had occurred. In a few instances, the offender actually acknowledged responsibility for the offence and gave explanations as to its occurrence as well:

"Sorry Ama. I carelessly left your book on the table and a child at home tore some pages out. I am sorry about this."

In this statement the offender acknowledges his/her carelessness by putting the book on the table and also explains how it got tattered. Once again, we see two or more explicit apologies occurring in the same utterance. In about 50 % of the responses, the offenders indicated an intention to repair the damage that had been caused. The repairs came mainly in the form of offers to replace the damaged book or an offer to take the book to the bookbinder for rebinding. There were a few statements that showed that the repair had already been made before the damage was relayed to the owner of the book.

In situation 6, the offender borrows a book from a lecturer that he/she is not very close to and promises to return the book the same day but does not return it until the lecturer asks for the book. Explicit apologetic forms were the most frequent forms that were used. Once again we had situations where two or more explicit apologies were used in the same utterance. About 74 percent of the total responses described the need for a repair of the damage that has been caused which in this case was returning the book to the lecturer as soon as possible. Adverbial intensifiers were also used frequently in this situation. In one instance, the offender showed how embarrassed he/she felt by saying:

"Sorry Sir. I 'm ashamed for failing to submit the book as promised. Please I'll return the book as soon as possible."

Situation 7 describes a scene where a student mistakenly barges into a lecturer's office thinking that it is the office of the Graduate/ Teaching Assistants. Out of a total of 120 responses, 111 were made with two explicit apologetic or IFID statements. There were a few responses that made use of only one IFID statement. For instance, an offender after realising he had entered the wrong office said:

“Sorry! I entered the wrong office. Sorry for disturbing you.”

A total of 48 statements were given as a way of explaining the occurrence. Most of these occurred with an IFID statement along with other forms of intensifiers. A closer look at this statement *“Pardon my manners Sir. I thought this was the Teaching Assistant’s common room”*, describes a combination of an IFID statement and an explanation giving reasons as to what occurred. One peculiar observation made in this situation is the respondent’s request for help. Thus, after the respondents had realised that they had entered the wrong office, they ask for directions to the office of the teaching assistants. There were a total of 15 statements that indicated a request made the student for the lecturer’s assistance. For example, one student stated:

“I am very sorry but could you please help me locate where the teaching assistants’ room is?”

In situation 8 the offender leaves his/her roommate’s food in the cupboard instead of the refrigerator causing the food to go bad. Here, the apologies that were frequently used were in the form of explanations instead of the usual IFID statements. Single explicit apologetic forms accounted for 88 per cent out of the total of 120 apologetic statements made. There were 28 statements that used two or more IFID forms in expressing apologies. Another observation worth mentioning is the degree of intensifiers used in this situation. In all a total of 39 adverbial intensifiers were used.

Situation 9 involves the offender breaking an umbrella that he/she had borrowed from the secretary at the general departmental office due to the strong winds that accompanied the rains. Extensive use was made by respondents of apologetic statements that mentioned repairs. These repairs were in the forms of promising to buy a new umbrella for the secretary, presenting a new umbrella to the secretary when the apology was made or promising to repair the umbrella. For example, one of the offenders makes this statement:

“I’m sorry the wind destroyed the umbrella and as such I am going to replace it for you.”

Another respondent said:

I’m really sorry madam but I had to get you a new umbrella because the rain destroyed yours beyond repair. So here is the new one”....

This shows a situation where the damaged umbrella had already been replaced even before the issue was reported to the secretary.

Situation 10 describes a scene where the offender broke a treasured photo frame of his/her roommate while cleaning the room. Next to the explicit apologetic forms, which clearly dominates this situation is the assumption of responsibility on the part of the offender. 46 per cent of the statements indicated that the offenders showed that they were responsible for the offence that occurred.

In one instance, an offender in his response said:

“I am very sorry but your photo frame accidentally got broken while I was cleaning the table this morning. I am sorry sister. Don’t be mad at me. It was an accident.”

In this example, the offender uses an IFID statement more than once (I am sorry) and then goes on to explain how the treasured photo frame got broken by stating that it was an accident. Notable in this situation is also the request for the offended to remain calm and not to get angry. In the example given above it is seen that the offender pleads with the offended not to be mad at him. In another instance, the respondent stated:

“I have something to tell you. Don’t be bored. I am very sorry but your photo frame accidentally got broken while I was cleaning the table this morning. It was a mistake.”

General situational analysis

Generally, it was observed that there was extensive use of statements containing explicit IFIDs. Thus Ghanaian students are very likely to express their apologies by using phrases such as “I am sorry”, “please forgive me” as well as other forms of IFID apologetic statements to express their apologies. This tallies with Agyekum’s observation that “in Akan the most frequent apologetic expression is ‘*please forgive me*’ or ‘*please I am sorry*.’” Again the respondents were more likely to explain the cause of the offences rather than assume responsibility for them. Out of the ten situations, there was only one situation in which statements that showed respondents assuming responsibility occurred more frequently than those that gave explanations of the cause of the offence. Another important observation we made here was that intensifiers were commonly used along with the explicit apologetic forms. “Please” is an apologetic expression that is used mostly in conjunction with other apologetic forms. In fact in some instances, the word ‘please’ could stand alone as an apology. This word, ‘please’ was used across all situations. We found this very interesting as the Akan word for ‘please’, ‘*Me pa wo kyew*’, is also used as an apology in Akan. This confirms our observation that some pragmatic forms are transferred from Akan into English in Ghana.

While respondents to situation 4 did not make use of any statement that indicated repairs because they did not see it to be necessary in that particular instance, in situations 5, 6, 8 and 10 repair was mentioned in almost all cases. Situation ten was the only situation that elicited statements where the apologizer sought to blame the offended party for the wrong or the damage that had been caused. There were 3 respondents who made an assertion of blame here:

“Now you see that your photo frame is broken. The table is for studying not for displaying items. I am sorry though. It fell when I was cleaning the table. Now you’ve seen what you have made me do.”

Another observation that is worth pointing out here is the use of address terms such as kinship terms, names, and vocatives to identify the addressees. For instance, in situation 10, the offender mentioned the addressee's name by saying:

“Maame, I am sorry I broke your frame but it happened when I was cleaning the room. How much does it cost to get it fixed?”

Similarly, in situation 2, the offender responded apologetically by addressing the offended as:

“Charlie, I am sorry this happened, but I am going to repair it for you.”

The term “Charlie” is a term that is used for addressing friends especially among male youth in Ghana. Formal address terms were used extensively in the interview situation and the situations which involved the lecturers. Here the offended persons were addressed as “Sir” or “Madam.” For example, in situation 3, a respondent says:

“Madam/Sirs, I am very sorry for turning up late.”

Conclusion

In this article, we have discussed the forms of apologies that are frequently used by Akan speakers of English in Ghana, with the objective of investigating if Akan speakers of English transferred any features of apologies in Akan into the variety of English they speak. In order to determine this, we reviewed some literature on apologies in Akan. We then collected data that elicited apologies from 100 Akan speakers of English at a university campus in Ghana. We then compared the data from the apologies in Akan to the apologies that we observed in our data. Our comparison showed that the apologies that were produced by our informants were similar to those attested by Obeng (1999) and Agyekum (2006). For instance, we note the frequent use of the forms “(please) I am sorry”, “(please) forgive me” and “I beg you”. These are forms of apologies that occur frequently in Akan as reported by Obeng (1999) and Agyekum (2006). We also noted that our respondents frequently used two forms to apologize for offences: an explicit apology and an implicit apology. This tendency also corroborates Obeng (1999) who observes that Akans use complex apologetic structures made up of one indirect apology and one direct apology. Another observation which we made which corroborates earlier findings on Akan apologies is that respondents tend to explain the cause of the offences rather than assume responsibility for them. The study also found frequent use of intensifiers with explicit apologetic forms, as observed by Agyekum for Akan (2006). The frequent use of “please” with apologies is another feature of Akan apologies that we observed in the apologies that were articulated by our informants. Our study shows that Akan speakers of English use features of apologies found in their first language in the nativized Ghanaian variety of English that they speak, making such strategies a distinctive characteristic of Ghanaian English.

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“ANDASTAN MI NO MAN”: REMOVING LANGUAGE BARRIERS IN JAMAICA’S LEGAL SYSTEM

KADIAN WALTERS

UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES, MONA

“Rubble or Rebel”: language barrier in Jamaica’s courts

With Jamaican (Jamaican English-lexifier Creole) being the dominant language of the masses and English being the official language of Jamaica, the potential impact of the language barrier in Jamaica’s legal system is far reaching. A highly publicized truth commission has signaled the need for the removal of such communication barriers in the courtroom. On one occasion, Troy Palmer, a dominant speaker of Jamaican was misquoted by an attorney which could have led to the witness perjuring himself. Palmer was being questioned about the debris which was used to block the streets of his community and how they came to be there. In Palmer’s response, the use of the word ‘rubble’ was misinterpreted by the lawyer to be ‘rebel’. Had the lawyer not repeated his response, Palmer would have been recorded as calling his neighbours ‘rebels’. This would have been documented as him testifying that they were indeed the ones who blocked the streets. If gone uncorrected, this might have had a disastrous impact on Palmer’s relationship with his neighbours in such a tightly knit neighborhood. This is but one example of miscommunication due to the linguistic and cultural barriers which exist between the witnesses and counsel in Jamaica’s courtroom.

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Linguistic discrimination in public formal domains

English is the language of Jamaica’s public formal domains including public agencies and courtrooms. These agencies offer goods and services to the public on behalf of the state, as their operatives interact daily with hundreds of citizens. As such, many Jamaican monolinguals are prevented from becoming fully functional members of society, since English is the language used on official documents and during service encounters. Such practices demonstrate that the state has adopted an English monolingual policy (Brown-Blake, 2011: 24). The results of the Language Competence Survey indicate that the mass of the populace speaks Jamaican, showing that only 46.4% of participants demonstrated bilingualism in English and Jamaican. Of those who demonstrated monolingualism, 17.1% demonstrated monolingualism in English while 36.5% demonstrated monolingualism in Jamaican (JLU, 2006: 12). The majority was therefore monolingual in Jamaican and it is these monolinguals who are placed at a disadvantage

when trying to access services of the state. In some cases, they have to ask others to complete required documents on their behalf.

This practice of communicating with the public in a language other than that which is spoken by the masses amounts to Indirect Linguistic Discrimination. Linguistic Discrimination refers to the practice of treating people differently and unfairly because of their language or other characteristics of their speech. In the case of Indirect Linguistic Discrimination, the state's provision of information mostly in English puts monolingual Jamaican speakers at a disadvantage.

Language in the Jamaica courtroom

The example cited above of Mr. Palmer highlights but one case in which the language barrier may pose a problem in the execution of the law. It demonstrates what happens when a lawyer misunderstands a witness but what of cases of a witnesses not understanding lawyers? A focus group interview was conducted with eight (8) of the residents who testified in the enquiry to get their perspective on the language issue. After two hours of discussion here is what some of the residents¹ had to say regarding language use in the proceedings:

Nikila Brown: De aks wi wan kwestiyan aal sevn taim..an is WAN kwestiyan. Bot yu av tu lisn kierful an den se 'maam' 'sir' a duohn andastan..bring it dong tu mai lev. Kaaz dem de big, big, big word de mi no an- brik it op in silablz we mi kyan andastan den mi kyan se 'yes maam' 'no maam' 'yes sor'

[They ask you one question seven times...and its one question. But you have to listen careful and then say 'maam' 'sir' I don't understand..bring it down to my level because those big, big, big words I don't un- break it up in syllables that we can understand then I can say 'yes maam' 'no maam' 'yes sir'] my translation

The witness in giving her overview of the experience in court, felt that the lawyers' repetition of the same questions was unnecessary and that big words should be broken up into syllables to facilitate understanding. It is not so much a breaking up of the words that is necessary but an explanation of what the words actually mean in a language she can understand. The consensus among the residents was that lawyers expected them to answer questions they could not comprehend.

Another witness commented on the lawyers' language use:

Roshaine Grey: Wan a di biges prablem we mii fain wid di wie ou di laayaz in di ink-waiyeri..di-di dem puoz di kwestiyan tu di rezidens..ai woz wachin fram-fram-fram di staat an stof..an a get tu riyalaiz dat de aar yuuzin dier gud komaan af di Ingglish langwij

¹ Each participant consented to the use of their speech. Pseudonyms have been used to represent the residents

agens porsnz uu duohn av a muor- duohn av a gud komaan a di Ingglish langwij az wel as dee duu..so de ten tu yuuz dat tu dier advantij..aahm- in di wie ou de puoz di kwesti-yan..de puoz it in Standaard Ingglish an in a paatikyula wie tu mek di porzn an di stan luk STUUPID!

[One of the biggest problems that I found with the way how the lawyers in the enquiry posed the questions to the residents..I was watching from-from-from the start and stuff..and I get to realize that they are using their good command of the English language against persons who don't have a more – don't have a good command of the English language as well as they do...so they tend to use that to their advantage..aahm- in the way how they pose the questions..they pose it in Standard English and in a particular way to make the person on the stand look STUPID!] my translation

Roshaine, one of the two male witnesses who participated in the focus group expressed the view that the lawyers' use of the English placed witnesses who could not speak the language at a disadvantage. The statement that "they are using their good command of the English language against persons..." reveals that he believes that language can somehow be used as a weapon to get one's own way.

What does legislation say about language use in formal domains? Despite the fact that Jamaica is among several countries with constitutional provisions concerning language, Jamaican speakers are subjected to both Direct and Indirect forms of Linguistic Discrimination in the courtroom. The constitutional provisions are as listed below:

Article 15

2. Any person who is arrested or detained shall be informed as soon as reasonably practicable, **in a language which he understands**, of the reasons for his arrest or detention. [my emphasis]

Article 20

6. Every person who is charged with a criminal offence
(a) shall be informed as soon as reasonably practicable, **in a language which he understands**, of the nature of the offence charged;...
(e) shall be permitted to have without payment **the assistance of an interpreter if he cannot understand the English language**. [my emphasis]

Unfortunately, no speaker of Jamaican has ever benefitted from such provisions since at the time of the drafting of the constitution Jamaican was not considered a language in its own right. But does a speaker of Jamaican really need the assistance of an interpreter? Do speakers of Jamaican need to be asked questions in their own language in order to understand the lawyer? Some may ask these questions since Jamaican is an

English-lexified Creole. This paper considers the role of language during the proceedings of a Jamaican truth commission and reports on the results of a national survey capturing citizens' desire for the official use of Jamaican in the courtroom.

Communicating truth to a truth commission

A Truth Commission dubbed the “West Kingston Commission of Enquiry” was born out of a recommendation to investigate who was responsible for several deaths during a joint military-police operation in 2010. In that year, the US government issued an extradition request for the arrest of Christopher ‘Dudus’ Coke to stand trial on its shores for drug smuggling. Over seventy (70) civilians died as a result of the attempts by the security forces to capture Coke. The Commission lasted a little over a year, from December 2014 to February 2016 with over 1000 hours of proceedings. The West Kingston Commission of Enquiry heard testimonies from several stakeholders including members of the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF), Jamaica Defense Force (JDF), various ballistic and medical experts, government officials and West Kingston residents.

The public debate

National publicity surrounding the enquiry and the West Kingston residents' role in its proceedings generated much public interest. Residents gave testimony in their mother-tongue, Jamaican, while being questioned in English. The televised hearings were viewed by many Jamaicans as each sitting was aired on the two national television stations. This sparked the interest of several Jamaicans as they were engrossed in the process of discovering the truth. Soon after the first session, the language debate ensued and many persons chimed in on both traditional and social media to share their views. Several journalists interviewed local linguists as they sought their expert opinion on how the obvious language barrier might affect the Commission's proceedings.

In an article entitled ‘That disgraceful and disgusting Tivoli Enquiry’ popular Jamaican journalist, Mark Wignall lamented at the lawyers' seeming disregard of the residents' limited English language competence:

I saw something quite disturbing last Thursday as I watched the proceedings of the enquiry. I saw lawyers who were considered bright, only because they were operating in a small pond and hence were considered big fish. To me, it went way beyond the colonial throwbacks trying to make another notch on their legal muskets. They simply were trying to bully some poor people who may or may not have been telling the truth. (Wignall, 2014)

The lawyers' use of language demonstrated how language may be used as a tool of power. The ‘bright’ characters in this war were speakers of English who used the language to ‘bully’ the ‘poor’ who were speakers of Jamaican.

President of the Press Association of Jamaica and attorney-at-law, Dionne Jackson Miller, on her weekly current affairs program *Beyond the Headlines*, interviewed Dr. Nicole Scott, a Jamaican linguist regarding her opinion on the use of language during the sessions of the Commission of Enquiry. Dr. Scott recommended that lawyers should try to minimise their use of legalese when questioning speakers of Jamaican. During that same week, veteran journalist Simon Crosskill interviewed Miss Tasheney Francis on the language debate who made similar recommendations.

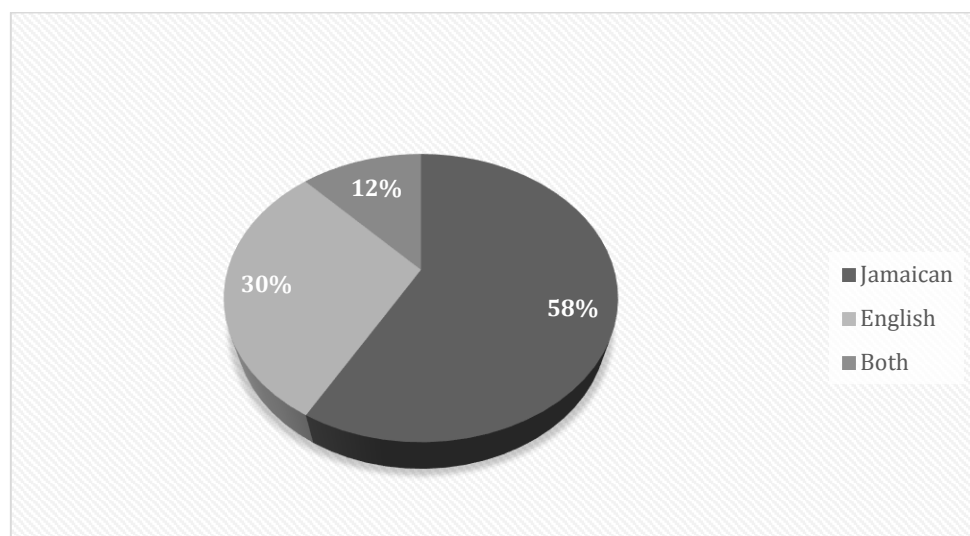
What was clear was that average Jamaicans were taking stock of this great language debate and was rapidly forming their opinions on the matter. Many were of the belief that the lawyers were mistreating the witnesses as if they were on trial. Others felt that the lawyers used too many “big words” which the residents clearly did not understand. Many felt that the lawyers did not seek to explain their questions and did not allow the West Kingston residents to respond adequately. Those views notwithstanding, there were some citizens who believed that English is the language of the court and its use should be encouraged at all times.

The ‘Role of Language in the Enquiry’ survey

This debate sparked the interest of several linguists at the University of the West Indies, Mona. The Language Planning class of 2015-2016 along with the Jamaican Language Unit surveyed 732 informants in the Kingston and St. Andrew area to obtain their opinions on the use of language in the Enquiry. An overwhelming majority of those surveyed expressed the view that the use of Jamaican should be given greater priority in the Jamaican courtroom. The results are as follows:

1. Which language do you think lawyers should use to question witnesses from West Kingston who speak Jamaican?

Table 1 Which Language Should the Lawyers use

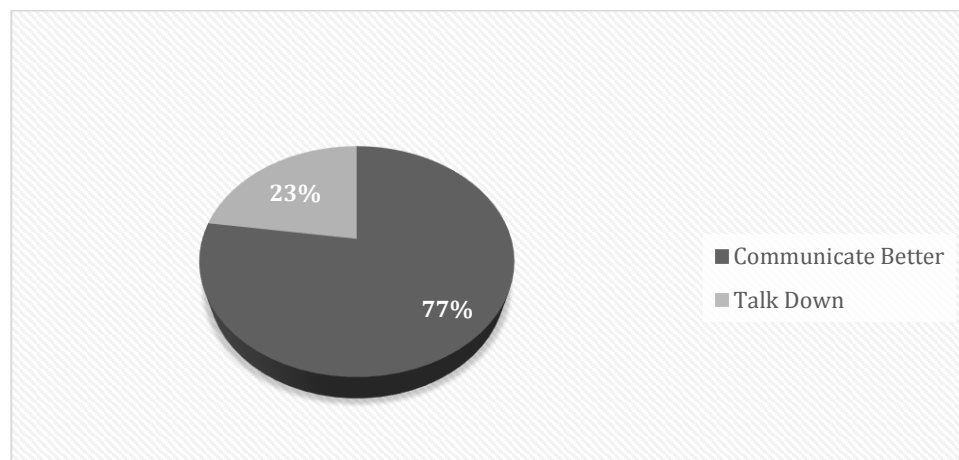


More than half of the participants (58%) thought that lawyers should use Jamaican when speaking to the West Kingston residents who speak the language; 30% thought they should speak in English while 12% thought they should use both languages. When asked to explain why they responded as they did, one of the main reasons cited was that Jamaican was the common language shared by both the lawyers and the witnesses.

2. If the lawyers used Jamaican to communicate with the residents do you think they would:

- a. communicate better with the witnesses
- b. talk down to the witnesses in a condescending manner

Table 2 Which Language Should the Lawyers use

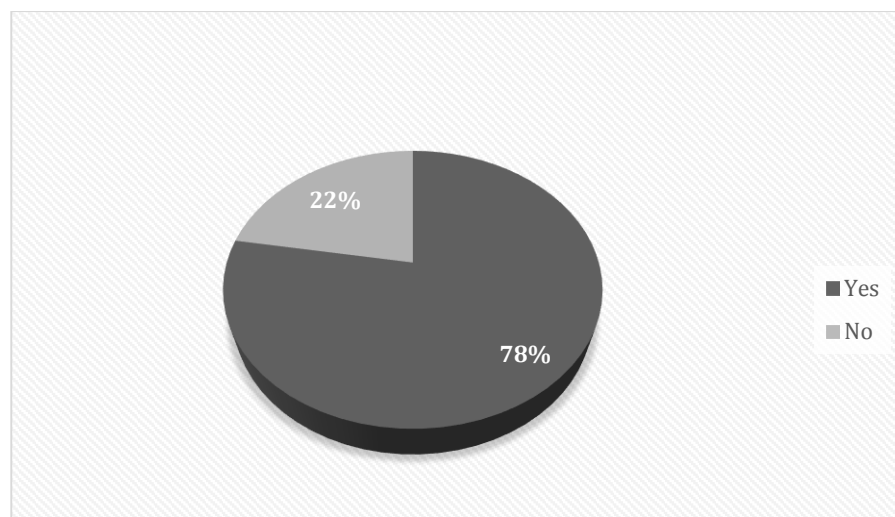


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The majority of the informants, 77%, thought that if the lawyers used Jamaican, they would communicate better with the witnesses while only 23% thought that lawyers might talk down to the witnesses in a condescending manner if they used Jamaican.

3. Do you believe the witnesses had difficulties in fully understanding the lawyers' questions?

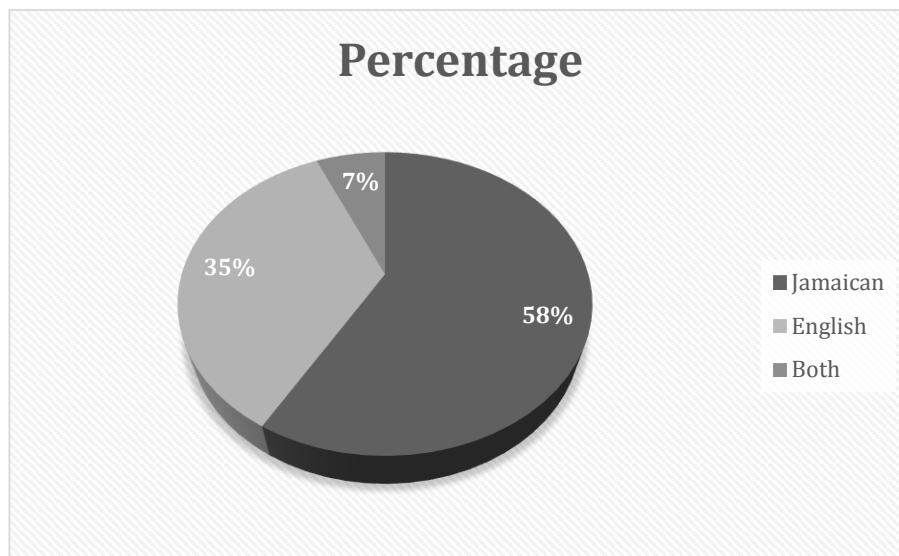
Table 3 Did the Witnesses have Difficulty in Understanding the lawyers' questions



78% of informants believed that the witnesses had difficulty understanding the questions they were asked. The use of legalese might have contributed to this difficulty.

4. If witnesses give their statements in Jamaican, which language should be used to write such statements?

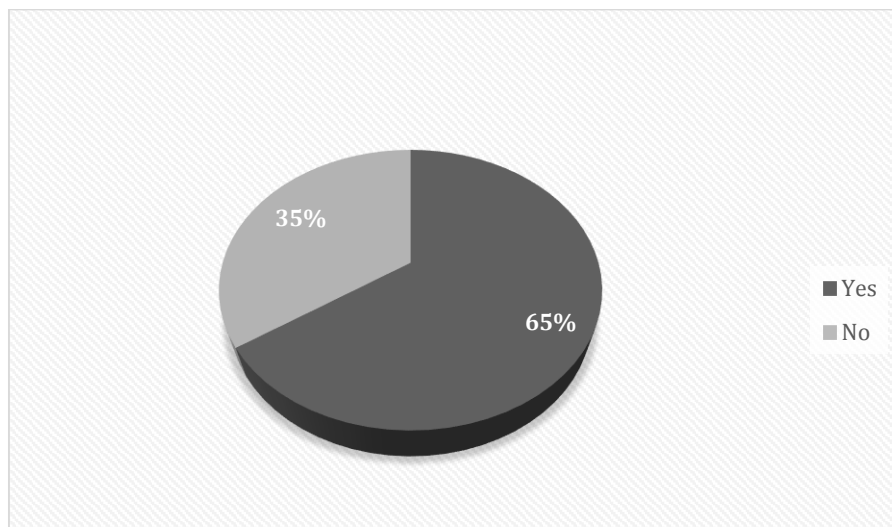
Table 4 Language of Statements



If witnesses give their statements in Jamaican, 58% of participants thought the statements should be written in Jamaican. When asked to explain, informants added that this should be done to avoid confusion and ensure that the correct statements are recorded and that there is no change in meaning. What currently obtains is that the witness orally gives their statement to the police officer who makes his notes then asks the witness to read and sign the document. Of course, if the witness is illiterate it is read for him. It should be noted that 35% thought it should be written in English and 7% thought it should be written in both.

5. The Jamaican Constitution allows for the use of an interpreter if an individual being arrested does not speak English. Do you believe that an interpreter should be provided for speakers of Jamaican in the Courtroom since they do not speak English as well?

Table 5 Interpreters for Jamaican Speakers in Court

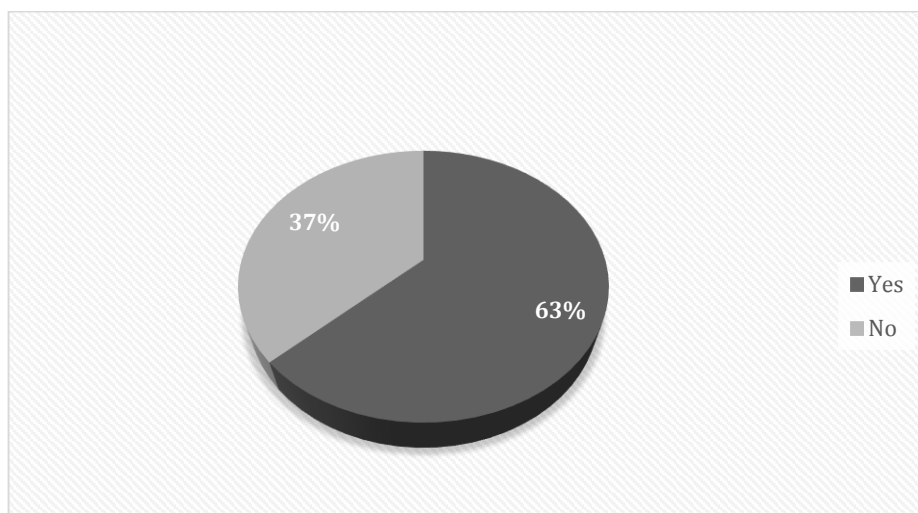


There was a statistically significant difference in the opinions across age groups however, as 53% participants in the 51-80+ age range thought it was necessary for statements to be taken in Jamaican, while this was thought to be important by 69% and 70% of participants in the 18- 30 and 31-50 age groups respectively.

6. Should Jamaican be made an official language alongside English?

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Table 6 Should Jamaican be made an Official Language Alongside English



As in previous studies, a large percentage of participants, 63%, indicated that they believed Jamaican should be made an official language.

These respondents generally held very positive attitudes towards the use of Jamaican in the courtroom, a public formal domain. The results of the research show that the majority of people in Jamaica would support Parliament passing a law granting official status

to the Jamaican Language, alongside English. In fact, a petition calling for an amendment to this effect to the Charter of Rights to the Jamaican Constitution was signed by a large number of members of the public surveyed. This amendment would add a provision for freedom from discrimination on the ground of language.

There has been an upsurge of national pride among Jamaicans who have gained an appreciation of their culture and success in sports in recent years. No longer are citizens satisfied with the simple tolerance of Jamaican but they wish to see the language operating in more formal domains such as the courtroom. As Devonish and Walters (2015: 231) point out, “the people are speaking and they will have the last word on the matter”.

The place of vernacular languages in Caribbean courtrooms

This official repression of the vernacular in the courtroom is not unique to Jamaica. In Puerto Rico, while Spanish is used in the local courts, English is required in the Federal District court. Pousada (2008: 15) argues for the use of Spanish in the federal courts since it is the vernacular of most Puerto Ricans. Similarly, Evans (2011) advocates for the Official use of the vernacular, St. Lucian Creole, Kwéyòl, in St. Lucia’s courts. The St. Lucian case contrasts with Jamaica’s since Jamaican is an English-lexifier Creole while Kwéyòl is French-lexified. Lawyers, magistrates and police officers, though they may know Kwéyòl do not use it in the courtroom as English is the official language. Ad hoc interpreters such as the court clerks are sometimes used to facilitate communication with Kwéyòl dominant and Kwéyòl monolingual speakers.

Language use in the legal system affects the pursuit of justice. The disregard for the communication needs of witnesses and jurors that has prevailed up until the present should no longer be tolerated. As we have seen in the Jamaican case, the public has added its voice to the debate in favour of Jamaican being used in the courtroom. Linguists and language rights advocates should seek to capitalize on this widespread interest in the use of Jamaican in the courts.

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ADJECTIVES IN TWI/ENGLISH CODESWITCHING

MILLICENT AKOSUA QUARCOO AND AMMA ABRAFI ADJEI

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA, GHANA

Introduction and literature review

This article examines the use of English adjectives in Twi/English intra-sentential Codeswitching (CS). Grammatical aspects of studies in CS have concentrated mostly on nouns and verbs because they are the two major word classes that are obligatory in most grammatical structures. Adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, etc. are often examined in their relation to nouns and verbs. This work concentrates on adjectives as a syntactic unit in Twi/English CS to see how they behave within the morphosyntactic structure of either language.

Twi is a dialect of Akan, the most widely spoken language in Ghana spoken as a first language by about 48% of the population (2010, Population and Housing Census). It is estimated that about 70%-80% of Ghanaians speak it as a second language in non-Akan urban communities. Twi is the main lingua franca of the country. Akan belongs to the (New) Kwa language group within the Benue Kwa sub-branch of the Niger Congo family (Boadi, 2005:15). English is a legacy of British colonial administration and the official language of Ghana. It is also a lingua franca alongside Twi. CS between these two languages is normal because of the intense nature of the contact situation. In this work, we will describe the distribution of English adjectives in bilingual constructions.

Myers-Scotton (2002: 132) claims that “Very few Embedded Language adjectives modifying Matrix Language nouns occur in codeswitching corpora, possibly because of congruence problems at all levels.” Pfaff (1979: 306) and Woolford (1983) have argued that an adjective modifying a noun must occur in the same language as that noun in Spanish/English CS and Lamidi (2009) agrees that his Yoruba/English CS data seem to yield similar results as in examples (1a, b), although they follow Yoruba word order. He however, found a few examples in his data that ran counter to this claim. See example (1c).

1a. *girl illiterate kan* ‘an illiterate girl’

1b. *girl black* ‘black girl’

1c. *ordinary ewé, fresh ewé* ‘ordinary leaf, fresh leaf’ (Lamidi, 2009: 9)

Lamidi also realized that in CS, adjectives of colour mostly came from English and could modify the head noun in post-position in conformity to Yoruba word order as in 2a and b.

2a. *aṣo blue yẹn* ‘that blue dress’ (Lamidi, 2009:

2b. *òdàa green* ‘green paint’ (Lamidi, 2004:87)

On the other hand, English adjectives of texture/height modify their head nouns in pre-position contrary to Yoruba word order e.g. (2c, d) so examples (2e, f) where the adjectives are placed at post-position are unacceptable:

2c. *fresh ewé* ‘fresh leaves’

2d. *tall oḡá* ‘tall master’

2e. **ewé fresh* ‘fresh leaves’

2f. **oḡá tall* ‘tall master’ (Lamidi, 2009: 9)

Finally, Lamidi observed that English colour adjectives are usually permitted in CS more often than other categories such as size, shape and height. In those cases, the Yoruba adjectives are often used:

3a. *boy giga* ‘tall boy’

3b. *stomach rogodo* ‘round stomach’ (Lamidi, 2004: 87)

44 Amuzu (2010) found that very few English adjectives are acceptable in Ewe/English CS, and that the few adjectives that do occur are mostly colour adjectives such as *green*. These adjectives follow Ewe word order, as in example (4):

4. *neném vu green ádè-wo vá yi fifilaa*

Such car green some-PL come go just now

‘Some green cars of that kind have just passed.’ (Amuzu, 2010:121)

Amuzu noted, however, that not all English colour terms are acceptable as Ewe modifiers. So noun-like colour terms like *wine*, *indigo*, *cream*, and *chocolate* are unacceptable. His study showed that only a handful of English non-colour adjectives occur as modifiers of Ewe nouns. These include *fine* and *plain* as they are used in (5a)

5a. *ameka-e nyé nyɔnuvi fine má le afe-a-me?*

Who-FOC be girl fine that at house-the-inside

‘Who is that fine girl in the house?’ (Amuzu, 2010: 230)

Amuzu observed that even though *fine* can be considered a physical property adjective like *beautiful*, *pretty* and *cute*, or a value adjective like *good* and *cultured*, none of these is acceptable in CS. He also noted that *plain* and *pure* which are also value adjectives are used and though these in some contexts share lexical-conceptual structure with adjectives like *real*, *simple*, and *bare*, none of these latter is acceptable as a post-

modifier. Amuzu's work demonstrated that most English attributive adjectives that modify English nouns occur as Embedded Language islands during CS as in example (5b) where *big* modifies *box* in accordance with English word order.

5b. *wó á-nɔ big box má me.*

3PL POT-be big box that inside

'They would be in that big box.' (Amuzu, 1998: 77)

Amuzu explained that very few English attributive adjectives are accepted in Ewe/English CS because they are pre-modifiers in English, contrary to Ewe structure where they occur as post-modifiers. Due to this, the Composite Matrix Language hypothesis correctly anticipates that this incompatibility will result in the blockage of the English adjectives from occurring in CS.

In analyzing adjectives in Welsh/English CS, Deuchar (2006) noticed that English type modifier-head order is regularly used in CS utterances where English expletives are inserted as modifiers of Welsh heads, as in (6a):

6a. *mae'n waeth na'r bloody lle*

be.3S.PRES-PRT worse than-DET bloody place

'It's worse than the bloody place...' (Deuchar, 2006: 9)

She noted that this contrasts with the position of Welsh adjectives which occur in post head position as in (6b):

6b. *dan ni 'di cael tywydd uffernol, do?*

be.1PL.PRES we PRT get weather hellish tag

'We've had hellish weather, haven't we?' (Deuchar, 2006: 9)

She observed as did Thorne (1993: 135) however, that a few adjectives occur pre-nominally in Welsh with emotive connotations. She therefore concluded that since some Welsh adjectives could occur in pre-position, example (6a) conforms to Welsh word order.

Adjectives in Twi and the Structural Accommodation Model

Twi adjectives can be divided into three classes – (1) attributive, (2) predicative and (3) mobile as exemplified in (7a) – (7f). All Twi attributive adjectives occur in post – head position:

Attributive adjectives, such as *bɔne* 'bad' and *ketewa* 'little':

7a. *panin bɔne paa nie*

adult bad very this

'a very bad adult indeed'

7b. *abofra ketewa no-o-su*
child small DET-PRO-cry
'The little child is crying.'

Predicative adjectives, such as *wa* 'long' and *so* 'fat':

7c. *ekwan no wa*
road DET long
'The road is long.'

7d. *maame yi so papa*
woman DET fat very
'This woman is very fat.'

Adjectives used both attributively and predicatively *tia* 'short':

7e. *kwan tia ye mmusuo* (attributive)
road short is dangerous
'A short route is dangerous.'

7f. *asem pa ye tia* (predicative)
case good is short
'A good case is brief.'

The Structural Accommodation Model for codeswitching is based on the fact that in CS, Embedded Language (EL) items are allowed so long as the Matrix Language (ML) has a structure to accommodate them. The argument is that bilingual/multilingual speakers have all of their languages stored in one faculty of the brain. During speech production, speakers decide which of the languages they want to use. Most often they plan to speak monolingually and do not plan to code switch. However, because they have more than one language in their language inventory, these languages are simultaneously activated and compete for space at the Conceptual Level. For example, when bilingual/multilingual Twi/English speakers plan to select an attributive adjective to modify a noun in a Twi NP structure, they begin by considering an adjective from Twi. Because these speakers have English also in their language inventory, however, English projects itself and competes with Twi. Because the speakers have already selected Twi, it has the upper hand and so creates the structure and checks the slots it will allow the English adjective to occupy. If it has no structure for the English item, that item will be blocked.

In this article, we employ Amuzu's (2005: 20 -2 [2010: 22]) Composite Model based on Myers Scotton & Jake's (2001) and Myers-Scotton's (2002) language production model to explain how the Structural Accommodation Model works:

Stage 1: When an English content morpheme like an adjective is activated at the Lemma Level, its lexical-conceptual structure showing the property/entity, etc. it encodes becomes salient. At the same time, information on its predicate-argument structure and the morphological realization are sent to the Formulator.

Stage 2: At the Functional level, four processes take place: (a) The Formulator checks the grammatical property of the adjective to see whether it is attributive or predicative; (b) The Formulator then checks to see if it fits a Twi predicate-argument structure; (c) If it fits, the Formulator finds out the function of the morpheme i.e. whether it performs an ascriptive function or a modifier function (this information is extremely important because it will influence the next stage of the process); and (d) The Formulator recognizes that if it is a modifier, it must be grammatically attached to NP for the morphological realization pattern and if it is ascriptive, it must be bridged with a copula.

Stage 3: The Morpheme Order Principle requires that Twi morphosyntactic order is followed in the construction.

To illustrate how the Structural Accommodation Model works. We use a Twi matrix sentence with the English adjectives *black* and *fine* in example 8a:

Stage 1: At the Lemma level, a speaker selects the English content morphemes *black* and *fine*. When this is done, the lexical-conceptual structure indicating their property-encoding features becomes salient. At the same time, information on their predicate-argument structure together with their morphological realization pattern are sent to the Formulator at the Functional level.

Stage 2: At the Functional level, *black* is found to fit the predicate-argument structure of the corresponding Twi modifier *tuntum* ‘black’, while *fine* fits the structure of the corresponding Twi item $f\ \varepsilon\ \varepsilon\ f\ \varepsilon$ ‘beautiful’ which is a quality encoding ascriptive in Twi. The Formulator recognizes that an adjectival quality-encoding ascriptive in Twi must be grammatically linked to the subject with the $y\ \varepsilon$ copula to link *fine* to the subject ε . This is also to fulfill Twi Matrix Language Frame requirements. The Morpheme Order Principle also requires that Twi morphosyntactic order is followed in such constructions so *black* is post-positioned after *mpaboa* ‘shoe’ in accordance with Twi word order (Quarcoo 2012: 8).

Stage 3 - At the Surface level, *black* and *fine* are selected because they fulfill the predicate-argument structure of Twi.

In example (8a) a group of women are examining some shoes that a shoe seller has brought to them:

8a. ɔ-wo mpaboa black bi ε -y ε fine papa

2SG-has shoe black DET it-is fine very

‘She has a very beautiful black pair of shoes.’ (Shoba and Quarcoo 2012: 83)

Findings

The primary data for the present study consist of discussions that were tape- recorded from three Ghanaian radio stations, namely Hot FM, Peace FM, and Asempa FM. Since these data were already in the public domain, the researchers did not seek permission for the recordings to be made. Another set of data was tape recordings of conversations of friends and relatives. These participants gave permission to be recorded. Since conversations among family members and friends in most situations are not pre-arranged, these covered a wide range of topics that were often not pursued systematically. In the recordings from the radio stations on the other hand, speakers discussed specific topics e.g. a voter registration exercise, politics, health matters, etc. Recording sessions varied in length ranging from a few exchanges to sometimes an hour or more. The recordings were transcribed and CS structures were selected for analysis. Data analysis was done using Quarcoo’s (2014) Structural Accommodation model.

In the distribution of attributive adjectives, Twi has the structure [N+ADJ+DET] where the adjective follows the head noun and the determiner follows the adjective. This is different from the English structure of [DET+ADJ+N]. The Matrix Language Frame predicts that because some adjectives have a plus feature for the thematic role receiver, they can replace their ML counterparts. In our study, we observed that during CS English colour adjectives often replace their Twi counterparts and can modify Twi heads following the Twi word order as in examples (9a,b):

9a. Saa ne ntoma wine and black no de ε ...

That his/her cloth wine and black FOC EMP

‘That his/her wine and black cloth...’

9b. Gyaa no, ɔ-p ε ne ε ma yellow aama

leave him/her 3SG-like things yellow too much

‘Don’t mind her/him, s/he likes yellow things too much.’

Adjectives of human disposition like *serious* and adjectives of dimension like *flat* and *short* were also found to modify Twi heads as in examples (10a,b) but other human disposition adjectives like *happy* and *angry* as in examples (10c,d) were not found because their corresponding forms in Twi are verbal elements:

10a. as ε m *serious* sei na wo-o-kã no wɔ air

issue serious this and 2SG-PROG- say it on air

‘How can you mention such a serious issue on air?’ (Quarcoo, 2009: 102)

- 10b. Aa hw ε ne y ε fõnõ *flat* bi wo-b ε -ka s ε o-n-nidi
EMP look his/her stomach flat FOC 2SG-FUT-say that 3SG-NEG-eat
‘See his/her flat stomach, as if s/he doesn’t eat.’

10c. **maame happy* ‘happy woman’

10d. **papa angry* ‘angry man’

It was observed that the common pattern is for Twi attributive adjectives to modify English heads, similar to what Lamidi (2004, 2009) observed in Yoruba/English CS. In example (11a), the English head *friend* is modified by the Twi adjective *tenten* ‘tall’. In (11b) the Twi forms *tietia* ‘short’ and *tuntum* ‘black’ modify *brother* and in (11c) *ky ε nky ε ma* modifies *car*.

- 11a. *na ɔ-ne saa ne friend tenten bi no ...*
FOC 3SG-and that her friend tall some DET
‘She and that tall friend of hers ...’ (Quarcoo, 2009: 102)
- 11b. *wo-n-kae ne brother tietia tuntum yi-a na ɔ-wɔ Temasco yi?*
you-NEG-recall her brother short black DET-PAT who 3SG-be Temasco
FOC
‘Don’t you remember that short dark brother of his/hers who was at Temasco?’
- 11c. *car ky ε nky ε ma wei nso na ...*
Car rickety DET too that
‘this rickety car too, that ...’

As in Lamidi’s data, our recordings included cases of English head nouns with English adjectives which follow Twi word order. These may not be considered Embedded Language islands because they do not have the well-formedness that requires English word order. In (12a) the English adjective *hot* modifies the English head noun *tea* and in (12b) *red* modifies *car*:

- 12a. *Daddy me-p ε tea hot bi a-nom*
Daddy 1SG-like tea hot some to-drink
‘Daddy, I would like some hot tea to drink.’ (Quarcoo 2009: 102)
- 12b. *ye shia-a no na o drivo car red bi*
1PL meet-PST him/her FOC 3SG- drive car red some
‘We met her driving some red car.’

Two possible factors might account for examples (12a) and (12b) above: (a) the headwords *tea* and *car* have no corresponding items in Twi and so could be considered borrowed words which have become part of Twi vocabulary; and (b) the adjective *hot*, as a physical property adjective, (Amuzu 2010: 229) is a mobile adjective and *red* as a colour adjective is also mobile. Therefore, the English items follow Twi word order because the headwords are considered Twi words and the adjectives correspond to those that can be moved.

Most Twi adjectives can be reduplicated e.g. $f\ \varepsilon\ \varepsilon\ f\ \varepsilon\ -f\ \varepsilon\ \varepsilon\ f\ \varepsilon\ \varepsilon\ f\ \varepsilon$ ‘beautiful, fine, and nice’, *tenten-tenteeten* ‘tall, long’ etc. It has been observed that in CS, English adjectives can be repeated where reduplication occurs in Twi. See example (13)

13. $n\text{-}y\ \varepsilon\ na\ wo\text{-}de\ gari\ a\text{-}box\text{-}e\ no\ fine\ fine$

NEG-do FOC 2-add gari PERF-box-PST it fine fine

‘See how you have added gari to make it perfect.’ (Shoba & Quarcoo, 2012: 87)

Some Twi adjectives are also marked for number, for example:

Singular Form	Plural Form	English gloss
<i>tietia</i>	<i>a/ ntietia</i>	short
$f\ \varepsilon\ \varepsilon\ f\ \varepsilon$	$af\ \varepsilon\ \varepsilon\ f\ \varepsilon$	beautiful/ nice
<i>din</i>	<i>dindin</i>	quiet

English on the other hand does not have plural adjectives. In CS, when a Twi adjective modifies an English head noun which is in the plural form, the adjective will be in the plural form to satisfy Twi morphology. In example (14) *akɔkɔɔ* ‘fair, red’ takes the morpheme *a-* to show plurality even though it modifies an English noun:

14. *Wei de ε me maame-nom last born ɔ-woo twelve; six a-kɔkɔɔ six nso me colour yi bi*

This EMP my mother-P last born 3SG-born twelve, six P-fair
six also my colour this some

‘The last of my mother’s siblings gave birth to twelve children; six fair ones and six also are dark like me.’ (Quarcoo, 2009: 101)

As has been mentioned earlier, Twi word order dictates that adjectives must always follow the head noun, so that even in CS when both the head noun and adjective are English words, as in examples (12a) and (12b), this rule must be obeyed. There were however two examples in the data in which English adjectives preceded Twi head nouns contrary to Twi word order. In example (15a) *personal* pre-modifies *adwuma* ‘work’ and in (15b) *local* modifies *abasobo* ‘honour’ in pre-position.

15a. s ε ε -y ε wo personal adwuma a, wo-b ε -y ε no yie

If it-is your personal work FOC 2SG-FUT-do it well

‘If it is your personal work, you will do it well.’ (Quarcoo, 2009: 104)

15b. ε -y ε local abasoba

it-is local honour

‘It is a local honour.’ (Quarcoo, 2009: 104)

These were the only two examples and were used by the same speaker. An attempt to get more examples was not successful but participants did not consider them odd.

Though the order of attributive adjectives follows that of Twi, the data also included many cases of Embedded Language islands, such as *volunteer work* in example (16a) and *professional certificate* in (16b):

16a. enti volunteer work no ε -y ε experience ne bi?

so voluntary work DET it-is experience DET some?

‘Is voluntary work part of the experience?’ (Quarcoo, 2009: 105)

16b. enti professional certificate no y ε necessity w-ahu?

so professional certificate DET is necessity 2SG-see

‘So the professional certificate is a necessity, right?’

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It was observed that adjectives that end with *-ry* are not used with this morpheme when they occur in CS, even in Embedded Language islands. Instead, the noun or verb form is used as in (16a) where *volunteer* is used instead of *voluntary*.

Twi adjective phrases occur in two forms: (1) with a copula verb as in examples (17a, b) and (2) without a copula verb, as in examples (18a, b):

17a. Kwame ye tuntum

Kwame is dark

‘Kwame is dark.’

17b. dua no ye kɛsɛɛ

Tree DET is big

‘The tree is big.’

18a. adaka no sua

box DET small

‘The box is small.’

- 18b. *Maame yi so papa*
 woman DET fat very
 ‘This woman is very fat.’

During CS, it was observed that Twi makes its *yε* copula available for any English adjective that can fit into the Twi predicate-argument structure where *yε* normally occurs. Thus, because Twi has an existing predicate-argument structure available, English adjectival heads can easily occur in Twi/English CS, as shown in examples (19a-c):

- 19a. *but woman no y ε simple*
 But woman DET is simple
 ‘But the woman is simple.’ (Quarcoo, 2014: 10)
- 19b. *ɔno–a nim s ε nea ɔ-ɔ-y ε no n-y ε fine but*
 3SG-FOC know that what 3SG-PROG-do FOC NEG-is fine but
wo-ka biaa o-n-tie
 2SG-say anything 3SG-NEG-listen
 ‘She knows that what she’s doing isn’t good but she won’t listen to reason.’
- 19c. *wo-y ε sure s ε ɔno nkoa na ɔ- y ε ...?*
 2SG-are sure that 3SG alone FOC 3SG- is ...?
 ‘Are you sure that he is the only ...?’ (Quarcoo, 2014: 8)

The Twi equivalent of *sure* (*gyidi* ‘believe’) does not require a linker because it is a verbal element and not an adjective i.e. *wo gyidi?* ‘Do you believe?’. *Sure* can occur in (19b) because Twi has the morphosyntactic structure that can accommodate such English adjectives’ predicate-argument structure (Quarcoo, 2014: 8).

The data also showed that because only the Twi *y ε* copula structure is available for adjectival phrases, it can not project predicate-argument slots for English adjective phrases that use other linking verbs and such adjectives are rejected in CS. Instead, they occur as Embedded Language islands with their English linkers, as in examples (20a, b):

- 20a. *me n-feel-i well koraa anopa yi enti na m-a-y ε komm no.*
 I NEG-feel -sv well at all morning DET that’s why I –PERF-do quiet FOC.
 ‘I am not feeling well this morning, that’s why I’m quiet.’
- 20b. *o- n-look-u sharp biaa*
 S/he-NEG- look-sv sharp any
 ‘S/he doesn’t look sharp at all.’

Conclusions

In discussing the distribution of attributive adjectives, Amuzu realizes that the composite Matrix Language hypothesis cannot account for why some English adjectives are allowed in Ewe/English CS but others are not. He says it “seems to me that the occurrence of these adjectives in the post-0 slot is based on the fact that they are perceived as sharing abstract lexical structure features with their counterpart Ewe morphemes.” He concludes that Sebba’s (1995; 1998) view of how bilinguals ‘construct’ congruence across categories of their languages is very relevant to what is happening in adjective switching. Sebba believes that congruent categories are categories of the grammar which are treated as ‘the same’ in L1 and L2 by bilinguals. He is of the view that the locus of congruence is the mind of the speaker and bilinguals ‘create’ congruent categories by finding common ground between the languages concerned. (Sebba, 1995: 232)

This study has shown that Twi true attributive adjectives can modify English noun heads but cannot be switched for their English counterparts. Twi mobile adjectives on the other hand can be switched for their English counterparts but are not very numerous, and that is why they are infrequently attested in CS. With adjectival phrases, Twi creates a ‘y ε copula’ structure for English adjectives to occur in as complements because Twi has a predicate–argument structure that can accommodate them. However, English adjectival phrases that use other linkers occur as Embedded Language islands because Twi cannot project predicate–argument structures that can accommodate them. The study has therefore demonstrated that English adjectives can and do participate in Twi/English CS because Twi has a structure to accommodate them, as the Structural Accommodation Model predicts.

Abbreviations

DET:	Determiner
EMP:	Emphasis
FOC:	Focus marker
FUT:	Future
MLF:	Matrix Language Frame
MOP:	Morpheme Order Principle
NEG:	Negative
PERF	Perfective
P or PL:	Plural
PROG:	Progressive
PST:	Past
SG:	Singular
SV:	Syllabic vowel
1, 2, 3:	First, Second, Third Persons

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LEXICAL BORROWING IN GHANAIAN STUDENT PIDGIN (GSP) – THE CASE OF AKAN LOAN WORDS AND LOAN TRANSLATIONS

KWAKU O. A. OSEI-TUTU

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON AND PURDUE UNIVERSITY

Introduction

Dadzie's (1985) study appears to be the first to mention that pidgin in Ghana had left the ambit of the non-formally educated and was also being used by students. Since then, the variety which is spoken by (mostly) male students in high schools and universities in Ghana has been variously described as a pidgin (Amoako, 2011; Huber, 1999; Dako 2002a & 2002b); an argot (Forson, 1996); and a pidgin sound-alike youth language (Dako, 2013). Previous studies of this pidgin have concentrated largely on its functions, as well as its relationship with its lexifier, English. This paper addresses the language's interaction with one of its major substrates (and adstrates), Akan, with regard to lexical borrowing and provides insights into why this particular process is so integral to the pidgin.

According to several researchers (Dadzie, 1985; Amoako, 2011; Huber, 1999; Dako, 2002a & 200b), pidgin in Ghana was first associated with the police force and members of the military (and, to a large extent, the not so formally educated in society). However, at some point in the pidgin's development, it crossed the educational divide to become an active part of the linguistic repertoire of high school and university students. To my knowledge, the earliest study that first hints at *varieties* of pidgin in Ghana is Dadzie's (1985) paper and his remarks on the pidgin being used by students at the time suggested that the students were only marginal users who saw the pidgin as a way of communicating with a specific sector of society (i.e. the uneducated or poorly-educated). He further argues that that the motivation for (university) students starting to use pidgin lay, among other things, in their attempt to identify with ordinary members of society:

“Another reason given for this desire to speak pidgin was the need to identify with the common man in the wake of the socialist fad sweeping through higher institutions not only here in Ghana but all over the world. Pidgin is identified here as the language of the common man whose cause socialism seeks to espouse...” (Dadzie, 1985: 118)

It its early stages, then, it appears Ghanaian Student Pidgin (henceforth, GSP) was not

that distinguishable from the pidgin already in use in Ghana (which is referred to as Town Pidgin by Dako, 2002a & 2002b, a name which this paper will also adopt). However, later studies (Amoako, 2011; Huber, 1999; Dako, 2002b) show that, with time, the students' variety of pidgin (i.e. GSP) began to show characteristics which differentiated it from the Town variety¹. All three researchers referred to above include borrowings (from Ghanaian languages) as one of the distinguishing features of the student variety of pidgin, and Dako (2002b) even goes as far as including code-switching (between GSP and Ghanaian languages) as a feature. These differences between Town Pidgin and GSP, seem to coincide with a recategorization of the language as a "pidgin sound-alike youth language" by Dako (2013). This is not surprising since, as Kiessling & Mous (2004) point out "[c]ode-switching is extensively used in urban youth languages". This paper additionally argues that widespread use of Ghanaian language words, apart from making the pidgin sound very different from Town Pidgin, also reduces its intelligibility to outsiders (which is another characteristic of youth languages). This unintelligibility, in many cases (some of which will be demonstrated in this paper), is due to the fact that the borrowed words undergo other changes in phonology and morphology (Osei-Tutu, 2008; 2016; Osei-Tutu & Corum, 2014).

Aims and objectives

From the discussion so far, it is clear that there have been quite a number of. The majority of studies on GSP to date (for example, Forson, 1996; Tawiah, 1998) focus on its sociolinguistic features. Huber (1999: 165-252) states that one of the major distinctions between Town Pidgin (which he calls uneducated pidgin) and GSP (which he calls educated pidgin) is: "Due to its predominant function as an in-group language, the 'educated' variety shows highly **productive processes of word formation** and a large number of **lexical idiosyncrasies**..." (1999: 151)²

This paper argues that lexical borrowing from Ghanaian languages is one of the "productive processes of word formation" that Huber (1999) mentions. Consequently, the paper explores the linguistic process of borrowing in GSP in relation to Akan. Furthermore (as mentioned earlier), the paper submits that the "large number of lexical idiosyncrasies" (ibid.) is motivated by the desire of the speakers of GSP to create a code that is as different from English and Town Pidgin as possible and, thereby, marking them (the students) off as a unique group³.

Lexical borrowing as phenomenon of language contact

As has already been mentioned above, pidgins are formed as a result of language contact. Consequently, it is expected that they would exhibit some of the phenomena that

¹ A summary of these characteristics is provided in Osei-Tutu (2016: 7-8).

² Emphasis mine.

³ Osei-Tutu (2016) explores this further by looking at phonological variation in GSP

are associated with language contact, such as borrowing. For the purposes of this paper, the linguistic process that is of interest is lexical borrowing and the focus is limited to borrowing into GSP from one Ghanaian language – Akan. According to Thomason & Kaufman (1988):

Borrowing is the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but it is changed by the addition of the incorporated features. Invariably, in a borrowing situation the first foreign elements to enter the borrowing language are words. (p. 15)

In other words, when languages come into contact, there is the tendency for vocabulary to move across the languages. In the case of the development of pidgins and creoles, vocabulary is usually taken from the superstrate (more often than not, European languages for Pacific and Atlantic pidgins and creoles), while the indigenous languages provide the syntactic structure, among other things. Admittedly, the situation is far more complex than is described here but for the purpose of this paper, the above description should suffice.

Borrowing tends to take different forms. Winford (2005: 12) specifies two major types of borrowing – loan words and loan shifts (loan meanings). He further subcategorizes loan words into direct loanwords and loan blends; and loan shifts into semantic extensions and loan translations. The focus of this paper is restricted to the subcategories of direct loan words and loan translations (which are also referred to as calcques). Languages may borrow from each other for a variety of reasons. Among the commonest is borrowing to fill a lexical/semantic gap. For example, when European explorers began encountering continents previously unknown to them, many new words came into European languages. The English language is the foremost beneficiary of this type of borrowing with words like *zebra* (KiKongo), *tycoon* (Japanese), *croissant* (French), *dope* (Dutch) (Yule 2010: 54); *kayak* (Inuit), *batik* (Malay), *wok* (Chinese) (Millward 1996: 196), and countless others. The argument that this paper makes, however, is that in the case of GSP the prime motivation for the use of borrowed words (from Ghanaian Languages) appears to be to make the pidgin as distinct from Standard (Ghanaian) English as possible. As one interviewee in an earlier data set put it “... some students are very good in the pidgin [GSP]... when they speak, it is very difficult to understand what they are saying” (Osei-Tutu, 2008: 52). As further evidence to support this view, that same study revealed that where synonyms (a Ghanaian English word and a Ghanaian Student word or Ghanaian Language word) exist in Ghanaian Student Pidgin, the use of the GhE lexical item signaled low competence in Ghanaian Student Pidgin.

Akan loan translations or calcques in GSP

A loan translation is a type of borrowing in which one language borrows a word-for-word translation of a word or string of words from another language. For example, the

English word *sky scraper* is *Wolkenkratzer* ‘cloud scraper’ in German (Yule, 2010: 55). This type of borrowing is rare and as such, examples of calques are not as common as direct loan words. GSP, however, has a lot of loan translations and, in many instances, not just words but entire phrases can be borrowed from Ghanaian languages. The table below provides a list of some Akan loan translations in GSP.

Table 1: Akan Loan Translations

Ghanaian Language			Ghanaian Student Pidgin	
Word/Phrase	Literal translation	Meaning	Word/Phrase	Meaning
1. <i>ani-gye</i>	eye-get	joy/happiness	<i>eye-get</i>	to be happy
2. <i>ani-bre</i>	eye-ripe/redden	jealousy/envy/anger	<i>eye-red</i>	anger
3. <i>ani-wuo</i>	eye-die/death	shame/disgrace	<i>eye-die</i>	shame, disgrace
4. <i>ani-bue</i>	eye-open	wisdom,	<i>eye-open</i>	wise
5. <i>ani-ate</i>	eye-has-torn	clever/cunning	<i>eye-tear</i>	cunning
6. <i>ahohyehye</i>	self/body-arrange	curry favor	<i>self-arrange-ment</i>	curry favor
7. <i>ahoo-yaa</i>	self/body-pain	jealousy/envy	<i>skin-pain</i>	jealousy
8. <i>bo</i>	hit/kick/wear/play	hit/kick/wear/play	<i>kick</i>	wear
10. <i>ti-wui</i>	head-dead	dunce	<i>head-die</i>	dunce
11. <i>twa</i>	cut/take a picture	cut/take a picture	<i>cut</i>	take a picture

As the table above shows GSP normally borrows the literal translations of the Akan words and uses them (mostly) to mean the same things that they mean in Akan usage. The following sentences provide examples of the GSP words in use.

1. *Dem see me now dema eye-get*
3PLSUB see.PST 1SGOBJ immediately 3PLPD eye-get.PST
‘Immediately they saw me, they were happy.’
2. *Make you no disturb us, wanna eye red*
CAU 2SGSUB NEG disturb 2PLOBJ 2PLPD eye red
‘Don’t disturb us, we’re angry.’
3. *Sake of the thing dem do, dema eye die*
Sake of DET thing 3PLSUB do.PST 3PLPD eye die.PST
‘Because of what they did, they were ashamed,’
4. *E de think say in eye open*
3SGSUB PRE think COMP 3SGPD eye open.PST
‘He thinks that he is wise.’
5. *E de think say in eye tear pass*
3SGSUB PRE think COMP 3SGPD eye tear.PST pass

‘He thinks he is the most cunning person around.’

6. *See am, e de do self-arrangement*

See 3SGOBJ 3SGSUB NPU do.PROG self-arrangement

‘Look at him. He is currying favor.’

7. **Skin-pain** go kill you

Skin-pain FUT kill 2SGOBJ

‘Jealousy will kill you.’

8. *See the foot e de kick.*

See DET foot 3SGSUB NPU kick.PROG

‘Look at the shoes he is wearing.’

9. **Weytin** do am?

What.thing do.PST 3SGOBJ

‘What happened to him?’

10. *That student, in head die*

DEM student 3SGPD head die.PST

‘That student is a dunce’

11. *Make I cut you one picture pε*

CAU 1SGSUB cut.PST 2SGOBJ NUM picture only

‘Let me take just one picture of you.’

A number of patterns can be identified in terms of how these loan translations are used in Ghanaian Student Pidgin. The first is that, that ‘eye + verb’ combination seems to undergo some kind of functional shift in the pidgin. In Akan, the expressions can be used as verb phrases and also as adjectives. So in Akan, one can say:

12. *wɔn hu-u me-a na wɔn ani gye-e yε*

3PLSUB see-PST 1SGOBJ-REL FOC 3PLPD eye get-PST Yε

‘it was when they saw me that they happied’

‘It was when they saw me that they became happy.’

13. *enne yε anigye da*

Today COP eye-get day

‘Today is a happy day.’

In (12), *ani gye* is used as a verb, while in (13) it is used as an adjective to modify *da*

‘day’. However, as sentences (1) to (5) show, in GSP, the ‘eye + verb’ combination is always used as a verb. The second pattern in the calques above is that for some of them, only one aspect of their meanings has been borrowed into GSP. In other words, these vocabulary items have more than one meaning in the donor language (Akan) but only one of those meanings is selected by the recipient language Ghanaian Student Pidgin. These words include *bɔ*, *anibre* and *twa*. Of the three provided here, *bɔ* is by far the most complex. As the table shows, *bɔ* has multiple meanings in Akan; however, in GSP, it is the meaning ‘to wear’ that is traceable to it. What is even more interesting is that even though GSP borrowed the ‘wear’ meaning, it selected an English form that corresponds to ‘kick’ to represent it. The diagram in Figure 1 illustrates this.

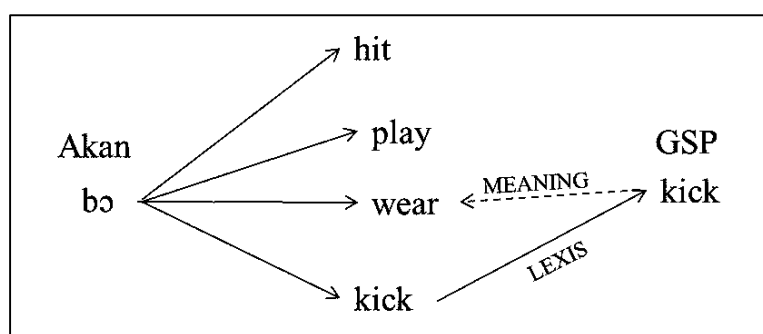


Figure 1. The relationship between GSP *kick* and Akan *bɔ*

To add to this obfuscation of *bɔ*’s origins, Ghanaian Student Pidgin uses the ‘wear’ meaning of *bɔ* differently than how Akan uses it. Akan has different words which mean ‘wear’ and the verb used depends on what is being worn. So Akan will use *hyɛ* ‘wear’ with a dress or socks; *fra* ‘wear’ with a cloth; and *bɔ* ‘wear’ with a watch or tie. Based on this, it can be deduced that *hyɛ* is used when the article which is worn is a sort of receptacle into which (a part of) the body is inserted; *fra* is used when article is something that wraps around the body; and *bɔ* is used when the article is something that is tied to (a part of) the body. So whereas Ghanaian Student Pidgin uses *kick* ‘*bɔ*’ with all items, Akan is more restrictive. Consequently, in sentence (8), Akan would use *hyɛ* for shoes instead of *bɔ*. In other words, GSP uses its equivalent of Akan *bɔ* for ‘wear’ with far less restriction than in Akan itself. This sort of masking of or opacity in the borrowed item makes a compelling argument for the possibility that the desire to make Ghanaian Student Pidgin a unique, uninterpretable code to outsiders is a key motivation in GSP lexical borrowing.

The rest of the loan translations provided in Table 1 are fairly transparent to speakers of Akan. In other words, any speaker of Akan will understand *ahohyehyɛ* and *ahoɔyaa* as they are used in GSP, even without any exposure to the pidgin. This is also helped

by the fact that their word classes remain the same in both languages. In a sense, one can say that these are the true loan translations.

Direct loan words

By and large, the relationship between Ghanaian languages and GSP as far as loan words are concerned seems to be that the predominant Ghanaian language within a geographical area supplies the loan words. Consequently, since (as previously mentioned) GSP began and developed around the coastal areas of Ghana, the languages that have been the most influential are Akan and Ga. However, as already stated above, this paper focuses on loan words from Akan.

Table 2: Akan Loan Words

Word class	Words
1. determiners/quantifiers	<i>no</i> ‘the’; <i>bi</i> ‘some’
2. intensifiers	<i>paa</i> ‘a lot’; <i>aaa</i> ‘for a long time’; <i>papa</i> ‘very well’
3. adverbs	<i>pɛ</i> ‘only’; <i>kɛkɛ</i> ‘completely’; <i>ampa</i> ‘truly’; <i>san</i> ‘again’; <i>shɛda</i> ‘intentionally’
5. verbs	<i>tease</i> ‘understand’; <i>kae</i> ‘remember’
6. numerals	<i>ɔha</i> ‘a hundred’

As we can see from the table above, loan words from Akan which are used in GSP come from virtually all the word classes. Many of these words are used alongside their English semantic equivalents, but some of them are only used in GSP. As with the loan translations, there are some general observations that can be pointed out. The first is with regard to the determiner *no* and the quantifier *bi*. Even though these Akan words are used in GSP, they usually co-occur with their English equivalents. Consequently, sentence (14)⁴ and (16) are more common than (15) and (17).

14. Some paddi **bi** come search you
 IDF guy IDF come.PST search 2SGOBJ
 ‘Someone came to look for you.’

15. *Paddi bi come search you*
 Guy IDF come.Pst search 2sOBJ
 ‘Someone came to look for you.’

16. *The Paddi no come search you*
 DEF guy DEF come.Pst search 2sOJ

⁴ Speakers I have asked about these sentences insist that even though they will not use (15) and (17), those sentences are not ungrammatical. This issue of judging grammaticality in GSP is discussed in-depth in Osei-Tutu (2016).

‘The guy came to look for you’

17. *Paddi no come search you*
guy DEF come.Pst search 2sOJ
‘the guy came to look for you.’

The second observation that needs to be made regards the numeral *ɔha*. That this word is borrowed is interesting because Ghanaian Student Pidgin tends to prefer English numerals to Ghanaian language numerals. However, ‘hundred’ is always referred to with the Akan loan word. Consequently, ‘two hundred’ is *two ɔha*; ‘three hundred’, *three ɔha*, and so on and so forth.

In contrast to numerals, intensifiers in Ghanaian Student Pidgin are almost entirely Akan. A possible reason for the large number of intensifier borrowings could be emotional attachment. What is meant here is that, in GSP, intensifiers are used to express a greater degree of emotion or feeling about the activity or action being described by the verb and some speakers have reported that Ghanaian language intensifiers seem better able to do that. A more scientific reason might lie in the fact that Ghanaian languages can increase (or decrease) the effect (or intensity) of an intensifier by controlling the length of the vowels. For example:

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18. *asem no hye-e me paa*
matter DEF burn.Pst 1SGOBJ a-lot
‘The matter pained me a lot.’

19. *asem no hye-e me paaaaa*
matter DET burn.Pst 1SGOBJ a-whole-lot
‘The matter pained me a WHOLE lot.’

Any speaker of Akan will interpret (19) as having more of an effect (than 18) on the person who made the utterance. In other words, the longer the vowel in the intensifier is held, the greater the degree of intensification. This manipulation of degree can also be done with full or partial reduplication if the intensifier is disyllabic. For example, *papa* ‘well’ will become *papaapa* ‘very well’ or *papapapa* ‘very well’. These rules that apply to Akan also apply in Ghanaian Student Pidgin, so it is possible that this phenomenon makes speakers feel that Akan intensifiers are better able to express degree than their English equivalents.

The Akan adverbs are another class that appear to have totally replaced their English equivalents in Ghanaian Student Pidgin. This is not to say that these are the only adverbs used in the pidgin, but that these adverbs have displaced their English counterparts. Therefore, even though *pɛ* ‘only’, *keke* ‘completely’ and *ampa* ‘truly’ have English

equivalents, these are rarely ever used. As a result, one is more likely to hear (20) among speakers of GSP than (21) and a speaker who produces (21) is likely to be seen as incompetent.

20. *That song de be ampa*
 DEM song COP beautiful truly
 ‘That song is truly beautiful.’

21. *That song de be truly*
 DEM song COP beautiful truly
 ‘That song is truly beautiful.’

The adverb *san* ‘again’ is interesting because it appears to be in complementary distribution with English *again* with respect to syntactic position. In Ghanaian Student Pidgin, *san* only appears **before** the event it is qualifying, while *again* only appears **after**, as sentences (22) and (23) show:

22. *Yestee, the paddi san come*
 Yesterday, DEF guy again come.PST
 ‘Yesterday, the guy came again.’

23. *Yestee, the paddi come again*
 Yesterday DEF guy come.PST again
 ‘Yesterday, the guy came again.’

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The explanation for this lies with Akan which has two words which can be translated into English as ‘again’ – *san* and *bio*. In Akan, *san* appears before the verb, while *bio* appears after the verb. It seems, therefore, that in this case Ghanaian Student Pidgin is sticking to the rules⁵ that apply to the loan word in the donor language. Here also, it is important to mention that sentence (22) would be considered more ‘authentic’ GSP than (23).

With regard to verbs, almost all Akan verbs that are borrowed into GSP exist alongside their English equivalents and are used in the same syntactic position that they occupy in Akan. For example:

24. *Me n-kae asem a ɔ-kaa-a ye* (Akan)
 1SGSUB NEG-remember matter REL 3sPD-say-PST YE
 ‘I don’t remember what he said’

⁵ Another of the rules in Akan that GSP follows is that the two words for ‘again’ can co-occur (for emphasis), but still in their respective positions (i.e. *san* before the verb and *again* after.) For example, in GSP *san come again* or Akan *san bra bio*).

25. *I no de kae the matter e talk* (GSP)
 1SGSUB NEG PRE remember DET matter 3sPD talk
 ‘I don’t remember what he said’

It appears, then, that the main motivation for their presence in GSP is to make it sound as different from English as possible. Also, it is important to mention that even though no nouns have been provided as examples of loan words in this paper, they do exist. The majority of these consist of names of people, places and insults (e.g. *kwasea* ‘fool’, *aboa* ‘animal’, etc.) and the manner of their use suggests that they are more likely to be a result of code-switching than borrowing.

Discussion

Based on the discussion so far, we can see that borrowed expressions from Akan feature strongly in the lexicon of Ghanaian Student Pidgin. It is also worthy of note that though the motivation for borrowing is sometimes to fill a lexical/semantic gap (for example, in the case of intensifiers), the main motivation for the speakers of Ghanaian Student Pidgin appears to be their desire to create a code that is increasingly exclusive. This is in line with the observations that have been made by researchers that Ghanaian Student Pidgin differs from Town Pidgin because it is not a contact language but an in-group language (Huber, 1999; Dako, 2002a & 2002b). The motivations driving the borrowing also strongly support the analysis of GSP within the framework of youth language culture. As noted in the introduction above, Kiessling & Mous (2004) identify “extensive” use of code-switching as one of the characteristics of urban youth languages, which supports a comment made by a speaker in one of the conversations recorded for another⁶ study:

Leo: *Ba you see, de pidgin too sometimes-a you de speak-a, you go fit take like dem Twi and dem nibiis. Like “charley gbele the door...”*

Mike: *Oh yeah (..) like I be Akan so sometimes if I de speak pidgin, I de like de add the Twi for inside. You no, I de like de add the Asante Twi for inside. So say e go be guy!*

Dzi: *Ba if you de do am so, na e no de make e de pap. E de make more niggers see say you be pussy boy, sake-of you no de fit speak de pidgin better. You see say dem Twi people den de mix am make e no de be...*

Leo: *nah...*

⁶ The excerpt is from focus group recordings used in Osei-Tutu (2016). The recordings would not have been possible without financial support from ORID-UG.

Mike: *no, say—*

Leo: *Ba some nibiis be-a, sometimes you for take de Ga...*

[Leo: But you see, the pidgin too sometimes, when you're speaking it, you can take those Twi [expressions] and those things. Like "friend, open the door..."]

Mike: Oh yeah (..) like I am Akan so sometimes when I'm speaking pidgin, I like to add the Twi. You know, I like to add the Asante Twi. So that it will be cool!

Dzi: [But if you do that, it doesn't make it [the pidgin] beautiful. It makes more guys see that you are a sissy, because you can't speak pidgin well. You see that those Twi people they it [pidgin] so that it isn't nice...

Leo: No...

Mike: No, let's say—

Leo: But there are some things that, sometimes you should take the Ga...] my translation

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The extract above highlights two things. Firstly, it reveals the motivations of the speakers of GSP for the borrowing that has been described above; in that, it is their opinion that it makes the pidgin 'cooler' (or as the speaker puts it, 'guy'). Cooler here is synonymous with 'unique' or 'different from anything else being spoken out there.' In other words, it helps speakers create a unique identity for themselves and distances them from others (non-speakers). Secondly, the reaction of the interlocutor, Dzi, signals that in desiring to include Akan or other Ghanaian language lexical items in GSP a speaker needs to tread cautiously so as not to appear incompetent. In other words, there is a tipping point or, if you prefer, a line, which if crossed will tell other interlocutors that the speaker is a *pussy boy*. The extreme skill this balancing act requires and the negative judgement that comes with failure to master are indicators of how close-knit the GSP community is.

Conclusion

This paper describes and classifies Akan borrowings in GSP and discusses the apparent motivation behind the process. It argues that, though in some cases borrowing is a strategy to fill a semantic gap, in the majority of cases, it is used because it makes GSP different from any other language spoken in Ghana and allows the speakers to create a

unique identity for themselves as innovative and ‘cool’ youngsters. To conclude, an aspect of this paper that would be interesting to pursue is why GSP takes such pains to mask some borrowings (for example, see the discussion above pertaining to *kick*), while others retain their ‘source formatting’ from the donor language. After all, if the aim of the speakers is to create a unique code, one might expect that such masking would be applied across the board.

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List of Abbreviations

1		1 st Person
2		2 nd Person
3		3 rd Person
COMP		Complementizer
COP		Copular
DEM		Demonstrative
DET		Definite Determiner
FUT		Future Tense
IDF		Indefinite Quantifier
NEG		Negative Marker
NPU		Non-Punctual
OBJ		Object
PD		Possessive Determiner
PL		Plural
PROG		Progressive Aspect
PST		Past Tense
SG		Singular
SUB		Subject

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LANGUAGE CONTACT IN BIMODAL BILINGUALS: WHAT ABOUT THE CARIBBEAN?

MELISSA ANGUS BABOUN

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

The d/Deaf¹ population is in a unique linguistic situation when compared to the hearing population. As Andrews & Rusher (2010) point out, a d/Deaf person's bilingualism stems from a necessity, not an option (p. 408). The d/Deaf are in the position of learning the language of the hearing and of the Deaf in their particular society. Consequently, many d/Deaf people around the world are bimodal bilinguals, at least to a minimal degree. Bimodal bilingualism is a type of bilingualism in which at least one language is a natural sign language (British Sign Language, American Sign Language, etc.) and at least one language is a natural oral language (Spanish, English, etc.). As one language is oral while the other is signed, there "are two output channels: the vocal tract and the hands" (Emmorey, Borinstein, & Thompson, 2005: 663).

It is important to understand how those who are d/Deaf navigate these two modalities, as it differs from the way unimodal bilinguals do. Not only can they navigate between languages of the same modalities (as they may know more than one signed or oral language), but they also cross the boundaries of modality. Furthermore, "[l]anguage contact has played a very important role in the creation and evolution of signed languages, and it surfaces in the daily interactions between their users" (Quinto-Pozos & Adam, 2013: 379). In order to understand this, one must understand the significance and role of bimodal bilingualism in the d/Deaf community and why they have a need to navigate between the two modalities. For this reason, this paper is divided into the following topics: bimodal bilingualism and the d/Deaf community, the everyday interaction of languages in bimodal bilinguals, cross-modality language contact, and bimodal language contact in the classroom.

Bimodal bilingualism and the d/Deaf community

As I have previously mentioned, d/Deaf individuals are in a unique linguistic situation. Due to their particular circumstances, many grow up bimodal bilinguals as they have a

¹ The use of the uppercase *D* in this work is used to separate the reference to the pathological lack of hearing (written with a lowercase *d*) and the reference to a community that shares a common language and culture. Since not every deaf person belongs to this community, I will use the combined form d/Deaf in order to refer to those who are culturally Deaf and those who are not.

need to communicate with other d/Deaf individuals and hearing individuals. This is similar to the circumstances an immigrant may face when residing in a country whose language differs from that of his homeland. The difference lies in the fact that the d/Deaf community and their language are not usually foreign to the country where they reside, but simply a minority language. Children of d/Deaf adults (known as CODAs) are also in a position to become bimodal bilinguals. CODAs acquire their parent's signed language natively and the oral language of the mainstream population during the course of their lives. Despite the research that has been done about CODAs and their bimodal bilingualism, the research I will present will focus on the bilingualism in d/Deaf individuals.

Through bimodal bilingualism, the d/Deaf population can “belong, to varying degrees, to their two worlds, in this case, the hearing world and the d/Deaf world” (Grosjean, 2001: 112). In other words, they are both bilinguals and bicultural to varying degrees. The degree to which they belong to both worlds depends on which of these worlds they choose to belong to, their proficiency in both languages (the oral and signed), and to what extent they spend their time with both worlds. It is important to note that the majority of deaf babies are born to hearing parents, most of whom do not know any other d/Deaf person. Because of this, not all deaf babies are given the exposure to Deaf culture, which often results in not being able to belong to the Deaf world. This is also partly why there is a population of d/Deaf children who do not grow up bilingual.

The “belief that language is equivalent to speech” (Humphries et al., 2014: 33), along with technological devices such as cochlear implants, has also led many parents to raise their deaf children with only the local oral language. Another factor that has contributed to d/Deaf children being raised oral is the belief that sign language may hinder the development of the child and will not aid him/her to live in a hearing society. This false belief disregards the flexibility of the brain in regards to language modality. Both signed and spoken languages aid cognitive development (Humphries et al., 2014: 33). Additionally, “The brain has the capacity to acquire both a visual and a spoken language without detriment to the development of either [...] and there is no documented evidence demonstrating that ASL² inhibits the development of spoken English” (Nussbaum, Scott, & Simms, 2012: 15). Yet, many parents still choose to raise their d/D/Deaf children monolingual (oral).

I would also like to point out that it is not necessary for every d/Deaf person to acquire the speech aspect of the oral language, as contradictory as this may sound. Depending on the degree of hearing loss, the technology available, and social/psycholinguistic factors, the person may choose to opt out of acquiring the speech aspect of the oral language and choose to solely acquire the written modality. The written modality “will be an important medium for the acquisition of knowledge” (Grosjean, 2001: 113), such as the usage of books and information found on the internet. This is especially true when

² American Sign Language

accompanied by lip-reading and, particularly, during the process of formal education. Through written language and lip-reading, without acquiring speech, a d/Deaf person is able to communicate with those outside the d/Deaf community.

The everyday interaction of languages in bimodal bilinguals

Deaf individuals navigate through a series of languages throughout their everyday lives. There are various mechanisms which they use. Like unimodal bilinguals, code-switching is one of the ways in which these individuals move among their languages. In a unimodal setting, the speaker/signer would simply switch from one language to another. This could be at the word or at the phrase level. This can be achieved through insertion (“the insertion of well-defined chunks of language B into a sentence that otherwise belongs to language A”) alternation (“the succession of fragments in language A and B” in a phrase which cannot be identified as primarily of either language), or congruent lexicalization (“inserting words of either language into the shared structure”) (Muysken, 2013: 712-713). While these patterns have been observed in bimodal bilinguals, there are other forms of alternation between the two modes that occur more often.

An outcome of language contact that can be observed in the unimodal bilingual setting is lexical borrowing. Borrowing refers to a word or similar element from another language that has been incorporated into the native language. “Lexical borrowings are usually adapted to the phonology and morphology of the RL [recipient language], and eventually become indistinguishable from native items” (Winford, 2010: 173). Taking this definition into consideration, cross-modality borrowing is evident. Signed languages such as ASL are unique in the sense that they borrow both from other signed languages (signs such as the one for girl derive from French Sign Language, for example) and other oral languages. An example provided by Valli, Lucas, Mulrooney, and Villanueva (2011) of English words borrowed into ASL are some compounds such as boyfriend, girlfriend, homework, homesick, and blackboard (pp. 19?-192). In this case, the individual signs of the words within the compound are signed sequentially, which constitute the compound sign.

Despite sharing some surface characteristics, it is important to note that fingerspelling is not considered a form of borrowing. Fingerspelling is the use of ASL signs to represent the letters of an oral language (such as English or Spanish). It is used to spell out names and words in other languages, in addition to signs that are expressed through fingerspelling, but are considered part of the language. However, fingerspelling “is a relationship between the *phonology* of a sign language and the *orthography* of a spoken language” as opposed to the relationship between the phonologies of different languages (borrowing) (Valli, Lucas, Mulrooney, & Villanueva, 2011: 188). While fingerspelling is an interesting phenomenon that occurs in bimodal bilingualism, it is thus not normally classified as linguistic borrowing.

Another interesting phenomenon that has been observed is called mouthing. In this case, the signer articulates a spoken word in a voiceless manner while producing the sign. The mouthing, however, is not necessarily of the whole word but often rather of parts of the targetted word. “Mouthings tend to occur most often when signers are manually articulating nouns, open-class items, and morphologically simpler signs” (Quinto-Pozos & Adam, 2013: 382). As this correlates to the phonology of the oral language, it can and has been viewed as borrowing. However, it can also be viewed as code-mixing as a result of language contact and “not integrated into the linguistic structure of the signed language” (Quinto-Pozos & Adam, 2013: 382). For the purpose of this paper, it is not important to label this phenomenon as either borrowing or code-mixing but rather to point out that this is in fact a phenomenon that occurs due to bimodal language contact.

Cross-modality language contact in the United States

As discussed in the previous section, bimodal bilinguals deploy their languages in a variety of ways that can differ greatly from unimodal bilinguals. For example, bimodal bilinguals are able to code-mix just as do unimodal bilinguals, but code-mixing makes available to bimodal bilinguals the possibility of using two languages simultaneously, which is never the case for unimodal bilinguals. The reasons why d/Deaf bimodal bilinguals have a need to navigate across a variety of languages and modalities can also, at times, differ from those of unimodal bilinguals. They interact with individuals who communicate only in a signed language, individuals who only communicate in an oral language, and those individuals who communicate to various degrees in both a signed and an oral language. The context, such as how many individuals are present and their linguistic preferences/competence, also affect language use in these bimodal bilinguals. Due to this variety of cross-modality language contact, different contact languages have emerged.

Pidgin Signed English or Contact Signing

The term Pidgin Signed English was coined in the early 1970s (Sofinski, 2002: 31) to refer to a naturally occurring language that results from the contact between ASL and English. This phenomenon is also referred to as Contact Signing and in it one can find linguistic features of both languages. “Its linguistic features include English word order, the use of prepositions, constructions with *that*, English expressions, and mouthing of English words, as well as ASL nonmanual signals, body and eye gaze shifting, and ASL use of space” (Valli, Lucas, Mulrooney, & Villanueva, 2011: 193). Other ASL features include nonmanual negation, ASL word order, rhetorical question, and role shifting (Sofinski, 2002: 31). It is important to note that Contact Signing differs from artificially invented manual codes of English because it does not represent the linguistic structure

of English. Furthermore, “it is not linguistically prescriptive” and, depending on the context, varies in the use of features of both languages (Sofinski, 2002: 31).

It is also important to note that some linguists choose to not use the term Pidgin Signed English. There are two arguments for this, based on the structure and the use of the language. As Fischer points out, it is not a Pidgin as “its vocabulary comes from the substrate (ASL), whereas its grammar comes from the superstrate (English)” (as cited in Quinto-Pozos & Adam, 2013: 381). This is the opposite of what occurs with Pidgins in which the vocabulary usually comes from the superstrate language and the grammar comes from the substrate language. It is also not used in the social situations in which Pidgins traditionally are used. For example, a Pidgin is traditionally used for a particular purpose (such as trade) between two people who do not speak the same language (the situation in which the Pidgin arises). However, contact signing has been seen used in conversations involving both d/Deaf and hearing individuals as well as among d/Deaf individuals themselves.

Code-mixing

As mentioned above, the cross-modality contact of bimodal bilinguals allows for a new phenomenon to arise: bimodal code-mixing, or code-blending. Unlike in unimodal bilingualism, the phonologies of the two languages that bimodal bilinguals may use differ in apparatus of articulation (the vocal tract as opposed to the hands and body), which allows for simultaneous articulation (Emmorey, Borinstein, Thompson, & Golan, 2008: 3). This has given bimodal bilinguals the opportunity to navigate among their languages through bimodal code-mixing (or code-blending), through cross-modality borrowing, and through the use of contact languages such as that mentioned in the preceding section.

Such bimodal code-mixing occurs when the elements of both languages come into contact and are produced simultaneously, throughout the entire utterance or only during the shift between one language and the other (Sofinski, 2002: 34). For example, a unimodal bilingual whose languages are English and Spanish could not simultaneously produce the equivalent word for the same object in both languages (casa/house). However, a bimodal bilingual individual is able to sign the word for house while uttering the English or Spanish word out loud. The following is an example of code-mixing provided by Quinto-Pozos & Adam (2013):

English: An old woman seem her bird she protect

ASL: A-N OLD WOMAN SEEM POSS BIRD.PRO PROTECT

Translation: ‘There’s this old woman, and it seems it’s her bird. She protects it.’
(383)

This phenomenon often occurs when bimodal bilinguals are speaking to a mixed audience whose linguistic proficiency may vary from monolingualism in either an oral or a signed language to bilinguals with different degrees of proficiency in each modality. It

is also a phenomenon that occurs with hearing bimodal bilinguals such as children of Deaf adults (CODAs) who acquire sign language natively from their signing, Deaf family members. In a study which included thirteen hearing CODAs by Casey and Emmory (2009), they found the following:

[...]many bimodal bilinguals (nearly 70% in our sample) produced ASL signs simultaneously with spoken English, even when speaking with someone who they knew had no knowledge of ASL. Furthermore, many of the ASL signs that were produced were not particularly iconic and would not be recognised as meaningful by a non-signer. (p. 302)

CODA talk

This is a distinct form of Contact Signing found to be only used by children of Deaf adults (CODAs). Like the previously discussed form of Contact Signing, it includes features of both English and ASL. But it is not limited to the CODAs' signing. Evidence has been found that the written English of CODAs is influenced by ASL. For example, the "dropping of determiners and the verb *to be*" has been found in their writing; they also use "descriptions of signs rather than the equivalent English words" such as the phrase "'fork-in-throat' instead of *stuck*" (Valli, Lucas, Mulrooney, & Villanueva, 2011: 193).

Bimodal language contact in the Caribbean

The previous section described some results of cross-modality language contact, particularly those that have been attested in the United States. These are not phenomena that are isolated to the United States, as they have been observed to occur in other countries. There are d/Deaf communities in the Caribbean that are immersed in a variety of spoken and signed languages, including contact languages. Examples of some of these Caribbean islands will now be presented, but the discussion will not include a detailed analysis of the contact languages or how individuals navigate among their many languages. This section is meant to function, instead, as a description of the linguistic profile of specific Caribbean d/Deaf communities.

Trinidad and Tobago

In the case of Trinidad and Tobago (T&T), there are a great number of oral languages spoken. English is the official oral language, but there are many creole languages spoken by the population (including both English lexifier and French lexifier varieties). In regard to the sign languages that are used, E. Parks and J. Parks (2010) mention two main sign languages: ASL and the so called indigenous *Trinidad and Tobago Sign Language* (TTSL), with TTSL gaining in popularity. TTSL also appears to have some degree of regional variation (Parks & Parks, 2010: 10). Furthermore, it appears that individuals in Tobago use ASL more often than individuals in Trinidad (Parks & Parks,

2010: 9). “Deaf people who learn to sign at school learn a sign language based on Signing Exact English (SEE) and American Sign Language (ASL), resulting in what looks like Signed English with heavy initialization of signs” (Parks & Parks, 2010: 9).

Saint Vincent

As far as the spoken languages of Saint Vincent are concerned, English is the official language and there is also an English lexifier Creole (Vincentian Creole English). However, it was reported in E. Parks and J. Parks’ (2010) study, that the d/Deaf community “have a lot of difficulty using and understanding English”, even the simplified English of a Bible that is distributed to the community by Deaf Missions (Parks & Parks, 2010: 15). The sign language of the island is ASL, but there is not a particularly large d/Deaf population that uses ASL. “Because of the relatively small size of the island, the use of ASL, and the lack of an indigenous sign language prior to ASL, it is probable that deaf people in St. Vincent will continue to use ASL in all domains of life” (Parks & Parks, 2010: 15).

It appears that there are very few local signs and no sign language other than ASL, or *Sign America* as informants called it, which is the language taught in school (Parks & Parks, 2010: 14). What is perhaps most interesting is that the d/Deaf population that uses ASL is mainly in the 20-35 age group; according to an informant, the older generation does not use ASL because “sign language was not introduced until more recently” (Parks & Parks, 2010: 14). Individuals older than 35, apparently, typically use home signs and live in more isolated situations, apart from the rest of the community (Parks & Parks, 2010: 14).

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Grenada

Alongside English, the national language, English lexifier Creole and French lexifier Creole are also spoken at least some degree on Granada. Similar to Saint Vincent, the older d/Deaf population (over the age of 40, in the case of Grenada) is reported to use home signs and gestures while the younger population communicates in ASL with few local signs (Parks & Parks, 2010: 19). E. Parks and J. Parks (2010) found the following in relation to contact signing:

All deaf people with whom we interacted indicated that they really struggle with English. There was some presence of SEE signs (e.g. initialization “finish” with the “F” handshape) which showed some language contact either between their sign language and English or between their sign and SEE. It is probable that there has been some use of SEE in the education system because of the presence of a SEE textbook at the St. George’s deaf school. (p. 19)

Puerto Rico

In the case of Puerto Rico (PR), English is an official oral language and therefore is in contact with the signed languages of the island. Unlike in the United States, however, Spanish is also an official language and the language of instruction in the public school system (although students are given an English course every year in both primary and secondary schools). The sign language in the island is ASL and a variation of ASL, which I presume is what some authors have called *Puerto Rican Sign Language* (Williams & Parks, 2012).

Contact signing in PR includes *Signed English* and *Signed Spanish*. These are similar to the English-ASL contact languages that have emerged in the United States and are different than *Signed Exact Spanish* (SES) and *Signed Exact English* (SEE). This is because SES and SEE are artificial manual codes of Spanish and English that are used primarily for educational purposes. Matos (1990) describes Pidgin Sign English as “the system that prevails in Puerto Rico since, having ASL characteristics, translates to Spanish signs utilized in the United States, which in many instances keep the first letter of the sign in English” (p. XXX). As an example, she states that some of these “initialized signs are those for the colors and the signs for the days of the week which still keep the initial in English in spite of the fact that the speech reading may be in that language or Spanish” (Matos, 1990: XXX). However, this claim can be disputed to a certain extent because not all the signs for colors or days of the week are initialized in English, as some are initialized in Spanish (such as the sign for Monday).

There is little fieldwork done on this contact situation of the island, but one can extract examples from memoirs and autobiographies (which are often written by CODAs as opposed to d/Deaf individuals). The memoir *Signing in Puerto Rican, a hearing son and his deaf family* by Andrés Torres provides us with an example of the language contact faced by Puerto Rican CODAs born and raised in the United States. Torres (2009) explains his language repertoire:

In my early years I spoke a jumble of Spanish and English. Spanish was my parents’ native language, which they used in a combination of spoken words, signs they learned growing up in Puerto Rico, and “home signs” they invented themselves as children. By the time they were each living in the United States, even before they met, they were gradually switching to a signed form of English. I learned this from them too. As I entered young childhood, five or six years old, and became more exposed to English-speaking people in the hearing world, English became my second language, after signed English. Spanish, the dominant voice among my hearing elder relatives, remained a tertiary language- a background noise throughout my coming of age- and re-emerged in later life. (p. 9)

This description provides an example of how many languages were in Torres’ repertoire, but other descriptions throughout the book provide better examples of how these

languages interacted with one another. His parents used a variety of sign languages to communicate with one another, with the rest of the family, and with the close knit Puerto Rican Deaf community of their area, such as “Spanish home sign, English home sign, signed English, and eventually American Sign Language” (Torres, 2009: 200-201). The exposure to these languages and the native acquisition of sign language is the probable cause for his belief that “[s]ign language and Deaf behavior were building blocks of my personality and psyche” (Torres, 2009: 225).

However, his sign language repertoire consisted “of only a few hundred symbols, was quickly outpaced by daily accretions of English words from the media and school” (Torres, 2009: 100). Because of this, he had to be creative as he translated things for his parents, providing descriptions of the terms he did not know a sign for (and terms his parents would not understand if fingerspelled) (Torres, 2009: 100). In contrast to his mastery of English, the language used to interact with the world outside of the family, his command of Spanish did not progress. His aunt would remind him “of the importance of speaking the family language, of not forgetting the Spanish,” but he never used Spanish outside of his interactions with select family members (Torres, 2009: 54).

Final Remarks

Once again, bimodal bilingualism is a type of bilingualism which involves languages with two different modalities: oral and signed. Cross-modality language contact is inevitable in this situation. As with unimodal language contact, the contact between the two modalities results in a variety of interesting phenomena, including code-switching, borrowing, and contact languages. A phenomenon that arises from bimodal language contact that does not occur with unimodal language contact is bimodal code-mixing or code-blending. However, there seems to be disagreement among scholars as to terminology (what constitutes as code-mixing as opposed to borrowing, for example). Although it is seemingly impossible to establish clear-cut divisions among these terms, I urge further clarification of what we can define as one phenomenon or another.

Members of d/Deaf communities tend to become bimodal bilinguals due to a need to communicate with other d/Deaf individuals and hearing individuals. Not only do they interact with languages of two modalities, but they also alternate between languages of these same modalities. Furthermore, they interact with a diverse audience which includes d/Deaf individuals and hearing individuals (including the d/Deaf or hearing children of d/Deaf adults) with a variety of proficiency levels in the languages.

In the case of the Caribbean islands such as Puerto Rico, Trinidad, and Tobago, there is an especially high degree of diversity in the linguistic profile of the d/Deaf community. However, there is little research on the results of this diverse language contact situation. This is evident from the few published sources on local signs for the general public or from the few academic sources that can be found. In fact, the only book which includes local signs from Puerto Rico is Matos (1990), but it is already over twenty years old

and, therefore, many of the signs are already outdated. I propose further research to be carried out in order to further our understanding of these communities in the Caribbean, as well as our understanding of bimodal language contact in general.

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**MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, LITERATURE, ECOLOGY AND
TRAUMA IN THE GREATER CARIBBEAN AND
AFRO-ATLANTIC**

SHAKE KEANE'S VOLCANIC ECOPOETICS

MARK ANDREWS

VASSAR COLLEGE, POUGHKEEPSIE

The ecopoetic practice of Shake Keane, celebrated jazz musician and sometime poet from the island of St. Vincent, engages poetic consciousness with volcanic landscape in his slim volume of poetry *The volcano suite: souvenir series of 5 poems*. His volcano poems are simultaneously an encounter with catastrophic eruption and a modeling of chaotic ecological process that embeds the lyrical moment within the volcano's magmatic core. The work takes as its epicenter the year 1979, when Keane's poetic imagination was sparked by the raging activity of volcanic eruption on his native island of St. Vincent. He had returned to the island in 1972, after spending two decades in England, building a successful international career playing free-form jazz with his trademark flugelhorn. He had originally left for London to pursue his literary studies, but this intention did not survive the passage to Europe. His anthology of previous unpublished works, *The angel horn*, which appeared posthumously in 2003, is named after the last poem in the volume, which reveals the gift of music passed down to him from his trumpet-playing father. The poem plays on the elided German word for wings, "Flügel", describing the angelhorn's "wings of melody" (Keane, 2003: 181) that would ultimately bear the poet away from the land of his birth and the poetry of his predilection to pursue his dreams of musicianship: "She named the song,/I played the melody./And in the morning hour/I awoke to dream of her,/And all day long, day long/I lived her song" (Keane, 2005: 181). A solitary love poem, expressing rage and shame, "Narcissus descending", dated 1963, survives in this work from the intervening years that divided the transitions of departure and return, but a single image suffices to echo the poet's nostalgia for his volcanic island and missing poetic voice, and to express the fear that St. Vincent has abandoned him: "Hounding desire through the tail (sic) cool smoke/forested in froth and fire (Keane, 2005: 46).

In the usage established by the American poet and ecocritic Jonathan Skinner, and like the eponymous journal *Ecopoetics* of which he was the editor from 2001 to 2005, ecopoetics signals a new turn toward nature as a home for poetry, as opposed to a return to the cherished traditions of American nature-writing. He describes it as a hands-on process of investigation "dedicated to exploring creative-critical edges between writing (with an emphasis on poetry) and ecology (the theory and practice of deliberate earthlings)" (Skinner, 2001a: 2). This summary formulation, which serves as the frontispiece

for each issue of the journal, serves as a challenge thrown down to conventional poetics, and to the detached standpoint in which it cloaks itself. To transpose a line from Keane's 1963 poem, "Wearing my own narrative" (Keane, 2005: 46), poetics stands accused of wearing its own narrative. By remaining aloof and unsullied by the immediacy of the natural world and its inhabitants, it opens itself to the charge of narcissistic self-absorption, whereas ecopoetics represents itself as a meeting place defined by nature's borderlines, a space for the discursive activity of the journal itself: "*ecopoetics* would ideally function as an edge (as in edge of the meadow, or shore, rather than leading edge) where different disciplines can meet and complicate one another" (Skinner, 2001b: 6).

Skinner notes that his concept of ecopoetics as a "house making" (Skinner, 2001b: 7), where earth's inhabitants actively sustain its environment, has been applied in various ways to literary endeavors, including two that are of immediate interest for a consideration of Keane's poetic production. On the one hand, his work examines the political ecology of the volcano: "It is poetry that confronts disasters and environmental injustices" (Skinner, 2011: 1). On the other, his visionary meditations track geocognitive pathways offering insight into the workings of chaos theory; his ecopoetic imagery "is not a matter of theme, but of how certain poetic methods model ecological processes like complexity, non-linearity, feed-back loops, and recycling" (Skinner, 2011: 1). Arielle Greenberg in her 2014 article entitled 'That greeny power: recent works of ecopoetics', adds a third, holistic lens through which Keane's volcano poetry may be viewed as the integration of modern day technology, consumer culture, and the legacy of empire into the depiction of a post-apocalyptic landscape of sulfurous, ashy residue: "The ecopoetic work acknowledges the vehicles, cell phone towers and other mechanized grotesqueries in the Great Outdoors, and refuses to prettify any of the landscape: it sees all of this of a piece" (Greenberg: 27).

April 13, 1979 marked the beginning of a violent explosion on the island of St. Vincent, and sulfur was suddenly very much on the mind of flugelhorn player Ellsworth McGranahan Keane, better known as Shake, for his childhood enthusiasm for Shakespeare, or, less reverently, for a favorite song, *Chocolate milk shake*, as Philip Nanton chronicles in his magazine piece "Real Keane". The uncertainty surrounding the origin of this seismic sobriquet has only served to fuel the urban legend, the rags to riches tale of a multifaceted musical and literary talent. Yes, Shake Keane had sulfur on his mind, as well as on his cigarettes, as he sat down in St. Vincent a week into the 1979 eruption, and composed the five poems, entitled "Soufrière" (1979), numbered 1 through 5 and dated April 22 to May 13, that make up his volume *The volcano suite: souvenir series of 5 poems*. The volcano in question was named the *Soufrière* by the French, designating generically, like other volcanos and fumaroles in the Caribbean basin, the presence of a natural resource, the sulfur pit. The volcano has a long history of violent eruptions, recorded by Europeans in modern times from as early as 1718, including the memorably lethal eruption of 1902, itself dwarfed a few days later by the devastating death count

produced by the eruption of nearby Mount Pelée in Martinique. The timing of the poet's creative activity is noteworthy in that it overlaps with, but essentially post-dates the period of the 1979 eruption, which occurred between April 12 and April 29, peaking in spectacular fashion on Tuesday, April 17, sending "a plume of steam and tephra to a height of 20 km" (Pararas-Carayannis, 2004: 100), an event deemed sufficiently newsworthy, despite there being no loss of life, to produce a photo of the tephra captioned "Volcano in a destructive mood" in the April 20th edition of *The Vincentian*. Written as an occasional piece to mark the moment of the eruption, Keane's companion volume complements the news coverage, providing a reflective echo of current events. Self-published through Reliance Press in Kingstown thanks to the sponsorship of the local Fishnet Restaurant, it has now all but vanished from circulation, overshadowed by his prizewinning collection *One a week with water: rhymes and notes*. This earlier volume, more combative in tone, was completed by March 11, 1976, judging from the dedication, and appeared in print in Havana in June 1979 with the Ediciones Casa de las Américas, when it was awarded the coveted Cuban literary prize, Premio Casa de las Américas, in the category Caribbean poetry written in English and Creole, alongside Andrew Salkey's *In the hills where her dreams live; poems for Chile, 1973-1978*, and preceded by Edward Kamau Brathwaite: *Black + Blues* in 1976.

In the now almost forgotten volume *The volcano suite*, the tone at the outset remains singularly unaffected by the threatening fury of the volcano. It is predominantly one of ironic detachment, reserving its barbs for colonial rule. At the conclusion of the first poem he will ironically juxtapose Empire and ash, underscoring the relation between natural disaster and the British Empire within the intimate frame of personal recollection:

An old friend
Phoned from Ireland
To ask about the future
My Empire cigarettes
Have lately been tasting of sulfur
I told her that. (Keane, 1979a: 5)

It is worth noting in this context that it was not until later in the year 1979 that the island gained full independence, on October 27th, and technically colonial rule was still in effect at the time of Keane's writing, although for the last ten years, the island had enjoyed full control of its internal affairs, having been granted associate statehood in 1969. Keane, simulating the stance of a slightly bemused observer, constructs his poem with dry humor around what he sees as a perverse desire to build on "rancid hope" (Keane, 1979a: 4), to erect futures that hark back to past exploitation, symbolized by the rain of ash from the eruption:

The island put a white mask
over its face
coughed cool as history
And fell in love with itself (Keane, 1979a: 4)

The hygienic homage to Frantz Fanon's seminal 1952 work, *Peau noire, masques blancs*, points to the dehumanizing effect of a display of overwhelming force; the nation is abased to a caricature of itself, isolated behind dust filters and operated by remote control:

Someone who lives
Inside a microphone
Kept things in order (Keane, 1979a: 3)

The poet's anger is held in check, even when he complains about the theft of his biscuits, his sudden annoyance trailing off as his thoughts return to the sensuous memory of the missing delicacies:

who damn-well
stole
my
butter vanilla
sweetbiscuits (Keane, 1979a: 13)

Only when the poet addresses the volcano directly, addressing her worshipfully as "Magma Madonna", and more disrespectfully as "Maman Dérangée" (Keane, 1979a: 7), does he evoke the harm done by words from the past, resting "like sulphur on a ripe sore" (Keane, 1979a: 8).

The lesson to emerge from *The volcano suite* is a plea for people to learn from the eruption, however slowly, that loving one another is of paramount importance:

and she told the child
that 1979 was the year the people
started to begin to learn
to understand that they must begin to learn
to love one another. (Keane, 1979a: 20)

One a week with water more compellingly arrests the reader's attention, turning away from such idealistic language and eschewing the comestible for a more robust and sulphurous expression of anger and indignation, as the poet becomes a mouthpiece for the simmering collective memory of imperial cruelty:

For 400 years
 out of Ngola
 40 people
 turned up on the plantations of Brazil
 every week very weak
 or in the plantations of the sea
 dead (Keane, 1979b: 15)

In response to this historical admonition, the poet reacts with undiluted but deliberate rage:

Every Sunday
 as I Sugar my tea
 I want to Shoot
 Somebody (Keane, 1979b: 15)

Each “S” is capitalized, underscoring the deadly alliterative impulse triggered by memory and ritual. The intensity of the poet’s ballistic desire for revenge is matched by his awareness that he needs to limit his dose of anger to one a week, taken not with water on this occasion, but with the civilized beverage of Sunday tea with sugar.

Such incandescence may at first blush appear surprising. Why should the turbulent voice of *One a week with water*, composed in the pre-eruptive calm of 1976, be so out of sync with geological events, whereas the volume contemporaneous with the eruption, *The volcano suite*, maintains a more deliberative tone? According to Shalini Puri in her recent book *The Grenada revolution in the Caribbean present: Operation Urgent Memory*, published in 2014, eruptions of fury are the manifestations of a smoldering “volcanic memory”, the antithesis of healing, or “commemorative” memory: “In contrast, there is another kind of memory, involuntary and restive. I call it volcanic memory. Unauthorized, unexorcized, unsanitized, it erupts periodically, leaving traces but no monuments. Unlike commemorative memory, it is latent and potentially explosive” (Puri, 2014: 151). Puri takes Grenada’s situation to be typical of that of small countries, and much like that of its neighbor St. Vincent, therefore, Grenada’s island identity is formed by the two kinds of memory working at cross purposes, joining its history both intimately and publicly to its present and future, and embodying in its literature the iniquities as well as the achievements of the past.

The image of the caldera presides epigraphically over Puri’s chapter entitled “Volcano” in the form of a quotation from the Grenadian storywriter and poet Merle Collins “Tout moun ka pléwé” (Everybody bawling), an autofictional remembrance of hurricanes Janet and Ivan: “What about the hurricane they call volcano, brewing up under the sea?” (Puri, 2014: 16), asks the narrator rhetorically, referring to Kick-Em-Ginny, and continues: “How to watch that one and know what it planning? What about other hurricanes

around us, working and not always showing their intention?” (Collins, 2007: 16). For Collins, hurricanes are synonymous with volcanos in that they share a propensity for swift and unexpected ferocity. Natural disasters are woven so completely into the fabric of everyday life that they blend with the island’s political ecology and history, imprinted on the landscape: “I could not escape the feeling that somehow the entire history and political story of the island – perhaps of the islands – was represented in the sudden violence of Ivan, in the deceptive calm that had come again to settle over the land” (Collins, 2006: 1).

The marked difference in tone between the twin volumes produced by Keane in 1979 takes the form of a similar antinomy. The witnessing of the volcano’s wrath quells the impulse to violent utterance in *The volcano suite*, and results in a poetry that is essentially commemorative in nature. The calm that marks the period during which *One a week with water* was composed evokes, on the other hand, the disturbing prospect of unseen trouble brewing and arouses a more volcanic poetic impulse, sporadically urging the poet to preemptive improvisation. Caribbean existence, circumscribed by ever-present threat from the four apocalyptic horsemen of the elements; adds the syncopation of earthquakes, hurricanes, tsunamis, and volcanic eruptions to the rhythms of everyday life, reinforcing the irregularities of natural contours and borders. Ecopoetics, cast by Skinner as an “*impure poetics*” (Skinner, 2001b: 7) is, he argues, better equipped to engage with instability and shifting borders, natural or political. In a moment of self-reflexive lucidity, Keane’s poetry lends its voice to the argument, riffing on the curative properties of jazz *qua* experimental surgery, depicted here as a sensible if not entirely sanitary expedient that heals all the better with a little dirt on the scalpel:

JAZZ, the Sane Man said,
is a bit like surgery. You need it.
You buy it privately, or you socialize it if you dare.
Also, it purifies by probing – even in public.
Cuts out the stuff and nonsense. But
it tends to heal if the instruments
are not too sterilised. (Keane, 1979b: 19)

The public airing of inconvenient political realities, present and past, is a volatile undertaking, redolent of the brimstone of volcanic memory. The surgical intervention that jazz can offer goes hand in hand with a potential for spontaneous eruptions, as festering resentments are lanced by the probing of a jazz poetry that excises without seeking to sanitize or sugarcoat protest. Surgery and improvisation fuse here into a magmatic poetics that mimics the cauterizing effects of both hurricanes and volcanos.

Shake Keane is supremely conscious of himself as a jazz man, as he reveals on BBC2 in 1992 in the course of a conversation with Linton Kwesi Johnson and Mike Garrick, and his opinions mirror his poetic approach:

There are certain kinds of structure, certain habits, that all jazz men seem to have, and if you find a poem that uses what would parallel those habits you might say, for example, that is a jazz poem. For example, the riff, the repeated phrase, that happens in jazz a lot. Then you have the sudden juxtaposition of certain elements. Then there is the feeling that the poem is improvised.... (Nanton, 2004)

Philip Nanton underscores the point made in Keane's subsequent comments during this program that the appearance of improvisation belies the careful artistry that produced *One a week with water*. In an earlier 2003 article, "Shake Keane's 'nonsense': an alternative approach to Caribbean folk culture", Nanton links the jazz elements in Keane's poetry to his creative enactment of the cultural traditions of rural life on St. Vincent in the volume. Deploying a theoretical model that applies the Bakhtinian concept of the carnivalesque to an elucidation of the playfulness expressed in Keane's jazz and poetry, alongside the occasional angry outbursts that punctuate his utterance, Nanton suggests that this discursive behavior is exemplary of the St. Vincentian tradition of nine-night and nonsense storytelling, in which both playfulness and rudeness have their roles to perform.

Nanton's larger concern here is to resist any reductive attempt to grant Keane's work official recognition or status as serious poetry, or to elevate it, with its deliberately discordant and iconoclastic craftsmanship, and by extension, the folk culture it embodies, as a model of literary achievement, conforming to the expected norms and conventions of high culture: "But I am particularly concerned in this paper to challenge the process of giving legitimacy by incorporation, and thus respectability, to the folk culture of the region" (Nanton, 2003: 74). In this ambition, Nanton echoes the ecopoetic goals of Skinner, and the reproach of sublimity the latter levels at poetics. As Skinner remarks in his article "Why ecopoetics?", speaking of the stranglehold American nature writing has come to exert on creativity, "One might increasingly compare this literature to a formal monocrop that belies the biological diversity it intends and, more damagingly, that tends to overlook or remove human language from the very materiality, and relationships, it would emphasize" (Skinner, 2001c: 105). Keane's poetry, Nanton proposes, introduces a principle of chaotic diversity that subverts readerly expectation through a painstakingly crafted encounter with nonsense, with the improvisational patterns of language that celebrate a rural folk culture in transition.

Keane's *ars poetica* in *The volcano suite* assigns a role to chaos that extends beyond the representation of cultural practices into a primordial encounter with a subterranean and elemental planetary force. Keane's third poem in *The volcano suite* most closely corresponds to an explanation of his poetic art as he describes in a measured, contemplative manner his chaotic mental encounter with the volcano, experienced as a pervasive presence: "A man enters a volcano with his mind/It is the only way" (Keane, 1979a: 10).

Within the shared space that is the “geology of the brain” (Keane, 1979a: 10), the poet returns from a directionless odyssey over inhospitable terrain to spread his meager findings on the shore of the poem:

for if art can at all return with news
of anything that is made
or is not made
inside the accurate chaos of our own god’s-earth
this may be much
yet little but a parataxis
of words not yet perfected
the tremors of a sculptor’s finger
the painter’s erupting
eye (Keane, 1979a: 11)

Chaos is elevated in the poem to a precise calculation, a divine spark that ignites the *furor poeticus* of the creative gesture:

It is in this way
that we enter that certain celebrated chaos
as gods
and survive (Keane, 1979a: 12)

The new science of chaos theory was powerfully influential for Caribbean authors and theoreticians during the late twentieth century, attracting such luminaries as Edouard Glissant and Antonio Benítez-Rojo with the idea that chaos is rule governed, no matter how hard the rules are to detect. The latter recounts in an interview with Robert Antoni in 2003 how chancing upon a radio interview with James Gleick in 1986 led him to build *The Repeating Island* around chaos theory and fractal mathematics, using them as a conceptual framework to explain how islands are patterned within the larger disordered complexities of the Caribbean archipelago. As Glissant explains in his *Poétique de la relation*, “Le chaos n’est pas chaotique” (Glissant, 1990: 108); it contains organizing principles that permit the apprehension of underlying regularities. In a 2015 article, “Rereading the diminutive: Caribbean chaos theory in Antonio Benítez-Rojo, Edouard Glissant, and Wilson Harris”, Jeannine Murray-Román examines a common fascination with small spaces, events, or processes among the three authors, despite differences in their recruitment of chaos theory to explain larger cultural and geopolitical realities. Each exhibits an individual preference for the locales they place at the service of their ideas, but all move purposefully from micro- to macro-environments to effect “a reenvisioning of Caribbean space through differential repetition” (Murray-Román, 2015: 36).

In her 1993 article “Creating an archipelago: writing the Caribbean”, Susan Ritchie examines Antonio Benítez-Rojo’s major work, *The repeating island: the Caribbean and the postmodern perspective*, taking issue with his recruitment of chaos theory to explain cultural insularity and resistance to postcolonial neoliberalism. Suspicious of his choice of chaos theory, of which she sees the ultimate goal as being a “statistical science of wholeness” (Ritchie, 1993: 10), to explain, in an admittedly metaphorical way, cultural resilience through patterned difference, she reserves especial skepticism for his claim that minority cultures have the power to resist globalizing cultural narratives: “When a people’s culture conserves ancient dynamics that ‘play in a certain kind of way’, these resist being displaced by external territorializing forms” (Benítez-Rojo, 1996: 20). Ritchie expresses alarm very close to that articulated by Nanton about the dangers posed by homogenizing, hegemonic cultural forces that seek to impose normative behaviors. She explains that chaos theory, despite its dangers, is paradoxically seductive for modern Caribbean theory precisely because it seems to offer a remedy, while in fact being part of the ailment:

The appeal of chaos as an analogy for postcolonialism is evident: chaos provides a model for the interconnectedness of places and phenomena, yet allows even within that interconnection for the possibility of radical disruption. Like much postmodern theory, work in chaos has described how the local might rupture universalizing metanarratives. (Ritchie, 1993: 9)

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As prime illustration of this disruptive power, she references one of the fundamental tenets of chaos theory, the meteorological phenomenon of the butterfly effect. For Keane, who is writing in the late 1970s, at a time when Edward Norton Lorenz’s “butterfly effect” was becoming well-known outside the context of mathematical modeling for meteorological prediction, the idea of a “sensitive dependence on initial conditions”, represented chaos theory in the popular imagination. Accordingly, the focal point of his poetic vision remains the weighty effect of an apparently insignificant detail on the cosmos, rather than the differential process by which that effect is produced or how that might potentially contribute to the survival of local customs. Life and death hang in the balance. The absence of a heartbeat, rather than the presence of a wingbeat, the death of the insect in question, in itself as trivial an event as the falling of a sparrow, represents a call to action on a universal scale:

at the moment an insect dies
entire universes must
re-adjust themselves (Keane, 1979a: 12)

The natural energies unleashed by the volcano likewise depend upon such infinitesimal factors to determine whether life or death emerge uppermost in their endless balancing act. Astride this god-like equation, it may take no more than a blink of the “painter’s

erupting/eye” to affect the outcome, a concentration on an apparently inconsequential detail.

On August 30, 1979, the year of the eruption on St. Vincent, Hurricane David descended upon the island of Dominica with 145 mph winds, leaving the island battered and its people homeless, a phenomenon repeated again in 2015. In a gesture of therapeutic solidarity, Keane immediately composed his short poem “Three roofs in Roseau”, referring to the devastation of the capital city of the island. The poem riffs on the phrase “three roofs”, plays on the name “Roseau”, now a “slim reed of memory” (Keane, 2005: 44), and on “Dominica”, reminiscent of the many Sundays, the “Lord’s day” (Keane, 2005: 44), on which the poet long ago loved a woman named Zitrea, who perished with her two daughters in the flooding. The riffs and wordplay come together at the poem’s conclusion as a stark reminder of the poet’s bereavement. Three beloved people dead, a poem of three roofs left to serve as their epitaph, but perhaps also as seeds of hope for the future, as the poem elegiacally embraces emptiness but equally rejects its companion, silence. At the beginning of the poem the roofs are all that is left, by the end of the poem the roofs no longer serve as mute witnesses to catastrophe, but have become durable symbols of resilience; they are still there, unbowed in their commemorative stillness:

My dear lost and dated Zitrea
Though I have nothing now
I will not be silent

There are three roofs still standing in Roseau (Keane, 2005: 45)

Playfulness, anger, and sorrow, nonsense and chaos, if they are to be Keane’s legacy, should be remembered for their presence as dynamic principles and transformative elements in his poetic vision. Like the free-form jazz for which he is more famous, his poetry constantly modulates artistic expression, harnessing wit, passion, and emotion through experimentation. It is unafraid to improvise the “accurate chaos” of a volcanic exploration of the self through the paratactic inadequacies of language, sparking from dust and ashes the vital imperfections of disorder, those that Cameron O’Neil King, a compatriot and formerly a resident tutor and director at UWI in St. Vincent, celebrates in his memorial poem, delivered in November 1999 in New York at the second anniversary celebration of Keane’s death:

HIS writing snapped and broke old habits of thought,
the smooth eloquence of his horn blessing new designs.
He had no illusions about resurrection and brotherly love,
“Can’t beat ructions and eruptions”, they tell it like it ain’t,
even as thoughts elude murderous clutches of mind
and coil like serpents in secret places of the brain,

Smiling at the grey matter there in perfect villainy. (King, 1999)

The robustly disruptive activity present in Keane's writing, with its "ructions and eruptions" (Keane, 1979a: 2), is not a mere praxis in the Aristotelian sense of the creation of an aesthetic self-sufficiency; it is, in the language of ecopoetics, a poiesis or house making, one capable of fusing poem and earth into a home with a roof.

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MIRADA AL MAR: RELACIONES DEL INDIVIDUO CARIBEÑO CON EL ESPACIO OCEÁNICO EN “ENCANCARANUBLADO” DE ANA LYDIA VEGA Y “UN NIÑO SE HA PERDIDO EN EL MAR” DE NÉSTOR RODRÍGUEZ ESCUDERO

YARELMI IGLESIAS VÁZQUEZ
UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO, MAYAGÜEZ

Vivir en el Caribe presupone enfrentarse a la ilusa concepción de que se está (des)conectado, a i s l a d o, equívocamente del progreso, la cultura y la globalización. La historia del colonialismo en el Caribe ha dejado a sus habitantes segregados del espacio oceánico, debido a la privatización de las costas, la carencia de conexiones inter-insulares, la enajenación del individuo y el paisaje, la explotación por parte de la industria turística y ha transformado las relaciones que existían y que podrían existir entre los individuos. En este sentido, la presencia imperial europea en el Caribe provocó la reorganización de las relaciones entre los habitantes y el paisaje terrestre y marino, lo cual resultó en la enajenación existencial de cada uno (véase el trabajo de Beatriz Llenín (2014: 90-93; 95-101). La construcción de este espacio como un lugar de historia, cultura, política y sociedad es un mecanismo para destilar las miradas visibles e invisibles que se proyectan en y a partir de él. En este trabajo de investigación se pretende realizar una recopilación de conceptos vinculados con la construcción de identidades a partir de una consciencia geográfica espacial del océano, con el fin de leer el relato “Encanaranublado” de Ana Lydia Vega y “Un niño que se ha perdido en el mar” de Néstor Rodríguez Escudero prestando particular atención a las relaciones del individuo caribeño con el espacio oceánico.

En el texto seleccionado como marco teórico, *Caribbean literature and the environment: between nature and culture* (DeLoughrey et al., 2005) los editores tratan las implicaciones de la ecocrítica en el aspecto racial y social en la medida en que el colonialismo ha definido la experiencia con (y del) medioambiente en un determinado tiempo no-lineal. En este caso, se resalta la importancia de la literatura como herramienta para establecer prioridades en las relaciones de los habitantes del Caribe y dicho espacio.

En algunas ocasiones los personajes de ambos relatos están relacionados con su flora y fauna, otras con el clima, oleaje, riesgos, contemplación y navegación. Otros autores

caribeños como Édouard Glissant, Jamaica Kincaid, Marta Aponte Alsina, Olive Senior, Antonio Benítez Rojo, entre otros, abarcan esta temática sobre el paisaje y las relaciones del individuo con este. Ahora bien, mis intenciones en esta investigación son identificar las relaciones océano-individuo y el trasfondo colonial histórico, para entender qué implicaciones tienen en la concepción (integración) del mar/océano como espacio cultural e histórico en el Caribe. Es decir, ¿qué nos dice sobre el océano?, ¿qué simbología tiene? ¿cómo es percibido?, ¿qué elementos lo describen?, ¿cuáles son las relaciones que se establecen?, ¿en función de qué es visto o navegado?, ¿quiénes se benefician de o perjudican en él?

En la próxima sección, se identifican algunos textos de crítica sobre ecología poscolonial, en los cuales se abarca particularmente el tema del espacio oceánico. Luego, se presentan los autores y relatos puertorriqueños seleccionados para el análisis literario. Este último se divide en dos secciones, que se desarrollan a partir de conceptos recopilados de la crítica: 1. *Mirada a los desperdicios* y 2. *Mirada al cronotopos*. El trabajo investigativo culmina con una breve conclusión o *Mirada final*, seguida por la sección de referencias.

Miradas al mar

Entre las distintas concepciones sobre las relaciones ecológicas y sociales, específicamente en la región caribeña, y las implicaciones del colonialismo en dicho espacio, se puede prestar particular atención a escritoras como Elizabeth DeLoughrey. La problemática que plantea DeLoughrey en su artículo “Island ecologies and Caribbean literatures” refiere a las implicaciones del colonialismo europeo y norteamericano en las relaciones entre la naturaleza y los habitantes del Caribe (p. 298). La autora utiliza diversos textos de escritores caribeños como Édouard Glissant, Wilson Harris, Jamaica Kincaid y Olive Senior para indagar, investigar, exponer e identificar la complejidad de una historia en común que ha sido segregada y negada por la naturalización del discurso hegemónico imperante. Ante este asunto, DeLoughrey argumenta que “the relationship between landscape and power are central to any discussion about literary inscriptions of island environments” (p. 298).

Otro aspecto importante que abarca la autora en el texto es el asunto de la negación de la historia de los habitantes en conjunto con la historia y vinculación ecológica y medioambiental de la región caribeña. Como advierte DeLoughrey: “Reading imperialism into the environmental imagination of the Caribbean shows the ways in which natural history is implicated in and in fact cannot be disentangled from the multiple settlements of human history” (p. 308). Es decir, se cuestionan los mecanismos de (neo)colonización que establecen cierta ruptura entre la existencia conjunta de los habitantes, las islas y los océanos.

Respecto a la construcción política y económica del espacio oceánico caribeño, la problemática que plantea Steinberg en su ensayo “Territorial political economy and the

construction of ocean space” refiere a la construcción del espacio oceánico en función del sistema global moderno. El autor define el espacio oceánico “[...] as a space that shapes and is shaped by social and physical processes” (Steinberg, 2001: 10).

Además, analiza el discurso económico y militar con el fin de establecer relaciones entre ambos y el aspecto cultural de los habitantes y de aquellos que interactúan constantemente con (o en) el océano. Steinberg menciona y discute distintas perspectivas construidas por el ser humano ante la noción de este espacio, para luego concluir que la proyección (representación) de él está íntimamente vinculada con estructuras de poder y conocimiento, como por ejemplo la institución colonial (p. 19). Según el investigador, la subordinación y militarización del espacio oceánico se encuentra reflejada en las relaciones sociales modernas, por lo que sugiere repensar la concepción del océano como espacio vacío en lo que a asuntos culturales concierne.

Asimismo, el autor expone en “The maritime mystique: sustainable development, capital mobility, and nostalgia in the world ocean”, la aparente contradicción entre la construcción de imágenes del espacio oceánico y la estructuración del proyecto capitalista. En este aspecto, el autor identifica la función, regulación y representación de este espacio durante la era industrial, para luego analizar sus implicaciones en el desarrollo económico y social de la modernidad. Con el texto, Steinberg sugiere un análisis profundo del espacio oceánico para vincular y explorar los conflictos sociales y políticos generados dentro y fuera de él; de manera tal, que sea percibido como un espacio de transformación social potencial (p. 404).

En este sentido, el artículo, “Heavy waters: waste and Atlantic modernity”, de DeLoughrey, defiende la narrativa (literatura) como medio para fusionar los individuos del pasado y presente con la intención de establecer relaciones entre ellos y la historia de los océanos. La problemática que expone DeLoughrey en su texto está relacionada a la concepción de los océanos como espacios nulos, carentes de historia y modernidad. La autora incluso refiere a la privatización, militarización y contaminación de estos espacios y consecuentemente, del medioambiente y sus habitantes.

La literatura marítima, como describe DeLoughrey, es en esencia una crítica a las representaciones designadas al entorno oceánico y a su vinculación con los individuos (p. 703). Según la autora, las narrativas que muestran escenarios repletos de elementos y símbolos de inmovilidad oceánica, proyectan un análisis al modelo capitalista progresivo que afecta la identificación temporal, espacial y cultural de los océanos, su historia y la de sus habitantes (p. 705). En el artículo, cuando se trata la privatización y militarización del Atlántico, la autora refiere a la literatura de Ana Lydia Vega y Edwige Danticat para ejemplificar la configuración del océano como símbolo del legado (neo)colonial, que traza límites, malgasta y contrapone la historia inter-arquipelágica y oceánica. Es por eso que sugiere que estos escritores “[...] have depicted heavy waters in the steel ships of the US military that interdict Caribbean migrants.” (p. 708)

El aspecto que más interesa de los textos para la realización de esta investigación es el concepto del océano como espacio desorientado, contaminado, mitificado y enajenado del pasado y presente histórico de los habitantes caribeños. La proyección de este y otros asuntos, como por ejemplo la fusión entre habitantes y medioambiente, pueden ser identificadas y analizadas en la narrativa escogida de Vega y Escudero.

Narrativa del mar

La escritora puertorriqueña Ana Lydia Vega nació en Santurce en el año 1946. Estudió pedagogía en lenguas extranjeras en la Universidad de Puerto Rico, recinto de Río Piedras y luego viajó a Francia para realizar su maestría en literatura francesa (1971) y el doctorado en literatura comparada (1978) en la Universidad de Provençe. Lydia Vega es reconocida como parte de la Generación del 60. Algunas de sus obras son *Vírgenes y mártires*, *Falsas crónicas del sur* y *Ciertas crónicas del norte*, entre otros libros de cuentos y pedagogía, ensayos y artículos periodísticos. El texto que forma parte mi investigación es el libro de relatos *Encancaranublado y otros cuentos de naufragio*, el cual fue publicado y galardonado con el Premio Casa de las Américas en el año 1982. En este texto, la autora presenta diversos temas relacionados a las reflexiones sobre la identidad caribeña, las relaciones de poder entre los habitantes del Caribe y otras potencias extranjeras, la confederación antillana, entre otros. De él, el relato que interesa es “Encancaranublado”.

98 La trama del cuento “Encancaranublado” ocurre en una embarcación pequeña dirigida por Antenor, un haitiano. El mar, el azar y el destino reúnen a Antenor con el dominicano Diógenes y con Carmelo, el cubano. El barco casi improvisado del haitiano es escenario de diversas conversaciones sobre las situaciones políticas, económicas y sociales de los respectivos países caribeños, hasta que en un momento dado las discusiones los llevan al naufragio. El tercer y último rescate lo realiza el capitán de un barco norteamericano.

Por otra parte, el escritor y abogado puertorriqueño Néstor Rodríguez Escudero nació en Manatí en el año 1914 y es reconocido como componente de la generación del 30. Gran parte de su trabajo literario giró en torno a la redacción de relatos, la mayoría de ellos partiendo de un mismo eje central: el espacio oceánico. Algunos de sus libros de cuentos son *Cuentos del mar y otras páginas*, *Litoral*, *Alcatraz y otros cuentos del mar*, *Jaicoa*, *cuentos y leyendas*, entre otros. Su obra ensayística incluye *Yo combato la crueldad contra animales: (nueve narraciones, catorce artículos y un ensayo breve sobre la ley penal vigente)*, *Los caminos de Dios: estudios sobre espiritualismo y parasitología*, *El mar en la literatura puertorriqueña y otros ensayos*, etc.

En el año 1971 publicó su cuarta colección de cuentos titulada *Cuentos de la tierra y cuentos del mar*. En esta investigación analizamos el relato “Un niño se ha perdido en el mar”, texto que pertenece a la segunda sección de aquel libro. En esta narrativa en tercera persona, Escudero se apropia del ambiente y atmósfera de la vida de una familia

pesquera carente de recursos. Guingue, el personaje principal, también conocido como lobo de mar, es un niño soñador fascinado por el horizonte que se reflejaba en el mar. Una tarde, decide embarcarse como ‘capitán único’ en una nave improvisada hacia la ‘sombra semicircular’ que siempre apreció y admiró desde la playa. Diversos elementos del relato de Escudero refieren a la historia del colonialismo en el Caribe y la transición de la isla hacia la modernidad.

Mirada a los desperdicios

Uno de los elementos que proyectan las implicaciones del colonialismo y la modernidad en la región caribeña es lo que Zygmunt Bauman define como los desperdicios resultado de la globalización. Ante esto, DeLoughrey expone:

As Zygmunt Bauman argues, modernity is constituted by the boundaries erected between the normative and the disposable, resulting in an enormous surveillance industry dedicated to policing the borders between citizens and refugees. He characterizes our “liquid modernity” as “a civilization of excess, redundancy, waste and waste disposal” (p. 97), one that produces human refugees as “the waste products of globalization” (p. 66).” (p. 704)

La modernidad está caracterizada por una industria de vigilancia que define los límites entre la normatividad y los desperdicios, es decir, la norma y lo marginal. Por otra parte, la modernidad líquida refiere a una civilización que genera excesos, redundancia y desperdicios, como consecuencia de la globalización. En este sentido, la ‘liquid modernity’ mantiene rezagados a personajes como Antenor, Diógenes, Carmelo y Guingue, el niño lobo de mar, hasta convertirlos en desperdicios humanos que luego van a parar al espacio oceánico. Se trata de individuos que viven inmersos en una crisis que a su vez los desplaza paulatinamente convirtiéndolos en emigrantes cuyo único refugio es la “triste aventura marina”, como relata Vega.

La concepción del viaje como una aventura marina-marítima, responde a una experiencia caribeña en función del recuerdo de las situaciones de precariedad que enfrentan los individuos isleños en sus respectivos países. En “Encancaranublado” la escena se presenta de la siguiente manera: “Atrás quedan los mangós podridos de la diarrea y el hambre, la gritería de los *macoutes*, el miedo y la sequía. Acá el mareo y la amenaza de la sed cuando se agote la minúscula provisión de agua. Con todo y eso, la triste aventura marina es crucero de placer a la luz del recuerdo de la isla” (Lydia Vega: 14). En este pasaje predomina una atmósfera de tristeza, desasosiego y miseria, pues tanto el espacio recordado (terrestre) como el espacio oceánico, es descrito indirectamente por una voz narrativa que refiere a la pudrición, el hambre, el miedo, la amenaza, la enfermedad y la carencia que afectan al personaje en ambos ejes espaciales. De la misma manera, Escudero presenta una escena similar en su relato “Un niño se ha perdido en el mar”: “Allá quedaba la casa con su ruina, el fogón sin encender, el lloro monótono de hambre de los hermanos, la hediondez del precipicio convertido en crematorio, los vidrios y

clavos mohosos que herían crueles los pies desnudos” (Rodríguez Escudero: 113). En este pasaje, la voz narrativa describe el pasado tétrico y amenazante que sufrió el niño lobo de mar en “[...] la casucha donde vivía emplazada en un suburbio en la playa” (Rodríguez Escudero: 109).

Por otra parte, a diferencia de Vega, la voz narrativa que utiliza Escudero vincula al espacio oceánico con una atmósfera de optimismo y mansedumbre; por ejemplo en “[...] acá el barco de latón navegaba. Se deslizaba como liviana almadía sobre unas aguas en ese momento mansas, que lo arrastraban hacia occidente con una brisa refrescante que lo acariciaba [...]” (Rodríguez Escudero: 113). Guingue, el lobo de mar, se embarca en una aventura marina en la que viaja lleno de ilusión pues “[...] llegaría a la cinta del mar donde había arenas en que retozaban otros muchachos con caracoles, algas y bergantines fantásticos [...]” (Rodríguez Escudero: 112).

La improvisación de embarcaciones es otro elemento vinculado con esta mirada a los desperdicios descartados y olvidados por la sociedad. En ambos relatos, los personajes navegan en botes improvisados, utilizando los desechos de la sociedad como material de construcción. Guingue recurrió al precipicio junto a su casa en la playa para tomar de la “[...] multitud de cosas desvencijadas” (p. 112) algún material para usarlo como embarcación. Es por esto que la voz narrativa relata que: “Del basurero salió también la nave del muchacho. Una capota de automóvil invertida. Maravilloso navío. No hacía agua por ningún lado, era liviano y marinero, rompía las olas fácilmente empujado por detrás con un rústico remo de madera” (Rodríguez Escudero: 112). Por otra parte, Antenor salió de Haití en un botecito improvisado, cuya única vela era la que podía ofrecerle una guayabera; tal como menciona Vega: “Un vientecito sospechoso hincha la guayabera que funge de vela en la improvisada embarcación” (p. 13).

Ciertamente, estas embarcaciones son reflejo de la precariedad y los “[...] boundaries erected between the normative and the disposable” (DeLoughrey: 705), dado a que están construidas por personas marginales y con desperdicios generados por esta civilización de excesos. De esta manera, podríamos analizar la mirada hacia los desechos, prestando particular atención a la metáfora que se genera respecto al desperdicio de objetos y el consecuente desperdicio de individuos caribeños que se presenta en ambos textos. El “[...] mollerudo brazo de mar” que describe Vega, esa “pincelada azul” que Escudero menciona, es recipiente de cuerpos desperdiciados y rechazados por la estructura del sistema capital moderno en formación. En este sentido, como menciona DeLoughrey, hablamos de “[...] the wasted lives of slaves and refugees” (p. 708) para exponer que “[...] human beings [are] positioned as national waste” (p. 709). La situación de precariedad que enfrentan los personajes de ambos relatos les obligó a desplazarse hacia (y en) el mar, siendo este ‘tirarse al agua’ la marca de una búsqueda y a su vez, la huella del (neo)colonialismo capitalista-excesivo. En el caso de Guingue, el lobo de mar, este es una representación de los caribeños que deciden abandonar su isla natal, para desplazarse por el mar sin alcanzar su destino o, en peor de los casos, sin destino final. Por

otra parte, los personajes de “Encancaranublado”, son el reflejo de la experiencia de muchos caribeños que abandonan su lugar de origen con la esperanza de llegar a otra orilla o ser rescatados en el transcurso.

Mirada al cronotopos

La narrativa puertorriqueña en cuestión abarca un eje referencial particular, el espacio oceánico. En él se construye una literatura del lugar en la cual se genera “[...] un intercambio entre lo íntimo y el evento, una porosidad continua entre la voz lírica (narrativa, para efectos de este trabajo) y el cuerpo que se desplaza narrándose” (Miletti: 104). Ambos relatos son narrados por una voz en tercera persona, encargada de vincular los personajes con dicho paisaje, describiendo sus experiencias en él y visibilizando la inherente relación entre el eje espacial y el temporal. En este sentido, el espacio oceánico es incluso un “cronotopo [que] solo puede comprenderse a través de la multiplicidad de narrativas que l[o] van construyendo como telón de fondo, mientras [...] se convierte en protagonista y espacio vital de esas vidas (Price, 2005; Brusi, 2008)” (Valdés: 16). El imaginario marítimo-marino de ambos relatos funge como escenario y sitúa en sus entrañas la memoria de “[...] la historia de los desposeídos de la Historia” (Aponte: 85), de los emigrantes refugiados temporariamente en su interior, mediante el vaivén entre el pasado y el ahora y entre la isla y el océano. En “Un niño se ha perdido en el mar”, el peso de la Historia le acompaña en la totalidad de ambos ejes (espacial y temporal). No obstante, se esfuma en la escena final del relato: “Y a babor el color del cielo era más límpido y la sombra semicircular que antes lo inquietaba se convertía en una isla grisácea y no se oían voces amenazadoras, ni se sentía hambre, ni tampoco el llorar monorrítmico de niños despechados [...]” (p. 113). En este pasaje, la realidad espacial no sólo brinda una correspondencia entre la añoranza, el olvido y la liberación del espacio anterior (la isla), sino que permite la apropiación de un tiempo presente más ligero y esperanzador. En el caso de “Encancaranublado”, los personajes náufragos “[...] se zapearon a los tiburones [pues] los habían rescatado y yacían, cansados pero satisfechos en la cubierta de un barco. Americano, por cierto” (pp. 19-20). Esta vez el pasaje expone una aparente liberación del pasado, es decir, la sensación “[...] mixta de alivio y de susto sofrita en esperanzas ligeramente sancochadas” (p. 20).

Asimismo, podemos vincular el tropos con el caso del ‘vaciamiento del paisaje campesino’ (véase Sotomayor-Miletti, 2015), es decir, el ‘fenómeno’ de transición del campo a la ciudad que también ocurrió del campo al litoral. Muchas familias emigraron de las zonas rurales para establecerse en las costas de la isla y comenzar una vida pesquera; creando a su vez una generación dedicada a explorar las aguas del espacio oceánico. Como describe Valdés, “Es allí donde se ubicaron los campesinos y trabajadores rurales desplazados por las contingencias y efectos de los disloques económicos y estructurales a finales del siglo XIX y en toda la primera mitad del siglo XX” (p. 22). En este sentido,

el relato de Escudero es reflejo de las vicisitudes que atravesaron muchas personas habitantes del litoral y de las condiciones de precariedad en las que vivían. Por ejemplo, la casucha de Guingue y su nave improvisada están íntimamente vinculadas con las condiciones de vivienda en el manglar de Puerto Real que describe Valdés, es decir, a “[...] la vivienda lumpen construida a base de retazos, de desperdicios y una variedad de materiales –latones, maderas, y cartones” (p. 24). Otro relato puertorriqueño que refiere a esta situación de precariedad a orillas del mar es “En el fondo del Caño hay un negrito” de José Luis González.

Mirada final: relato del lugar

La narrativa del lugar que se abarca en este trabajo de investigación denota, partiendo del texto utilizado como marco teórico, que “[...] ‘non human environment is present not merely as a framing device but as a presence that begins to suggest that human history is implicated in natural history’ (Glissant)” (p. 4). En ambos relatos, la presencia del espacio oceánico proyecta una dimensión profunda de los contornos del discurso histórico en el Caribe. Es decir, la construcción de este espacio como elemento que (se) nutre (de) la historia de los habitantes caribeños alude a la visibilización de un aparato colonial hegemónico que define las relaciones océano-individuo. Como sugieren DeLoughrey et al.: “[...] in the battle against amnesia induced by colonialism’s erasures, the deterritorialization and transplantation of peoples, and even natural disasters, caribbean writers often seek nature as an ally” (DeLoughrey et al.: 3). En este sentido tanto Vega como Escudero presentan el eje espacial oceánico en sus relatos como un aliado que evidencia el pasado histórico en común y la continuidad de las memorias y (des)encuentros que en él se realizan.

Se trata de una literatura que “[...] rekindle[s] our environmental awareness that has been lost since the advent of industrialization, urbanization, and the cash economy, but it may also simultaneously serve to reflect the prisonhouse of colonialism” (DeLoughrey et al.: 22-28). Los relatos presentan una construcción referencial del deterioro del espacio mediante la representación de desperdicios, tanto objetos como sujetos, descartados y olvidados por la sociedad.

Por tanto, ambos relatos arquipelágicos, y a su vez la literatura caribeña en sí, tienen la capacidad de sugerir y señalar la integración del espacio oceánico en la Historia de los habitantes del Caribe. Conviene entonces sumergirse en la historia, las memorias, la diversidad cultural, las redes arquipelágicas y el espacio oceánico para entretejer la realidad movediza (véase Aponte, 2015) que define al Caribe y sus espacios.

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COPING WITH SHOCK: THE CONSEQUENCES OF TRAUMATIC EVENT IN CONDÉ'S *WHO SLASHED CELANIRE'S THROAT?* AND DANTICAT'S *CLAIRE OF THE SEA LIGHT*

JO. ROBLES LUGO

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RIO PIEDRAS

Ever since Columbus stumbled on the New World, trauma has become one of the words that best describes the Caribbean. This region has had more than its share of slavery, violence, discrimination, abandonment, rape and other traumatic circumstances. This agony is explored by writers in many Caribbean narratives. The purpose of this article is to examine how the theme of trauma is employed in Maryse Condé's *Célanire cou-coupé* or *Who slashed Celanire's throat?* (2002) and Edwidge Danticat's *Claire of the sea light* (2013). These authors invite readers to experience trauma and its effects through the characters they have created. Drawing from studies on trauma by Freud, Fanon, Jung and others, the discussion will focus on how the protagonists in both texts encounter, deal with, and try to find healing from horrific events. The analysis will focus specifically on trauma deliberately caused by other individuals, rather than by events such as natural disasters.

Trauma is defined by the American Psychological Association (APA) as "an emotional response to a terrible event such as an accident, rape or natural disaster". What one person internalizes as traumatic might not be experienced in the same way by another. In addition, the APA informs us that responses to these events may vary among "unpredictable emotions, flashbacks, strained relationships, and even physical symptoms". Finally, they state that while some can move on past these events, others have difficulty in doing so (APA). Freud argues that it is natural for the consciousness to repel traumatic experiences from the memory as best it can, but that these experiences are bound to eventually manifest themselves. These manifestations, Freud claims, do not have to necessarily present themselves in a clearly traceable manner, but rather "in a disguise that makes it impossible to recognize; in other words, the repressed thought is replaced in consciousness by another that acts as its surrogate, its Ersatz, and that soon surrounds itself with all those feelings of morbidity that had been supposedly averted by the repression" (quoted in Fanon, 1994: 111).

Efforts to understand trauma in the Caribbean social context have often been based on misleading assumptions. Fanon argues this by invoking Carl Jung's "collective unconsciousness" by which "the form of the world into which [a person] is born is already inborn in him, as a virtual image" (Jung, 1953: 188). Based on this rationale, colonialism is a pre-existing inherited memory. Fanon states that "the collective unconscious, without our having to fall back on the genes, is purely and simply the sum of prejudices, myths, collective attitudes of a given group" (1994: 145). Having lived under colonial oppression in Martinique, he had seen firsthand the traumatic events brought about by colonialism.

One of the most prominent arguments made by Fanon, when addressing traumatic events in the Caribbean, involves the self-image of the colonized. In the *Wretched of the earth* (1961) he argues that "it's true there is not one colonized subject who at least once a day does not dream of taking the place of the colonist" (2005: 5). As victims of oppression, it is only natural for the colonized subject to aspire to the status of the colonizer as a way to improve their quality of life. Fanon states that: "when the Negro makes contact with the white world, a certain sensitizing action takes place. If his psychic structure is weak, one observes a collapse of the ego. The black man stops behaving as an actional person. The goal of his behavior will be The Other (in the guise of the white man), for The Other alone can give him worth" (1994: 119). The problem then is that while desiring to escape trauma, the colonized subjects try to mimic their colonizers in order to feel empowered. This will undoubtedly lead them to oppress others, in many cases their own people. This was the case of Papa Doc Duvalier, who, as president of Haiti, was responsible for brutal repression as well as the death of tens of thousands of his own people in order to establish and maintain his grip on state power.

Trauma in the Caribbean also deals with remembrance and identity. Colonialism brought with it an array of shocking circumstances, but of all of those, the most horrific was slavery. The physical and psychological scars left by slavery, while being horrendous, are part of Caribbean identities. Eugene Arva maintains that:

Besides physical survival, surviving slavery also implies keeping the real story alive, the one that re-creates past traumatic events by attaching them to present effects and making them matter to the modern consciousness. Remembering the horrors of the past amounts to more than paying homage to the memories of their victims: it is also an identity-forming and healing act that entails confronting the unspeakable and coming to terms with trauma. (Arva, 2011: 14)

Not only does remembering disturbing experiences such as slavery provide a partial sense of identity, it also paves the way for healing. Awareness of this memory is imperative for the people in the Caribbean because the effects brought about by colonialism has created a fragmented consciousness of identity. The search for identity is one of the

most intractable legacies of colonialism in the region. Stuart Hall claims that “if the search for identity always involves a search for origins, it is impossible to locate in the Caribbean an origin for its peoples. The indigenous peoples of the area very largely no longer exist, and they ceased to exist very soon after the European encounter” (Hall, 1995: 5).

Colonialism brought with it plantation owners, slaves, indentured workers and others, each with their own sets of customs and beliefs. Hall states that:

with respect to the populations that had been enslaved, the retention of old customs, the retention of cultural traits from Africa; customs and traditions which were retained in and through slavery, in plantation, in religion, partly in language, in folk customs, in music, in dance, in all those forms of expressive culture which allowed men and women to survive the trauma of slavery. Not intact, never pure, never untouched by the culture of Victorian and pre-Victorian English society, never outside of Christianity or entirely outside the reach of the church, never without at least some small instruction in the Bible, always surrounded by the colonizing culture. (1995: 7)

The intensity of such mixtures makes it impossible to point out an exact place of origin for Caribbean peoples. Similar to Fanon, Hall takes into account external factors in order to understand the internal traumas of self-identity. When it comes to the consequences of colonization and slavery he insists that one must consider “not just the external processes and pressures of exploitation, but the way that internally one comes to collude with an objectification of oneself which is a profound misrecognition of one’s own identity” (Hall, 1995: 8).

In *Who slashed Celanire’s throat?* Condé narrates the story of Celanire, a mysterious woman who always wears a scarf, hiding a massive scar across her neck. Known for helping unwanted children, being highly seductive, and bringing death to those around her, Celanire has been a victim of trauma from the moment she was born. Dr. Jean Pinceau, the man who saves her life as a baby, recounts, “the horrors, I’m not kidding, her head was hanging on by a thread. A blunt instrument – a machete, a cutlass, a butcher’s knife, or garden secateurs – had virtually sectioned it from her body” (Condé, 2002: 106). It can be argued that the image of seeing a newborn with its head almost severed off was a traumatizing experience for the doctor, who goes on to explain that this was part of a sacrificial ritual to obtain political power and that lately “Babies and nothing but babies, and more babies” (2002: 107) were the ones commonly sacrificed. These sacrifices were known to be part of a business, as Dr. Pinceau points out: “For instance, everyone knew where Madeska, the mischief maker who made the fortune of the most powerful politicians, got his money from” (2002: 107).

Despite Celanire being on the verge of death, Dr. Pinceau decides to save her life. While operating on her, he confesses that “[t]he whole time I felt that there I was at last emulating my hero Victor Frankenstein... I too was equal to the Creator” (2002: 107). Dawn Fulton argues that “through the innovative – and irreverent – re-creation of Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein*, Condé foregrounds in particular the trope of the monstrous as an expression of the epistemological challenge presented by such transgressions” (2002: 98). Similar to *Frankenstein*, Dr. Pinceau came to “loathe” his creation because of her hideous image. After an initial euphoria, both doctors realize the monstrosities they have created. It can be argued the Dr. Pinceau could not bear the “obscene” scar because he was the one who created it. The fact that Celanire’s scar was created by him might have re-traumatized him. Every time he looked at the scar, it reminded him of the monstrosity he created for self-glory. In the end this scar was not only traumatizing for Celanire, but it also had a traumatizing impact on Dr. Pinceau as well.

In addition to the trauma caused by the scar on her throat, the very notion of Celanire’s survival was not seen as an act of God, but rather as a curse from Beelzebub. She was notorious for being the incarnation “of an evil spirit who had brought nothing but death, mourning, and desolation” (Condé, 2002: 79) among the townspeople, because many of those around her died in the most mysterious ways. The first victim was Osufan who met her sad fate when “a huge Cuban hound... leaped on her, clawed her face, and sunk its teeth into her neck. She died on the spot while the hound, its chops dripping with blood, vanished before anyone could make a move” (2002: 109-110). Osufan was killed while traveling home to ask for forgiveness in order to cleanse her own “cursed” soul for wanting to love Celanire. Dr. Pinceau also suffered a mysterious death in the jungle of Guyana. Death lurked around all those close to Celanire. When she started working as an assistant in a home for Half-Castes, Monsieur Desrussie, her employer, met a bizarre death as he “was about to make love to his new sixteen-year-old mistress when a giant spider hidden in the bed sheets had bitten him on the penis” (2002: 7). The understanding that she was a curse from Beelzebub became a traumatic experience for Celanire.

Despite being a victim of trauma, Celanire develops a feeling of contempt toward humanity. This drives her to traumatize humanity as it had traumatized her, by cultivating trauma through seduction and deception. One of the most shocking examples of this occurs in Ivory Coast, where she experiences difficult relations with local people because she “had proclaimed loud and clear she had no intention of letting the girls in her care be sexually mutilated” (2002: 31). At first glance this might be seen as an act to protect the wellbeing of these girls, but this might not be so. Celanire had been the victim of a sacrifice performed by a man for a patriarchal ideology, designed to help another man achieve success in his political career. It could therefore be argued that Celanire adopted this stance as a means for revenge. This personal agenda of vengeance

becomes even more evident as she eventually leaves Ivory Coast, abandoning the alienated and psychologically mutilated girls whom she ostensibly had claimed she was protecting. This individualist ideology, thinking only of the self, is commonly found in imperialist countries such as France, the place where she was educated. The mixture of trauma and individualism makes Celanire a character driven only by personal satisfaction fed by revenge.

Contrary to Celanire, in whose case the results of dreadful events are the driving force of her actions, Danticat's *Claire of the sea light* shows how trauma can have a less intention-driven, but no less disastrous domino effect. Throughout this novel a series of distressing events lead to other equally traumatic situations. After the murder of a wealthy man named Laurent Lavaud, the first victim of a traumatic event is Bernard, a young man who works in the radio station where Lavaud has been murdered. Tiye, the leader of a local gang, lies to the police, stating that Bernard was behind the murder, resulting in Bernard's arrest. Trying to get a confession from him, the policemen "threw some ice water on his face Panicked, he tried to rise from the chair, but someone shoved him back down. With the smoke and the vomit and the cold water, he felt as though he were drowning" (Danticat, 2013: 75). This horrendous waterboarding experience makes Bernard feel betrayed not only by the police, but also by his parents who actually believe that he took part in the murder.

Lavaud's murder also has a traumatizing effect on his widow, Madame Gaëlle, who feels that the police would never apprehend the person responsible for her husband's death: "whenever it came up, everyone from the chief of police to journalism students would say 'L'enquête se poursuit. The investigation continues.' Even though it had not" (2013: 125). Distressed by this, Madame Gaëlle sends an execution squad to Bernard's house who "walked into a young man's red bedroom, crossed themselves, then shot him dead as he lay in his bed" (2013: 145). After the execution, Madame Gaëlle is left with the emptiness of her husband's death and the disturbing memory of taking the life of a young man who was probably innocent. The action she takes because of her own harrowing experience has ended up re-traumatizing her, for she will never know if she has sent an innocent man to his death.

Bernard's death also traumatizes his friend Max Ardin, Jr. who was "secretly in love with Bernard and incapable of openly admitting his homosexuality" (Martínez-Falquina, 2015: 847). Because of social stigma, he has kept his homosexuality concealed, especially from Max, Sr., his father. When he visits Haiti from abroad, he brings Jassamine, probably the only person who knows about his homosexuality, to make his father believe that he actually has a girlfriend. When he leaves her with Max, Sr., he imagines her telling "his father how she was not really his girlfriend and how she had agreed to come with him just so his father would think he had a girlfriend" (Danticat, 2013: 144-115).

To comply with Caribbean patriarchal ideology and make a further show of his heterosexuality, Max, Jr. rapes Flore, one of the house servants. This can be seen as an act of “desperate cleansing” for he knows that if anyone, especially his father, finds out; he will be punished. He believes that if he has sex with a female, the love he feels for Bernard will perish. Reliving this dreadful event, Flore recounts that as Max, Jr. “pulled her night slip up toward her chest, she thought she saw a few drops of rain in a corner of the room... When he left the room – was it some minutes or hours or days later? (2013: 168), leaving her in a state of uncertainty and insecurity.”

Similar to Celanire, Flore responds to traumatic event with an impulse for revenge. When Max, Jr. returns to Haiti for a visit, he is confronted by Flore who now has a child. Learning that the child’s name is Pamaxime, he realizes that this is his son, a child born of rape. When asking Flore why his name started with “Pa”, she explains that in “Pa” a Creole prefix meaning both “his” and “not his,” the child’s first name could either mean “Maxime’s” or “Not Maxime’s”. Only the mother could know for sure” (2013: 98). Flore uses the child’s name as a means for vengeance. The very purpose of the name is to inform Max, Jr. that he has fathered the child but has not fulfill the role of a parent. Pamaxime gives Max, Jr. a sheet of paper on which appears “the word ‘papa’ in small slanted letters along with a sketch of a man with a blank O for a face” (2013: 101). Martínez-Falquina contends that “although the little boy’s pain is not addressed directly, we do see a drawing he makes of his unknown father, with a blank O for a face that perfectly illustrates the hole left in the child by his father’s absence” (2015: 847). Giving this picture to Max, Jr. has a dual purpose for Flore; first, to show Max, Jr. that his presence is irrelevant in the child’s life; and second, to prevent Pamaxime from experiencing trauma when he wonders who his father is and why he is not present. These events end up being even more traumatizing for Max, Jr. as Flore recounts them in public on a radio call-in show. Instead of being a path towards healing, the actions undertaken by Max, Jr. in response to his trauma in relation Bernard have resulted in even more traumatizing events.

In both novels some characters do find a path towards healing after living through traumatic events. In the case of Celanire, she eventually realizes that in all her adventures in Guadalupe and Ivory Coast, she has abandoned those who needed her the most. She wants to make a new beginning when she states “I want a child!... Please Thomas! All I can do now is be a good mother” (Condé, 2002: 232). She sees that after everything she has done, the best way to cope with her issues is to use love and nurturing as a way to bring about the healing that was never given to her by a mother. Because of the humiliation resulting from his actions toward Flore, Max, Jr decides to commit suicide, but he fails in his attempt when he is rescued by the villagers. Madame Gaëlle and Nozias “take turns breathing into this man, breathing him back to life” (Danticat, 2013: 238). This episode can be seen as an act of cleansing. As Max, Jr. throws himself into the sea to die, he leaves his past life in the waters and is brought back into a new life.

The sea has taken his tarnished soul and has left an empty vessel for the villagers to resuscitate. This can be interpreted as a sign of forgiveness, an opportunity to find redemption for his past actions. In both novels the characters are given the opportunity for deliverance from their traumatic pasts.

Trauma leaves lifelong wounds that can be manifested in various ways. In *Who slashed Celanire's throat?* trauma becomes a motive for revenge while in *Claire of the sea light*, it is the trigger for other traumatic events. Both of novels depict many of the traumatic realities that Caribbean peoples have had to live through as a result of colonial ideologies. Both also assert, however, that there is a possibility for healing and moving forward after experiencing traumatic events.

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THE FRICTION BETWEEN THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE SOCIAL IN SELECTED WORKS OF TWO GHANAIAN WRITERS – MOHAMMED NASEEHU ALI AND AYI KWEI ARMAH

KOFI DARKOH-ANKRAH
UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON

Abstract

A fertile ground for conflict issues from the nexus between the individual and the social in the fiction of the Ghanaian writers Mohammed Naseehu Ali and Ayi Kwei Armah. The complex relation between the two philosophical concepts in Ghanaian fiction propels this discussion which shows how their relationship affects writers' representation of characters. The argument of this paper is centered on which one of the two concepts takes what Jacques Derrida (quoted in Charles E. Bressler, 2003: 106) refers to as the "privileged" position since it seems that their relation remains ever in flux. The problematic question is: Is it the individual or the social interest that is privileged, and how is this handled in the selected works of Ghanaian fiction since it appears that the African conception of personhood and existence is largely and essentially social? I take a position which is heavily propped up by Ralph Waldo Emerson's (1999, [1841]) theoretical conception of the nature of personhood, i.e., "self-reliance", individualism – against a reliance on the social, remembering his call to, "Trust thyself, [because] every heart vibrates to that iron string" (p. 394). My choice of Emerson's theory of self-reliance in discussing these selected African texts is, to use Kwame Anthony Appiah's (2004) words, "... a good thing and not for nationalistic reasons but for universalist ones" (p. 21).

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Introduction

I begin this essay with the observation that it is not easy to determine whether to privilege the individual or the social in African fiction, but my close reading of the selected works for this discussion shows that the individual takes preeminence over the social. For this reason let me do an analysis of two statements, one of whose semantics entail a chronological order whereas the other does not. I start with this popular religious command: "Love your neighbor as yourself" (Leviticus: 19:18). This imperative is synonymous with and equivalent to Immanuel Kant's (2004) categorical one: "... Act

only on that maxim whereby one canst at the same time will that it should become a universal law” (p. 639). The first quote is often made by well-meaning individuals including religious people, philosophers, and writers of fiction. Kant’s statement can be read something like this: Love yourself first, and when you have understood what it means to love yourself, then you should extend the love you now understand, to others. This way, the first, primary and privileged place is explicitly and chronologically taken by the individual and later extends to others – the social.

However, the argument does not seek to encourage selfishness and so it makes Scotty Smith’s (2015) “...prayer for freedom from ‘self-first-ness’ ” [i.e. selfishness] irrelevant because human nature is sometimes selfish and we cannot be freed from that. Rather personal initiative and “self-reliance” [not selfishness], create fresh new ideas which expand to become a social force. The essay brings into focus how these ontological issues are mirrored in four works of Ghanaian fiction, namely Mohammed Naseehu Ali’s “The prophet of Zongo Street”, Ayi Kwei Armah’s *Two thousand seasons*, *Fragments*, and *The beautiful ones are not yet born*. In the discussion I recognize the importance of the social, but opine that it does not take primary position in untangling the philosophical puzzle of what constitutes personhood, but that the individual takes primary position.

Projecting one’s personal view of life on a world of a myriad of shared and individual standpoints propels clashes that often leave one confused, and, where one is not resolute, one yields to the social. This situation arises because there is often a friction between the untrammelled free will of the individual, and the composite norms of society. Ironically, these norms have been created by individuals who have come together to create something they refer to as customary, conventional and normal. But we should not forget the premise of the subject of the preceding statement – the individual. The problem with real and fictional society though is that they often fail to or deliberately ignore the fresh, new views of their individuals, perhaps forgetting or refusing to accept that without the individuals who are their components, society would not exist in the first place.

I believe we all accept the fact that counting starts from one; when the biblical story of creation started it began from day one; when the creator said, for example, “Let us make man in our own image”, the idea began with him. Also, Georges Lemaître’s hypothesis (Big bang theory, 1927) of the primeval atom/the cosmic egg/the big bang shows that the expanding universe started from one event; not from multiples of atoms or millions of eggs or simultaneous, multiple bangs. One person, thing or event begins something and then other people, things or events follow. Similarly, Emerson (1999) notes that:

[a] man Caesar is born, and for ages after we have a Roman Empire.
Christ is born, and millions of minds so grow and cleave to his genius
that he is confounded with the virtue and the possible of man. An insti-

tution is the lengthened shadow of one man; as, Monachism, of the Hermit Anthony; the Reformation of Luther, Quakerism, of Fox; Methodism of Wesley... (p. 399).

To show more clearly that society is the offspring of the individual and not vice versa I rephrase one clause of this quote: “one man lengthens into a shadow called society”. So, Emerson argues for “self-reliance” with reference to Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher’s (1812) “*Ne te quasiværis extra*” (p. 393), translated “Do not seek outside yourself” (p. 393) where “outside yourself” means society. To him if you rely on yourself, society will be “in conspiracy against you” (p. 395). He defines society as “a joint stock company” (p. 395) whose members come together to share what they have instituted and by so doing dwarf the freedom and initiative of the individual contributor. He notes that society considers it virtuous if an individual conforms to its laws, but eschews self-reliance. Emerson thus makes the tension between society and the individual explicitly clear. Yet the relation between society and the individual is not inelastic, leaving us sometimes confounded as to which one is to be given more attention. A.H. Southerland (1925: 97) observes that “... in one case, the individual adjusts to the group; in another case, superior intelligence, prestige, technique and other factors induce the group to adjust to the individual. The mob responds to the leader...” Fiction presents us with a great many instances of this friction which leaves many characters perplexed in most of their choices. So I examine what happens when individual characters become confronted with this puzzling situation. I also explore the literary techniques that are used to portray this tension especially when society requires its members to conform to its standards but not what originates from the individual’s own initiative. The latter is what Emerson describes as “genius” which he defines as believing in your own thought; that what is true for you is true for all men (p. 394). Conformists to the unyielding views of real and fictional society renege on their “self-reliance”/“genius” and choose to rely on society. On the other hand, non-conformist individuals in Armah’s and Ali’s oeuvres suffer rejection, scorn, and ostracism.

Privileging the individual in Mohammed Naseehu Ali’s ‘The prophet of Zongo Street’

The enactment of the friction between the individual and the social is abundant in African fiction. Mohammed Naseehu Ali (2005) focuses on the life of the protagonist of “The prophet of Zongo Street”, Prophet Kumi, through whom we are presented with a similar problem between conformity and rejection within the so-called established norms of the “imported religions” – Islam and Christianity – of the short story. The Afromadiyya, founded by Prophet Kumi, is a branch of Traditional African Religion, a religion which has been suppressed by the external forces of Islam and Christianity.

Nonetheless, the tussle between the individual [founder] and the society is an intense one. The individualist view always has it that existence is essentially individual and that an individual defines him/herself in terms of his/her individual, “self-reliant” capacities. However, the communitarian believes that existence is essentially social – that an individual defines her/himself based on social conditions; that the individual is him/herself a product of the social. Contributing to this, Kwame Gyekye (2003) notes “...that an individual human being is born into an existing human society and, therefore, into a human culture...” and in the Akan language that, “Onipa firi soro besi a obesi onipa kurom” (p. 299), translated ‘When a person descends from the skies he or she comes into society.’ These arguments may seem to be going down a slippery slope, but a closer look presents some very interesting points. The premise of this position is that one thing comes into many; that there was society before there was an individual. But we would ask another question about where the many individuals making up the society originated.

Ali approaches the conflict between the individual and the social tussle in many ways, among them through the title of the story: “The prophet of Zongo Street.” The online Etymology Dictionary (2015) gives a lot of sources from which the word “Prophet” comes and also what it means. For my purpose in this discussion I would restrict myself to the meaning we get from Christianity and Islam, since it is between these two external religions and worlds that the Afromadiyyan, misnomer of a prophet, asserts himself. The word, it says, dates back etymologically to the

‘late 12c to mean a “person who speaks for God; one who foretells or is an inspired preacher”, “prophet, soothsayer”, “an interpreter, spokesman”, especially of the gods, “inspired preacher or teacher”, “soothsayer.” In English, it is a “prophetic writer of the Old Testament”. It is used of Muhammad in Arabic as al-nabi, and sometimes also al-rasul, properly, “the messenger”.’

In the selected African text and context the word “prophet” would normally be properly associated with Islam and Christianity not with Traditional African Religion. To Muslims, Mohammed is the founder of Islam and the last prophet; to Christians, prophets existed long before Mohammed and the Holy Spirit continues to anoint people even in modern society to become prophets. Ali’s choice of the title presents a conflict between the two major religions of his story. He intensifies the conflict by bringing in the sole founder of the ‘new’ religion – the Afromadiyyan movement, the ‘Prophet’ Kumi. But Ali’s paradox is only implicitly clear: from the Christian and Muslim standpoints, such men are not prophets but fetish priests. The Etymology Dictionary defines the word “fetish” to be a

“material object regarded with awe; [it] has mysterious powers and is a representative of a deity that may be worshipped through it...The spe-

cific Portuguese use of the word that brought it to English probably began among Portuguese sailors and traders who used the word as a name for charms and talismans worshipped by the inhabitants of the Guinea coast of Africa.”

Going by this Portuguese meaning we see Kumi as a pagan and not a prophet as Ali “titles” him and so one of the elements that constitutes the paradox around which the story revolves is exposed. Kumi’s teachings are based on what he is singularly convinced of and sees fit and not what the external social forces of the alien religions would force down his throat.

Prophet Kumi’s Afromadiyyan doctrine of a return to the African way(s) of worship is fundamentally different from the other religions. So one comes to ask the question: Who is the singular, almost entirely rejected Prophet of Zongo Street in the text? He is neither Mohammed nor Christ, but instead a unique man, Kumi, who in fact could be seen as the opposite of a prophet. Yet that is perhaps Ali’s way of suggesting the uniqueness of Kumi – his individualism and his “self-reliance” in defiance of foreign-established social norms. But, the religions are somewhat similar in the sense that they all believe in the existence of a Supreme Being; for Mohammedans it is Allah, for Christians it is God, and for the hitherto sole Afromadiyyan, it is Tigare. Perhaps it is only at this point that we find any similarity. They are – all three of them – fundamentally different – the Christians, following Christ; the Muslims, following Mohammed; the African Traditionalist following no one person in particular. Yet Ali creates a singular, individualist force in Kumi – the character who emerges attempting to reestablish the African way of life – what Ayi Kwei Armah (2000, [1973]) calls “The Way, Our Way” or better, something new, yet old. Kumi’s efforts to proselytize are, however, rejected by the very people who own or should re-own it.

In the use the word “prophet” which I have described as a misnomer, Ali makes a parody of religion in this work. In fact, prophets are not found anywhere in Traditional African Religion. A. N. Mensah (1973) on Ayi Kwei Armah’s choice of title for what, he argues, should be called an epic rather than a novel, and citing Robert Fraser (1980: 64) argues that “the title sits oddly on the book”. I would also extend it by arguing that, as relates Ali’s protagonist, it (the title) sits oddly not only on the book but on the man. This choice of title by Ali is metaphorical for the adulteration of the African self and identity by colonizing religions. In Kumi, I discover the predicament of a single individual who vehemently responds to the bigger ‘joint stock shareholding’ enterprises of the so-called established imported religions.

Followers of Traditional African Religion normally do not evangelize, which results in its localness, attrition, atrophy and lack of power vis-a-vis the global community compared to other religions like Christianity and Islam. It is for this reason that Kumi begins to proselytize. Other characters unfortunately lash out at him for this. But a

further examination of this interestingly enigmatic character reveals his unwavering individuality, resoluteness, faith and poised stance against what Emerson describes as the “wave”, of Zongo Street society. Emerson adds that: “The wave moves around but the water of which it is composed does not. The same particle does not rise from the valley to the ridge. Its unity is only phenomenal. The persons who make up the world today, next year die and their experiences die with them” (p. 407). In the metaphors of “wave”, “water” and “particle” Emerson likens society to a “wave” which tosses individuals about wherever it pleases, while he compares the mass of people who make up society with “water” and each of society’s component individuals as “particles”. Ali’s lone central character does not subject himself to the tossing of the “wave” and refuses to feel the pressure of the “water” as anything more than ephemeral. Instead, Kumi stands strong as a “particle” alone like the Christ, Mohammed, Plato, Pythagoras, Martin Luther, Isanusi, The Man, Baako, Okonkwo, etc. Kumi resists all opposing forces and preserves his individuality.

Kumi, like William Wordsworth’s (1984, [1805]) “Solitary Reaper”, is ready to go it alone and begin to reap not where the “wave” of society has sown. I describe Ali’s narrator mimicking and asking the reader to remember Wordsworth’s narrator calling upon the audience to: “Behold [him], single in the field [Zongo Street] / Yon solitary [Afromadiyyan] [man]/ [preaching] by himself”/ (p. 319); so that those who are interested would “stop here or gently pass”/ (p. 319). This is a clear case of the “individualist” Romantic spirit which moves in the individual “genius” of the “solitary” Afromadiyyan preacher. Many do not stop, while several others on Zongo Street listen to what Kumi has to say, but they withdraw thinking that he shows signs of insanity. But this does not deter the fourteen-year-old, soon-to-be, apostate Muslim child narrator of Ali’s story. He would rather ‘stop here’ to listen to the “misunderstood” message that Kumi preaches because he has been with Kumi for some time and is gradually becoming convinced of the validity of Kumi’s position on the history and philosophy of the African culture he is repositioning.

In connection with society’s misunderstanding of an individual’s original views, Emerson argues with an advisory and warning voice noting, perhaps strangely and paradoxically, that: “to be great is to be misunderstood.” (pp. 397-398). He asks if it is a bad thing then to be misunderstood, giving us several examples – that “Pythagoras was misunderstood, and Socrates, and Jesus, and Luther, and Copernicus, and Galileo, and Newton, and every pure and wise spirit that ever took flesh.” But we surely want people to understand us, much as we want to understand them. We might interpret Emerson’s term ‘misunderstood’ here to have to do with society’s inability to cope with difference, uniqueness, and singularity, and that is what Kumi stands for. That is why he refuses to join the masses in church or at the mosque. That is why he stops wearing khaki trousers with a white long-sleeved shirt but instead wears a white flowing gown with a red belt. In his clothing he represents his religious convictions with

aplomb, countering the vehement rejection with which his brand of African religion is met.

Kumi is “misunderstood” by his community largely because of its socio-religious structures, yet Ali’s characterization of this man as a “prophet” ironically decorates Kumi with what Emerson describes as “greatness”. How do we become great when we are misunderstood? Now to the narrator who would not “gently pass” but instead “stops here”, Kumi, initially, is an eccentric character because he does not conform to the “normal” social demands of the Zongo Street community. But Kumi, like Pythagoras, Jesus, and Luther continues to advance his “freedom of spirit” and preaches his beliefs to the community and the young hitherto ideologically-conditioned Muslim child narrator. The narrator admits that:

for the first time I realized that there actually was a period in history when the people of my tribe, Hausa, weren’t Muslims at all. Before I read *Manifestations* I never doubted that humanity itself began with Islam, and that God had chosen a prophet among the Arabs because they were morally upright and superior to the rest of humankind (p. 23).

There is a biting irony in this and so the child narrator, through his contact with Kumi, experiences an epiphany. Until this awakening he had been successfully domesticated through the social imposition of a religion which is part of society’s hegemonic machinery.

Louis Althusser (2013, [1972]) refers to the process whereby individuals within hegemonic society conform to the prevailing norms and thus become domesticated as “interpellation”. But Kumi breaks with this process and chooses to be a nonconformist individual. Kumi’s individual “self” and his “freedom of spirit” begin to have influence on another “self”, another external character, the first person Muslim child narrator, who begins to see wisdom in Kumi’s “misunderstood” message of the Afromad-yyan faith and trusts the power of his own individual “self”. The narrator, young though he is, begins [in his individuality] to question the veracity of the message that the “joint stock company” of his predominantly Muslim community has imposed on him. He would rather accept the singular, individualist “freedom of spirit”, “self-reliant” voice of the “misunderstood” prophet. The self is what moves the narrator now, not the voice coming from the external world. Conflicting impulses from society on one the hand and from his individual stance on the other, cause trouble for the young narrator. But the narrator’s choice is to adopt Emerson’s position that we unfetter ourselves from blind conformity and be original. The protagonist narrator experiences the difficult consequences of this for some time because it is not easy for long held and fixed social conventions to be erased. To complicate things further, after the death of Kumi, the narrator consolidates his silent and secret acceptance of Afromad-yyan doctrine. Perhaps this suggests that the narrator has himself accepted ideological

colonization by an exterior force. Thus, the narrator could be seen to have become part of Kumi's "lengthened shadow". Ali leaves us in suspense as to how this contradiction might or might not be resolved.

Both a proponent and product of the Romanticism and Transcendentalism of his time, Emerson comments that people should "insist on [themselves], never imitate, [and] [their] own gift [they] can present every moment with the cumulative force of a whole life's cultivation; but of the adopted talent of another, [they] have only an extemporaneous half possession (p. 406)". Adopting someone else's position comes with artificiality and contrivance. Buttressing this point, William Blake (1994), in support of personal initiative and the now differently used "self-first-ness", notes: "I must create a system or be enslaved by another man's. I will not Reason or Compare: my business is to create" (p. ix). This supports personal/individual argument rather than a reliance on the social [others] because Zongo Street society often stifles personal freedom and initiative. For example when the child narrator dreams that Kumi was being carried to heaven by a black angel, his Muslim mother warns him not to disclose it to anybody because to her it is an "ominous dream" (p. 30).

As does Kumi, Chinua Achebe's Okonkwo refuses to accept the "new" way of life introduced by the Whiteman. Nwoye deserts Okonkwo and becomes a Christian. What at the surface seems to be an act of self-reliance is ultimately nothing more than a capitulation to an external Euro-Christian norm. The villages around Umuofia also give in to the White man, and so eventually does Umuofia itself. But Okonkwo refuses to sell off his originality of mind to any foreign force, to contaminate the sanctity of the African lifeways he represents. For Okonkwo, a man should, though not directly stated, be "romantic" and stand alone in the face of antagonism; he should resist external forces and maintain the uniqueness and individualism which take precedence over the social. Similarly, Kumi revolts against the entrenched foreign-derived religious norms of his times in acceptance of a new way of looking at the world that traces its roots in an African *Weltanschauung* or "cosmo-vision".

Individual and social tensions in Ayi Kwei Armah's *Two thousand seasons*, *Fragments* and *The beautiful ones are not yet born*

Ayi Kwei Armah's *Two thousand seasons*, *Fragments* and *The beautiful ones are not yet born* also center on the problematic relation between the individual and the social. In the narrative voice of *Two thousand seasons* I find that there is a contradictory selfness and individuality in the social, composite and plural "we"-ness of the seemingly multiple voiced narrator of the African experience. Mensah (1973) notes:

The telling of the story begins with the word 'We' and, throughout, the narrator speaks in the first person plural... Ngara has described the narrator as a collective voice in the true tradition of African communalism, and this is true. Armah's narrator, speaking in the group, exemplifies

one of the book's important messages – the truism that strength, survival and even beauty are to be found in togetherness. But the really important thing for the purpose of a stylistic discussion of this work is not the use of the plural (that is important for the theme) but the use of the first person. It immediately creates the illusion of a speaker actually addressing a listener – in this case, the reader” (p. 3).

Armah's technique in presenting Africans' togetherness and oneness of thought, feeling, attitude, goals, history and aspirations operates via the “I-ness” within “We-ness” of the narrative voice of the story. This paradox is perhaps intended to insinuate, to the external ‘Invaders’ and “Destroyers” and their African followers like Korankye, Otumfur and the rest who cloak their minds with Euro-Christian and Islamic blinders that what they see to be a “we” is, in fact, really an “I”. In a reflection on Isanusi the narrator says: “the people themselves were a little heartened to see that the speaker this time would be Isanusi himself, best spokesman, of whom it was said that truth was his food” (p. 3). In relation to Armah himself, Mensah adds: “ ...[he] is a special one. He is Armah in so far as he articulates the views which all Africans of good sense (including the author) should presumably find acceptable... and he confidently claims to speak not for only one person or author, but for the entire black race” (p. 5). The voice represents the rich and varied culture of Africans about whom, as notes Mensah, Armah sees the “we” voice to “most aptly apply”. Moreover, the “we” is not inclusive of the foreign voices, the Arabs, Europeans and their domesticated stray sheep “ostentatious cripples” African “other”. So that when the plural marker “we” is used, *it* itself excludes the invaders, their disciples and their mimics; it signifies that they are not part of the “we”, now deconstructed by Mensah as the African “I” – of Isanusi and further of Armah. And, because they are not part of the “we”, it suggests an exclusion in the “we-ness” of the ‘they-ness’ of the foreign invaders.

Isanusi [and Armah himself, as characterized by Mensah] is the truth teller and the ‘genius’ (in Emerson's terms) who bluntly labels the foreigners as chasers after African wealth, changers of African names, buyers of African women and men, destroyers of African modes of religious worship. Isanusi is opposed, however, by Otumfur leading to his subsequent banishment. Isanusi, who has stood for “truth”, uniqueness, “self-reliance” is now forced to suffer for his individuality. But the bane he braves is what, I agree with Emerson, ironically, invests him with greatness.

Yet, I find that Koku Amuzu (2007) has a different argument though he rightly notes that:

we are first introduced to *Two Thousand Seasons* where we are given a vision of what we would describe as communal living, which in practical terms, is living with and for one another. It is a way of life which enjoins and allows each member of the community to take interest in and

to help in identifying and developing the talents of every member in the community...rather than the preserve of one individual or of a few peacocks strutting about, imposing their wills and desires on the community. (pp. 49-50)

Indeed imposing one's will and desires on the community does not augur well for both the individual and the members of the community. But it is a disservice to the individual members of any community to not be free to pursue their interests, even if those of the community conflict with theirs. It is for this reason that I do not support Amuzu's view that The Man in *The beautiful ones are not yet born* and Baako in *Fragments* are not heroes even though I agree with him that they are 'good' men. For example, in respect of The Man, Amuzu notes that "he certainly is a good man. But he is inadequate because he is an alienated individual who cannot positively influence future results" (p. 50). He supports his argument with the observation that:

"Armah's vision... surely recognizes the values and dignity of individuals. But as a social being each individual must live with and for his/her people. It is only then can his/her usefulness become effectual. That is why in the world of his (Armah's) vision, living for self alone, is a prison" (p. 50).

122 Based on my reading of Emerson and Mensah, I argue that it is precisely the suffering that Armah's "alienated" and "misunderstood" characters go through that makes them heroes. For this reason I instead support Kolawole Ogungbesan's (1975) position that these individuals are "heroes" because even though they are rejected by their own people their uniqueness, individuality and nonconformity separate them from the corrupt, degenerate social order. There is usually one or few of these pure minds whose shining character Armah expects society to emulate but who unfortunately become rejected because their corrupt societies cannot cope with individuals that they might misinterpret as puritanical prudes.

Armah's position on "self-reliance" is even stronger in *Fragments*. Trying to not join the bandwagon but to live in rejection of the evil ways of his society, Onipa Baako, the main character of *Fragments* decides to concentrate on his studies and reject greed, bribery and corruption in Ghanaian society. His name, Onipa Baako, itself is an apt way of capturing individualism and "self-reliance". In Akan, Onipa Baako is translated as one man; a sole man, a lone man, a unique man. This unique man does not, in Emerson's words, believe in the hobgoblin of society. Armah's choice of this name suggests an argument in favour of the individual force that lies untapped within us and for this reason makes us as Emerson opines, "timid and apologetic" (401). The opposition comes when his own aunt (Beatrice) and other family members attempt to goad him into a strict conformist position that causes his madness.

When Baako meets Henry Robert Hudson Brempong on their flight back to Ghana something very interesting happens that throws more light on my argument in support of “self-reliance”, individualism, nonconformity and difference:

‘Brempong is my name’, he said.

‘Henry Robert Hudson Brempong’

‘Baako’

Is that your Christian name or your surname? Brempong asked.

‘I’m not a Christian’,

You know, said Brempong, you know, your other names. He chuckled a bit uncertainly at the end.

‘Onipa’

‘It is an unusual name’, Brempong said.

‘My family name’, said Baako.

‘I think of it as a very common name myself’ (pp. 68-69).

Here we are with Brempong, a character whose string of names is similar to another conformist, Christian Mohammed Tumbo, in Armah’s “Halfway to Nirvana” (1995). When Tumbo is questioned about the strangeness of his name, he confesses that he becomes in his own words ‘a compromise’. We have here in Henry Robert Hudson Brempong another ‘compromise’ who in his very name and behaviour conforms to the Euro-Christian “hobgoblin” of his society. However, Armah creates a contrast in the choice of Baako’s name. Where others chase wealth with corrupt minds he is different, and true to himself. While the “been-to” Brempong, returns home amidst the pomp and circumstance of his shower of foreign gifts, Baako does so in a very austere and simple fashion, refusing to be corrupted by the chase after filthy lucre and other forms of rottenness.

Similarly, in Chimamanda Ngozie Adichie’s *Purple Hibiscus* we are presented with an example of this battle between self and external forces. Adichie presents us with some individual characters who confront domestication to social norms in the home of the Atchikes. Jaja conforms to his father’s (Eugene’s) persistent demand that he take Holy Communion. Later, after his “epiphany”, Jaja refuses to continue to do so, realizing that it was something imposed upon him. The reason for his refusal is that the wafer makes him sick and he wants to throw up whenever he takes it. This creates tension among the Atchikes for a long time. Also in *Nsukka*, Amaka refuses a Christian/European name against the wishes of her mother, Auntie Ifeoma, and Catholic priest, Father Amadi, who think that the conventions of the society they live in should be followed to the letter. Amaka instead wished to privilege her free will rather than the demands of external forces.

Also playing on names and their cultural and religious associations, Armah contrasts non-Christian, nonconformist Baako with Brempong, who begins introducing himself

with his surname and then goes on to mention the full stretch of his seventy-five percent Western and scanty twenty-five percent African hybrid of a name. Brempong himself feels obliged to start with his African surname before reverting to his string of Western names. Here, Armah sharply criticizes Africa's sad tendency to privilege the foreign while allowing the African to wither away. But through the contrast of "Henry Robert Hudson Brempong" with "Onipa Baako" Armah also suggests a corrective.

Conclusion

Returning to Gyekye (2003) we find him concluding his arguments on communitarianism with the view that it is a good thing for individuals to live together as one and cooperate with one another and that the talents of individuals are to be considered as assets of the community they belong to. Yet he also states that "It is the moderate or restricted version of communitarianism...that is defensible" (p. 312) and that, to him, "it is not too clear which of the two versions, if any, is espoused in African cultural traditions" (p. 312) though he is against what he terms "a radical and extreme type of communitarianism" (p. 312). I suggest that the power inherent in an individual's "self-reliance" and "genius" makes it impossible to privilege the social over the individual. I argue that the one should be privileged over the many, and the self over the social. For this reason Aristotle broke with Plato in the direction of a non-religious, more scientific philosophy; Martin Luther left the Catholic Church to found Protestantism, and Carl Gustav Jung wandered away from his teacher Sigmund Freud, to be his own man with his new brand of psychoanalysis, quoting from Friedrich Nietzsche's *Thus spoke Zarathustra*: "One repays a teacher badly if one remains only a pupil" (quoted in Bressler, 2003: 126).

Emerson reminds us that "[t]here is a time in every man's education when he arrives at the conviction that envy is ignorance; that imitation is suicide; that he must take himself for better, for worse as his portion" (Emerson, 1999: 394). Therefore, characters like Kumi, Baako, Isanusi, The Man, Okonkwo, Amaka and Jaja refuse to "imitate" as pupils do, but instead break free from collective constraints. It is true that these individual characters start their trajectories in some way domesticated by the social, but as they mature they come to an epiphany and find within themselves a unique force which has not succumbed because it cannot succumb. I identify this force as Emerson's "self-reliance" –a force which is different, autonomous, independent, free. This self-reliant force then confronts imposed social norms creating problems for these characters in their societies, but in the end the "conscious" individual mind must unfetter itself from, and prevail against, hegemonic domestication, because, as Emerson (1999) advises: "A man [or woman] is to carry himself [or herself] in the presence of all opposition [society] as if everything were titular and ephemeral but he [or she] " (p. 395).

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TRAUMA AND MEMORY IN FRANCES ANN-SOLOMON *WHAT MY MOTHER TOLD ME*

NORMA LIZ RODRÍGUEZ-SANTIAGO
UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

“The secrets of who you are and what has made you run away from yourself- all these secrets are buried in your brain-but you don’t want to look at them. The human being very often doesn’t want to know the truth about himself because he thinks it will make him sick. So, he makes himself sicker trying to forget. . . Now, here is where dreams come in. They tell you what you are trying to hide. But they tell it to you all mixed up, like pieces of a puzzle that don’t fit. The problem of the analyst is to examine this puzzle, and put the pieces together in the right place, and find out what the devil you are trying to say to yourself.”

Dr. Brulov, in Alfred Hitchcock’s *Spellbound*

“This is my earliest memory. The only one I have. The rest is darkness.” With these words as a voice over, Frances Ann Solomon’s film *What my mother told me* begins. The very first introduction to one of the main characters, Jesse, is through her voice. She expresses her lack of memories and how darkness has taken their place in her mind. This film is directed by Trinidadian filmmaker Frances-Anne Solomon and deals with family relationships, violence and migration, while intertwining memory and trauma. The filmmaker conveys the story of a mother and daughter reuniting after many years of being apart. During their reunion, the struggles of a mother living outside of her country and her lack of power as a woman in relation to an influential family are revisited.

What my mother told me looks into the life of two Trinidadian women, mother and daughter, who are made to re-examine the past in order to be able to understand their present. Jesse, who believes her mother Catherine abandoned her when she was a child, goes back to Trinidad after her father’s death. While being there, she reunites with her mother and demands to know her motives for leaving her stranded in England. This essay will explore how Solomon employs trauma and memory in *What my mother told me*. The analysis will look into how trauma caused by kinship relationships, violence, abandonment, and migration affected the two main characters in the film. Additionally, it will discuss how Solomon dealt with the issue of memory and its relation to traumatic events.

Cathy Caruth in her book *Unclaimed experience* describes trauma as “a response, sometimes delayed, to an overwhelming event or set of events, which takes the form of repeated, intrusive hallucinations, dreams, thoughts or behaviors.” (quoted in Kaplan & Wang, 2004: 5) In the film, the traumas that the characters experienced were caused by family members, through domestic violence, abandonment, or migration. Jesse develops trauma at an early age, before her mother’s abandonment, as a result of her father’s verbal and physical abuse. Her lack of memory is the outcome of several traumatic experiences, a mechanism of defense she adopted in order to cope and move on from those difficult events. Freud in his book *Beyond the pleasure principle* (1955: 19-23) explains the phenomenon of infantile trauma, describing the child’s terrified reaction to the absence of a mother and how the child tries to regain control of the situation. Jesse developed infantile trauma after what she thought was her mother’s abandonment. Solomon doesn’t show in the film parts of Jesse’s life where she displays signs of infantile trauma. These symptoms can be observed in Jesse as an adult. In her conversations with Catherine, she continually tries to control her mother. Her anger towards Catherine is acted out by taking a position of power, reenacting her father’s conduct of abuse towards her mother and herself.

The problematic family relationships in *What my mother told me* are made known to the reader through flashbacks. It is through Catherine’s mind that Solomon tells the story of how Jesse, her mother, and Frank, her father, ended up in England. Jesse’s grandparents were already established in England and her grandmother, who was Irish, was having problems with alcoholism. Jesse’s father planned to go to Europe to assist his father and asked Catherine to join him. When they arrived, they found themselves living in a very small room, different from what was their way of life in the Caribbean. “Migration necessarily disrupts the domestic process and traditional living arrangements” (Goulbourne & Chamberlain, 2001: 40). It is never explained in the film what events traumatized Frank, but after the death of his mother, his character changed and he started to act aggressively towards Jesse and Catherine. “In the case of the Caribbean family in Britain, it has been mooted that migration, by breaking the generational links, severed or at least disrupted patterns of socialization and stability, leaving the Caribbean family disorientated and directionless” (Goulbourne & Chamberlain: 40). Solomon makes use of voiceover and continuous flashbacks to represent Jesse’s childhood in England. These elements are an essential part of the story and of the narrative structure.

The film starts with a scene of Jesse as a child waiting for her mother. It is made to lead us to think that, from the start, we are going inside these character’s minds, entering into the memories they have kept of their past. After the death of her father, once again Jesse started experiencing abandonment issues. However, there is also the possibility that Jesse has never been able to recover from her mother’s absence. Solomon shows trauma not only through flashback, but also in the behavior of Jesse in relation to her

mother. Actress Adjoa Andoh plays Jesse with overtly exaggerated child-like expressions. She follows her mother around, hiding behind walls, spying on her, playing with her clothes, and searching her bedroom.

In one of the many sequences in the film where Jesse and Catherine are conversing about the past, Jesse tells her mother with a demanding voice, “Sit down when I am talking to you.” Catherine, while looking at her daughter, sits. When confronting the truth about her father, Jesse calls her mother a liar, and chooses to maintain the image she has created of the perfect father. The psychological complex that Jesse develops could be in part because she blames Catherine for abandoning her and also leaving her with Frank as her only support. Since Jesse, as a result of her traumatic experiences, does not have any memory of her childhood left, Solomon shows in her behavior how Jesse carries these experiences into adulthood. At the end of the film, Solomon unveils the truth about her mother’s absence.

Kinship relations in the Caribbean are used to explain society, culture, and the influence left by the African slave trade during the colonial era. In the book *Family in the Caribbean*, Christine Barrows (2000) explores different anthropological studies carried out in the Caribbean, in order to explain which societal patterns and relationships we inherited originate from European society and which come from our African traditions. Barrows (2000) focuses several chapters on the issues of matrifocality and child shifting practices, two of the most common kinship patterns in the Caribbean. As the book points out, negligence in relation to these practices can play a part in traumatic psychic scarring.

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Trinidad Village, one of the studies presented in *Family in the Caribbean*, looks into the influence left in Trinidad by the African descended people of Toco. “Unlike the case in West Africa, in Toco the concept of children ‘belonging’ to a man has neither ritual nor economic import. Nevertheless, whenever the man provides the support of children born to him, his authority over them is recognized” (M. & F. Herskovitz 1947 quoted in Barrows 2000: 28). In this case, then, a kinship pattern typical of West Africa is superseded by one more typical of Western Europe.

The predicament in *What my mother told me* seems to replicate this situation to some extent. Jesse’s father Frank carries the economic responsibility of supporting his family while her mother stays at home. The fact that he is the breadwinner puts him in the role of head of the household, therefore he behaves as if his wife and daughter are his property. From a flashback in the film, we know that Frank kidnapped Jesse and disappeared from Catherine’s life without leaving any trace or explanation. Catherine searched for her baby but the economic status of her ex-husband and his family connections barred her from any access to Jesse. She was forced to return to Trinidad empty-handed.

The use of flashbacks is the main storytelling device that Solomon uses to go back in time. Deleuze, as explained in *Becoming-other in time: the Deleuzian subject in cinema* (2002), uses flashback in his theory of “recollection image” as “the manifestation in

image form of Henri Bergson's idea of attentive recollection. This is the process through which memories – which, for Bergson, exist virtually in a giant cone-shaped store of the past – are accessed in order to inform of events in the present” (quoted in Martin-Jones, 2002: 13). Recollection image is used to explain events that are occurring in the present. Deleuze uses this theory to interpret the cinema of the colonial metropolises but, in some instances, his theory can also be applied to the cinema of the colonized, for instance when “Post-colonial plays, novels, verse, and films ... become textual/cultural expressions of resistance to colonization” (quoted in Gilbert & Tompkins, 1996: 2). Cinema in the Caribbean is no exception to this tendency. Both thematically and aesthetically, Caribbean cinema challenges the colonial establishment, and thus the way in which Solomon uses flashback to tell her story aligns with the paradigms of Hollywood and European filmmaking.

The cinema's fascination with psychological trauma is hardly new. Personal amnesia is a prominent motif, for instance, in Alfred Hitchcock films that spur obsessive drives by the victims' lovers. Dr. Constance Petersen (Ingrid Bergman) in *Spellbound* (1945) and Mark Rutland (Sean Connery) in *Marnie* (1964) risk their careers and lives to help their lovers recover traumatic childhood memories. On a larger scale, a similar dilemma is often articulated in national cinemas in countries trying to come to terms with their own humiliating pasts by confronting the task of self-reflexively engaging a history that resists both remembrance and representation. (Hyun Kim, 2004: 96)

What my mother told me portrays the experience of many Caribbean couples who, like Catherine and Jesse, have become part of the diaspora in Europe. The traumatic past revisited in Solomon's film is a representation of the historical past of many Caribbean families. The film can be catalogued as what Elizabeth Ezra and Terry Rowden refer to as transnational cinema. “The transnational comprises both globalization-in cinematic terms, Hollywood's domination of world film markets and the counter-hegemonic responses of filmmakers from former colonial and Third World countries” (quoted in Kilbourn, 2013: 8). In her film, Solomon embarks on a Hollywood-style exploration of memory in order to probe the depths of trauma resulting from the position of subaltern women in colonial and postcolonial society.

In the film flashback is not only is used to recall events that are still influencing the narrative present, that is, the moment of the reunion of Jesse with her mother. In *what my mother told me* flashback is also utilized to reconstruct memory. Through the use of flashbacks, the filmmaker re-enacts one character's version of the historical moment that was often shared with the other main characters.

If the flashback presents a narrative past, this past often refers to an historical past. The rendering of this historical past is coloured by both the

general processes of fictional transformation, and by the specific framing an. focalization of this fictional version of the historical past as flashback. [...] One of the ideological implications of this narration of history through a subjective focalization is to create history as an essentially individual and emotional experience (Killbourn: 17).

The use of flashback represents the historical memory of each character. Solomon created Jesse's and Catherine's flashbacks with a distinctive cinematography. When events are recounted, they acquire a new meaning and context, becoming an individual-historical experience. The reconstruction of history through the use of memory also applies to the experience of the Caribbean diaspora in England. Catherine was facing problems in a land that was not hers and she did not have any support network to help her get her daughter back. Solomon does not focus her film on the city in England where Catherine finds herself, we only see the one-room apartment and some parts of a street. Nonetheless, these scenes reflect the predicament of immigrants in the Caribbean diaspora, where women such as Catherine find themselves deprived of the resources and support networks that they left behind.

What my mother told me explores the traumatic events of Jesse's life that gave rise to her problematic memories through the use of two different flashbacks and voiceover. There is a flashback originating in Jesse's mind, then one originating in Catherine's mind. Solomon differentiates the three of them throughout the use of different types of coloring in the images. The film starts with Jesse's voice explaining how she has no memory of her childhood, against the backdrop of her laughing as a child. The sequence presents the door of her home opening, her father kneeling on the floor while opening his arms and Jesse running towards him. These images are presented in a dream-like sequence, with light colors and overexposed lighting. Jesse's memories are always filled with light coming out of windows or/and doors, giving the sensation that what we are watching is closer to a dream than to reality. These contrast with her mother's memories, represented in black-and-white. They are under-exposed images, darker than usual black-and-white images, giving a feeling of darkness and sadness. The room where they lived in England was uncommonly dark, lacking windows and having only one door. Solomon's use of black and white cinematography in Catherine's flashbacks is somewhat reminiscent of the film noir genre. These gloomy images correspond to Catherine's feelings toward her memories. Trauma creates a disruption in the truth of the experience, Caruth argues, influencing the stories both characters are recounting. This disruption takes place in the voiceover, so that we can only experience it through words.

Violations of classical conceptions of time and space are justified as the...subjective reality of complex characters. Plot manipulation of story

order (especially flashbacks) remain anchored to character subjectivity...manipulation of duration are justified realistically...or psychologically. By the same token, spatial representation will be motivated [not merely as documentary realism] but as character subjectivity (quoted in Kilbourn: 12).

The memories the characters are recounting are based upon their individual experiences and as a response to traumatic events. Therefore, it is important to keep in mind from whose point of view the story is being told and the storytelling devices that are being used by the filmmaker.

At the beginning of the film, we see the only part of childhood that Jesse remembers. Then, that scene cuts to Jesse in the present time, in a car, back in the Caribbean. We can hear her in a voiceover saying, "Daddy used to say it made me a special person that I have no memory." She thus defends her father, who was the cause of most of her trauma. Her lack of memory made it possible for her to have a good relationship with her father as she grew up, and to see her mother as the evil person who did not care about her. This attitude was essential for Jesse's survival in her father's house. "Our survival is linked to whatever knowledge we may have gained from the circumstances of our lives." (Kaplan & Wang: 167)

Nearing the end of the film, after Catherine informs Jesse of the events that took place before her father took her away, there is a flashback where Jesse remembers herself hiding in the bathroom. The father knocks persistently on the door while demanding that she open it. The father keeps hitting the door until he knocks it down. Jesse is a teenager and she is standing inside the bathtub, with a scared look on her face. The father runs to her, hits her on the face with his hands, and calls her a "bitch." Afterwards, he turns around and before leaving the room he murmurs, "You are just like your mother." The repression of Jesse's memories was a form of survival for her. She had to 'forget' the violent moments between her and her father in order to maintain a good relationship with the only family member she had access to. "The models of disassociation and blocking of images and feelings demonstrate the psychical distance involved in the response to traumatic events and their power to disconnect us from the significance and meaning of our personal stories" (Kaplan & Wang: 170). In Trinidad, Jesse must remember her traumatic past if she wants to survive and construct a healthy relationship with her mother.

The loss of memory is not only evidenced through the character of Jesse, it is a theme that is explored throughout the whole film. "I don't remember" is a line that both mother and daughter use continuously. In one flashback, for example, after beating Jesse and calling her "bitch", the father leaves home, returning late at night to find Catherine laying on the bed, naked, waiting for her husband. She tells Jesse she wanted to "comfort

him". She starts kissing her husband, and afterwards, he turns violent, raping her. Before the mother goes deep into details of the rape, the flashback scene cuts back to Jesse and Catherine in Trinidad. After Catherine tells Jesse that she wanted to make him feel better, Jesse asked her mother, "What happened after?" The scene cuts to a close up of the mother's face while she responds, "I don't remember". Jesse insists, "I would really like to know what happened to you", and the film goes back into Catherine's flashback. Each in her own way uses lack of memory as a way of disconnecting from the past, from the emotions and feelings attached to traumatic experiences.

Jesse questions her memory in the film in several occasions. After arriving at her mother's house, the mother recounts stories about Jesse's childhood and asks her, "Do you remember?" Jesse gestures a no with her head. The mother asks her again "You really don't remember? And she responds, "I don't have any memories of my childhood, really." She says it calmly, as if it were normal that she has no memories of a certain point of her life. After having several conversations with her mother about the past, she starts to grow uneasy. In a scene where Catherine is getting ready to go fishing, Jesse goes outside, and uses the cement floor to write in big letters, resembling writing in sand, the phrase "I don't remember." The scene cuts to her mother getting inside the boat. We return to a high angle shot of Jesse while she tries to erase the phrase from the floor with her feet. The confrontation between Jesse and her traumatic past gets more dramatic as the film progresses. "Trauma shatters the absolutisms of everyday life..." explains Robert Stolorow in his essay "The phenomenology, contextuality, and existentiality of emotional trauma: ethical implications" (2010: 147) The encounter of Jesse with her traumatic re-arranges her ideas of who her father was at the expense of her emotional stability.

The only memories Jesse seems to have of her childhood, all involving her father, are accompanied by a song. The lyrics of the song are "He was a good father, he was a very good father. He was a good mother. He was my mother and father." The use of this song, and the repetition of it in every scene where Jesse remembers her father, works like a self-reminder of what type father she must remember him to be. The song reinforces the positive aspects of their relationship and what she is willing to remember about the circumstances whereby her family ceases to exist, and her father becomes the only thing left of it during a crucial period in her life. "Ordinary memory constructs past events according to the logic of narrative in which one event connects to others in a whole, integral story." (Kaplan & Wang: 170)

When confronted with her mother after so many years of separation, Jesse's behavior and character change as the film develops. Jesse starts to act like a child in front of her mother. Right after Catherine finishes relating the event of her father force-feeding her, Jesse interrupts Catherine by telling her, "You're lying." When Catherine tries to continue with the story, Jesse stops her by saying, "Don't". This scene shows the profile of Catherine's face, in a close-up, out of focus. Jesse is at the end of the frame, her image

focused, directing the audience's attention towards her, and her reaction when her mother is speaking. When Catherine tries to speak again, Jesse starts making loud sounds, making it impossible to hear what her mother has to say. Jesse's child-like behavior is noticeable in other parts of the film. In another sequence, Jesse spies on her mother, with exaggerated gestures, hiding behind walls or any other big objects she can find around, emulating a game of hide-and-seek. When she is eventually discovered by her mother, Jesse quickly turns around and runs toward her room. In these sequences, Solomon uses close-ups of Jesse's face, emphasizing her gestures and facial reactions. "Repetitive behaviors or compulsive acting out are the general form of the symptoms that possess traumatized persons." (Kaplan & Wang: 168)

Memory is not the only way in which Jesse is impacted by her traumas, especially those connected with her separation from Catherine and now the death of her father. There is a very emotional sequence when, after having a very heated argument with Jesse, Catherine prepares to leave on her boat, at which point Jesse starts screaming and crying, "Don't leave! Don't leave me, mommy. Everybody leaves me behind." She kneels on the floor, sobbing, and starts punching herself on the womb while screaming "I'll never have children." Jesse reveals that, at the age of 17, she made the decision that she was not going to be a mother, and then underwent a medical procedure to make herself unfit to bear children. By the end of the film, we realize that she made this radical decision in order to break the cycle of abandonment and abuse in her family.

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Caribbean literature includes many examples of difficult kinship issues that are passed from generation to generation, such as the novels *The heart does not bend*, *The swinging bridge*, and *Me dying trial*, all written by women, and films such as *Memories of underdevelopment* (1968) and *Stones in the sun* (2015).

What my mother told me has an open-ended finale in terms of Jesse's relationship with her mother and the status of her traumas. After Catherine returns from a trip on her boat, she finds Jesse lying on the floor, outside, asleep. She informs Jesse that she is going to bed, and walks past her. Another flashback then takes us to Jesse as a child, in her home in Trinidad. The flashback takes us to Jesse, still a toddler, walking around the yard. She is laughing, looking very happy. She is finally able to remember parts of her childhood. This ending implies that Jesse may finally recover her memory after confronting her traumatic past.

For Aristotle, in other words, memory is not part of thinking (conception) but rather part of the basis for thought, as an aspect of sense perception. A strong sense perception leaves a palpable impression or 'image' on the soul of the recipient; this literal image in turn occasions an 'affection' or emotion or 'movement' in the soul which is the direct cause of the memory (process of recollection) (Kilbourn: 5).

Her mother's recollections had a deep emotional impact, allowing Jesse to open up her feelings towards the past. Her loss of memory was based on her emotions, the feelings triggered by trauma. Emotions not only determined what she was able to remember, such as the happy moments with her father but also what she was no longer able to remember. Solomon shows how trauma and memories are intertwined with Jesse's emotions and how these emotions are related to the issues she encountered with her family.

The continuous flashbacks in *What my mother told me* and their cinematographic distinctiveness, makes the shifts between memory and reality more evident. There are no transitions, dissolves, fade ins and fade outs, or superimpositions. Solomon cuts straight to the memory sequences and chooses to portray and differentiate memory through different visual styles. She accompanies the visuals in the flashbacks with a voiceover, telling the audience not only through images but also through voice what they are watching.

In *What my mother told me* Solomon unpacks the traumas experienced in the Caribbean diaspora by families in general and women in particular. She uses individual memories to explore painful collective memories of the diasporic experience. While both mother and daughter deal with traumatic memories by erasing them from their conscious minds, Catherine has not fallen prey to this ruse to the same extent as has Jesse. Catherine remains conscious of many of her past experiences and the trauma that accompanies them. The use of black and white to portray her past shows her dark feelings towards it. Jesse's emotional traumas seem to be banned completely from her conscious mind, which causes her tremendous psychic and even corporal damage. When reunited with her mother, Jesse experiences a type of regression, going back to behaving like a child. It is by coming face to face with her fears and traumas through her mother's retelling of her story that Jesse is able to start bringing the difficult events in her past back to her conscious mind in order to begin the process of healing. Perhaps Solomon is suggesting that one way to heal some of the open wounds of Caribbean diasporic experience is the careful retelling, not only of its collective histories, but also of the individual 'her stories' that attest not only to the suffering, but also to the resilience of Caribbean women.

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**MULTIPLE IDENTITIES AND LANGUAGE IN THE GREATER
CARIBBEAN AND AFRO-ATLANTIC**

UN ANÁLISIS SOCIOFONÉTICO DEL ALÓFONO FRICATIVO LABIODENTAL SONORO [v] EN EL ESPAÑOL DE PUERTO RICO

ADRIANA MULERO CLAUDIO, NICOLÁS ORTIZ YOUNGBLOOD,
OMAR ODUARDO-SIERRA
UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO, RECINTO DE RÍO PIEDRAS

Resumen

Esta investigación examina las realizaciones del fonema oclusivo bilabial sonoro /b/ para describir la ocurrencia de un alófono labiodental sonoro [v] desde una perspectiva sociolingüística, en el español que se habla en Puerto Rico. Se toman en cuenta como factores sociales el sexo, la edad, el nivel de educación, el nivel de competencia con el inglés y el español, y el ingreso familiar de once participantes, quienes llevan a cabo una serie de tareas que provocan el uso del fonema /b/ y sus variantes. Estas tareas, las cuales incorporan la lectura estructurada y el habla espontánea, se han elegido según el modelo laboviano de la entrevista sociolingüística. Además, se emplea el análisis acústico, a base del cálculo de la intensidad relativa de los sonidos investigados, para asegurar la mayor cantidad de precisión posible en la descripción del uso de los fonemas y alófonos. La justificación para este estudio es la necesidad de actualizar el perfil del español puertorriqueño y representar la realidad fonológica y fonética de la lengua española contemporánea. A la finalización de este proyecto, se da a conocer la existencia de un alófono labiodental sonoro [v] para el fonema oclusivo bilabial sonoro /b/, relacionada con todos los factores sociales estudiados, menos el nivel de educación y la edad, en el español puertorriqueño.

Palabras claves: fonología, fonética, sociolingüística, análisis acústico, español, Puerto Rico.

Descripción general del fenómeno

En los inventarios fonéticos del español se ha establecido que el fonema /b/ tiene solamente dos alófonos: uno oclusivo bilabial sonoro [b] y uno aproximante o fricativo bilabial sonoro [β], lo cual implica que se ha descartado la existencia de [v] como alófono (Navarro Tomás, 1980). Se dice que ambas realizaciones se encuentran en distribución complementaria: [b] aparece en posición inicial absoluta y después de nasal, mientras que [β] aparece en los demás contextos (Vergara, 2011). Durante la época medieval,

los manuales distinguían los grafemas ‘b’ y ‘v’ de tal forma que cada letra correspondía a un fonema diferente. Sin embargo, aparte de los gramáticos, el resto de las personas confundían la pronunciación. Como se ha documentado que la diferenciación no era muy clara, se ha planteado que el fonema /v/ desapareció en el siglo XVI con el paso del latín al castellano (Alonso, 1955). Aunque recientemente se ha reafirmado que el comportamiento fonético de los grafemas ‘b’ y ‘v’ es idéntico (Schwegler et al., 2010), diversos investigadores han reportado la aparición de [v] como alófono del fonema /b/ en ciertas regiones geográficas. La aparición del fono [v] en el español podría ocurrir por la asimilación de /f/ antes de consonante sonora y luego de /s/ aspirada (Vergara), por el fenómeno de la hipercorrección (Schwegler et al.) y por la presencia gráfica de la ‘v’ (Vergara; Lope Blanch, 1988). En el caso de las personas que hablan español como segunda lengua, podría ocurrir por interferencia de la lengua materna (Vergara), o por el contacto con las lenguas que sí producen el fonema /v/, tales como el catalán y el inglés (Lope Blanch). Las hipótesis y los hallazgos más recientes sirven de base para explorar e investigar la ocurrencia del alófono fricativo labiodental sonoro [v] en el español de Puerto Rico.

Revisión literaria: trasfondo histórico y cuestiones culturales del fonema /b/

Al hacer una revisión histórica del fonema /b/ durante la Baja Edad Media, es posible constatar que la pronunciación de los grafemas ‘b’ y ‘v’ era confusa. En los escritos del siglo XV existía una distinción, por un lado, entre la ‘u’ que provenía de la ‘u’ o ‘b’ latinas y la ‘b’ que provenía de la ‘p’ y, por el otro lado, entre ‘b’ inicial y ‘u’ intermedia (Cuervo, 1895). Aunque en la escritura medieval la ‘b’ representaba el sonido bilabial oclusivo y la ‘v’ representaba el bilabial fricativo, existe evidencia de que la diferenciación no era tan clara. Por ejemplo, el reconocido filólogo Amado Alonso (1955) ofrece el testimonio de Juan Ángel de Zumarán quien argumentaba, en 1634, que los españoles pronunciaban la ‘w’ como ‘b’ al hablar alemán por estar acostumbrados a la confusión de ‘b’ y ‘v’. Otro ejemplo, entre los tantos que ofrece, destaca que el poeta Garcilaso (1503-1533) hacía la distinción con seguridad mientras que Lope de Vega (1562-1635) las confundía. En términos de articulación, Alonso hace referencia a un proceso histórico de igualación entre la ‘b’ y la ‘v’. Lo engloba en el marco de un «movimiento fonético general de ablandamiento del consonantismo y el otro fonológico de renuncia a oposiciones fónicas hasta entonces significativas que provocaron aquella revolución fonética del siglo XVI» (p. 71). Es decir, se ha establecido que la diferencia entre la ‘b’ y la ‘v’ desapareció en el siglo XVI (Navarro Tomás, 1980).

De acuerdo con Navarro Tomás, no existe documentación de que la ‘v’ labiodental haya sido común en la pronunciación española. A pesar de que los gramáticos insistieron en su uso, la Academia desistió. En la Gramática de 1870, finalmente se reconoce que no existe una diferencia en la pronunciación de los grafemas ‘b’ y ‘v’, aunque se establece que no debería ser así. Navarro atribuye la confusión actual a algunas personas que están

«demasiado influidas por prejuicios ortográficos o bastante propensas a afectación» (p. 92).

Pese a que no se incluye un sonido fricativo labiodental sonoro como un alófono del fonema oclusivo bilabial sonoro en las características generales del idioma español, hoy en día se encuentra tal sonido, muchas veces para pronunciar el grafema ‘v’, en algunas variedades de esta lengua. En ciertas regiones de Argentina, Colombia y Cuba existe una tendencia a pronunciar la letra ‘v’ como fricativa labiodental sonora [v] cuando se encuentra al comienzo de una palabra o al interior de la misma. Adicionalmente, tanto en Chile como en Cuba, ocurre la articulación de la fricativa labiodental sonora [v] como una variación libre al pronunciar las palabras escritas con ‘v’, e incluso aquellas escritas con ‘b’ (Schwegler et al.). Como ya se ha mencionado, una prueba de la documentación del sonido labiodental sonoro en el mundo hispanohablante informa que el uso de este sonido existe también en el español chileno. Lo encontraron Cepeda, con un «nivel de labiodentalismo [constante]» (p. 235), Cartagena, cuando se hizo distinción entre los grafemas ‘b’ y ‘v’, y Borland Delorme, en su «estudio sobre la norma culta» (p. 235, como citado en Sadowsky, 2010). En la investigación, Sadowsky incluye tres mujeres y tres hombres que tienen entre diecisiete y dieciocho años al cursar el cuarto grado de la escuela superior en la provincia Concepción de Chile. Para las tareas fonológicas y fonéticas que hace, utiliza «el diccionario de frecuencias léxicas *Lifcach*» (p. 236), y usa el programa ProRec para mostrarles a los participantes los términos que deben leer en voz alta.

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Para este informe, Sadowsky se concentra en el punto de articulación de los sonidos pertinentes al estudio. En los resultados, el sonido labiodental sonoro aparece como un alófono del fonema oclusivo bilabial sonoro en el 59.5% (p. 255) de los casos: «después de las consonantes no nasales, no líquidas y no aproximantes; después de vocal; y después de líquida» (p. 241). Por lo visto, Sadowsky considera el sonido labiodental sonoro como un alófono principal del fonema oclusivo bilabial.

Además del caso de Chile, la investigadora Isbășescu Haulica (1968) estudió la producción verbal de los sonidos del fonema /b/ en el español de Cuba. Identificó el uso del sonido fricativo labiodental sonoro en la recopilación de datos que hizo para su libro, *El español en Cuba – Observaciones fonéticas y fonológicas*, en nombre de la Sociedad Rumana de la Lingüística Románica. La investigadora cuenta que, en el habla de sus participantes (los cuales son estudiantes jóvenes), el sonido fricativo labiodental [v] es un alófono para el fonema bilabial /b/ mayormente en los casos en los cuales la representación ortográfica es ‘v’. Además, reportó que, en menos instancias, sustituye al sonido bilabial cuando se representa ortográficamente este último como ‘b’. Los contextos fonéticos que detalla son «la posición intervocálica», «después de consonante nasal y no nasal» y «posición inicial absoluta» (p. 478). Aunque no se ha hecho una investigación cuyo objeto principal haya sido exponer el uso de un sonido fricativo labiodental sonoro en Puerto Rico, ha habido tesis de estudiantes graduados de la Universidad de

Puerto Rico, Recinto de Río Piedras, en las cuales se ha informado el repertorio de sonidos en el español puertorriqueño. Estos informes incluyen secciones breves dedicadas a los diferentes fonemas y alófonos en los cuales se hace notar una aparición del alófono fricativo labiodental sonoro. Se trata mayormente de estudios escasos y categorizados por municipio. No todos los municipios han recibido la atención de un estudiante que haya hecho investigaciones fonológicas y fonéticas. Los pueblos en cuya habla surge un alófono fricativo labiodental sonoro para el fonema oclusivo bilabial sonoro son los siguientes: Adjuntas (García Moll, 1976); Bayamón (de Jesús Mateo, 1967); Guaynabo (Ramírez de Arellano y Lynch, 1964); Manatí (Laureano Ortega, 1969); Mayagüez (Bennet, 1972); Ponce (Bonilla, 1972); Santurce (Cabiya San Miguel, 1967); y Trujillo Alto (Santiago Rodríguez, 1974). En todos los estudios, la frecuencia del labiodental es menor que la del bilabial, sea este último oclusivo o fricativo y aproximante. Los investigadores Letterhead Ortega (1969) y de Jesús Mateo (1967) entienden que se debe a la hipercorrección en la escuela, por lo que se ha observado en otras variedades del español como el colombiano y el argentino (Isbăşescu Haulica, 1968).

Objetivo del estudio

Como no se ha hecho una investigación que se enfoque específicamente en este caso fónico en Puerto Rico, el objetivo del presente estudio es investigar la ocurrencia del alófono fricativo labiodental sonoro [v] para aportar al estudio de este fenómeno y abrir otras vías de investigación que puedan esclarecer e incorporar el sonido [v] como una realización del fonema /b/. Para lograrlo, se ha tomado en cuenta que el español puertorriqueño es una variedad caribeña. Por tanto, el comportamiento de las otras variedades de la región es de interés particular en esta investigación. Saber cómo las otras variedades tratan el uso de los grafemas indicados y los sonidos correspondientes puede proveer las pistas necesarias para predecir su comportamiento en el español de Puerto Rico.

La intensidad como rasgo acústico de medición

Cualquier análisis acústico del grado de constricción de los alófonos del fonema /b/ debe tomar en cuenta la espirantización y la intensidad relativa para identificar si un sonido es oclusivo o fricativo. La espirantización es un proceso de reducción o lenición por el cual los sonidos oclusivos sonoros se realizan como fricativos o aproximantes (Hualde, 2011: 1). Este proceso está condicionado por el contexto fonético. Se ha determinado, por tanto, que el fonema /b/ se manifiesta como aproximante en posición intervocálica (VCV) y después de un sonido líquido (Schwegler et al.: 256-257). En consonancia con investigaciones previas (Parrell, 2010; Hualde et al., 2010), el presente estudio incorpora el análisis del contexto fonético y usa la intensidad relativa como medida acústica, para investigar la posible ocurrencia del alófono fricativo labiodental sonoro [v] en el español de Puerto Rico. La intensidad relativa se mide en unidades de

decibelios (dB) al calcular la diferencia entre la intensidad mínima de una consonante y la intensidad máxima de la vocal siguiente. Se ha probado que esta medida tiene una correlación con el mayor o menor grado de constricción consonántica y que la energía de una onda sonora es mayor mientras más abierta sea la consonante (Hualde, 2011: 9). Por lo tanto, se estima que un sonido es oclusivo en la medida en que la diferencia entre las dos mediciones es más alta o fricativo cuando la diferencia es más pequeña.

Preguntas de investigación

1. ¿Existe un alófono fricativo labiodental sonoro [v] para el fonema oclusivo bilabial sonoro /b/ en el español puertorriqueño?
2. Si tal alófono existe, ¿cuál es su comportamiento lingüístico en las posiciones intervocálica y prevocálica inicial absoluta?
3. ¿Cuáles son las variables sociales que influyen en la presencia del alófono fricativo labiodental sonoro?

Hipótesis

En este informe, adoptamos las hipótesis de los autores previos, según las cuales la hipercorrección es una de las causas principales de la pronunciación labiodental del grafema ‘v’ en el español contemporáneo. La hipercorrección es el proceso en el cual un hablante modifica su habla al creer que ha cometido un error, cuando en realidad no se ha equivocado conforme a las reglas estándares de la lengua en cuestión. Además de los investigadores citados anteriormente, otro lingüista, Csaba Pléh (1995), citó el comportamiento de los educadores como órgano reproductor de la hipercorrección en su estudio acerca del húngaro:

“en la situación sociolingüística húngara, la hipercorrección se relaciona con los esfuerzos de la escuela ... de asociar ciertas formas con a una variedad subestándar inculta ... para evitar que la integridad idiomática se deforme” (p. 32).

“Se puede concebir la hipercorrección como un factor activo en los dominios en los cuales existe incertidumbre [lingüística]” (p. 33).

La hipótesis principal de este estudio es que en el español de Puerto Rico, el fonema bilabial oclusivo sonoro /b/ tendrá un alófono labiodental sonoro [v] debido a la hipercorrección. El comportamiento fonético se asemejará al del español de Cuba, en las posiciones intervocálica y prevocálica inicial absoluta. Además, podría descubrirse que el ingreso familiar y la competencia con el inglés serán dos de los factores que influirán en la presencia del sonido fricativo labiodental sonoro. Tales predicciones se hacen a base de una percepción auditoria, la divergencia entre los grafemas ‘b’ y ‘v’, y la región geográfica del dialecto que es objeto de estudio, además del conocimiento que se tiene de la enseñanza del uso de estos grafemas y los estudios previos acerca del fenómeno.

Al concluir el estudio fonético, se observarán patrones sociolingüísticos en aras de detectar con la mayor precisión posible si existe la variación libre en la producción de los fonemas descritos. La herramienta propuesta para la investigación medirá variables sociales tales como el nivel del dominio de inglés, la clase social, el ingreso familiar, la edad, el sexo, y el nivel de educación, informados por los participantes.

Por la semejanza geográfica que Cuba y Puerto Rico comparten y por el hecho que tienen en común ciertos rasgos idiomáticos, es posible predecir que esta investigación reflejará la existencia de un sonido fricativo labiodental sonoro en los contextos fónicos que Haulica observó. Sin embargo, que se sepa, con respecto a las variedades de los países en el área del Mar Caribe, solamente se ha publicado investigaciones extensas sobre estos fonemas en el español cubano. Entre las características fonológicas y fonéticas que Cuba y Puerto Rico comparten en sus variedades del español, se encuentran la reducción del fonema fricativo alveolar sibilante sordo /s/ en posición final de sílaba y la neutralización de los sonidos vibrante simple alveolar sonoro [r] y lateral alveolar sonoro [l], también en posición final de sílaba.

Justificación

Con respecto al habla puertorriqueña, no se ha investigado con rigurosidad el comportamiento fonético de los grafemas ‘b’ y ‘v’. Se sospecha que, en la escuela, puede haber maestros que insistan en diferenciar fonéticamente el ‘b’ del ‘v’. Sin embargo, habría que llevar a cabo más investigaciones para establecer cuál es la naturaleza de este fenómeno, si es que existe, en el español de Puerto Rico.

En el presente estudio, se le otorga validez a la necesidad de continuar aportando información al debate acerca de la existencia de un alófono fricativo labiodental sonoro [v] para el fonema oclusivo bilabial sonoro /b/ en la lengua española. Como este fenómeno no se estudia desde hace mucho tiempo en el español de Puerto Rico, esta investigación también ayudará a actualizar el perfil dialectológico del español puertorriqueño, y asimismo, actualizará el conocimiento general sobre las características fonológicas y fonéticas del idioma como tal. Por lo tanto, es necesario que se realicen investigaciones de esta naturaleza.

Características articulatorias: [b], [β], [v]

En la fonética, la literatura apunta hacia el [b] y el [β] como alófonos del fonema /b/. El primer alófono es el oclusivo bilabial sonoro [b]. El mismo ocurre luego de pausas o tras una consonante nasal sonora ([n, m]) (Schwegler et al.). Para la producción del fonema, los labios se unen: el labio inferior actúa como articulador pasivo, mientras que el labio inferior juega el papel de articulador activo. La unión crea una oclusión, seguida por una explosión de aire proveniente de los pulmones. La segunda variante, la aproximante bilabial sonora, se produce en todos los demás contextos fonéticos de la /b/ (p.#). Su producción es el resultado de la aproximación, no oclusión, de ambos labios. Por

último, el fonema reconocido en otras lenguas [v] se produce tras una leve obstrucción de aire entre los labios inferiores, como articulador activo, y los dientes superiores, como articuladores pasivos.

Características acústicas: [b], [β], [v]

El [b] y el [β], como alófonos del fonema /b/, demuestran diferencias acústicas. De igual manera, el [v], como fonema presente en otras lenguas, contiene su propia serie de características distinguibles (Figueroa Candila): *[b]: Oclusivo bilabial sonoro*

Es el sonido más largo de los oclusivos sonoros. La duración entre el comienzo de la barra sonora del tiempo de inicio de sonoridad (voice-onset time, o VOT, en inglés) y la explosión, se ha explicado como la consecuencia de la distancia entre las cuerdas vocales.

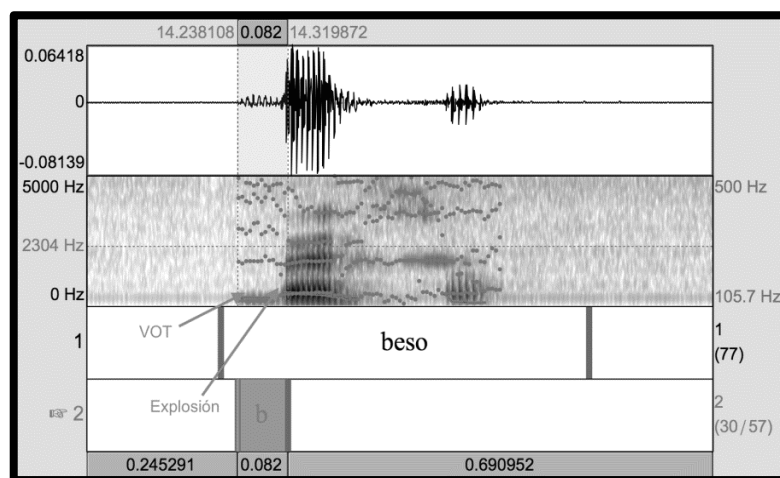


Imagen 1 [β]: *Aproximante bilabial sonoro*

La consonante producida por la aproximación de los labios se caracteriza acústicamente por un debilitamiento en los formantes altos, como se puede apreciar en la imagen 2.

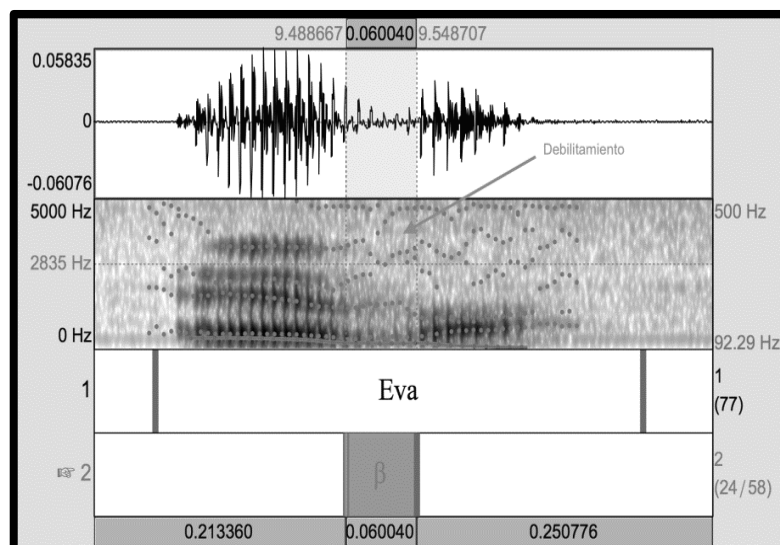


Imagen 2 [v]: Fricativo labiodental sonoro

Como herramienta de contraste, observemos la producción del [v] en inglés. Como se ve, es una fricación, comprobada por la mancha constante en el centro del espectrograma, y la acompaña una banda sonoridad en la parte baja.

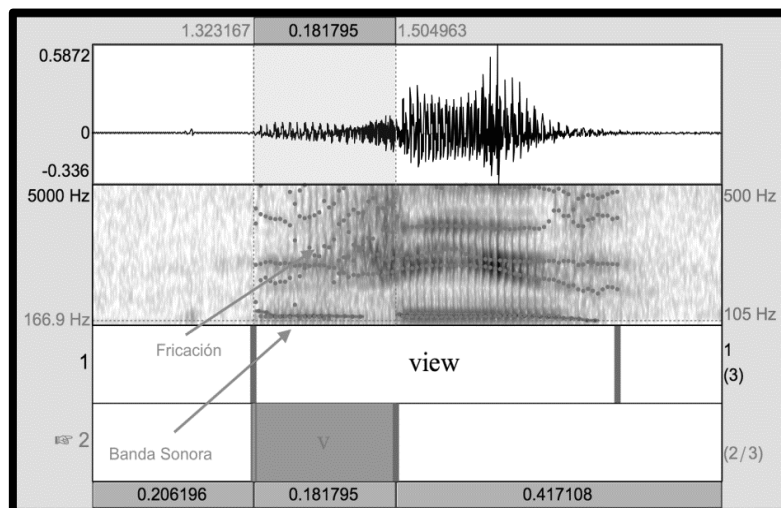


Imagen 3 La producción del [v] en inglés

X. Metodología

Participantes

Se seleccionaron 5 hombres y 6 féminas, para un total de 11 sujetos, todos amistades de los investigadores. Los datos demográficos de los mismos son.

Tabla 1 Participantes

Característica	
Sexo	
M	36%
F	63%
Edad	
18-25	81%
26-35	18%
Máximo nivel de educación	
Superior	54%
Bachillerato / Grado Asociado	27%
M.A. / Ph.D.	18%
Nivel de Competencia	
Español	
Habla	4.18/5
Lectura	4.45/5
Escritura	4.00/5

Ingles	
Habla	3.36/5
Lectura	4.09/5
Escritura	3.72/5
Ingresos Familiares	
- \$10,000	9%
\$10,001 – \$25,000	18%
\$25,001 – \$40,000	54%
\$40,001 – \$60,000	0%
\$60,001 – \$85,000	9%
\$85,001 +	9%

Herramientas

Como método de recolección de datos, se llevó a cabo una entrevista sociolingüística laboviana. La misma contó con tres secciones: preguntas demográficas, habla estructurada, y entrevista libre. Las preguntas demográficas auscultaron sexo, edad, nivel máximo de educación e ingresos familiares. La edad se agrupó en grupos de 18-25, 26-35, 36-45 y mayor de 46. En cuanto a los ingresos familiares, indicativo de clase, se utilizaron los siguientes grupos: menor a \$10,000, \$10,001-\$25,000, \$25,001-\$40,000, \$40,001-\$60,000, \$60,001-\$85,000, y más de \$85,000 anuales.

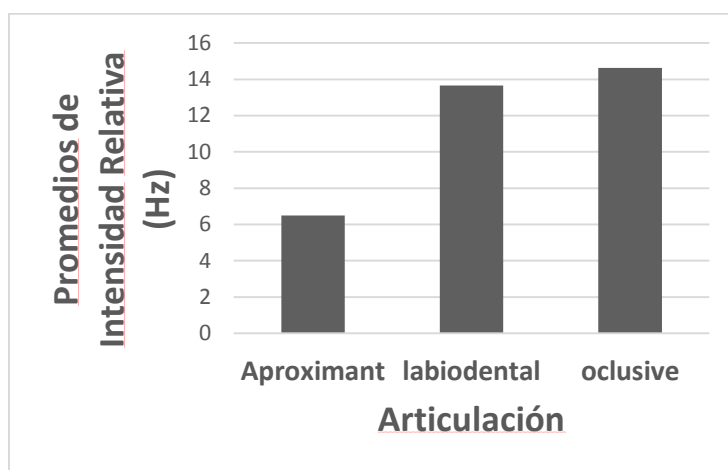
El habla estructurada estuvo compuesta de 3 subsecciones: nombramiento de imágenes, pares mínimos y lectura de un párrafo. Se preparó una lista de palabras para el ejercicio de nombramiento de imágenes. Se recopilieron palabras que tenían el grafema ‘b’ y ‘v’ en posición prevocálica a principio de palabra y en posición intervocálica. Se incluyeron palabras y frases con estos dos grafemas ante las 5 vocales puras del español (a, e, i, o, u). Se intentaron evitar semivocales por su ambigüedad fonética, pero se incluyeron algunas. La herramienta incluyó un total máximo de 52 instancias estructuradas.

En cuanto al ejercicio de nombramiento de imágenes, tras el ejercicio piloto, se encontró que, aunque el sujeto pudiese nombrar las imágenes, había variedades léxicas en el español puertorriqueño que no servían, e.g. automóvil v. carro, donde ‘automóvil’ contiene una /b/ intervocálica, instancia deseada, mientras que ‘carro’ no. Para contrarrestar este problema, se le ofreció al sujeto la palabra deseada, con la excepción de algunas consonantes. Se les indicó a los sujetos que el estudio trataba «algunas consonantes en el español puertorriqueño» para no viciar el estudio. Las entrevistas se grabaron directamente al programa de análisis PRAAT, en formato .wav. Dentro de PRAAT se transcribieron las instancias y sus contextos en Tier 1 y Tier 2. De estos luego se corrió un programa para adquirir las intensidades máxima y mínima. Esas se restaron y se dividieron en Office Excel, en columnas individuales, para adquirir la intensidad relativa y proporción, respectivamente.

El análisis preliminar se llevó a cabo en Excel. Sin embargo, las correlaciones observadas en este programa se procesaron utilizando el programa estadístico R para encontrar su significancia estadística. Los resultados de los modelos estadísticos corroboraron los datos de Excel en la mayoría de las instancias.

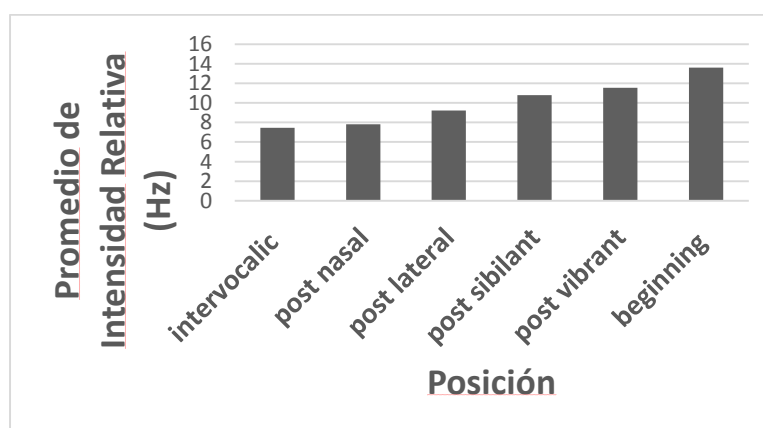
Resultados

Además de los resultados obtenidos por un estudio preliminar en Excel, se procesaron los datos dos veces por el programa R, con que en una se eliminó la variable de nivel máximo de educación, en la otra se eliminó la variable de ingresos familiares.



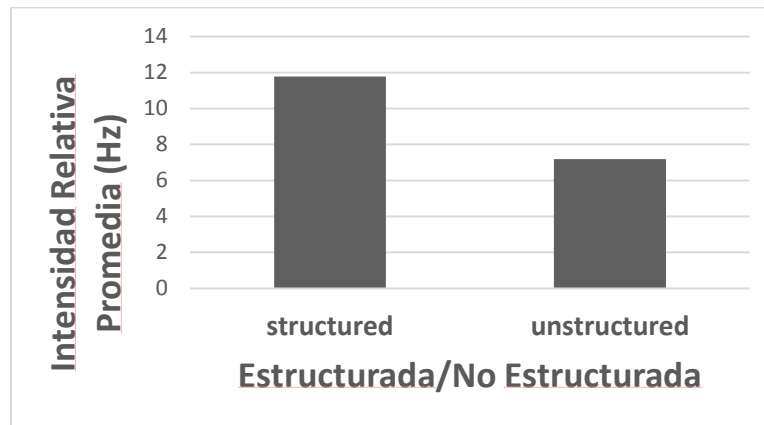
Gráfica 1 Correlación entre promedio de intensidad relativa y articulación

El análisis inicial de Excel demuestra una clara correlación entre la intensidad relativa y ambas consonantes, versus la aproximante. Se observaron varias otras correlaciones fonéticas, como la intensidad relativa y posición, fuerza y estilo de habla.



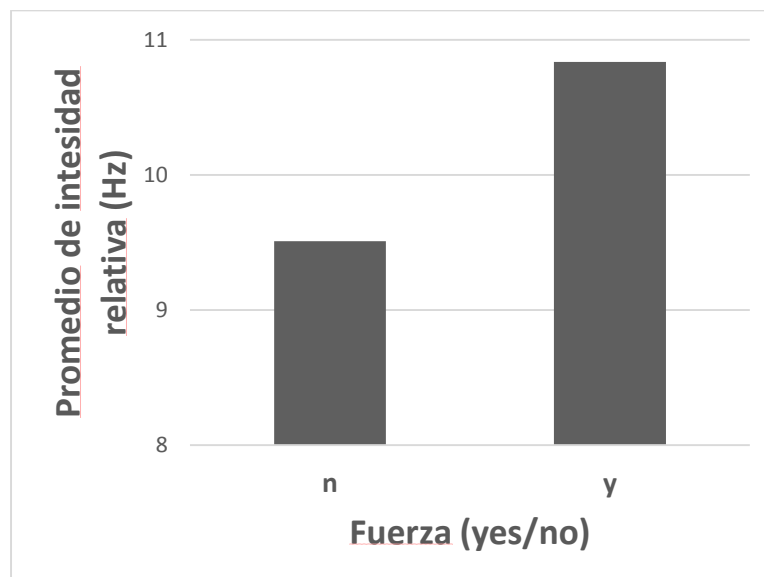
Gráfica 2 Correlación entre promedio de intensidad relativa y posición del fonema

En R se reorganizaron los grupos en: intervocálico, post-consonántico y principio absoluto. Se procesaron los datos dos veces, excluyendo los factores de nivel de ingreso y nivel de educación máxima. Con unos valores p de $8.8e-44$ y $5.91e-38$, respectivamente, la misma se demostró significativa. Con un coeficiente de 3.212, la intensidad relativa favorece la posición inicial absoluta de palabra.



Gráfica 3 Correlación entre Intensidad Relativa Promedia y Haba Estructurada/No Estructurada

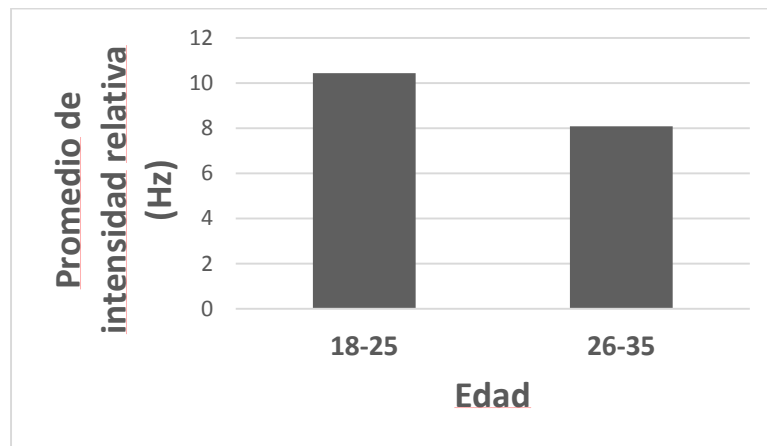
R demostró que el habla estructurada, con un valor de $4.53e-27$ al excluir ingreso y $3.45e-34$ al excluir educación, era una variante significativa.



Gráfica 4 Correlación entre promedio de intensidad relativa y fuerza

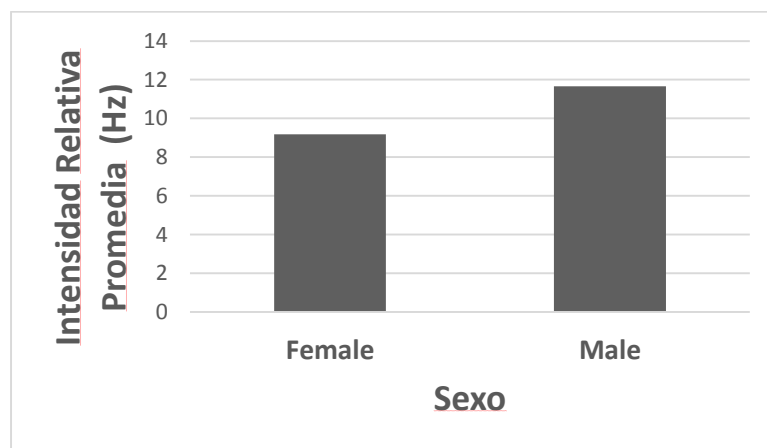
Con un valor de 0.624 al excluir ingreso y 0.419 al excluir nivel de educación, la fuerza no se mostró como una variable significativa, y lo mismo se observó en la Gráfica 3.

Se tomó en cuenta los datos extraídos de las preguntas demográficas en las observaciones de las correlaciones entre la intensidad relativa y algunos factores sociales como la edad, el sexo, el nivel de educación y el nivel de los ingresos familiares.



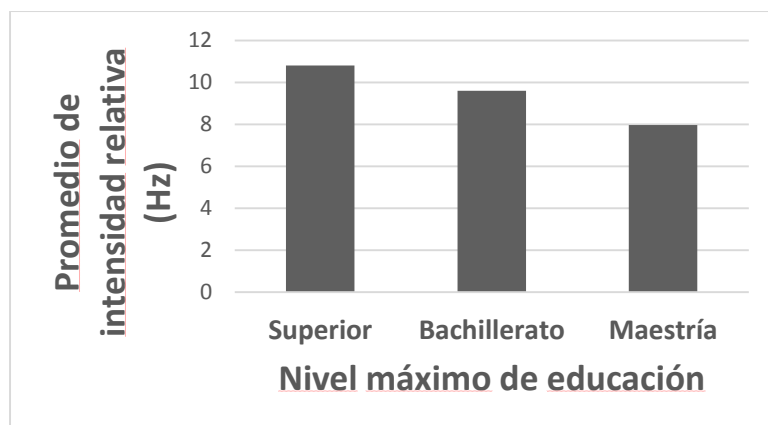
Gráfica 5 Correlación entre promedio de intensidad relativa y edad

La edad no demostró ser una variante significativa, porque tenía un valor de 0.612 al excluir ingreso y 0.738 al excluir nivel máximo de educación.



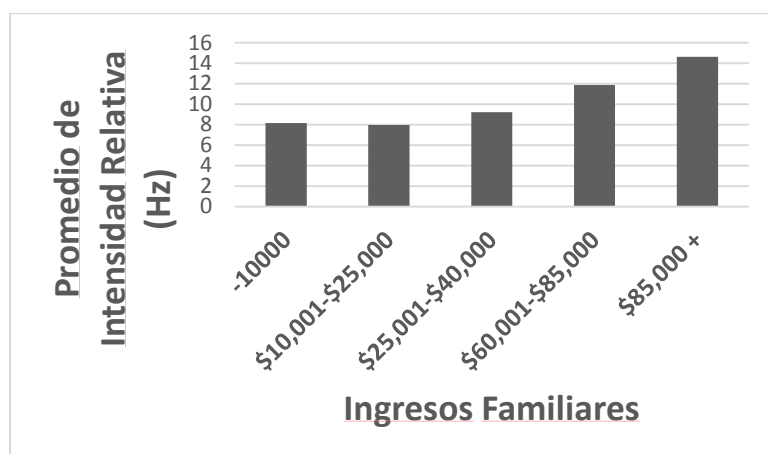
Gráfica 6 Correlación entre Intensidad Relativa Promedia y Sexo

Al excluir la variable independiente de ‘nivel máximo de educación’, el sexo de los participantes no demostró ser significativo, observando un valor de 0.308. Sin embargo, con un valor de $5.49e-11$ sí demostró ser significativo al excluir solamente la variable de ingreso.



Gráfica 7 Correlación entre promedio de intensidad relativa y nivel máximo de educación

Al excluir nivel de ingreso y observar la relación entre intensidad relativa y nivel máximo de educación, vemos que esta es significativa, con un valor de $3.97e-11$.



Gráfica 8 Correlación entre Promedio de Intensidad Relativa e Ingresos Familiares

En cuanto a la correlación estadística entre intensidad relativa e ingreso, excluyendo nivel máximo de educación, esta demostró ser significativa con un valor de $9.96e-26$.

Discusión

Los sonidos oclusivo labiodental sonoro y fricativo labiodental sonoro, al ser consonánticos, cierran el flujo de aire en sus respectivos puntos de articulación, causando una marcada reducción en intensidad, comparada con el aproximante bilabial. Por ende, se esperaría ver una relación gradual con mayor intensidad relativa en el oclusivo, seguido por el labiodental y culminando en el aproximante ([B]<[v]<[b]). La Gráfica 1 comprueba este concepto, porque demuestra mayor diferencia de intensidades (o intensidad relativa) entre ambas consonantes y la aproximante.

Los datos, en cuanto a posición de Excel, se ven corroborados por los datos de R. Se esperaba ver más intensidad relativa en posición inicial absoluta, al igual que en posición posnasal, ya que estas favorecían la oclusión. La investigación demuestra esto precisamente. Del mismo modo, se esperaba que, durante el habla más estructurada o cuidada, como en la lectura, se produjera más oclusión. Tanto los datos de Excel como los de R demuestran esta correlación como significativa. Con la asociación de esta variable a la de articulación, se puede argumentar que el labiodental se utiliza en estilos de habla más estructurados. El fenómeno de la hipercorrección puede ofrecer una explicación para esto, puesto que al ver el grafema ‘v’ en la lectura se prefiere intentar diferenciarlo de ‘b’.

El sexo, bajo ciertas condiciones, demostró ser una variable significativa. La literatura apunta hacia el hecho de que las mujeres jóvenes tienden a favorecer variantes innovadoras, mayormente, como dice Blas Arroyo (2013): “Cuando las innovaciones se difunden ... a favor de nuevas normas de prestigio no vernáculos ... [en] los cambios [lingüísticos] desde arriba” (p. 182). Esta puede ser una explicación para el comportamiento del labiodental y el aproximante en nuestro estudio. Es decir, el labiodental, como variante innovadora en el español, se verá favorecido por las mujeres jóvenes; esta ocurrencia fue observada en el estudio aunque no se tomó en cuenta el nivel de ingreso.

Cuando observamos el nivel de educación, se puede apreciar que hay una relación lineal entre el ingreso y la intensidad relativa. Mientras más alto es el ingreso, más oclusión hay. En la literatura, se destaca que, bajo ciertas circunstancias, se asocia la clase o el ingreso al habla más estándar, o sea, a «las variantes normativas de una variable determinada» (Blas Arroyo, 2013: 224). Tal costumbre se presencia en la investigación presente con los sonidos oclusivos, mediante la mayor intensidad relativa, que se cree influida por la hipercorrección de los maestros puertorriqueños.

Conclusiones

Esta investigación demuestra que existe evidencia que apoya el uso de un sonido fricativo labiodental sonoro en el español de Puerto Rico, específicamente, entre los jóvenes de esta población. Asimismo, se ha hecho notar que la intensidad relativa es una variable algo confiable en la identificación de este sonido. Sin embargo, se le reconocen algunas limitaciones a este estudio, una de las cuales es, principalmente, la inclusión de una población limitada. Los estudios futuros deberían incluir una mayor población que esté aún más diversa en aspectos como edad, nivel de educación e ingresos.

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AFTER THE ‘MUTINY ON THE *BOUNTY*’: ST. KITTS CREOLE ENGLISH AND THE BIRTH OF PITCAIRN/NORFOLK (PITKERN/NORF’K) CREOLE ENGLISH

BRENDA L. DOMÍNGUEZ-ROSADO

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, BAYAMÓN

Introduction

Creole languages were formed in extenuating circumstances, and in the Atlantic they seem to have emerged in their present form mainly in the 17th and 18th centuries because of the need to communicate among peoples of African, European and other linguistic backgrounds in contact situations (Holm, 2000: 95). In brief and in very simple and general terms, a creole language is a unique mixture of substrates (in the Atlantic mainly African languages from the Niger-Congo family) and superstrates (European languages such as English or French, among others). The English language has influenced the creation of more creole languages than any other because of the British Empire’s 350 year expansion during the colonial period (Holm, 2000: 91). One of these Creole English languages¹ began emerging on the island of St. Kitts in the Caribbean after British settlers established themselves there in 1624 and began planting and harvesting tobacco with the help of indentured servants, but then progressed to sugar cane production which necessitated the import of African slaves (Holm, 1994: 450).

St. Kitts Creole English (SKCE), or simply Kittitian, is one of the varieties that belongs to the “Leeward Caribbean English” category because of the island’s geographical position and because it shares similar characteristics with other Leeward Islands creole languages such as those found in Antigua and Barbuda (St. Kitts and Nevis, 2015). Since SKCE developed in the Atlantic at a time when it was not easy to travel to the other side of the world and electronic communications technologies, as we know them today, were non-existent, it becomes especially interesting to discover how this language became the pre-cursor of another creole language in the very distant Pacific. This paper will explore this intriguing connection and will provide what experts feel is evidence of the link between the man named Edward “Ned” Young, a native of St. Kitts, and the emergence of the Pacific language once known as Pitcairn (Pitkern) Creole English but that eventually evolved into Pitcairn/Norfolk (Pitkern/Norf’k) and is now called Norf’k.

¹ Also known as “Afro-Atlantic English-lexifier Creole Languages” (Faraclas et al., 2012: 178)

Who was Edward “Ned” Young?

Edward “Ned” Young was born in 1764 in St. Kitts according to the infamous ship *H.M.S. Bounty*’s muster on which he was employed as a midshipman, a more important position than seaman, more like an officer (Kleiner, 2012). He was believed to have been born out of wedlock to a British man and a West Indian (possibly mulatto) woman although there is no solid proof of this (Baker & Mühlhäusler, 2013: 181; Kleiner, 2012; Menzies, 2013). He was also rumored to have been either an illegitimate son or nephew of Admiral Sir George Young, the person who gave him a letter of recommendation for his position on the *Bounty*. Genealogists from St. Kitts stated in 2009 that there is no record of Edward Young in St. Kitts at the time he was born but that his records may have been lost because of disasters such as hurricanes or fires or because he was born out of wedlock and as a consequence, remained unregistered (Kleiner, 2012). It has also been speculated that Edward was a descendent of the Admiral’s first cousin James Young and that further proof of his link to the wealthy and prestigious Young family was the fact that he named all of his children after people who appeared on the family tree and even followed the family custom of naming the first born son “George” (Kleiner, 2012).

Capt. William Bligh of the *Bounty*, before the infamous mutiny on that ship (to be expanded on later), described Edward as being well-educated, well recommended, a speaker of the “King’s English” and of small stature (5’ 8”) but with a “stout” and “able” body (Kleiner, 2012; Wahlroos, 2001, Young, Edward). After the mutiny, Capt. Bligh’s description of Young changed. Edward was later considered to be “of a dark complexion with rather a bad look” and had lost several teeth while those remaining were all rotten. He also had a tattoo of a heart emblazoned with his initials and the year 1788 or 1789 (Siegel, 2011; Wahlroos, 2001, Young, Edward). This change in attitude and disposition towards Young were a direct consequence of the unfortunate event of the mutiny of which Bligh was the main target. Concerning the languages that Young spoke, he apparently did use a more standard form of English when necessary, but St. Kitts Creole English, which he presumably learned during his childhood on St. Kitts, is hypothesized to be the language that he used when in informal situations (Baker & Mühlhäusler, 2013: 170). Both of these language varieties accompanied him from the Atlantic to the Pacific aboard the *Bounty* and played a very important role in the formation of a new language: Pitkern Creole English.

The mutiny on the *Bounty*

According to several accounts, the *H.M.S. Bounty* was on a special mission when it set sail on December 23, 1787 from England to the island of Tahiti in the Pacific (by way of Cape Horn) on a quest for breadfruit to feed the slaves living on the British islands in the Caribbean. After encountering difficulties on the voyage around Africa’s Cape of

Good Hope, the *Bounty* finally arrived in Tahiti (Otaheite) on October 24, 1788. Because by then it was the rainy season, Bligh and his men settled in for a five month long stay during which they took care of their fledgling breadfruit trees in a specially equipped nursery and prepared them for their long return voyage and future transplanting in the Caribbean.

During their stay on this island with access to the warm temperatures, abundant food, and favors of many of the native women, there were several incidents of desertion, disobedience, neglect, or irresponsibility on behalf of the ship's sailors that infuriated Capt. Bligh and caused friction between him and the crew, notably with Fletcher Christian who was a Master's Mate and who had previously been under Bligh's command on other ships and had a closer relationship with him than the others (Linder, 2004; Mutiny, 2014). When the *Bounty* finally initiated its return trip to the Caribbean it was April 5, 1789 and along with the breadfruit trees, there was a festering resentment about to erupt on the ship which would change all of their lives forever. On subsequent stops at close by islands in the Pacific (April 11, and 24), Bligh allegedly continued berating the sailors for offenses such as stealing coconuts on the ship, being afraid of the natives while kegging water, and allowing the natives to steal one of their small anchors. These last two accusations were directed at Fletcher Christian who argued bitterly with Bligh and was observed with tears streaming down his face after one argument. Bligh also decreed that as a punishment, the men would have their yam rations cut in half (Linder, 2004). It all came to a head in the predawn hours of April 28 when Christian and other shipmates decided to initiate a mutiny on the *Bounty*². Capt. Bligh was dragged out of his cabin and along with eighteen other seamen of diverse ranks, was forced into a 23 ft. longboat with minimal provisions of food and water, no sextant or map, and just a compass, quadrant, and four cutlasses to defend themselves. Three other loyal seamen were left behind on the ship for lack of space and Bligh promised to remember their loyalty (Bligh, 1790). He and the men who accompanied him eventually made landfall on several islands in the Pacific and after an arduous journey with little loss of life, managed to return to England the following year (Bligh, 1790).

The twenty-five men who stayed onboard the *Bounty* were subsequently considered outlaws or "pirates" except for the three loyalists (Bligh, 1790) and continued their journey looking for refuge and a hideaway from the British authorities (Linder, 2004). The men who became known as the "mutineers" included the following: Fletcher Christian, Peter Haywood, Edward Young, George Stewart, Charles Churchill, John Mills, James Morrison, Thomas Burkitt, Mathew Quintal, John Sumner, John Millward, William M'Koy (McCoy), Henry Hillbrant, Michael Byrne, William Musprat, Alexander

² Edward "Ned" Young was supposedly asleep when this happened and did not participate actively during the mutiny itself but did openly support Fletcher Christian once the mutiny had taken place, and the mutineers were on their quest for a hideaway (Wahlroos, 2001; Young, Edward).

Smith (a.k.a. John Adams), John Williams, Thomas Ellison, Isaac Martin, Richard Skinner, Matthew Thompson, William Brown, Joseph Coleman, Charles Norman, and Thomas M'Intosh [McIntosh] (Bligh, 1790). Fletcher Christian continued at the ship's helm and decided to attempt to establish a colony on the island of Tubuai, about 350 miles south of Tahiti. This effort failed because of a lack of supplies and a hostile indigenous population, so the mutineers sailed back to Tahiti, reloaded the ship with livestock and plants, left sixteen of the mutineers there (some were loyalists, and others were unwilling to continue with Christian), and sailed away with twelve Tahitian women, six Tahitian men, and one small girl (one of the women's daughters) allegedly kidnapped while visiting onboard the ship (Wahlroos, 2001b).

Most of the men left in Tahiti were captured by a British search party and died as prisoners in a subsequent shipwreck, were court-martialed and executed by hanging for mutiny after being returned to England, or were pardoned or acquitted (Linder, 2004). The nine remaining mutineers were Christian, Young, Smith (Adams), Williams, Mills, Quintal, McCoy, Brown, and Martin, and they, along with their Tahitian hostages, continued on their quest to find a remote, uninhabited island where they could live in isolation, undiscovered by the authorities. Pitcairn Island was the erroneously charted haven that they chanced upon in January 1790, and it became their refuge after they unloaded their supplies, burned the ship, and divided the Tahitian women among themselves as wives.

The Tahitian men were treated as servants and soon revolted against this new social order, leading fairly quickly to the deaths of five of the mutineers [Christian, Mills, Martin, Brown, and Williams] and all of the Tahitian men at the hands of the remaining mutineers [Young, Adams, McCoy, and Quintal] in 1793 (Brodie, 1850). Peace was short-lived however, because by 1799 both McCoy and Quintal were also dead, McCoy because of suicide and Quintal because he had begun distilling his own liquor, drinking heavily, and acting erratically after his wife died while searching for bird's eggs on the cliffs. He demanded another of the wives as a substitute for his own, and began threatening the remaining men after they refused his petition. The others decided to get him drunk and murdered him with an axe in "self-defense." Edward Young was the next one to expire but was the first one to perish from natural causes when he died on December 25, 1800 from asthma.

This left John Adams as the sole surviving mutineer in charge of the remaining islanders: ten Tahitian women and twenty-three children fathered mostly by Christian, Young, Quintal, and Adams himself (Brodie, 1850; Young, 1881a). This group was to remain undiscovered on Pitcairn Island for almost another decade until the crew on the *Topaz*, an American ship captained by Mayhew Folger, accidentally encountered the colony while sailing close by on February 6, 1808 (Young, 1881a).

The birth of Pitcairn/Norfolk (Pitkern/Norf'k) Creole English

When Capt. Folger encountered the inhabitants of Pitcairn Island in 1808, he was astounded to discover that they spoke English:

On approaching still nearer the land, I discovered a boat paddling towards me with three men in her. On approaching her, they hailed me in the English language, asking who was the captain of the ship, and offered me a number of coconuts, which they had brought off as a present, and requested I would land, there being, as they said, a white man on shore. (Young, 1881a)

The mystery was solved when John Adams (a British Cockney speaker) stepped forward and explained that he was the only surviving mutineer from the *Bounty* and that he and the other inhabitants had lived in isolation for almost twenty years on Pitcairn and that he was the one in charge of teaching the others to read and write based on the much better educated but deceased leader Edward Young's earlier efforts with the older children and Adams himself (he had previously been illiterate) and their only book, the *Bible* saved from the *Bounty* (Baker & Mühlhäusler, 2013: 172). Patriarch Adams had become extremely pious and was repentant of his past life and deeds and had inculcated this piety and newfound virtuousness into the other members of his community (Holm, 1994: 547; Kleiner, 2012).

The language that had developed by that time on the island (Pitcairnese, Pitkern Creole English, or simply Pitkern) was mostly a mixture of the British English varieties attributed mainly to the longest surviving mutineers McCoy (Scotsman), Quintal (Cornishman), Adams (Cockney) and Young ("King's English" possibly from the Isle of Man); St. Kitts Creole English (SKCE) also attributed to Young, and some 200 Tahitian lexemes contributed by the Tahitians³. A standard acrolectal English was preserved in Adams' speech, which alternated with the basilectal creole language of the island (Ehrhart, Mair & Mühlhäusler, 2004: 3; Ross & Moverly, 1964 cited in Mühlhäusler, 2013: 233; Young, Edward, 2009). The community's isolation has offered as "near a laboratory case of creole dialect formation as we are ever likely to have" because the speakers' origins, and the exact time and place the language emerged can all be authenticated (Reineke et al., 1975 cited in Holm, 1994: 546). Because of this, linguists and sociolinguists have seen it as an extraordinary opportunity to study the language and its speakers and have embarked on more extensive research.

Edward Young's contributions have been hypothesized to be the link between the Atlantic and the Pacific because of his own knowledge of SKCE in addition to the "King's English." Pitkern Creole English has been classified as an Atlantic or semi-Atlantic creole language because of this connection, despite its genesis and presence in the Pacific (Faraclas et al., 2012: 178; Holm, 1994: 551). Researchers have been able to find

³ Because of the position of authority of the mutineers and their own native tongues, the Tahitians were allowed little input into the new language. The women spoke their Tahitian language as well, but their children learned it imperfectly because the mutineers did not value its importance (Baker & Mühlhäusler, 2013: 183; Mühlhäusler, 2013: 233).

examples of Young's Kittitian influence on Pitkern and its subsequent offshoot language Norf'k⁴. (Brodie, 1850; Nash & Mühlhäusler, 2013: 1; Young, 1881b).

St. Kitts Creole English and its link to Pitkern/Norf'k Creole English

Initial findings by researchers such as Ross and Moverly (1964) point to the following examples as words found in Pitkern/Norf'k that may originate from Edward Young and his use of 18th century SKCE: morla (tomorrow), morga (thin), nehshi (nasty), santaped (starfish), cherimoya (guava), bastard (inferior or inedible variety of a plant), and airish tieti (potato) (cited in Mühlhäusler, 2006: 107). The substitution of /l/ for /r/ in words such as "stole" (story) or "klai" (cry) and the presence of the postnominal possessive introduced by the preposition "fer" as in "house fer dem" (their house) are other indicators of SKCE (Mühlhäusler, 2013: 235).

There is conjecture that Young may have used his SKCE when playing with the children, telling stories, or in more informal circumstances but spoke a standard form of English when teaching or reading from the Bible. He was also very popular with the women, and this may have influenced their choice of English word usage or pronunciation (Baker & Mühlhäusler, 2013: 170; Faraclas et al., 2012: 178; Young, 1881a). Some of the evidence of his "standard" English use has been extracted from Young's own "manuscript journal" (now lost) but quoted as follows in Capt. Frederick Beechey's narrative from his visit in 1825 when he anchored his ship *H.M.S. Blossom* near Pitcairn and went ashore and interviewed John Adams:

Going over to borrow a rake, to rake the dust off my ground, I saw Jenny having a skull in her hand: I asked her whose it was? And was told it was Jack Williams's. I desired it might be buried: the women who were with Jenny gave me for answer, it should not. I said it should; and demanded it accordingly. I was asked the reason why I, in particular, should insist on such a thing, while the rest of the white men did not? I said, if they gave them leave to keep the skulls above ground, I did not. Accordingly when I saw McCoy, Smith, and Mat. Quintal, I acquainted them with it, and said, I thought that if the girls did not agree to give up the heads of the five white men in a peaceable manner, they ought to be taken by force, and buried. (cited in Baker & Mühlhäusler, 2013: 173)

This excerpt demonstrates Young's command of Standard written English and leads us to assume that he had the same command of spoken English.

While there is still a lot of uncertainty about Young's precise genealogical background and linguistic repertoire, further research by Baker and Mühlhäusler (2013) and their compilation of previous research by themselves and others⁵ has established even more

⁴ An additional component that was added to the language and story after Adams' death in 1829 and the colony's removal by the British navy to the island of Norfolk in 1856 because of decreasing resources on Pitcairn Island.

⁵ Parsons, 1925; Baker and Bruyn, 1999 (their work documented publications of white Kittitian performer Samuel Mathews' songs and skits in SKN [St. Kitts-Nevis Creole English] beginning in 1785 but published from 1793-

links between SKCE and Pitkern/Norf⁶k, ones that they have concluded could only have been provided by Young, with his roots in the West Indies. The compilation lists fifty features of SKCE which have been documented in Pitkern/Norf⁶k and while Baker and Mühlhäusler do not claim that all of these features are traceable to Edward “Ned” Young, they certainly provide evidence of the influence of SKCE on the new language(s). They also feel that there is evidence that he was responsible for Pitkern/Norf⁶k being much closer to standard forms of English than other contact varieties (2013:173).

In any case, it seems that despite Young’s relatively brief time on Pitcairn (ten years: 1790-1800), he made huge contributions to the emerging languages there and his life deserves further study. All fifty (mostly lexical) features mentioned by Baker and Mühlhäusler (2013) will not be included in this paper, but a selection from their list of the more significant ones based on comparisons with what they call St. Kitts/Nevis Creole English (SKN) from the 18th century + (onwards) and Pitkern/Norf⁶k (PNF) includes the following items:

1. **all you**⁶ ‘you (pl)’ aa(l)yu SKN 1793+, yorlyi PNF.
2. **bang** ‘hit (as a punishment)’ SKN 1793 +, ‘strike, hit, slam’ PNF.
3. **barrow** ‘castrated pig’ borra, barrow SKN, baala PNF. SKN also has a plant called fatten barrow which is believed to help pigs put on weight.
4. **bawl** ‘shout’ SKN 1793+, borlaut PNF.
5. **bubby** ‘breast’ SKN 1793+, PNF.
6. **dem** ‘the, those, their, and they’ SKN 1793+, PNF.
7. **ef** ‘if’ SKN, PNF.
8. **fowl** ‘general name for hens, cocks, chickens, etc.’ SKN 1793-, PNF.
9. **hog** ‘pig’ hog SKN 1793+, horg PNF.
10. **maga** ‘thin’ maaga SKN, morga PNF. ...[I]t was seeking the origin of this word which led Ross and Moverley (1964) to discover that this had come from the Caribbean.
11. **me one** ‘mine alone’, ‘for me’ SKN, me wawn ‘by myself’, ‘just me’ PNF.
12. **mos** ‘almost’ mos SKN 1793+, mus PNF.
13. **nasey** ‘nasty’, SKN 1793+, nehse PNF. ...lack [of] /t/... only attested in SKN and PNF.
14. **pon** ‘upon, on’ pun SKN 1793+, PNF.
15. **shimmy** ‘a child’s loose-fitting garment’ SKN, ‘singlet or undervest’ PNF.
16. **tother** ‘(the) other’ turrer SKN 1793+, tudder PNF.
17. **what side** ‘where’ SKN, PNF.
18. **whoop** ‘hide-and-seek’ SKN, hide-hoo-up PNF.

1822); Baker and Huber, 2001; Avram, 2003; Baker and Pederson, fieldwork from 1997-2007; Mühlhäusler fieldwork, 1993-2013 cited in Baker and Mühlhäusler, 2013: 174.

⁶ Bold lettering (for clarity), a bit of deletion or summary, and new numbering and alphabetical order for some of the features are my own. The rest is verbatim from the source.

19. **worser** ‘worse’ wosser SKN 1793+, wasa PNF.
20. **yahoo** “an alternative name for the monkey” SKN, “a kind of bogeyman (?)” PNF. Perhaps from Eng. yahoo “A name invented by Swift [1726] for an imaginary race of brutes having the form of men [...]”
21. **big eye**⁷ ‘fish sp[ecies]’ (apparently *Apogon* sp[ecies] in both PNF and SKN). The species found at Norfolk and St Kitts both have an unusually large eye for their size, which does of course mean that the name “big eye” would have been a rather obvious one to give them in both locations. Nevertheless, Young would have been the only mutineer who would be familiar with a very similar fish of this name.
22. **goatfish** *Pseudupeneus maculatus* SKN, (*Upeneus maculatus* in the USA) PNF.
23. **kingfish** *Scomberomorus cavalla* SKN, probably *Seriola grandis* Castelnau PNF.
24. **parrot fish** unidentified fish sp[ecies] SKN, a variegated fish PNF.
25. **snapper** In the Caribbean, the name “snapper” is applied to various *Lutjanus* sp[ecies] of fish. In the SW Pacific, “snapper” is applied to several fish sp[ecies] not closely related to *Lutjanus* but nevertheless similar in size and appearance [...].
26. **thick lip** *Anisotiemus surinamensis* SKN, unidentified fish sp[ecies] PNF.
27. **yellowtail** *Ocyrus chrysurus* SKN, fish of the family Carangidae PNF
28. English orthographic “**v**” is **variably pronounced [w] or [v] in both SKN and PNF**, e.g. SKN low ‘love’, wex ‘vex’, PNF waeli ‘valley’, laewa ‘liver’. Within the Caribbean, this tendency is limited to the Leeward Islands.
29. **Both SKN and PFN add prepositions to verbs with enormous frequency** and with little if any semantic difference from the use of the verb alone, e.g. in both **cook up** just means ‘cook’ while SKN **jess up** and PRN **dress up** both simply mean ‘get dressed’. In SKN both **season down** and **season up** mean only ‘season (meat)’. In other cases the addition of the preposition appears to add emphasis or surprise, e.g. SKN **return back** ‘return’, dat fella **kill op** me wife ‘... killed my wife!’.
30. **[l]/[r] variation**. This is attested in early SKN (1793+), e.g. kirry ‘kill’, terry ‘tell’ but is no longer current. Examples in PNF include kaali ‘carry’ and baala ‘barrow.’ (pp. 174-179)

How much Edward Young actually contributed to Pitkern/Norfolk is still a subject of debate although, as observed in the previous list, evidence is increasing in his favor and has been substantiated with comparisons of the new language and the one spoken on St. Kitts in the 18th century. Baker and Mühlhäusler (2013) also indicate that Young’s standard English must have been learned in England at some point in his life, but that solid evidence of his whereabouts and education before he sailed away on the *Bounty* in 1787 has been difficult to find. They mention that Capt. Bligh made a note of midshipman Hayward’s Manx accent in his logbook but while he did describe Young as being well educated, did not mention Young’s speech or Caribbean accent at all, leading to a possible contradiction concerning Young’s link to Kittitian. The researchers

⁷ It is believed that only Edward Young could have identified the tropical fish with names from the Atlantic.

hypothesize that his Kittitian was probably only used with his mother at home or in St. Kitts when he lived there in his childhood years, but that he used his more formal or standard English when needed and to reflect his education (182). Since evidence continues to mount in favor of his use of Kittitian while on Pitcairn Island, it may be safe to say that Young was the linguistic link between the Atlantic and the Pacific and the originator of the Caribbean element in the new language known as Pitkern.

Conclusion

The arrival of British teachers John Buffett, John Evans, and George Hunn Nobbs beginning in 1823⁸ (before Adams' death in 1829) and the Pitcairners' subsequent move to Norfolk Island (a former British penal colony) in 1856 by the British navy because of the depleted resources on Pitcairn (Grube, 2013; Young, 1881b), added a new chapter to the story of the language and created another variety of it called Norf'k (Norfolk). As is the case with most creole languages, Pitkern and this expanded variety encountered prejudice and discrimination when spoken on Norfolk Island and Norf'k was called a "bastard jargon" by the Australian authorities in the 1930s⁹ after decades of attempting to eradicate the language from schools (Grube, 2013; Ross & Moverly, 1964 cited in Holm, 1994: 549).

In spite of the influx of "mainlanders" (from Australia or other parts of the world), and the derogatory treatment of their language, the Islanders have maintained it as a part of their identity and used it among themselves as a way to distinguish the "insiders" from the "outsiders." Nevertheless, they have also taken pride in their ability to speak their variety of Standard English (it has been described as "resembling the English of an educated Scotsman or North Country man, having little to do with Australian English") and will speak it with "outsiders" in order to show their education (Holm, 1994: 549). After fighting discrimination for many decades, Norf'k was finally given the status of official language in 2004¹⁰ although it had already been included in schools curricula since 1987 when the previous policy was overturned. It was taught as an elective beginning in 2001 but is now taught from Kindergarten to the 9th grade as part of the regular program (Grube, 2013). In 2007, Norf'k was declared an endangered language by UNESCO, and this created a new sense of urgency for the preservation of the language as well as increasing interest in learning or using it. Furthermore, the islanders still employ it as a way to show affection and camaraderie with others who share their

⁸ The Pitcairners had been "discovered" again by two British navy ships (*H.M.S. Briton and Tagus*) in 1814, six years after American Capt. Folger had sighted and visited the island. The educators arrived at the request of John Adams because of his own perceived infirmities and desire to continue the younger generation's education and religious indoctrination. Adams was never prosecuted for his role as a mutineer and was admired for his ability to raise such a virtuous, disciplined, and religious community of people (Young, 1881a)

⁹ Norfolk had been annexed to the Commonwealth of Australia in 1914 (Holm, 1994: 549).

¹⁰ Efforts by scholars Beryl Nobbs in 1986 (*Dictionary of Norfolk words and usages*), Alice Buffett and Don Laycock in 1988 (*Speak Norfolk today*) and Alice Buffett 1999 (a new edition of *Speak Norfolk today* and the *Encyclopaedia of the Norfolk Language*) fomented a new appreciation of the language (Grube, 2013).

background (Grube, 2013), but now also acknowledge its value and unique function “as a repository of individual and collective memory that sustains a positive islander identity” (Mühlhäusler, 2006: 110).

As for Edward “Ned” Young, he would probably be astounded by the progress and changes made to the language he helped originate two hundred and twenty-six years ago on the island of Pitcairn. He was a man in dire straits, who because of sheer necessity and ingenuity, managed to create a life for himself and others and became an important piece of a linguistic puzzle that is still confounding researchers, but is being increasingly recognized as the missing link between two regions of our planet. Through him, the Atlantic met the Pacific and forged a lasting tie between people on opposite sides of the world, both of whom encountered harsh circumstances, created unique languages, and survived in the face of adversity. This language, which had a “mutinous” beginning, lives on in its speakers on Norfolk Island and is evidence of our resilience as humans and of our never-ending need for a means of communication with others.

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PHONOLOGICAL CHANGE IN GUYANESE: LINGUISTIC IDEALIZATION VS. CULTURAL EVOLUTION

ALIM HOSEIN

UNIVERSITY OF GUYANA

Introduction

Lipski (2011: 277) observes that “... the motivations and mechanisms responsible for decreolisation are subject to ongoing debate”, and researchers who study supposedly decreolising Creoles have shown that while changes are noticeable in such languages, the processes are far from smooth or straight-forward. For example, the evidence that Seigel (2008: 235-268) has provided from Tok Pisin and Hawai‘ian Creole shows that in fact, a complex situation is found in these so-called decreolising/post-creole languages. In addition to some of the processes predicted by proponents of decreolisation, Seigel found other processes that contradict conventional scenarios of decreolisation, such as the greater use of some anglicized forms in rural rather than urban areas, lexical expansion through the resources of the language itself rather than through English, and a process that he calls “covert decreolisation” where the form of the creole remains, but its function changes in the direction of the lexifier.

Such findings pose other questions, among them those of language change, social identity, and the agency of the speakers of the language in determining how their language will evolve. Even as they undergo change, creole forms are important markers of identity for speakers. In a 1979 study of attitudes to Creole in Guyana, Rickford found reason to argue that the commonly-held view of negative attitudes towards Creole should be nuanced, since Guyanese speakers *did* have positive attitudes towards the creole language. Even though such positive views were recorded among what he called the “estate class” rather than the “non-estate class”, it is not surprising to find that such attitudes have spread outside of the “estate class” since 1979. Rickford’s study marked the early stages of a shifting of attitudes towards creole, a process that has been strengthened over the subsequent years by a number of factors in Guyana including a high degree of cultural identification, a small population of people in close contact with one another, lax class distinctions coupled with easy social mobility, ease of communication, and lack of clear models of Standard English. In a survey of language attitudes that I did in 2010 (Hosein, 2012) among 40 students at the University of Guyana, 27 agreed that Creole must be used as much as English. Interestingly, 22 out of the 28 younger (age range 17-

30) students in the group agreed on this, while 5 out of 12 students aged 31-50 agreed, suggesting that older, more conservative views about the language have been eroding. Such factors and attitudes create an environment in which the processes of decreolisation do not proceed in the conventional manner. This may be even more true in the case of phonology, for which there are usually no text books, and even the deliberate “correcting” of particular pronunciations may be a haphazard business depending on the teachers’ view of what the pronunciation should be, as Irvine (2004) has shown to be the case in examples from the Jamaican education system.

In this article, I look at samples of speech from Guyanese (hereafter GY) speakers over a period of more than 50 years. This diachronic approach allows us to see how creole elements of pronunciation persist, despite the efforts of normative authorities (indeed two of the samples point to highly negative views of the pronunciation of words by Guyanese). Yet, as we will see, items of creole pronunciation not only continue to exist, but even continue to cross the boundaries that linguists have tried to establish in defining levels of Guyanese Creole. In the process, creole phonology has entered areas of language use where one would expect to see maximum convergence with English. While this might result in what some see as errors, it is in fact part of the evolutionary development of Guyanese culture and identity. In light of Bickerton’s (1980: 109-110) definition of decreolisation in terms of change in individual and community grammars, it is interesting to examine, using the diachronic view, how phonological change has been proceeding in GY.

Table 1 Features of Katherine’s phonology

FEATURES	BASILECTAL SPEAKER	KATHERINE
h-deletion	hadn’t > <i>adnt</i>	no
initial stop deletion	di doz > <i>diz</i> yu doz > <i>yuz</i>	no
variable absence of initial /w/	wood > <i>ud/wud</i>	no
consonant cluster simplification	test > <i>tes</i>	yes
vowel laxing	day > <i>di</i>	yes
variable absence of post-vocalic /t/	but > <i>bo</i>	yes
stops replacing interdental fricative	th > <i>t</i>	yes
/n/ rather than ng	playing > <i>playin</i>	yes
post-vocalic /r/-lessness	paper > <i>peepo</i>	yes
palatalization	garden > <i>gyardn</i>	yes

Unclear boundaries

I begin with two samples of data from studies of Guyanese speech carried out by two Guyanese sociolinguists. These studies were done more than 30 years ago, but as we will see they describe a phonological landscape that is still applicable today.

John Rickford's "Cane Walk" data (*Dimensions of a Creole Continuum*, 1987) collected from 1976 and 1978 – some 40 years ago – contain many examples of different levels of creole speech from Guyana. The first example I will use is Katherine, a then 13 year-old girl who was described as one of the "upwardly mobile" persons in the community, attending a prestigious city high school, distancing herself from the Cane Walk people, and claiming that she spoke "proper English". Rickford points out, however, that there are features present in Katherine's language which she shares with the other persons of her community who are characterized as basilectal speakers, as indicated below:

Some other features from another of Rickford's Cane Walk acrolect speakers, Bonnette, are also interesting:

Affrication of /t/ or /d/ before /r/ - *trying* > *chraiyn*; *drunk* > *jronk*

Short, back, rounded lower mid vowel replacing the English short, central, unrounded, unstressed vowel so that *up* is realized as *op*.

These features of Katherine's Bonnette's speech are now to be found at all levels of speech in GY.

The divergence between urban and rural forms is one of the purported indicators of decreolisation. In a study done in 1975 comparing the sociolinguistic behavior of urban speakers and rural speakers in Guyana, Walter Edwards concluded that there "was a clear difference in the sociolinguistic structure of urban and rural communities" (p.1). He revisited this study in 1994, and confirmed his position: "[m]y review has left me still occupying the position that...the Georgetown and rural varieties are best analyzed as different varieties" (p.10). But while Edwards confirms his thesis, what I find interesting are some observations that he makes about the main exemplars he used in order to establish a difference between urban and rural speech.

In discussing Oswald B, the rural informant that he uses as his sample speaker of the rural variety, Edwards notes that "[h]is idiolect...displayed some evidence of acculturation to the Georgetown dialects" (p. 6). Thus, while Oswald's idiolect contains typical creole phonological signatures such as: *pork* > *pook*; *start* > *staat*; *fork* > *faak*; *first* > *fos*; *more* > *moo*; *here* > *hey*; *there* > *deh*; *in* > *iin*; *water* > *waata*; he also has the following features in his speech: *dirt* > *dert* (along with other variants *dot*, *doti*); *for* > *fer*; *there* > *deyr*. Edwards accounts for these as borrowings from English pronunciations and as intra-sentential code switching (p.7).

On the other hand, the main Georgetown informant, Isaac, who is described as having “the most numerous Urban Creole features” also has some “rural” features in his speech. These include articulations such as: burn > *bun*; first > *fos*; there > *deh*; and the use of /a/ in words with underlying /o/. Notably, Oswald B. was in his early 40’s at the time he was interviewed in 1974 while Isaac was either 20 or 23 at that time (these two different ages are given, based on the same year – 1974).

These data show that it is difficult to draw clear lines between the phonological features that would distinguish social levels of GY speech whether they are described as acrolectal/mesolectal vs. basilectal or urban vs. rural, even though some specific phonological and grammatical features may be found in each of these lects. Oswald B’s use of “urban” phonology is understandable given the directionality of rural to urban change which Romaine (1988) and others have long identified as a marker of decreolisation. Note, however, that Oswald B. does not discard the “rural” variants but keeps them alongside his “urban” pronunciations (*dert*, *dot*, *doti*). It is even more interesting to consider the “rural” elements in the speech of the young, urban resident Isaac, given Washa-baugh’s (1977: 334) statement that “The strongest motive for variation in decreolisation is the pressure to avoid the basilect, not the pressure to acquire the acrolect”. Oswald B’s borrowing from “urban” phonologies is understandable within the interview situation, but can Isaac’s display of “rural” features be similarly described as socially-motivated or is this a reflection of the dynamics of change within the language itself?

I think that within the discussion of decreolisation, we have to account for what the speakers of the language do with the linguistic resources they have, and the social and national identities that they are articulating and creating. One way of doing this is to look at what elements persist across different levels of the language as it evolves. Within the context of language change in GY, the persistence of creole phonology has been noted even when such phonology has been targeted for change, as the following examples show.

Creole persistence

While many features of creole phonology have disappeared or all but disappeared from GY, a number of them continue to be evident in GY speech. “Romance of English” is a list of 374 words which education officials had compiled for the “Broadcast to Schools” programme in 1958. Some of the phonological features that are evident in it have disappeared. These include:

- /v/ > [b] - *bittle* < vittle; *nebba* < never
- initial /s/ addition - *skinnip* < guinep; *struth* < truth
- initial /s/ deletion - *cratch* < scratch

Some particular pronunciations which have disappeared are: *stumbrick* < stomach; *isiday* < yesterday; *hanch* < ants; *wolf* < wool; *ang-ka-chee* < handkerchief. On the other hand, many of the “mispronunciations” it lists have survived the Ministry of Education’s best efforts to eradicate them. Not only that, but these pronunciations are common in GY and may be frequently heard in both rural and urban areas. Some of these are:

<i>fraaf</i>	<froth;	<i>consable</i>	<constable;
<i>pisen</i>	<poison;	<i>parpit</i>	<parapet;
<i>vamazelli</i>	<vermicelli;	<i>gee</i>	<give;
<i>concreek</i>	<concrete;	<i>satify</i>	<satisfy;
<i>pungkin</i>	<pumpkin;	<i>berrin-grung</i>	<burial ground

This list of “mispronunciations” was generated by Education officials in the then-outlying areas of Guyana such as Bartica (in the Essequibo region), as well as West Canje, East Canje, Corentyne, Bohemia, Rose Hall, Tain, New Amsterdam, and Friends (all in the Berbice region). These regions are all historically characterized as being “basilectal” speaking areas, with Berbice commonly understood to be the bastion of basilect creole in Guyana. However, These pronunciations, however, are common nowadays in urban Georgetown and surrounding areas.

In his *Random remarks on Creolese*, published in 1966, C.A. Yansen offers a list of what he calls “corruptions” of English pronunciation. Once again, the negative attitude towards creole phonology is evident here. Yet, while some of these “corruptions”, for example (using Yansen’s orthography) *cark-a-roach* > cockroach; *choopit* > stupid; *bakam-pan* > vacuum pan; *guglit* > goblet may be present only among the most conservative basilect speakers and are not commonly heard, others such as *wutliss* > worthless; *salapenta* > salamander; and *rubbage* > rubbish are still active, with the final two being very widespread. In fact “rubbage” is almost the default GY pronunciation of the word. There are other examples, which, while they no longer exist specifically, illustrate features which are still noticeable. For example *sterling* > stelling. The /r/ inserted into “stelling” is no longer existent, but /r/ insertion is not an unknown feature as we will see later.

Contemporary speech

In comparison with the samples above, I now look at samples of contemporary GY speech. These samples were also taken from speech in more formal circumstances, which ought to reflect a reduction or even absence of creole influence. I avoid the use of the concepts acrolect, mesolect and basilect in this discussion, since the language used by Guyanese displays much variability, and also because that terminology, in my mind, fails to capture the complexity of the linguistic and social interaction of language

use in Guyana. Irvine (2004) also deals with the question of how different levels of speech are conceptualized in describing Caribbean Creoles. In reference to register, in this work I use the terms “Level A” (LA), Level B (LB) and Level C (LC) to refer to language use that corresponds to high, medium and low levels of formality and expected approximations to English in terms of phonology and grammar respectively. In the examples below, I will focus on language use in LA (high formality) situations.

Speakers on TV programmes

The first 3 samples are taken from television programmes on the State television channel. These are all public-information programmes which are broadcast nationally. The first is from a Public Relations official of one of Guyana’s major public corporations. She hosts a weekly programme in which she gives information clarifying various aspects of the company’s rules and regulations. The second sample is from a Project Manager of major national utility company, who was explaining the company’s plans for a new system that was being put in place in one of the regions of Guyana. The third sample is from the Coordinator of a high-level government programme established to reform the legal system.

In each of these TV programmes, the presenters were very articulate. They were competent, experienced and responsible high-level officers of the individual corporations, and provided the public with clear, well-organised information. However, in the speech of these officials it was not unusual to hear articulations such as:

least > <i>lis</i> ;	three months > <i>thri monts</i> ;
thoroughly > <i>tarali</i> ;	paper > <i>peepo</i> ;
Sunday > <i>sondi</i> ;	East Bank > <i>iis bank</i> ;
West Bank > <i>wes bank</i> ;	that > <i>da</i> ;
start construction > <i>star construction</i> ;	kindly > <i>kainli</i>

The table below summarises some features found in the speech of these three persons and attests to the fact that none of these speakers show a total or strong absence of the features that mark speech at other levels in GY. Also, there is great similarity among the speakers with respect to these features.

Table 2 Phonological features – Speakers on television programs

		PRESENT IN SPEAKER'S LANGUAGE?		
FEATURE	EXAMPLE	Project Manager	Public Relations Officer	Law-Programme Administrator
Initial /th/ > [t]	<i>think</i> > <i>tink</i>	yes	variable	no
Initial /th/ > [d]	<i>that</i> > <i>dat</i>	yes	variable	yes
Final /th/ > [t]	<i>with</i> > <i>wit</i>	yes	variable	yes
Deleted final /t/	<i>aspect</i> > <i>aspek</i>	yes	variable	yes
Deleted final /d/	<i>depend</i> > <i>depen</i>	no	yes	variable
/ing/ > [in]	<i>doing</i> > <i>doin</i>	yes	no	no
Monophthongisation	<i>down</i> > <i>dong</i>	yes	?	yes
Eroded word junctures	<i>start back</i> > <i>star back</i>	yes	yes	?
Reduced clusters	<i>kindly</i> > <i>kainli</i>	yes	yes	?
Peripheralisation	<i>her</i> > <i>hor</i>	yes	yes	yes
Vowel raising	<i>also</i> > <i>olso</i>	yes	yes	yes
Final /r/-fulness	<i>water</i> <u>r</u>	yes	variable	variable

Speakers at a conference

The second set of samples come from a conference held in Georgetown. It comprises the speech of six Guyanese who live and work in Guyana. These persons were selected because they read their papers at this conference which was an occasion that required a high level of English, and the presenters clearly understood this and attempted to meet expectations. The table below shows that there is strong correspondence on a range of features found among these six persons. These are:

Table 3 Phonological Features – Speakers at Conference

FEATURE	SPEAKERS					
	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6
Final /d/ deletion	variable	variable	variable	variable	variable	variable
Initial /th/ > [t]	variable	variable	variable	variable	yes	variable
Final /th/ > [t]	variable	variable	yes	yes	variable	yes
Peripheralisation	no	variable	variable	yes	yes	no
Final /t/ deletion	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	variable
Final /g/ deletion	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
/th/ > [d]	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
/wh/ > [w]	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Word juncture elision	yes	yes	yes	yes	? ¹	yes

Syllable reduction	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
Vowel copying: /other/ > [odo]	yes	yes	no	no	yes	no
Fricativisation /try/ > [chrai]	?	yes	?	?	yes	?
Final /r/-fulness	no	no	?	no	no	no
Medial /r/ addition /modernize/ > [mor- denise]	no	no	yes	no	no	no
Medial /r/ deletion /in- terpret/ > [interpit]	yes	no	no	no	no	no
Syllable deletion	no	no	no	yes	no	no
Vowel raising: /also/ > [olso]	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Vowel rounding: /ball/ > [bol]	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Medialised vowels jorjtong > jerjtong	yes	variable	yes	?	?	yes

The tables show that while the speakers at the conference show more careful articulation than that of the television presenters, they are not free from creole influence. Some common elements are: deletion of final stops and the stopping of fricatives and other more distinctive features such as elision at word juncture, syllable reduction, fricativisation, peripheralisation of vowels, monophthongisation, and vowel copying. When the two tables are compared, it can also be seen that there is no marked difference between pronunciations in the reading mode (conference) and the speaking mode at the formal level (TV presenters), and that there are elements such as medial /r/ insertion and medial /r/ deletion, which did not show up in the speech of the TV speakers but were evidenced among the conference speakers. The last three items in Table 3 show that the speakers seem to be making an attempt at more English-like pronunciations, involving such phenomena as vowel rounding, vowel raising, and the medialising of vowel articulation.

Discussion

The diachronic comparison above shows that over the years, elements from creole have continued to be important features in the repertoires of Guyanese speakers. Such elements are clear at all levels of speech on the classic continuum model and make it difficult to establish precise boundaries between these levels. The kind of boundary permeability recorded by earlier researchers continues to exist in contemporary GY rather than to disappear. Moreover, as time goes on, more and more elements of creole phonology are integrated into most social lects. Such elements attested in the TV and conference data are not due to style shifting – in the TV examples, there was no context for

this to happen and in the conference, such shifting did not arise. Also, the use of these elements was not due to code switching, emphasis, or the emotional state of the speaker, but arguably reflect the speakers' underlying phonological grammar. Also of note is the great degree of consistency among the speakers in their realization of creole phonological features.

Given the above, what are the elements of sociophonological distinction in Guyana? Are there trends towards “preferred” and “stigmatised” elements in the phonology of the language? How are such elements distributed in speech on different social occasions? Does the speech of Guyanese show reduced or increased ranges of phonological diversity at different social levels? What directions of phonological change can be seen? I think there are socio-phonological reasons that explain the kinds of repertoires we have seen in the examples above. For example, in Guyanese society there is the concept of “brawling” speech which is socially equated with uncouthness, lack of social standing and ruralness. A main characteristic of this kind of speech is the use of the long, low /a/ sound. Therefore, speakers who aspire to upward social mobility try to avoid this. Therefore, shifts such as /a:/ > /ɔ/ – e.g. *ba:ll* vs *bɔl* – are valued and robust. It is not surprising, then to see that one sound that is consistently realized in almost all of the LA speakers I have cited is the more rounded and raised articulation of /a/ which is clear in words such as: *also* > *olso*; *water* > *wotr*; *all* > *ol*; *what* > *wot*; *one* > *won*; and *call* > *kol*. This phoneme is the most consistently articulated LA marker in GY. In some cases, it even leads to hypercorrection such, as in: *riot* > *royot*; *blackout* > *blockout*; *laptop* > *loptop*.

Another instance of variation caused by social factors is seen in different trajectories of vowel articulation moving towards the medial area. Some speakers attempting LA articulation move vowels towards medial articulation in words such as: *towards* > *towerd*; *Richard* > *Richerd*; *church* > *cherch*; and *turn* > *tern*. This is the feature that Edwards observed in the speech of Oswald B, his exemplar of GY rural speech, where it existed alongside other variants: *dirt* > *dert/dot/doti*. On the other hand, the opposite tendency is noted in the LA speech of some persons, where medial vowels are peripheralised, as in: *her* > *hor*; *earlier* > *orlier*; *further* > *fordr*; *us* > *os*.

This feature was noted by Rickford (1987) in his speaker Bonette. According to Rickford, Bonnette was the only one among his Cane Walk informants to show this feature, although he notes that Cassidy and Le Page, among others, had observed this as a characteristic of West African and Caribbean English pidgins and creoles. While this feature is not to be found in the samples from all the speakers in the data I collected, it is attested. Speakers that I had recorded for a 2011 study on Guyanese phonology showed similar pronunciations such as: *persons* > *porsnz*; *nurses* > *norslz*. One presenter on a television programme had both pronunciations in the same sentence: *Durban Park* >

derban park; and *touring* > *torin*, reflecting a mixing of phonologies similar to what Edwards found in his urban and rural speakers.

Words such as *over*, *other*, *water* are variously realized with final /r/ or with a vowel. Further, a preceding inter-dental fricative is sometimes realized or is sometimes stopped: *other* > ɔthr/ɔdr. A vowel ending together with a realized inter-dental fricative or a stop – ɔthə or ɔdə – is also possible. There is another variant as well, which involves the rounding of the final vowel, resulting in a situation that looks like vowel copying but could be vowel rounding for social purposes, as in: *other* > ɔdɔ. The final vowel could have been articulated with a mid-central vowel or a low back vowel, but either of these could be mistaken for less-than-LA level of pronunciation. Thus, vowel copying seems to be a way of aligning pronunciation with the social expectations for LA speech.

The monophthongisation of diphthongs (–*ong* instead of –*oun* as in: *down* > *dong*; *Georgetown* > *jorjtong*) that Rickford found in Donette's speech is also apparent in the speech of the LA speakers in the present study and is generally a feature of GY speech. While there is evidence that LC speakers diphthongize words such as: *come* > *kuom*; *money* > *muoni*; and *mud* > *muod* LA and LB speakers avoid such diphthongisation. But on the other hand, LA and LB speakers follow another creole tendency which is to flatten diphthongs in words such as *town*: *toun* > *tong*; *brown*: *broun* > *brong*. It appears that once again, social factors play a part in the articulation of such words, with these diphthongs being avoided because they would sound too artificial and pompous. It is also clear that the creole phonology of informal spoken language is entering more formal modes such as reading. This is seen in the samples from the conference. In comparison, a sample from a non-dramatic reading of a story at semi-formal public literary event in shows the following: *mother* > *mudder*; *stooped* > *stoop*; *woman* > *wumon*; *almost* > *a:mos*; and *thought* > *to:t*.

Conclusion

The data in this paper cover different instances of GY speech including reading vs. speaking, rural vs urban, different social levels, data from the past and contemporary data, etc., but in all cases, we see that GY speakers carry features of creole phonology from one level of language use to other levels where such elements might not be expected. This happens even as they change their geographical location, social status, mode of language, or context of language use. This is noted even in the most formal repertoires of the speakers, and even in the most formal modes of speech. For example in formal speech we see creole phonology in words such as *thoroughly* > *tarali*; *paper* > *peepo*; *Sunday* > *sondi*. Creole phonology is used unselfconsciously, even when the speaker is conscious of the wider socio-linguistic context in which he or she is speaking.

In a 1979 study of attitudes towards creole in Guyana, Rickford suggested that there were push and pull factors that motivated persons to use creole or English. The factors that he found at that time reflect functionality and the utility value of either language (e.g. the use of English when meeting “important people” or the use of creole being valuable to a politician). But the range of instances in which we see creole phonology integrated into the speech of Guyanese, even in situations in which we would expect more formal use of language, reflects a more widespread use of creole phonology that has developed in the language. To be sure, phonological change will continue to be evident in the language, with pronunciations such as *fraaf* (froth), *pisen* (poison), *gee* (give) being clearly stigmatised for use at LA. On the other hand, however, there is evidence that articulations such as *parpit* (parapet), *vamazelli* (vermicelli) and *rubbage* (rubbish) are entering the LA performance of GY speakers. Another example of this is /r/ insertion or deletion of medial /r/ as in *mordernise* and *interpit* which is shown in only two speakers at the conference, but which is notable in this type of speech situation and also because of the fact that the persons were reading their speeches. Such /r/ insertion, e.g.: *to it* > *torit*; *following* > *folloing* has also been heard from other speakers in similar LA situations outside of the sample used in this paper.

Finally, it is useful to remember the conclusion reached by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985: 188) after researching the relationship between language and identity among creole speakers in the Caribbean: “We should constantly remind ourselves that languages do not do things; people do things; languages are abstractions from what people do”. The phonological patterns reported on in the present article offer interesting insights into the linguistic dimension of the development of national and social identities in Guyana, as well as providing evidence which supports the case of those who argue for a reconsideration of the notion of linguistic change in Caribbean post-creole societies.

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LA JERGA DE LA COMUNIDAD HOMOSEXUAL DE PUERTO RICO

ANTHONY DÍAZ VÁZQUEZ
UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO

Introducción

El lenguaje es uno de los signos que mejor refleja las actitudes e ideologías de una sociedad. Cada grupo social construye y constituye una comunidad particular que incluye, a su vez, prácticas sociales, lenguaje creativo, fórmulas de tratamientos y patrones culturales, entre otros. Es por esto que se examina el espacio discursivo que emplea la comunidad homosexual de Puerto Rico para conformar una jerga-antilenguaje que constituye la identidad. Se utiliza como marco metodológico la etnografía de la comunicación para identificar el espacio lingüístico que utilizan los hablantes y los procedimientos de comunicación jergal de una comunidad lingüística heterogénea.

Un elemento importante que caracteriza todo sistema lingüístico es su variedad lingüística o dialectal. En el habla cotidiana es usual que se utilicen nuevas estructuras lingüísticas que operan en contra de lo que ya se ha establecido. La jerga se ha constituido como un medio de transmitir mensajes y contenidos, porque en su conformación se hallan las marcas y características que identifican a los hablantes como miembro de un grupo social.

En la comunidad homosexual es normal la modificación de estructuras jergales como estrategia lingüística que se emplea para establecer nuevas palabras y/o representaciones semánticas; y muchas veces, a través de las mismas, se matizan la identidad y la visión de mundo. El proceso de modificación jergal se articula en las estructuras semánticas y pragmáticas del sistema léxico y morfosintáctico del español. Este proceso de modificación se conoce como la relexificación, es decir, dar un nuevo nombre a las cosas que solo el grupo social conoce (la apropiación lingüística). Es por esto que la variedad lingüística es un elemento que otorga o determina poder a un grupo (Martínez, 2011).

A través del proceso de modificación jergal se ha de producir un discurso que se articula a partir de la ideología y de la identidad del hablante. Para Foucault (2001), el discurso es una forma de estructurar las áreas de conocimiento y es ante todo una práctica social. Esto implica que el discurso social es una forma de conocimiento o interpretación particular de los acontecimientos como las estrategias jergales. Las mismas no solo reflejan

o representan las identidades y las relaciones sociales, también las construyen o las constituyen.

Las modificaciones jergales se emplean por procesos de interacción social que modulan a la variedad lingüística de una comunidad lingüística. Según Martín (1993), hay varios procesos que constituyen la interacción social como la construcción e interpretación del significado, la presentación del ‘public self-image’, el uso de información, la expresión de las relaciones de poder y el manejo del espacio de la conversación. Estos procesos se circunscriben en el evento comunicativo según la postura que adopta el hablante al momento de la interacción. Por lo que la jerga homosexual, no como otras jergas, puede estar al alcance de todo hablante que se inserte en el espacio lingüístico de la comunidad.

Levinson (1978) indica que el hablante posee deseos al momento de la interacción para satisfacer dos tendencias; una es establecer la conexión social con otros individuos y, otra, constituir la protección de su individualidad. Estos deseos de interacción pueden cambiar entre los interlocutores. A pesar de la individualidad, al momento de la interacción, la jerga homosexual es empleada como medio de consolidación de grupos sociales.

En esta investigación se examina el espacio lingüístico creado por los hablantes de la comunidad homosexual en Puerto Rico. Presentamos una lista de palabras que establecen el cambio lingüístico de dicha comunidad. Además, se presenta el cambio mediante la relexificación, creando una jerga. La escasez y la ausencia de este tipo de estudio de la jerga homosexual nos han llevado a diseñar un estudio con el fin de obtener información referente al manejo del lenguaje de los hablantes. El estudio examina un aspecto no estudiado dentro del contexto académico, cuyo impacto social se ha reflejado en la sociedad puertorriqueña.

Estado de la cuestión

Normalmente, el hablar con otras personas se nos hace algo de lo más natural, sin embargo, el lenguaje es algo complejo donde interactúan diversas actividades lingüísticas que, generalmente, no tomamos en cuenta. En ciertas comunidades lingüísticas, la modificación a la estructura lingüística es producto de una realidad sociocultural e histórica de comunidades de hablas bilingües y hasta multilingües quienes están inmersos en una pluralidad de gramáticas. Estos hablantes se insertan en un determinado contexto por situaciones laborales, sociales y económicas, entre otros. Cuando el hablante está insertado en dos o más comunidades lingüísticas, las estructuras jergales no necesariamente serán iguales ni semántica ni pragmáticamente, por lo que el contexto distribuye las estructuras lingüísticas para comprender los significados de una comunidad lingüística determinada.

Martín (1993) en su artículo titulado “The jargon of delinquents and the study of conversational dynamics”, desarrolló un estudio en el que analiza cómo se desenvuelve la conversación, observando las conexiones entre las actitudes y el comportamiento de la conversación en el uso de las modificaciones jergales de los delincuentes. Estableció unas correlaciones entre la interacción de los hablantes de modo que se emplearon tres factores según el contexto carcelario: las relaciones de poder, el distanciamiento y espacio social, y las actitudes de los hablantes. La investigadora lo trabajó desde una perspectiva lingüística. Primero, destacó que en el espacio social, los individuos construyen su propia identidad, creando “an island of identity”; término que utiliza la investigadora. Expone que las modificaciones jergales juegan un rol decisivo en la delimitación e identificación de los grupos sociales (los delincuentes). Por una parte, utiliza dos criterios para la definición de “grupo social”: la frecuencia de la interacción y su naturaleza. Los mismos se utilizaron para explorar el impacto del espacio social de la conversación y, a su vez, analizar la interacción entre el espacio social y de poder. En segundo lugar, subrayó que en la conversación, el distanciamiento social es expresado por la cooperación y la negociación, mientras que las relaciones de poder pueden representarse como una dimensión vertical mediante el grado de imposición entre hablantes. Por último, recalcó que las actitudes de conversación establecen la representación de la actitud que el hablante toma en el momento de la interacción. Dicho de otra manera, establece la disposición en la que los hablantes se acercan a la situación comunicativa y las relaciones establecidas por los interlocutores, ya que a través de las actitudes se puede definir o determinar lo que es individual o social.

Por otro lado, Martínez (2011) trabajó las estrategias jergales en el contexto puertorriqueño de los jóvenes raperos/reguetoneros, analizando el uso de la lengua estándar en la lírica y las estrategias lingüístico-discursivas. Utilizó la alternancia de código, los préstamos lingüísticos, la onomatopeya y las expresiones coloquiales como marcas léxicas que se emplearon en la conformación del sociolecto que contribuyó a constituir la identidad de los raperos/reguetoneros. En su estudio, destacó que la variedad lingüística utilizada es una variedad prestigiada para los hablantes de ese grupo, por lo que no es una variedad de prestigio para la sociedad en general. Es decir, una variedad lingüística puede percibirse como elemento de identidad, porque crea espacios de resistencia y barreras para los que no pertenecen a la misma.

Es por esto que los espacios contextuales responden al uso jergal. Calsamiglia y Tusón (2007) señalan que el ‘contexto’ es un término importante y definitorio en el contorno pragmático. De la misma manera, recalcan que la descripción y el análisis de los usos lingüísticos marcan una “línea divisoria” entre los aspectos discursivos y gramaticales. Según Renkema (1999), se ha producido confusión con el término “contexto”. Puesto que se ha utilizado para representar “situación” o “situación discursiva”. Sin embargo, denota otros elementos como las partes del discurso o actos de habla que rodean componentes del mismo. El contexto califica el escenario, que incluye los elementos físicos

(tiempo y espacio, y su organización) que articulan en los actos de habla, por lo que la contextualización utilizada por la comunidad variará de acuerdo al uso lingüístico.

Por otro lado, la pragmática y el contexto trabajan simultáneamente. Jackendoff (2002) arguye que el uso de una sola palabra depende del contexto significativamente y debe interpretarse en cualquier situación dada con “una dosis liberal de pragmática”. Al no darse el proceso de modificación jergal en un contexto, ¿cómo el hablante de una comunidad particular podrá interpretar el significado de la palabra? De ahí que se defina pragmática como el estudio del significado contextualizado por el mensaje que comunica una expresión jergal. De acuerdo con Escandell (1993), la pragmática estudia las condiciones que determinan el empleo del enunciado concreto emitidos por hablantes concretos en situaciones comunicativas concretas, y su interpretación por parte de los destinatarios. Podemos establecer que la modificación jergal podría examinarse dentro del marco de los actos de habla de los hablantes insertados en un contexto determinado para así manifestarse en el momento de la producción lingüística por una comunidad lingüística particular. Es por esto que las competencias comunicativas de estos hablantes, en el caso de la comunidad homosexual, pueden incluir reglas de comunicación o de interacción, reglas culturales que son la base para el contexto y el contenido de la comunicación.

Marco teórico

182 Halliday (1978) postuló la teoría de las variedades lingüísticas que se empleará como parte de este estudio que enmarca la discusión sobre la modificación jergal de los homosexuales. Este empleó el término ‘antilenguaje’ para designar formas no estandarizadas; es decir, está fuera de lo establecido por los que mantienen el orden social institucionalizado y legitimado. Son antilenguajes porque desobedecen las pautas fonéticas, fonológicas, semánticas, morfológicas y sintácticas que están establecidas en la lengua estándar.

Del mismo modo, planteó que la estructura social y lingüística de los hablantes de la sociedad, como los homosexuales, puede dividirse en dos estructuras correlacionadas: sociedad y antisociedad. En primer lugar, la sociedad prima en el orden social legitimado y estructuralizado. En esta categoría pueden caer las instituciones que rigen orden y poder. De ahí que la comunidad maneje la variedad lingüística normalizada y estandarizada de acuerdo a las instituciones de poder. La segunda (antisociedad) es una sociedad que se establece dentro de otra como alternativa consciente de ella, es decir, es un tipo de conformación social cuya función es constituir o emplear las relaciones fuera de lo establecido por los que controlan. Al mismo tiempo, constituye un tipo de construcción del discrimen, exclusión y subyugación, los cuales se forman mediante la “ideología del consenso”. Este es un discurso legal dentro del cual el comportamiento y las ideas, como la homosexualidad, son sancionados fuera del consenso (Fowler,

1991). Todo hablante que no cumpla con los valores del consenso ideológico, en términos lingüísticos, queda excluida y marginada. De esta manera, la modificación jergal de la comunidad homosexual, como variedad lingüística no aceptada o antilenguaje, es la manifestación de una resistencia discursiva que ejemplifica una conformación de una ‘antisociedad’ (Martínez, 2011).

Por consiguiente, la comunidad homosexual construye identidades como grupo social y, mediante este proceso, se da la alteración de un nuevo vocabulario a través de la modificación jergal que no es la lengua estándar. De modo que se crea un sociolecto; un lenguaje específico que utiliza un grupo de personas que comparten unas características comunes por su categoría o práctica social. De esta forma, los hablantes crean nuevas unidades lingüísticas o modifican las existentes por medio de alteraciones fonéticas, morfosintácticas, léxicas, y expresiones de nuevos contenidos semánticos que contrastan con la lengua estándar. Es decir, se “relexifica” por medio de intercambios nominales y/o de significación. En efecto, esta jerga es considerada antilenguaje porque es la estrategia principal que emplean los hablantes para crear formas particulares (Halliday, 1978).

La relexificación es una estrategia que emplean las comunidades lingüísticas. La misma es utilizada como una manera territorialización o de privar conocimiento común en la que se articulan las prácticas sociales de los hablantes jergales. Como indica Martín (1993) la palabra común (lengua estándar) y la jergal no son estructuras sinónimas. Estas pueden compartir el mismo significado denotativo, pero no el connotativo (citado en Martínez, 2011).

Guattari y Deleuze (1987) indican que la tendencia a la modificación de la lengua común por parte de los grupos responde al deseo de reducir los elementos y efectos homogeneizadores de la lengua estándar. Aun así, Martín identificó que los antilenguajes (jergas) poseen dos características fundamentales. Primero, alteran la proporción normal entre las funciones internas del sistema lingüístico, trasladando los significados de los modos experimentados y compartidos socialmente hacia modos interpersonales y textuales. Segundo, los antilenguajes difieren de las lenguas estándares en la clase de intercambio de significados que realizan; efectúan una particular distribución del significado y pueden ser considerados como patrones sistemáticos de tendencias en la preferencia de los significados expresados. Las comunidades lingüísticas poseen una forma particular de codificar, la misma es su forma de ejercer el poder sobre la construcción de la realidad. Es decir, los antilenguajes tienen la función de crear una realidad alterna que es fuente de identidad para los miembros del grupo. Desde esta perspectiva, los antilenguajes no son niveles léxicos profesionales, debido a que su apariencia no está relacionada con diferentes actividades sociales, sino con las características de sus hablantes (origen social, sexualidad, diferencias culturales). Es por esto que se conforma a una comunidad de habla.

La etnografía de la comunicación y la etnolingüística, se enfocan en la comunidad de habla y la manera en que la comunicación está modelada y organizada dentro de la comunidad misma. Por lo que el concepto “comunidad de habla” se define y se desarrolla dependiendo de la perspectiva teórica y/o filosófica. Algunos teóricos han propuesto sobre comunidad de habla lo siguiente. Primero, Bloomfield (1993) sostuvo que el término comunidad de habla es la interacción frecuente de un grupo de personas; contrario a Hymes (1974), quien expuso que son reglas compartidas del habla y la interpretación del discurso. No conforme con estas dos, Labov (1972) apuntó que son valores y actitudes compartidos sobre las formas y el uso del lenguaje. De acuerdo con los teóricos y sus intentos de definir el término se ha obtenido una única aproximación sobre la misma; la comunidad de habla ‘comparte’ elementos culturales como los rasgos o patrones de conductas, actitudes, creencias y valores dentro de la comunidad lingüística. Una comunidad de habla no puede ser lingüísticamente homogénea, sino heterogénea, por lo que subyacen diferencias en actitudes y comportamientos lingüísticos entre ellos. El lenguaje sirve para mantener la identidad propia de una comunidad de habla que, a su vez, está insertada en comunidades más grandes de los cuales los hablantes pueden ser miembros (Saville, 1982).

Metodología

Este trabajo tiene como objetivo detallar las características del español de Puerto Rico utilizado por los hablantes homosexuales. Su propósito es determinar las tendencias lingüísticas que no son registradas por la academia lingüística. Se expondrá una cantidad de léxicos que podrían ser desconocidos para la mayoría de los hablantes de nuestra lengua. Las muestras fueron recogidas en áreas como una discoteca nocturna de ‘antro gay’ y los Recintos de Río Piedras y de Mayagüez de la Universidad de Puerto Rico. Cada evento se conformó de uno o dos informantes.

Los informantes se seleccionaron para que así se ajustaran al perfil de la comunidad lingüística. Los mismos se distinguieron de la siguiente forma: tener más de 21 años de edad, ser puertorriqueño, ser hablante activo y perteneciente de la comunidad lingüística y ser abiertamente homosexual.

Para la recolección de datos se utilizó el marco metodológico propuesto por la etnografía de la comunicación en el que se establece para la descripción y análisis de los acontecimientos del hablar en las comunidades lingüísticas. Para identificar y describir el espacio jergal que utiliza dicha comunidad se emplea como base de estudio el modelo del evento comunicativo propuesto por Dell Hymes, cuyo fin es canalizar e intercalar el lenguaje y los elementos culturales más importantes entre hablantes. El mismo está compuesto por tres elementos fundamentales: situación, evento y acto. La *situación* es el lugar donde ocurren los actos de habla. El *evento* son los actos de habla entre los hablantes. Por último, el *acto* es la conversación entre dos o más hablantes que intercambian las ideas. Los actos son los encargados de identificar qué es lo que se necesita

conocer sobre el lenguaje entre hablantes de la comunidad de habla (Hymes, 1974). Por ende, en el acto surgen las modificaciones jergales como intercambio comunicativo que devela visión de mundo y formas de relación entre los hablantes.

Se utilizó la técnica del ‘observador-participante’ con el propósito de identificar las estructuras léxicas posibles del hablante, puesto que existen dos técnicas por las que el investigador emplea en la recolección de la muestra: participación pasiva y participación completa. La primera intenta interponerse lo menos posible, mientras que en la segunda, el investigador interactúa intensamente con los participantes. (Duranti, 1997). Para la realización de las entrevistas se utilizó la técnica de entrevista semidirigida. La misma se caracteriza por ser una conversación libre con un mínimo de 15 minutos de duración; el investigador sugiere una variedad de temas con el fin de que se registren las modificaciones jergales propias del habla cotidiano del informante. La entrevista se ajusta a las prácticas locales de cada comunidad de habla porque cada una tiene su manera de conceptualizar lo que podría ser una entrevista (Duranti, 1997). Se realizaron de manera espontánea entre los informantes con el propósito de destacar el conocimiento local y la construcción de los intercambios jergales. Se realizó un módulo temático compuesto por un conjunto de temas cercanos al contexto del informante y que permitiera situar el diálogo entre los informantes de la entrevista, propiciando la aparición de las modificaciones jergales de los hablantes (Silva-Corvalán, 2001). Algunos de los temas fueron: la vida cotidiana de los homosexuales en la Isla, experiencias personales, la cultura de la comunidad gay en otros países, las prácticas sociales de los homosexuales y los aspectos amorosos entre homosexuales y heterosexuales, entre otros.

Las grabaciones se hicieron con una grabadora digital. Las mismas se transliteraron para identificar las marcas léxicas. Dichas marcas se extrajeron después de los primeros siete minutos de grabación para evidenciar un habla más coloquial y espontáneo con el fin de entablar confianza entre el entrevistador y el entrevistado.

Análisis y hallazgos

El léxico y la morfosintaxis fueron las variables que se destacaron, sin embargo, los datos obtenidos indican que el cambio semántico fue la variable más marcada. Cabe recalcar que, la variante de prestigio dentro de la comunidad puertorriqueña demanda que todos los hablantes se vean insertados en una práctica léxica homogénea. Por ende, la mayoría de los hablantes manejan un léxico común en el cual las palabras utilizadas no se ajustan a un grupo social estándar.

En esta parte del trabajo hemos analizado tres muestras de la comunidad homosexual de Puerto Rico en las que se evidenciaron las estructuras jergales en el intercambio comunicativo en una situación específica. En el análisis, se verá una tabla del léxico homosexual, cuyas marcas léxicas fueron obtenidas por los hablantes. Cada evento co-

municativo estuvo insertado en un “marco convencional” cultural. Pavel (1997) determinó que el ‘marco convencional’ está moldeado por mecanismos que proyectan a los individuos y los eventos con ciertas perspectivas. Este marco consiste en trasladar o mover a los hablantes y sus eventos a una realidad de un nivel culturalmente mediado.

Figura 1. Presentación del léxico homosexual

Buchifem	Mujer homosexual con aspecto femenino.
Bucha	Mujer homosexual con aspecto masculino.
Bugarrón	Persona que oculta su homosexualidad.
Caimana	Persona con fisonomía <i>muy</i> desagradable. Es el superlativo de la palabra “coco”.
Casqueta	Acción de masturbar.
Chacha	Designación deíctica social para indicar chico/a, mijo/a.
Chula	Designación deíctica social para indicar chico/a, mijo/a.
Coco	Persona con fisonomía desagradable.
Draga	Hombre homosexual que viste de mujer para realizar actuaciones en un ambiente artístico, ya sea en discotecas o barras.
Ella	Expresión de asombro que se usa para calificar a los hombres.
El ojo de loca no se equivoca	Expresión idiomática que acierta la homosexualidad de hombres y mujeres heterosexuales.
Está de la mentira	Expresión de asombro que indica que una persona es de buen parecido.
Estoquearse	Método por el cual un transformista esconde su órgano reproductor, asemejándolo a una vagina.
Gozosa	Adjetivo que califica a persona que ha tenido sexo.
Heteroflexible	Hombre heterosexual que le gusta pasar tiempo sexual con otro hombre.
Loquish	Designación deíctica social para indicar chico/a, mijo/a con intención de apaciguar un pedido o favor.
Mala	Designación para referirse a un hombre afeminado.
Mami	Designación deíctica social para indicar chico/a, mijo/a a personas de confianzas.
Marear	Acto de coquetear.
Muerta y podrida	Expresión de asombro o de espanto.

Musculoca	Hombre homosexual que posee un aspecto atlético y actúa con varonilidad.
Partir	Palabra que indica el acto de ganar o ser mejor que otro.
Patería	Palabra que se utiliza para emplear un elogio a una situación particular.
Peer (se pronuncia /'p3r/)	Designación deíctica social para indicar chico/a, mijo/a a personas de confianzas.
Perra	Persona que realiza una acción de buen juicio que no es común para la sociedad o un acto de reconocimiento.
Perrería	Expresión de asombro que indica una acción de buen juicio que no es común para la sociedad o un acto de reconocimiento.
Ponkaca	Hombre homosexual que viste de una forma particular.
Valor	Palabra despectiva o de insulto.
Zorrish	Designación deíctica social para indicar chico/a, mijo/a a personas de confianza con intención de apaciguar un pedido o favor.

Dentro del marco lingüístico, Coseriu (1981) destacó tres planos sobre los cuales el lenguaje es manejado. Este indicó que la actividad de comunicación es *universal* entre humanos y se ejecuta en un plano *individual*, sobre todo ejecutado en un plano *histórico* determinando. De acuerdo con Coseriu, todo parece estar relacionado a una semiótica social, por tanto, la jerga equivale al signo social. El mismo está insertado en el acto de habla que se establece por la contextualización de los hablantes que se refieren a sus prácticas sociales cotidianas, ya que responde y reconstruye el contexto.

Hemos mostrado una lista de palabras con sus definiciones, nos centraremos en algunos lexemas que están condicionados por la contextualización del acto de habla.

Chacha: Es poco común utilizar esta palabra. Se emplea para designar a personas de un mismo grupo como los amigos. Es un concepto que arraiga el elemento femenino. La denotación del término *chacha* no circunscribe su significado primario *sirvienta*, sino que posee una connotación de deixis social que determina ser un apelativo para ciertas prácticas sociales en las que se produce el acto de habla.

Chula: Es utilizado en casos pocos comunes y posee la misma función que el término *chacha*. Es un elemento léxico que se caracteriza por su contenido semántico y es una palabra que califica lo femenino. Toma función de un marcador deíctico social dentro de la comunidad homosexual que codifica las entidades sociales de los participantes.

Coco: Es evidente el cambio semántico de feo/a por *coco*. Designa elementos negativos de la fisonomía de una persona. También está sujeto a otras expresiones coloquiales que tienen como propósito exagerar, por ejemplo *coquísimo/a* (feísimo/a). Además, se obtiene de la misma palabra *coco* el término *caimana* que se emplea como el superlativo.

Ella: Esta palabra marca lo femenino y es una forma de señalamiento de las personas dentro del acto de habla, las presentes en el momento de la enunciación y ausentes en relación a esas. Es una deixis personal que siempre selecciona al hablante o participante en el evento. Ejemplo: “*ella es mala; ella, la perdía*”.

El ojo de loca no se equivoca: Dicha expresión corresponde a acertar la homosexualidad de hombres y mujeres heterosexuales, es decir, la *loca*, refiriéndose a quien lo emite, sabe solo quién es homosexual. Esta expresión la emplea la mayoría de los hablantes, entiéndase personas afeminadas. Esta estructura responde a una preferencia sociocultural.

Loquish: En el entendimiento coloquial dicha expresión designa una forma de apelativo, en este caso referirse al acto de pedir un favor entre amigos cercanos, atenuando el deíctico con un tono suave y acogedor.

Mala: No es referente a lo malévolo. Se utiliza para designar a un hombre afeminado acompañado del pronombre de tercera persona singular femenino. Por ejemplo, cuando hay un afeminado en un grupo decimos: “*ella es mala*”; para destacar o resaltar al más afeminado de todos. Es una manera de llamar la atención, diciendo por ejemplo: “*mira aquella mala; qué malísima*”.

Marear: No es un concepto de estar aturrido o agotado físicamente. Se utiliza como la palabra *rapear* (coquetear). En este caso, la palabra *marear* se conjuga con el infinitivo –ar. Esta expresión es la forma más tradicional para también referirse a personas que se están conociendo y compartiendo. Por ejemplo: “*estoy rapeando con el chico; estoy mareando*”.

Muerta y podrida: Refiere a una expresión de espanto o sorpresa. Los adjetivos son femeninos. Se enuncia: “*quedé muerta y podrida*”, no en su forma literal, sino metafórica. Por ejemplo, es común escuchar la expresión: “*ay santo, válgame*”; la cual es similar a dicho uso.

Partir: La palabra *partir* se designa como acto de ganar o ser mejor que otro. En español, *partir* no implica *romper*, sino una acción de superar a otro que significa algo similar a: “*soy mejor que tú*”. Entonces diríamos “*¡qué partía te dieron!*” en vez de su forma coloquial “*¡qué clavá te dieron!*”.

Perra: El significado de la expresión *perra* dependerá del contexto en el que se use. Actualmente, *perra* no denota una manera vulgar de referirse a alguien, pues es una forma de alagar o exaltar a una persona o cosa. Lo que significa es *ser la mejor*. Esta palabra adquiere su sentido pleno dentro del contexto en el cual se emplea o se dice. Por ejemplo, “*la cajera es muy perra, ya que hizo lo que tenía que hacer*”, es decir, la cajera hizo un buen trabajo.

Valor: Es una palabra peyorativa que designa la acción de agraviar o humillar. Se utiliza para discriminar a las transformistas y toda persona que no esté al tanto de la moda (vestimenta) al momento de frecuentar un lugar de andanza nocturna.

Evidenciamos algunas modificaciones jergales a nivel léxico que fueron obtenidas de los eventos comunicativos. Los hablantes son conscientes de la variación semántica, contenida en las palabras registradas. Asimismo, se matizaron ciertas características fonológicas de la comunidad a pesar de que no fue una variable que se destacó. Se identificaron expresiones que produjeron los hablantes de la comunidad homosexual. No cabe duda que al modificar una estructura lingüística, dicho proceso podría estar vinculado al elemento social y cultural de la comunidad homosexual, ya que, al igual que la lengua común, el hablante posee una competencia comunicativa y cultural que contextualiza los actos de habla.

Conclusiones

Este trabajo no constituye una generalización a toda la comunidad homosexual de Puerto Rico. Sin embargo, hay evidencia que demuestra la creación de una jerga, es decir, una variedad relexificada, por algunos miembros de esta comunidad. Este proceso de creación se usa para establecer nuevas palabras, y a través de este proceso se articulan las identidades y las visiones de mundo. Los hablantes son conscientes de la variación semántica de sus actos de habla. Al parecer, varios de ellos sintieron estar identificados con su jerga, pues así se conforma una comunidad de habla. La manera en que codificaron y seleccionaron las palabras posee una valoración para la comunidad como grupo social. La jerga es producto de un lenguaje que ha surgido en un mundo paralelo al mundo creado por el sistema de poder en que rigen normas y estandarizaciones léxicas. A través de sus jergas, los homosexuales construyen y deconstruyen sus identidades y sus realidades. Sin duda alguna, la manera de hablar descrita en este estudio constituye el conocimiento local y la realidad de sus hablantes.

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THE VOCABULARY OF STUDENT PIDGIN: A PRELIMINARY SURVEY

KWAKU O. A. OSEI-TUTU, UNIVERSITY OF GHANA,
LEGON AND PURDUE UNIVERSITY

Introduction

This paper provides an overview of the vocabulary of Ghanaian Student Pidgin (GSP), an English-lexified Pidgin spoken by students in high schools and universities in Ghana. The paper is a follow up on previous research (Huber, 1999) that identifies the lexis of this variety as highly productive. Consequently, this study explores the variety of vocabulary items by grouping them into two broad categories – one based on origin and another on word-formation processes. Preliminary results of the study confirm that Ghanaian Student Pidgin is highly productive. Additionally, the paper argues that many of the word-formation processes serve to make the variety unintelligible to non-speakers. Ghanaian Student Pidgin's substrate languages are believed to be largely Ga and Akan (which are indigenous Kwa languages spoken in Ghana). Though its origins are not clear, there are two main theories that explain how GSP emerged. The first was formulated by Dadzie (1985) who argues that GSP was a result of youngsters in the harbor cities of Ghana (i.e. Takoradi and Tema) imitating the speech (among other behaviours) of sailors who had returned from journeys abroad. According to him, these youngsters saw the returned sailors as the avant-garde of fashion and progress and, therefore, wanted to copy their mannerisms. Dako (2002), on the other hand, believes that GSP was a response to vestiges of colonial language policies in high schools (and indeed at all other levels of education) that insisted that students used English in all communicative situations. In her view, though students could grasp the formal registers of English, they found it more difficult to acquire its informal registers and hence adopted an attitude to the effect that, though they could be forced to speak English, they would choose the type of English to speak. Though there is not much evidence to support either view, it is probable that factors described by Dadzie (1985) and Dako (2002) both contributed to the inception of the language. This is because the high-schools that Dako (2002) talks about are in the coastal cities that Dadzie (1985) mentions. It is entirely feasible, therefore, that the same youngsters who were impressed by the sailors felt the need to create a variety that could express their rebellion against the language policies of the colonial and postcolonial education system.

It is important to note that GSP is distinguished from another (older) variety of Pidgin in Ghana, which has been (variably) referred to as *Town Pidgin* (Dako, 2002) and *Motortpark Pidgin* (Amoako, 2011). Huber (1999) also uses the terms *uneducated or non-institutionalized Pidgin* to differentiate this variety from GSP (since the latter is mainly used in educational institutions). The major difference between these two varieties of Ghanaian Pidgin is functional, in that while the *non-institutionalized* variety serves primarily to bridge the gap between English speakers and non-English speakers (Huber, 1999), GSP serves as an in-group language and a marker of social identity for its speakers (Rupp, 2012). Consequently, the majority of previous studies on this GSP (Forson, 1996; Tawiah, 1998), have concentrated on its sociolinguistic characteristics. In addition to some sociolinguistic features, Dako (2002b) looks at the influence of Ghanaian languages (the substrate languages of GSP) on GSP. Although Huber (1999) deals mainly with the *non-institutionalized* variety, in his structural analyses of Ghanaian Pidgin English (Huber, 1999: 165-252) he makes note of some features that are peculiar to GSP. One of the major distinctions he makes between *non-institutionalized* Pidgin and GSP is:

Due to its predominant function as an in-group language, the ‘educated’ variety shows highly productive processes of word formation and a large number of lexical idiosyncrasies...” (Huber, 1999: 151)

Aims and objectives

Following up on Huber’s (1999) observation, this paper undertakes a survey of GSP vocabulary with the aim of identifying some of the processes through which its speakers form new words and generate the lexical idiosyncrasies he mentions. The data for the study was collected in two main ways – focus group recordings and lyrics from songs, as well as from extracts from Ghanaian TV programmes in which GSP is spoken. There were two main focus groups. One of them consisted of four freshmen at the University of Ghana Legon and the other group was made up of two seniors and one junior at the same university. All the members of these focus groups were male. As already mentioned above, GSP is a masculine code and even though more females are using it now, it still has predominantly male speakers. Data was also collected from a TV show titled *Things we do for love*, which ran on Ghanaian Television stations in the early 2000s, after enjoying a very long successful run on *Uniiq FM*, one of the major Ghanaian radio stations. Most of the Pidgin data gathered from this programme was from a character called Pusher, who spoke only GSP. In addition to this data, I also used my own intuition as a native speaker of GSP in cases where I wanted to demonstrate a feature I know exists but that had not shown up in my data.

The analysis is done in two sections. The first classifies the vocabulary in terms of origin or source. Under this group, I classify the lexical items under the following headings: Ghanaian Language words, Ghanaian English Slang items, and Bona fide Pidgin words.

The second classification is done in terms of word-formation. This is done at three linguistic levels – semantics, morphology and phonology. Under the semantic category, I classify the words based on semantic processes such as shift, widening, amelioration and intensification. In terms of morphology, I classify words under the processes of affixation, blending, clipping and compounding. Finally, the phonological classification groups words into the phonological processes that were responsible for their creation such as, assimilation, elision and vowel harmony.

Preliminary findings I – classification by origin

Ghanaian Languages

As mentioned above, though Pidgins have a major lexifier, they also borrow words from substrate and/or adstrate languages. In the case of Student Pidgin, the adstrate languages are mainly Akan and Ga. By far the biggest source for Ghanaian language words in my data is Akan. However, in my personal experience with GSP and interaction with the speakers, I have come to realize that particular speakers will borrow from the particular languages that are available to them.

The table below provides a sample of some of the words that are used in GSP which are from Ghanaian languages. The table has three columns. Column one provides the word borrowed from one or more Ghanaian languages as it is used in GSP, column two provides the English translation and column three gives the word class.

Table 1 Ghanaian Language Borrowings

Ghanaian Language	English Translation	Word Class
<i>bi</i> (Akan)	some	quantifier
<i>blɛ</i> (Akan & Ga)	English	noun
<i>dɛɛ</i> (Akan)	as for...	topicaliser
<i>gbɛkɛ</i> (Ga)	evening	noun
<i>kae</i> (Akan)	remember	verb
<i>na</i> (Akan)	in/at that moment...	topicaliser
<i>naa</i> (Akan)	at once	adverb
<i>no</i> (Akan)	the	determiner
<i>sakora</i> (Hausa) ¹	plain, alone,	adjective
<i>tease</i> (Akan)	understand	verb
<i>waa</i> (Ga)	a lot, very much, really well	adverb
<i>ɔha</i> (Akan)	hundred	numeral
<i>san</i> (Akan)	again	adverb

¹Strictly speaking, Hausa is not a Ghanaian language since it is spoken principally in and around Northern Nigeria. However, it has become a very important language in Ghana through trade and migration, and, over time, a variety has developed in Ghana.

In addition to the examples above, it would appear that almost all the intensifiers in any of the Ghanaian languages can be used in GSP. These include *paa* ‘a lot’, *kɛkɛ* ‘just’, etc. Also, many of the borrowings from Akan and other Ghanaian languages are expressions that are very difficult (if not impossible) to convey in English. What also happens is that many of the linguistic features that are associated with these words in the Ghanaian languages are carried over into GSP. For example, in Akan and Ga, the longer the vowel at the end of the intensifier is held (during pronunciation), the higher the degree of intensification. Consequently, if a speaker says:

1. *dɛ tɪn pen mi wa:*
 DET thing pain 1SGOBJ a lot/very much
 ‘The thing was very painful.’

He or she can indicate the intensity of the pain by the length of the [a] in *wa:*.

What is interesting about these borrowings is that, in many cases, they have become so incorporated into GSP that many of the speakers who do not speak the languages from which they are borrowed may not even be aware that the words are from Ghanaian languages.

Ghanaian English Slang items

In this section, I classify words which are of English origin but have undergone (mainly) semantic processes that have changed their meanings to make them peculiar to Ghana. I must mention though that some of these slang items, like ***chill*** have the same meanings as they do in other varieties of English. Below is the table that shows some of the slang items that are used in GSP. Another point that is worthy of note is that some of these slang items are peculiar to particular educational institutions (for example, different high schools) and, therefore, are indicators of the educational background of the speaker. The interesting thing is that when students meet in the universities, they are able to communicate across these varieties and, eventually, either a stable form emerges or the various vocabulary items exist side-by-side as synonyms. For example, the word ***mow***, meaning ‘to study’, has been a slang item in Ghana for decades and throughout this period, various high schools have had their own versions of the word, such as ***stroff***, but ***mow*** has always been the stable form that has survived generations of users.

Table 2 Slang Items

Slang item	English Equivalent	Word Class
<i>shark</i> [ʃa:k]	intelligent person	noun
<i>mow</i> [mo:]	to study	verb
<i>chew</i> [tʃiʊ]	to memorize	verb
<i>shoddy</i> [ʃɔdi]	girl, young lady	noun
<i>old man</i> [oldman]	father	noun
<i>old woman</i> [oldwoman]	mother	noun

For many of these slang items, it is clear where the link between the word itself and the new meaning comes from. *Mow*, for example, refers to the action of a mower as it cuts grass. So the action of studying is linked to how a mower ‘eats up’ grass. *Shoddy* comes from the African American English *shawty* which probably entered the student lexicon through American hip-hop music. The sound change from [t] to [d] is a result of the flap feature in some dialects of American English, which leads to the [t] being perceived as [d] by Ghanaians. *Oldman* and *oldwoman* are obviously a result of the generational gap between the users of GSP and their parents.

Bona Fide GSP words

Many of the words in this category may seem, at first glance, to also belong to the slang category. However, the distinguishing feature is that if the word can be used in both GSP and Standard Ghanaian English² (StGE), I decided that the word was a slang item; however, if the word could be used only in GSP, I decided that it was a bona fide GSP word. In making this decision, I relied on my own intuition as a speaker of GSP. Table 3 provides some examples of words that belong to this category.

Though the words in Table 3 come from a mixture of sources, the unifying factor is that they are used only in GSP. Anyone who uses them in StGE (with their GSP meanings) will immediately be identified as an incompetent speaker of both GSP and StGE. One reason

Table 3 Bona fide GSP words

Bona fide SP words	English Translation	Word Class
<i>bia</i> [bia]	ask	verb
<i>biz</i> [biz]	ask	verb
<i>chaw</i> [tʃaʊ]	many, a lot	adjective
<i>tap</i> [tap]	sit	verb
<i>bed</i> [bed]	sleep	verb
<i>pop</i> [pɒp]	look	verb
<i>peep</i> [pi:p]	look	verb
<i>kick</i> [kɪk]	wear	verb
<i>chock</i> [tʃɔk]	wait	verb
<i>wedge</i> [wɛdʒ]	wait	verb
<i>bell</i> [bɔl]	phone	verb
<i>bunch</i> [bʊntʃ]	many, a lot	adjective
<i>menes</i> [menɛs]	guys, men	noun

² As there is no officially codified and institutionalized Standard Ghanaian English, I use the term loosely here to distinguish between what has been referred to as (Educated) Ghanaian English (Sey, 1973) and non-standard varieties such as GhPE and GSP.

that makes it impossible to use these GSP words in StGE is grammatical constraints. I will use the following example to illustrate:

2. *ĩ* *wuman* *dé* *béd* *im* *bɔdi*
 PD woman NPU bed PD body

‘His girlfriend is sleeping beside him.’

In the example above, the verb *béd* ‘bed’ is not marked in any way to show that it is in the progressive form. What indicates the progressive is the auxiliary *dé*. Thus to use *béd* this way in StGE, one would have to say: *his girlfriend was bedding beside him*, which is ungrammatical, and, in any case loses its meaning³. Consequently, the bona fide GSP words cannot take StGE inflections and this served as another deciding factor for which words fit into this category.

Categorisation according to word formation

In this section of the paper, I categorise GSP vocabulary using three main linguistic parameters – semantic processes, morphological processes and phonological processes. Some of the examples provided here were also provided in the previous section. This is because some items fall into more than one category. For example, *biz* is a borrowing from a Ghanaian language because it comes from Akan *bisa* ‘ask’; but it also belongs in this section because it has undergone two other processes – clipping (*bisa~bis*) and voicing assimilation (*bis~biz*). Table 4 lists some of the words in my data that have undergone various processes and beneath the table are some examples to illustrate the process.

Table 4 Words that have undergone semantic processes

Word	Process	StGE Translation	Word Class
<i>chill</i> [tʃɪl]	shift	relax	verb
<i>shark</i> [ʃa:k]	shift	smart person	noun
<i>mow</i> [mo:]	shift	study	verb
<i>bed</i> [bɛd]	shift	sleep	verb
<i>tap</i> [tap]	shift	sit	verb
<i>pop</i> [pɒp]	shift	look	verb
<i>spy</i> [spaɪ]	widening/extension	look/watch	verb
<i>kick</i> [kɪk]	shift	wear	verb
<i>wedge, chock</i> [wɛdʒ, tʃɔk]	shift	wait	verb
<i>queer</i> [kwɪɛ]	shift	small/tiny	adjective
<i>bore</i> [bɔ:]	intensification	angry, to make angry	noun & verb
<i>nigger</i> [nɪgə]	amelioration	guy	noun
<i>crush</i> [krʊʃ]	amelioration	meet	verb

³ The other meaning of ‘bed’, i.e. ‘to have sex with’ does not exist in GSP at all.

In order to illustrate the processes which these words have undergone, I provide examples below for each type of process. It is necessary to mention that, though I have classified many words as having undergone semantic shifts, it is important to point out that we can distinguish between two different kinds of shifts. With the first type of shift, the difference in meaning seems arbitrary or the link between the ‘original’ meaning of the word and the GSP meaning is tenuous. By ‘arbitrary’ in the preceding sentence, I mean that it is difficult to see the connection between, for example, *queer*, *pop*, *tap* or *kick* in Standard English and their respective meanings in SP. In the second type of shift, however, there is a clear semantic relationship between the ‘original’⁴ meaning of the word and the GSP meaning. For example, a ‘bed’ is something we ‘sleep’ on and, therefore, it is easy to see the relationship between ‘sleep’ and GSP *bɛd* in the sentence below:

3. *ĩ wuman dé bɛd im bɔ̃di*
 PD woman NPU bed PD body
 ‘His girlfriend is sleeping beside him.’

This metonymic relationship does not occur only within the semantic shift category, however. For instance, the dictionary defines ‘chock’ as ‘prevent the movement of (a wheel or vehicle) with a chock’. In GSP, the idea of ‘standing still’, which *chock* implies, is extended to the idea of ‘motionlessness’ in ‘wait’. This is what makes the following sentence possible:

4. *dɛn dé tʃɔk mek sɔmbɔdi kam*
 3PLSUB NPU chock CAU IDF-body come
 ‘They were waiting for somebody to come.’

In the similar vein, a *wedge* is something that is used to prevent movement; hence:

5. *aɪ dé wɛdʒ ju*
 1SGSUB NPU wedge 2SGOBJ
 ‘I am waiting for you.’

Morphological processes

In this section, I discuss affixation and clipping, which are two of the processes that I have found so far in my data and provide two examples each to illustrate them. Affixation occurs when a derivational morpheme is attached to a word to create a new word; for example, ‘unhappy’ from ‘un + happy’. Here are some examples from my GSP data:

6. *dɛ tɪn dɛ ɡɛli du no ʃam*
 DET thing DET girl do.PAST NEG fine
 ‘The thing the girl did was not good.’

⁴ Where original means StGE

7. *ai go θru: sɔm nibi:s...*
 1SGSUB go.PAST through DET things
 ‘I went through some things.’

In example (6), the suffix [i] is attached to the noun *gɛl* to create a new word, which is a synonym for ‘girl’, meaning ‘young woman’. Example (7) is noteworthy because *nibi:s*, which means ‘things’ is created from two different languages – the Ga word ‘nibii’ and the English plural marker ‘-s’. What makes it even more interesting is that the Ga word is already in the plural form and, therefore, the English ‘-s’ is redundant; however, GSP users do not even realise this because the word is now part of the language. So, in essence, it is a hybrid of Ga and English. Items like *gbɛketi: could* also fall into this category. *Gbɛkɛ*, meaning ‘evening’ comes from Ga and ‘T’ is all that is left of the word ‘time’ after GSP is done clipping it. ‘*Gbɛkɛ-T*’, therefore, means ‘evening time’. Once again, the word is so much a part of GSP that students who do not speak Ga have no idea what it means (in Ga) but are still capable of using it in GSP.

As we have already seen, clipping occurs when a word is reduced by some syllables; for example, ‘professor’ to ‘prof’. Though, as we saw with *gbɛketi:*, GSP managed to clip an already monosyllabic word. An example of clipping in the data that is more representative of the process is presented in the example below, where the word *respect* loses its first syllable:

8. *mɛnɛs go pɛkt ju*
 menes FUT pect you
 ‘People will respect you.’

Phonological processes

For this section, I would like to concentrate on three phonological processes – voicing assimilation, deletion (vowel and consonant) and vowel change. Here again, I will provide examples from the data to illustrate the processes. The examples below demonstrate the processes mentioned above:

9. *ju fɔ nɔ*
 2SGSUB for know
 ‘You ought to know.’

10. *dɛn dé ɛndʒɔɪ fɔ hos*
 3PLSUB NPU enjoy for house
 ‘They are enjoying (themselves) at home.’

11. *ai mo: saf kɔra: ...*
 1SGSUB mow saf koraa ...
 ‘even if I study...’

12. <i>dɛn</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>bɪz</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>nɔtɪn</i>
3PLSUB	NEG	FUT	ask	2SGOBJ	nothing

‘They will not ask you anything.’

In examples (9) and (10), the vowels in the words have been changed from the StGE form – [o > ɔ] in ‘know’ and [aʊ > ɔ] in ‘house’. The vowel change in ‘know’ can be explained as some sort of vowel harmony in GSP. This would not be far-fetched since vowel harmony is an integral part of Akan phonology and Akan is one of the major substrates/adstrates of SP. So, in the case of example (9), I believe that the [o] in ‘know’ harmonizes with the [ɔ] in ‘for’ and changes to [ɔ]. This is because, I have observed that, in cases where the word preceding ‘know’, also has the vowel [o], ‘know’ is pronounced as [no]. My observation, however, requires a more systematic phonological analysis before any definite claim can be made. Whatever the case may be, what is even more interesting is that I am inclined to believe (due to my interaction with GSP speakers over the past 7 years) that the major underlying reason for these vowel changes (and, in fact, many of the processes already mentioned) is an attempt to make GSP sound as unique as possible. I have heard speakers say more than once that the harder one is to understand, the more competent one is seen to be.

In examples (11) and (12), the words *saf* and *bɪz* undergo multiple phonological processes. *saf* starts out as [sɛlf] ‘self’, loses the [l] and becomes [sɛf]⁵, and, finally, undergoes a vowel change [ɛ > ɔ]. As already stated in the previous section, *bɪz* is clipped from Akan ‘bisa’ and then the [s] undergoes voicing assimilation and becomes [z]. I find this voicing assimilation interesting because one feature of StGE phonology is that it does not follow the same type of assimilation rule in Standard English for the plural marker. For instance, in RP, ‘boys’ will be pronounced [bɔɪz], but the majority of StGE speakers will pronounce it [bɔɪs]⁶. It is, therefore, unusual that the [s] in ‘bis(a)’ becomes [z]. Here again, I suspect that the motivation is to make GSP sound as different from StGE and the *non-institutionalized* Pidgin as possible.

Conclusion

As the title states, this is a preliminary survey and, as such, my main focus has been to identify points of interest and exploration. Many of these points will prove clearer as I transcribe more of the data and ask more questions about the processes I have decided to study. Despite its limited scope, my preliminary findings still indicate that there are a lot of phenomena to be found in this language that prove Huber’s (1999) statement

⁵ Some users still use *sɛf* in place of *saf*

⁶ Of course, Ghanaians who have studied English phonology are aware of the rule and, therefore, might produce the RP version (but even they will probably achieve this only in slow, careful speech).

about the vitality and versatility of GSP vocabulary. Additionally, this paper shows that the linguistic creativity that Huber hints at goes far beyond lexis and encompasses phonology, morphology and semantics.

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List of Abbreviations

CAU	Causative
DET	Determiner
FUT	Future
NEG	Negation
NPU	Nonpunctual
OBJ	Objective case
PAST	Past Tense
PD	Possessive Determiner
PL	Plural
SG	Singular
SUB	Subjective case
1	1st Person
2	2nd Person
3	3rd Person

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**MULTIPLE IDENTITIES AND LITERATURE IN THE
GREATER CARIBBEAN AND AFRO-ATLANTIC**

SPIRIT IN THE DARK: JOHN ROBERT LEE'S *THE COMING OF ORG*

NAGUEYALTI WARREN,
EMORY UNIVERSITY

What we are looking at, we are looking with – Anonymous
What we are looking for, is what is looking – St. Francis of Assisi

The critic Melvin B. Rahming has set a new paradigm for analyzing fiction. He argues that the current theoretical approaches to literature, including deconstruction, post-structural, realistic, postmodern, phenomenological, and/or hermeneutical, “leave no space for spiritual considerations at the center of critical discourse” (p. 1). A critical theory of spirit (Rahming’s terminology) is especially needed to elucidate creative works influenced by African and Afrocentric perceptions of reality.

The short story, *The coming of Org*, by John Robert Lee, the Saint Lucian poet and writer, is one that begs for spiritual analysis. The story begins “After midnight mass” (p. 115), which is the opening line. The Catholic mass calls to mind the universal hegemony of white Christianity. However, the setting immediately becomes culturally relevant when the sacrament of the Eucharist is placed in the context of the yard. The remainder of the sentence focuses on the “flambeaux” and a blazing fire for cooking meat. The bottles of “sorrel and ginger beer and rum and whiskey” (p. 115) ironically juxtapose the image of the conservative bread and wine of the Last Supper.

The author’s reference to “This time of year” seems to indicate a holiday season, probably Christmas. Set in Saint Lucia in the communal yard calls to mind African villages and traditional cultural celebrations. The atmosphere is festive, and while the story opens with reference to midnight mass, the spiritual center of this story is contained in the “krak!” (p. 116) a signal that privileges the old “contes and songs” stories and histories of “an ancient scattered people” (p. 116). Therefore, a “small dirt yard” instead of a cathedral becomes the holy space/place.

In the story’s first frame, the celebration taking place during the opening scene, the narrator introduces yet another story. A stranger to the village, a drummer, narrates the story of Org which the people had never heard. The drummer insists that everyone must meet Org someday. Some of the people assume that Org must be death. However, the man assures his listeners that Org is not what they think. A man, woman or child can meet Org. But he states explicitly, “Org is not God or the Saviour or the Devil!” (p.

117). Org is a shape shifter that can appear as a beast or as a human being. The drummer insists that when Org appears and is recognized, one will never be the same.

The drummer makes it clear that Org is not part of the Western Christian Pantheon, not God, Savior or devil. The people hearing the story, although they had not heard the story before, somehow know it is true. The narrative resonates with their *Weltanschauung* regardless of the midnight mass or the religion to which they have converted. Org the mysterious spiritually provocative being introduced within the first frame of the story, represents the concept of spiritual beings manifesting themselves in various ways. This African way of visualizing the world after centuries of separation from the African continent appears to be an African survival in many African descended people and specifically for the ones described in the story.

Tison is the focus in the second frame of the story. He is westernized, educated, and a vain young womanizer. Leaving one woman, Marcia, to roam the streets for another, he thinks he has mastered the art of controlling women. As he leaves Marcia asleep, he says, "A short note to say he loved her, a kiss on the closed eyes. Yes, that was the way to treat a woman. Treat them good. Love them good. With little gifts, little notes, little surprises a man kept a woman under control. Yes it was an art" (p. 118). A popular DJ, Tyson is not a Rasta but employs their rhetoric in order to entice a Rasta woman and convince her to go home with him. His charm fails to impress her and she laughs at his suggestion.

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Smarting from the woman's rebuff and beginning to experience a bad trip from the marijuana he smoked, Tison leaves the ghetto yard of loud music and smoke. He decides to take the shortest route home, no longer feeling sociable. The shortest route is also the darkest and most isolated way to get to his house. At this point in the story it is becoming increasingly clear that Tison is embarking on the heroic journey to the self, symbolized by home. On the long dark and lonely road, he must cross an unlit bridge over a deep ravine. As he approaches the bridge, a way to pass over obstacles, he is attacked. As with all good stories, there are a number of ways in which this may be read. Without the critical theory of spirit, one could attribute the frightening experience Tison has as a result of a bad drug trip. Instead of him really being attacked, one could see the events as him experiencing drug-induced hallucinations.

Tison describes his terror thus, "one of the town's derelicts, Fanto, naked as night, eyes wide and unseeing, spittle foaming at the mouth, straddling him: Fanto, slobbering and muttering incoherently, tearing at his throat with both hands . . . in Fanto's face a horrible fullness of mad lust, fixed, no more man: beast, crazed, depraved (p. 122). At this point, Tison hears the Rasta woman's laughter and Marcia's face appears. There are sexual overtones, which could suggest a sexual assault on Tison by the lust-mad Fanto, "he felt Fanto tighten his legs around him" (p. 122). A spiritual reading, however, suggests the opposite in that the sexual implications come from Tison's own consciousness

reflected in the form of Fanto. Tison's journey ends with the realization that he has met "his Org" (p. 123).

The final section of the story finds Tison back in his parental home. He has become a Rasta, tills the earth and eventually sets out for the hills. Journeys into the hills have multiple spiritual meanings. Wole Soyinka's journey to Indanre in his epyllion is an example of seeking self-awareness. Jesus' journey into the hills and mountains to fast and pray is yet another spiritual example. Tison leaves his mother and father in order to know his real self. His father says his son is "a man knowing himself" (p. 123), something many men never achieve. His mother questions his rejection of Western ways and education, complaining that they struggled to send him to the best schools and that he had a good job. The rejection seems necessary in order for Tison's transformation to be complete. The story ends with Tison's father saying that his son has already met Org and might now be going to meet God (p. 123). Both mother and father watch their son move off towards the hills.

In the entire story there is little dialogue. The most conversation takes place between Tison's parents. As a result, the narrative largely presents the point of view of the omniscient narrator. There is no indication that the narrator's view is unreliable, but it is open for multiple meanings. Tison, normally a surname and Fanto, also a last name, are the two characters in conflict or two aspects of the one character. Tison meets himself in Fanto.. While an Afro-centric spiritual reading presents a way of seeing the hybridity of Afro-Caribbean culture, it may not in fact coincide with the author's intention. John Robert Lee has on numerous occasions declared himself a Christian. When interviewed in 2013 by Ania Kowalik he said, "I'm a Christian and a Bible teacher and preacher, [sic] I've been a Christian writer for many years. And my poetry reflects my Christian faith. My Christian faith gives me a viewpoint of the world overall" (p. 6). One might suppose that the inclusion of Org would present a contradiction to Christian theology. However, if read within the context of spiritual mythology, which is the way that I read it, there is no incongruity between Org, the devil, angels or God.

It is also clear that in spite of his Christian declaration, Lee does recognize, perhaps, the limits of imposed religions, with Christianity being the biggest imposition for African descended people and survivors of the Maafa, mass enslavement. He says "Despite colonialism and the new imperialisms of thought that entice us to deny ourselves again, we are responsible to ourselves and our people to provide answers, possible solutions, hope, and a vision of our final destinies" (Kowalik: 36). Therefore, his use of Rastafarian vernacular in his story would seem to speak to a group that especially seeks to connect with African religions and their African heritage even if their effort is romanticized. The existence of Org emerges from a folk tradition steeped in myth, rituals, dreams, and omens and clearly resonates with the folk in the story whether they are Catholic, Protestant or non-believer. Scholars of African traditional religions have stated that Af-

rican religions “are not static but dynamic” (Shoko, 2012: 63). For many the assimilation to Christianity has been partial. Some have said they stick to the Bible in the day and return to tradition at nightfall (Bhebe, 1979). Several lines in Lee’s poem “Songs” capture the dynamic aspects of folk heritage and faith. He writes, “At these borders of faith, /poems appear as canticles,/ sketches shape to icons,/ fireflies play the oracle”. The cultural heritage in the Diaspora, situated on the borders of faith, perhaps even more so than those on the continent of Africa in spite of the colonialism and cultural hegemony practiced there, is a fusion of indigenous, African, and European ideas.

Lee, in a discussion of St. Lucian identity, reveals that his great grandmother was a Carib from Dominica. He says, “You can’t be only St. Lucian, trying to live apart from the international culture” (Kowalik, 2013: 5). Furthermore, Lee reveals that he is not “a flaming, flag-waving nationalist in terms of island or race” (p. 6). Given his clear religious identity, it might be risky to propose his story as an example of fiction in need of a critical theory of spirit. It might just be the incorporation of the elements from folklore that can account for Org. After all, Lee is the director of the St. Lucian Folk Research Centre.

Therefore, as Lee has suggested, a critic from the outside should make clear her/his “framework of thought and feeling . . . show where he [she] is coming from” (p. 4). He goes on to say that in the context of the Caribbean there is a desperate need to judge artistic creations by reference to the cultural context from which they emerge. My reading of “The coming of Org” then, is heavily influenced by the critical theory set forth by Melvin Rahming mentioned above and the concept of Afro-centric theorist, Marimba Ani. Ani’s “Incantation” that introduces her 1994 book, *Yurugu: an Afrikan-centered critique of European cultural thought and behavior*, sets a clear framework for reading the spiritual content in Lee’s short story. It begins: “Balancing the scales/ Restoring spirit to matter/ The Whole completed/Made cosmic again” (p. xix). Within the context of Lee’s short story, Org appears as the balancer of the scales. Tison, the central character, is out of balance with his true self. This imbalance is suggested by the way the narrator describes him as he heads for the communal yard. Dressed in his “dark- blue denim jeans and jacket . . . his red beret close over his hair, trying for the Che Guevara effect” (p. 118) says on the one hand he is posturing, trying to achieve the effect of a revolutionary. On the other hand, after his encounter with Org he appears to abandon Western dress, represented by the blue jeans and allows his hair to form natural locks. The change in Tison is material, suggesting the need to return to cultural rootedness. In a metaphysical context, Org plays a far more significant role. Org has the power to restore spirit to matter and produce a unification that not only creates wholeness but becomes cosmic, once again. In the beginning all is cosmic. The human experience provides the illusion of separateness. Therefore, the change that Tison undergoes as a result of meeting Org is one that restores him to the unity of all creation. At the human level the unification is cultural. On the cosmic level the fusion is Divine. Reading the

story in the context of spirit in all things and as all things leads directly to the Afro-centric worldview of unity. Instead of the dichotomy posited by Western thought dividing the sacred from the secular, black from white, good from evil, the Afro-centric view embraces no division. The secular is sacred and the communal is privileged. “The coming of Org” can be read as the coming back to unity with the self and with Spirit.

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WHAT MY MOTHER (NEVER) TOLD ME: CHILD-SWITCHING AND OTHER-MOTHERING IN PATRICIA POWELL'S *ME DYING TRIAL*

RAÚL J. VÁZQUEZ VÉLEZ

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

Powell's novel tells the story of Gwendolyn "Gwennie" Glaspole, an Afro-Jamaican teacher and mother of six who migrates to the United States in order to escape the abusive rule of her husband Walter, among other reasons. Gwennie relies upon the Afro-Caribbean practices of child-switching and other-mothering to see that her sons and daughters are cared for while she works abroad, yet while these customs effectively protect and nurture the children, they ultimately sever the bonds between mother and offspring. Having little to no filial attachment to Gwennie, Rudi, Delores, Dave, Peppy, Jeff, and Rosa come to resent the authority of their mother, viewing her as an overbearing stranger who has no right to intrude into their lives.

In the context of *Me dying trial*, other-mothering and child-switching are portrayed as practices long rooted in Afro-Caribbean tradition. Heavily deviating from the nuclear family as generally accepted in Western societies, these matriarchal structures are defined by Christine Barrow as

...[T]he mother-centered... mother-directed, household... composed of women of multiple generations, more often as generational continuities along... the matri-line: mother, daughters and maybe sons, and daughters' children. ...[I]t may also incorporate other categories and of more particularly the mother's sisters and mother's children.... A striking characteristic of the system is the close relationship between mother and daughters' children, relationships which are rooted in the activity of childcare. (*Family in the Caribbean: themes and perspectives*: 44; quoted in Kuwabong: 542)

In "Adaptive parenting strategies in Caribbean fiction: a reading of Patricia Powell's *Me dying trial*, Simone Schwarz-Bart's *The bridge of beyond* and Marlene Nourbese Philip's *Harriet's daughter*", Dannabang Kuwabong examines these works in the context of child-switching and other-mothering in Afro-Caribbean communities. Rooted in

“the cultural multiplicity of childcare practices in Caribbean women’s texts”, Kuwabong explores “the dynamic parenting performance strategies that enable the survival of Africaribbean family structures” despite “centuries of negative assault by institutions governed by negrophobic alliances” (Kuwabong: 539; 540). He defines the state of the matter as follows:

...African diasporic family structures have been the sites of incessant anthropological incursions by Europhonic researchers from plantation slavery days to the present. ...[I]n North America and the Caribbean, there is a passionate preoccupation among social scientists to study and pigeon-hole the structures and functions of the African diaspora family. These studies mostly see diaspora African family structures and functionalities from the scholars’ own tunnel vision perspectives and ethnocentric agendas, as pathological deviations from the norm, read Euro-Judeo-Christian. (p. 540)

Seen this way, other-mothering and child-switching threaten the Western nuclear family. In contemporary Eurocentric thought, the nuclear family is often regarded as the rock upon which all societies are founded: should it fail, society itself risks destruction. However, Kuwabong sees through the flimsy underpinnings behind these ways of thinking:

Pathologically and interestingly... these insistent insidious incursions [of “Europhonic researchers”] are often made into economically challenged communities considered easy territories for intellectual invasion, naming, interpretation, occupation, and (mis)representation. ...[T]here is a prevailing desire to explain these family structures, not as different, but as deviations from an ideal norm assumed operative in other societies, and subsequently then (mis)representing the diaspora African-derived family organization as dysfunctional and/or malfunctional. (p. 540)

These misreadings of Afro-diasporic family-rearing customs stem from centuries-long colonialist discourses and practices: blinded by Eurocentrism and religious bigotry, researchers tend to dismiss these familial structures as “uncivilized”, “irresponsible”, “sinful”, etc., yet such vituperation shows that what many of them preach is little more than petty parochialism clad in self-serving universalism. As consequence, the upholders of the nuclear family become sanctimonious thralls to Western standards and ideals that accord very little with the histories and experiences of Afro-Caribbean communities. *Me dying trial* regards child-switching and other-mothering as indispensable practices for making sure that children of African descent survive and thrive. Need, duress, and emotional turmoil compel Gwennie to place Peppy under her Aunt Cora’s care. Having entrusted her two youngest children to her parents, Gwennie leaves Jamaica for

Connecticut to provide better economic conditions for her children, as well as to escape her socially-imposed roles of wife and mother. Smothered by what her family and society expect of her, the teacher finds the constant scrutiny of her community to be unbearable:

It was a good lesson she [Gwennie] learn from what happen to Auntie Cora's letter. Now she give out the school address whenever she expect things of importance, even though she can't stand it when the other teachers raise-up them eyebrows when them see the big yellow parcel mark U.S. Department of Immigration and Naturalization in her box. But all that matter now is the chance to get away from Walter. [...] She tired. Tired of the way him pick-pick and quarrel-quarrel about every little thing. [...]. Sometimes she have to stop and wonder how is it Walter turn into such a nightmare. (Powell: 53)

Gwennie struggles to find release: the conservative society under which she lives expects her to submit to her roles of wife and mother, yet Gwennie soon realizes that she cannot and will not structure her life in agreement with arbitrary standards people like Walter lionize, yet to which they often do not conform themselves. The feeble grounds upon which these ideals are built may have prompted her husband's most recent outburst. Shortly after entrusting baby Peppy to Ma Cora, Gwennie comes home to find Walter waiting. Wasting no time, the man assaults and excoriates her:

'Who the hell you [Gwennie] think you is, making arrangements to give away me pickney without even telling me? You think you is God, woman? Well, if you think you bad, you and your blasted Auntie, take that baby and see what happen to the two of you. Think both of you not damn out-of-order. Don't tell me anything, but making plans behind me back with me own pickney. Everyday you pick yourself, jump on bus, gone here so, gone there so. Don't have time for family anymore. Now, you catch as far as want to give them way...' (p. 19)

The fact that Walter has yet to find out the truth about Peppy's parentage is of no consequence: this and other incidents demonstrate the inevitable clashes that occur within a patriarchal society in which women play important, albeit frequently unrecognized, roles. Gwennie's handing over of her daughter denotes the survival of matrifocal child-rearing practices despite the endless encroachment of patriarchal hegemony. For his part, Walter feels threatened by Gwennie's mobility and independence, since they undermine his vision of himself as lord and master of his own house: by going behind her husband's back, Gwennie has unmasked his authority as little more than a sham. Her rebellion notwithstanding, Mrs. Glaspole's ways of thinking do her no favors:

...[N]ormally when them [Gwennie and Walter] fight, she hit him back with book, chair, bottle, pot, anything she catch her hands on, and then if things look serious, she run and lock up herself in the bathroom till him calm down. But this evening different. Somewhere deep inside, she have a feeling this was her punishment from God because of what she do with Luther, and so she just lie down on the floor, and hide her head and her face from his blows with her hands, and listen to him curse. (p. 19)

Gwennie has internalized the ways of thinking of her time and place: knowing that Jamaican society expects, even encourages males to commit adultery, yet vilifies women who do the same, the teacher feels she has no choice but to lie down and wait until her lord and husband has spent his “righteous” wrath. By thinking herself deserving of divine punishment as consequence for her transgression, Gwennie demonstrates some degree of deference, if not acceptance, of her country’s mores. Mrs. Glaspole’s embrace of a judgmental, authoritarian version of Christianity further widens the rift that grows between her and those she loves, particularly her children. Burdened by guilt and regret, the teacher cannot take pride in surmounting what perhaps is the most difficult moment of her life:

...[H]er [Gwennie’s] heart was heavy. Her children didn’t even get the chance to come and see her off and wave goodbye to her at the airport. Here she was, a big married woman, yet she have to be running and hiding away from her own house, leaving her children behind as if she was doing something wrong. As if she didn’t deserve the rights to a little piece of mind and a little rest and... (p. 137)

Family and society make nothing easy for Gwennie: her education and job do little to help her make ends meet, let alone alleviate the problems at home. Moreover, by separating herself from her children, she is stigmatized as a “bad” mother: Walter and society at large perceive Gwennie’s assumption of the role of breadwinner customarily reserved for men as yet another unforgivable transgression for which she must be shamed and ostracized.

In “De little wan she lef: motherhood, transnational mMigration, and abandonment” Camille Alexander examines *Me dying trial* along with analogous works by Velma Pollard and Edwidge Danticat, reading them as fictional examples of “female transnational migration from the Anglophone and Francophone Caribbean” (Alexander: 1). Alexander defines transnational migrants as “workers who leave their native countries to pursue employment opportunities but maintain close ties to their homes, including financially supporting their children and families” (p. 3). She elaborates upon the troubles that await women in circumstances similar to Gwennie’s:

In each text, the protagonist faces the economic reality of being a working mother separated from her children for long periods and over great distances. The stigma associated with working and mother-child separation demonstrates that Caribbean transnational migrant mothers are ironically accused of child abandonment although they continue to “mother” their children. ...[M]others in these special circumstances are held to lofty parenting standards and are ultimately labelled “bad” mothers for leaving their children. ...[L]ittle consideration is given to the factors guiding the mothers’ migrations. (p. 1)

Powell’s novel does just that. Rather than leave her family for purely selfish reasons, Gwennie does so to care for them. The underlying factors behind her decision can be described by what Rayna Bailey terms the “push and pull factors” that motivate migrants to quit their native lands and settle elsewhere. Bailey defines these factors as follows:

Push factors are situations that push people to leave their native location, including food shortages, wars, or natural disasters such as flooding, whereas pull factors are those that pull people to new places, including better jobs, nicer weather, or stable governments. (*Immigration and Migration*: 4; quot. in Alexander: 4)

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Gwennie meets most of these criteria: the teacher migrates because her family can barely survive economically through her job as an uncertified (later certified) teacher in Jamaica. She also wishes to escape the psychical and emotional abuse she endures at the hands of her alcoholic husband. Furthermore, Gwennie seeks to distance herself from Walter’s suspicions about “his” new daughter’s true parentage and the consequences that would befall the family and herself should he find out. Later on, the teacher permanently settles in Connecticut because she makes a better living working there than she ever could back home: Gwennie comes to enjoy her newfound freedom and independence, having no one to please but herself. Mrs. Glaspole’s reasons may not be entirely selfless, but they do not warrant labelling her a “bad mother.” Even so, these facts cannot exempt her from the consequences of her actions: Gwennie’s prolonged absence alienates her from her children, most of which end up raising themselves one way or another. Years later, when Peppy and the others join her in the States, they regard their mother as a stranger who holds authority over them on grounds of flesh and blood, yet cannot compel them to love and revere her for sacrificing so much for them. After so much heartbreak and disappointment, Gwennie ends up alone in a strange land, as much a victim of Afro-Caribbean patriarchy and her own choices as she was before leaving Jamaica.

Me dying trial explores the dynamics and perils of child-switching and other-mothering as practiced by Afro-descended peoples in the Caribbean. While the novel disagrees with those who disparage these structures on the grounds of Eurocentric discourses and prejudices, it also warns of the very real risks parents take when they leave their younger children under the care of others for extended periods of time. People like Gwennie might see themselves unacknowledged, even disparaged by those they intended to benefit if they overestimate the strength of ties of blood, believing them able to conquer time, human nature, and a child's irrepressible need to bond with the people who raise her.

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ESTE MAR ES UN DESIERTO: LA PALABRA COMO MECANISMO DE SUPERVIVENCIA EN TRES OBRAS DE EDUARDO LALO

LENNA GARAY RODRÍGUEZ

UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO, MAYAGÜEZ

*Tal vez la palabra de los poetas, dueños de su propio vacío,
sea una buena compañía en la desorientación y en la perplejidad.*

Luis García Montero

“No es un más que un hasta luego”

¿Cuál ha sido el transcurso de la vida en Puerto Rico durante los siglos XX y XXI, sino una búsqueda tenaz de la identidad patria? A pesar de haber sido sujeta a más de quinientos años de poder colonial, desde el 1493 hasta el 1898 bajo el Imperio español y a partir del 1898 hasta el presente como territorio de los Estados Unidos, ha sido la última centuria la que mayor actividad política, económica y cultural ha producido en la Isla. Esta sacudida de trayectoria histórica ha tenido sus raíces en factores múltiples que han tenido como origen común la invasión norteamericana en el 1898. Entre los eventos que mayor peso han ejercido sobre el imaginario colectivo puertorriqueño se encuentran la otorgación de la ciudadanía norteamericana con la Ley Jones de 1917; la participación de los puertorriqueños en la Primera y Segunda Guerra Mundial y en las guerras de Vietnam y Corea como parte del ejército norteamericano; la creación del Estado Libre Asociado en el 1952, que cambiaría drásticamente el curso de la historia de la Isla; los enfrentamientos hostiles entre grupos nacionalistas y el gobierno federal, tales como la Masacre de Ponce en el 1937 y el Grito de Jayuya en el 1950; la Operación Manos a la Obra y el rol protagónico que jugó en la industrialización de la Isla; la eliminación de la Sección 936 del Código de Rentas Internas, que otorgaba abundantes incentivos económicos a corporaciones norteamericanas; y el constante relevo de poderes entre el Partido Popular Democrático y el Partido Nuevo Progresista, a partir del 1968.

La suma de estos y otra multiplicidad de eventos han impulsado varias olas de emigración masiva a los Estados Unidos, cuyas consecuencias conflictivas se han dejado sentir tanto en la Isla como en su diáspora. Como comenta Juan Flores en *The diáspora strikes back* (2009), el caso del éxodo puertorriqueño ha sido desemejante a cualquier otro movimiento de exilio en los países latinoamericanos y caribeños en los Estados Unidos, precisamente por su relación política con estos últimos.

All of the other Latino groups, even the other *antillanos*, have their diplomatic representation, and their home countries are there to stand up for them, however feebly and selectively at times, in the U.S. context. The diasporas are an extension, as it were, of their native republics, as corrupt or tyrannical as those republics may be. Not so the Puerto Ricans, whose unique status as U.S. citizens has proved a mixed blessing at best, and whose U.S. residents are alone among the Latinos in their sense of disconnection from any governmental or institutional support from their home nation. (Flores, 2009: 65)

En efecto, la migración de puertorriqueños hacia los Estados Unidos no presenta obstáculos de índole legal y diplomática, puesto que estos poseen la ciudadanía estadounidense. Las mayores trabas que enfrentan al establecerse en la metrópolis se asocian comúnmente al discrimin y la difícil adaptación a la cultura norteamericana, tal como suele suceder con los emigrantes latinoamericanos en general. No obstante, contrario a estos últimos, los puertorriqueños se hallan desprovistos de un aparato político que les represente y defienda ante la desigualdad y el racismo. No pueden ser representados efectivamente por el gobierno insular, ya que no existe tal ente como un consulado de Puerto Rico, ni son defendidos por el norteamericano, ante el cual el puertorriqueño se siente un ciudadano de segunda.

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Las distintas olas migratorias de puertorriqueños hacia los Estados Unidos a lo largo del siglo XX y comienzos del XXI han sido estudiadas, interpretadas y representadas extensamente por la literatura, las artes y la historiografía isleña. Recordemos, por ejemplo, el retrato crudo y desgarrador del puertorriqueño recién emigrado a Nueva York que decide fingirse manco para lograr sobrevivir en la ciudad donde se supone vería mejorar sus precarias condiciones socioeconómicas, según es plasmado por José Luis González en el cuento corto “La carta”. También ha sido y continúa siendo explorado extensamente el pensar y sentir del “nuyorican”, la marginalidad dentro de la muestra extrema de marginalidad – nacer y ser puertorriqueño. Así lo demuestran los versos amargos de Tato Laviera en “Niuyorican”, que otorgan una voz al boricua nacido en el Bronx, que ha visto quebrantarse los cimientos mismos de su identidad patria al este regresar de visita a la Isla y entender que para los puertorriqueños “de aquí”, los de “allá afuera” no podrían ni tan siquiera aspirar a compartir el gentilicio:

*así que, si tu no me quieres, pues yo tengo
un puerto rico sabrosísimo en que buscar refugio
en nueva york, y en muchos otros callejones
que honran tu presencia, preservando todos
tus valores, así que, por favor, no me
hagas sufrir, ¿sabes?*

Así pues, a pesar de que una porción generosa de la literatura del presente y el pasado siglo ha explorado el tema de la diáspora, tan pertinente en la formación del imaginario nacional colectivo de sus habitantes, existe un proceso migratorio que ha sido escasamente estudiado en Puerto Rico, característico de los tiempos contemporáneos de la globalización, y especialmente agudo en el Caribe. Es esta la migración de retorno, también llamada migración cíclica o circular, que Yolanda Martínez-San Miguel define como un “deambular de poblaciones dentro y fuera del Caribe” y “una de las experiencias fundamentales para definir la identidad antillana y caribeña” (p. 149).

Contrario a la idea que aún prevalece sobre la inmigración como un proceso de desplazamiento unidireccional, existe una amplia gama de factores complejos que pueden motivar el regreso a “casa”, como también existe una variedad enorme en los tipos de “return migrants” o remigrantes. En esta investigación se interesa en particular explorar el caso de aquellos puertorriqueños nacidos en la Isla que la han abandonado en busca de mejores oportunidades económicas o educativas, y cuyo regreso deriva de una experiencia fracasada en el extranjero o de un deseo de impactar positivamente a la sociedad nativa. Como comenta Flores en *The diaspora strikes back*, en un estudio sociológico sobre la migración de retorno desde los Estados Unidos a Italia, se “atribuye el ‘fracaso’ a las humillaciones, prejuicios y estereotipos encontrados en la nueva sociedad, en lugar de las fallas del individuo migrante” (p. 35, traducción mía). Por otro lado, puede ocurrir que luego de vivir años en el extranjero, un expatriado regrese a su país motivado por una iniciativa de cambio social, es decir, de aplicar en su tierra los conocimientos adquiridos en el exilio. Ante este panorama es común que surjan desilusión, confusión y desarraigo identitario en el exiliado, ya que sus expectativas sobre el retorno no suelen verse cumplidas en la realidad, o que es alienado por su propia sociedad, que suele identificarlo ahora como un intruso. En este sentido, “la experiencia del retorno resulta ser ‘inquietante’ no solo para los regresados, sino para la sociedad misma a la que han regresado y sus valores y sentidos exclusionarios de la identidad nacional” (p. 39, traducción mía).

Puerto Rico presenta un caso atractivo para el estudio de las identidades múltiples o fluidas, pues el control que ejercen los Estados Unidos sobre la Isla y la naturaleza de la relación política entre ambos países – resumida en la ambigua frase popular “Puerto Rico pertenece pero no es parte de los Estados Unidos” – desde el siglo XX ha sostenido un movimiento masivo bilateral entre ambos territorios (Duany, 2011: 232). Precisamente, los temas del desarraigo y las identidades nacionales conflictivas han sido temas recurrentes en la literatura puertorriqueña, en especial a partir de los años 1980, cuando los niveles de desempleo en la Isla y las discrepancias salariales entre Puerto Rico y los Estados Unidos nuevamente promovieron la migración masiva de trabajadores isleños hacia este último país (Duany, 2011: 53).

Uno de los escritores isleños que más páginas ha dedicado a explorar el tema del desarraigo identitario puertorriqueño ha sido Eduardo Lalo, quien además ha jugado con este a través de una porción generosa de su obra fotográfica y plástica. Obras como *En el Burger King de la calle San Francisco* (1986), *Los pies de San Juan* (2002), *donde* (2005), *Los países invisibles* (2010) y *Simone* (2013) presentan la constante desilusión con la patria, la soledad y la búsqueda de aquello que dé sentido a la vida en San Juan, la capital de Puerto Rico, a finales del siglo XX y principios del XXI. Para propósitos de este estudio, se analizaron tres de las piezas de Lalo que plasman con mayor crudeza los procesos ya descritos: la novela *La inutilidad* (2004), el poema “Dolor del color de la raíz país” y el ensayo “Puerto Rico como condición”, publicados ambos en la revista electrónica puertorriqueña *80 grados*. Las tres obras hacen eco de la complejidad de pensamiento de sus narradores y su voz poética; dicha dificultad gira en torno a la situación colonial de Puerto Rico, y en el caso de la novela, al regreso a la patria de la voz narradora luego de una experiencia diaspórica en París. Se propone, pues, estudiar la manifestación de un mecanismo de supervivencia y de defensa propia fundamentada en la escritura y en la lectura, al que constantemente recurre Lalo en sus obras, como se intenta demostrar.

“Antes del final, las palabras desnudas”

El nombre de Eduardo Lalo goza de un lugar garantizado en los libros de la historia literaria de Puerto Rico y el Caribe. Esto es así desde el 2013, cuando al recibir el prestigioso Premio Rómulo Gallegos, se sitúa al artista y su obra en el ámbito internacional, donde escasamente ha habido lugar para la intelectualidad puertorriqueña. El hecho adquiere mayor relevancia si se toma en consideración que desde hace más de treinta años, desde la década del ochenta, este escritor-fotógrafo-artista-cineasta puertorriqueño se ha afanado en problematizar la invisibilidad de Puerto Rico ante la mirada extranjera. Es precisamente este uno de los ejes centrales de su obra – una que resiste los moldes rígidos de la clasificación literaria –, que incluye memorables colecciones híbridas de ensayos, poemas, fotografía, dibujos y novelas.

El planteamiento constante en la literatura de Lalo ha sido que Puerto Rico solo está presente en la mente de los cartógrafos (“Puerto Rico como condición”), quienes a través de la historia lo han definido someramente por los límites físicos de su posición geográfica. En este sentido, la Isla no es un lugar “real” porque carece de autonomía política. Su invisibilidad emana del colonialismo que le ha arropado durante cinco siglos, que hace y ha hecho de ella un punto marginal en la historia del mundo. Sin lugar a dudas, la relación actual de su país con los Estados Unidos es una de las preocupaciones centrales del escritor, quien describe la patria como “un espacio abierto a cualquier vaivén del deseo o de la agenda... Puerto Rico aparece en los mapas, desde los primeros mapas colombinos. Este ha sido su tope, su no-va-más... Desprovisto de poder para

auto-representarse, invisto por los demás, el puertorriqueño se enuncia incansablemente” (“Puerto Rico como condición”). Entonces, desde un lugar anónimo, pequeño e insignificante como siente Lalo que es la Isla, ¿cómo y para quién se hace arte o se escribe? Más importante aún, ¿qué sentido tienen estos esfuerzos?

Por un lado, no por falta de méritos, la literatura puertorriqueña nunca ha disfrutado del renombre internacional que se ha consagrado, por ejemplo, a tradiciones literarias occidentales mejor difundidas, tales como la norteamericana, inglesa, alemana, e incluso la latinoamericana. Como comenta Gabriela Tineo en el prólogo a *La inutilidad*, la inexistencia o invisibilidad de Puerto Rico y toda su cultura – ignoremos en esta definición de cultura el alcance mundial del que ha gozado la música popular isleña desde el siglo pasado – “ante la mirada ajena, la de algunas zonas de Occidente ‘que detentan el poder de crear significados’ y relegan la otredad a la periferia y la borradura” (p. 12) es palpable precisamente porque su valor lo otorga quien la juzga desde afuera. Por otro lado, ser un escritor en Puerto Rico, como debe serlo en cualquier otro país del tercer mundo, implica ejercer una hazaña crítica y creativa que será apreciada por círculos reducidos, dada la mínima afición que existe en el país por la literatura. No debería sorprendernos, pues, que tampoco goce esta literatura del laurel que constituye alcanzar un cuerpo de lectores internacionales significativo. La respuesta de Lalo ante estos inconvenientes es que en la Isla no se escribe para nadie, se escribe para sobrevivir a la decepción, o como plantea en *donde*, “escribo para defender nuestro derecho a la tragedia” (Tineo y Conenna: 240).

Para Lalo, la escritura es tan inútil como es necesaria. Quizás en esta frase se halle el hilo conductor que hilvana la trama entera de su novela *La inutilidad*. Esta presenta el deambular del narrador a través de las calles de París y San Juan, aunque puede sospecharse que más que ser físico, se trate de un tránsito ciudadano de carácter esencialmente espiritual. La estadía del joven en “La ciudad de las luces” fue marcada por sus encuentros y desencuentros con dos mujeres, como también por un vacío existencial que no podía ser satisfecho con las más fértiles lecturas, las caminatas sin rumbo por las aceras, las visitas a los innumerables cafés parisinos o la aceptación general de la que gozaban los intelectuales y artistas de la ciudad. “A pesar de sus prestigios, París era como cualquier lugar. La soledad estaba bien repartida y la vida no ofrecía consuelo. La felicidad parecía estar en otra parte” (p. 125). Esta “otra parte”, supuso, era la ciudad que lo vio crecer, la única ciudad que podía llamar suya, a pesar de sus incontables defectos, San Juan.

Ante el fracaso inminente que experimentó en París –en el amor fallido, en su labor literaria discontinua, en la intrascendencia de sus días–, la migración de retorno a su país pareció la opción más acertada. Como se comentó anteriormente, el fracaso en el exterior es una de las motivaciones principales para migrar de vuelta al país de origen,

y es este el que lleva al narrador a empacar sus maletas. La decepción que siente respecto a su vida en París en parte deriva de su incapacidad para conectar con los franceses: “Mi mundo había sido de papel y en él, los humanos, los franceses, habían estado a una imprudente distancia... acepté que debía regresar” (p. 141). El ostracismo que había sentido el narrador en su hogar, por considerarse un “raro puertorriqueño” (Duchesne Winter: 423), lo llevó a recorrer Nueva York y París en busca de aceptación, pero pronto entendió que no importaba el lugar en el que se encontrara, jamás podría rehuir de su rareza.

No obstante, poner fin a su exilio no trae sosiego al narrador, quien acostumbraba caminar sin rumbo por las calles de la capital, quizás buscando una vez más perderse para encontrarse. El desenlace del retorno frustró sus expectativas: “Vivía aquí, pero este *aquí* no era el que había imaginado en la distancia y esperado descubrir al volver a pisar la ciudad. El desfase era doloroso e incomprensible. Era demasiado joven para entender este sufrimiento” (p. 154). En efecto, la experiencia de retorno resulta ser perturbadora tanto para el remigrante como para la sociedad a la que ha regresado, con la cual ya no comparte un sentido de identidad nacional (Flores, 2009: 39). Sus experiencias en el extranjero han superpuesto elementos nuevos a su identidad y le permiten juzgar su cultura con “ojos nuevos”. Este proceso de tensión cultural se acrecienta en el narrador de *La inutilidad*, que luego de vivir largos años fuera de su sociedad, ha adquirido la capacidad de ejercer dictámenes informados sobre la situación social de esta, la cual procede, en esencia, de su dependencia política y económica hacia los Estados Unidos. La subyugación voluntaria e incuestionada del puertorriqueño, que en la sociedad isleña se manifiesta de inherentes y complicadas maneras, resultan incomprensibles para el personaje. Como comenta el escritor en “Puerto Rico como condición”, quizás dando voz a los pensamientos del narrador de *La inutilidad*, la Isla presenta un singular caso de confusión para quien intenta definirlo, pues

nuestros plurales singulares e imaginarios [son]: ciudadanía común, moneda común, mercado común, defensa común, estado libre asociado; nuestros contrasentidos: estadidad republicana, estadidad jíbara, ELA desarrollado, ELA soberano, etc.

En efecto, para el narrador de *La inutilidad*, como en tantas otras obras de Lalo, la esterilidad y estancamiento social de su patria se debe en principio al dominio colonial del cual no se ha librado, y que este infructuosamente intenta mejorar con su ímpetu y conocimientos adquiridos en el exterior. Así, ante sus deseos optimistas de reformar el currículo académico de la escuela secundaria donde enseñó un tiempo, cancelaron su contrato como docente, y luego de la osadía de incluir el estudio de obras literarias francesas en el instituto donde enseñaba esta lengua, fue despedido. El narrador, pues,

se muestra doblemente exiliado, ya que había abandonado la patria en búsqueda de mejores oportunidades en el extranjero, y luego de fracasar en hallarlas, regresó a una tierra que a pesar de su posición geográfica tropical, se mostraba ante él árida y desértica.

Me rodeaba una miseria que aquí se negaba de continuo al compararla con las sociedades del Caribe y América Latina... Nuestro argumento era el más pobre y limitante; se constreñía a pensar que entre nosotros no había niños descalzos, que como una especie dañina a los ojos y a las buenas conciencias, habían desaparecido en un par de décadas por la apertura del país a las transnacionales y a una orgía de cemento... Pero el país permanecía, pese a las apariencias... en el lugar que había ocupado por cientos de años... La cultura, salvo en claustrofóbicos y beligerantes guetos, siempre estaba en otra parte. Nos habíamos repetido por casi quinientos años (p. 166).

Otra de las piezas de Eduardo Lalo que muestra con gran vividez la angustia desesperanzada que éste siente en torno a la situación colonial de Puerto Rico es su poema “Dolor del color de la raíz país”, publicado en *80 grados*. Una vez más se presenta a un escritor desilusionado con el devenir histórico de su país de origen, cuyo futuro fue frustrado en el 1898 por la acción de los Estados Unidos, justo cuando se comenzaban a sembrar los cimientos de una nación más o menos libre del yugo del colonialismo español. La voz poética es un “nosotros” que lanza al aire un lamento por la libertad arrebatada, dolor que describe como el “resto vesical de la hepática / condición de nuestras épicas muertodehambres”. Es decir, la hambruna de la sociedad puertorriqueña es espiritual, se trata de un vacío esencialmente desprovisto de la grandiosidad patriótica que enorgullece a los ciudadanos de las tierras libres. Con el fin de simbolizar los juegos y fórmulas políticas a las que la isla ha sido sometida, Lalo utiliza en su poema juegos lingüísticos como los que se muestran a continuación:

*Lenta lentísima construcción de la parálisis
¡Oh pa/ís! Oh father is!*

*Pa/ís
Sí pa
Anagrama del
desorden
de las banderas plurales*

Aquí Lalo-poeta utiliza la diagonal en la palabra *pa/ís* para apuntar al fenómeno que es la crisis identitaria del puertorriqueño, producto de largos siglos de dominación. Es esta rayadura en la historia de la Isla, el colonialismo al cual aún está sujeta, lo que la mantiene en una frontera cultural entre los Estados Unidos e Hispanoamérica: en un sentido

histórico y cultural, Puerto Rico se asemeja más a los países latinoamericanos que a los Estados Unidos, a pesar de que su aparato político le dificulta establecer relaciones comerciales y políticas con los primeros. Asimismo, otros juegos lingüísticos empleados son el uso irónico del inglés, segunda lengua oficial de Puerto Rico, pero que escasamente se utiliza en la Isla, y la inversión de las sílabas de *pa/ís*. Estas son reorganizadas como *sí pa* para demostrar el vínculo paternofilial que existe entre los Estados Unidos y Puerto Rico. Por la naturaleza del Estado Libre Asociado, este último debe obedecer a los designios políticos y económicos establecidos por la metrópolis, tal como un niño debe ceder al mandato de su padre.

Resurgen, pues, las profundas interrogantes de carácter existencial que se plantearon los literatos del treinta, más de tres cuartos de siglo atrás. ¿Qué significa ser puertorriqueño? ¿Cómo se define la amalgama plural de influencias que lo caracteriza? Su ciudadanía dice que es norteamericano. Su historia, el uso de la lengua española y gran parte de su cultura, dicen que es latinoamericano. No obstante, la metrópoli estadounidense reniega de Puerto Rico, como también lo hacen los países latinoamericanos, por carecer de relaciones políticas y económicas directas con la Isla. Por otro lado, la voz poética describe un proceso de racionalización en el cual los isleños, al avergonzarse del desenlace histórico de su tierra, se alejan con rencor del “padre”, los Estados Unidos, y buscan dar sentido a su historia e identidad en la figura de la “madre”, España. La voz poética reniega del parentesco de ambos, pues los considera meramente títulos de relaciones condescendientes, transformados u omitidos según convenga:

*Oh familia sin lengua
en la que las palabras
claudican para decirse célibes*

El planteamiento principal del poema de Lalo es que, a diferencia del resto de las naciones independientes, los puertorriqueños no han cometido el “parricidio” que los libraría de las cadenas coloniales que les han sido impuestas, primero por España y luego por los Estados Unidos. Es por ello que según la voz lírica, no puede considerarse a Puerto Rico mucho más que una “simulación de la patria”, puesto que a partir de la colonización española, éste nunca ha logrado experimentar la soberanía plena.

Los versos de Lalo cristalizan los esfuerzos que a partir del siglo XX historiadores, artistas, políticos y escritores puertorriqueños han ejercido para lograr diferenciar y definir las características nacionales propias y la esencia de la cultura isleña. Esta pugna constante por dar sentido a la experiencia de ser una isla marcada por el colonialismo ha sido un elemento distintivo de la cultura borinqueña (*Divided borders*: 111). En “Puerto Rico como condición” escribe el autor que “un puertorriqueño es un exiliado

siempre sin importar si está en el país o lejos de él” porque siempre carecerá de un hogar propio. Ciertamente, en su estatus político y la circulación incansable de este entre los Estados Unidos y Puerto Rico, se encuentra la raíz del problema identitario del puertorriqueño. En el exterior es víctima del desprecio, racismo y su invisibilidad, mientras que en el interior la embriaguez del “progreso” que proporciona el licor del “American Dream” no le permite enfrentar con dignidad su humillación. “La saturación identitaria ha llegado a un punto paroxístico y no hay escapatoria, el colonialismo fuerza a la colonia a devorarse a sí misma” (*Divided borders*: 350). Se regresa, pues, a la misma pregunta de antes: ¿qué propósito tiene la labor creativa dentro de la colonia? ¿quién leerá las quejas amargas del escritor que enfrenta con valentía su despojo?

En *La inutilidad*, Eduardo Lalo nuevamente intenta contestar estas interrogantes. Como se ha mencionado anteriormente, el narrador de la historia ha emigrado desde muy joven, primero a Nueva York, y luego a París, lugar donde se sitúa gran parte de la trama de la novela. Su tiempo en esta ciudad fue como el sube y baja de la marea, algunos días eran puro desconsuelo y desidia, otros eran esperanza y vigor. Según su situación amorosa, regresaba o desaparecía el deseo de volver a Puerto Rico. Es importante aclarar que el resurgimiento de este pensamiento nunca se debió al deseo del narrador de reconectar con su cultura o sus seres queridos. “Vivía solo y las horas se hacían largas y difíciles. Entonces era cuando dolía más la distancia. Pensaba que extrañaba a mis amigos, a la familia, espacios y gestos que me habían creado. Pero en realidad, lo que extrañaba era a Marie” (p. 32). Sin embargo, la historia toma un giro inesperado cuando el abandono de su novia empuja al narrador a decidir de manera impulsiva regresar a Puerto Rico. A partir de este momento, desaparecen de su vida las distracciones sentimentales, y puede este enfocarse en su creación literaria y en la re-adaptación a su cultura originaria, que ahora se mostraba más extraña y distante que nunca. Como comenta, “al final, los supervivientes regresaban a la civilización de la que habían intentado prescindir, quebrados y sin futuro” (p. 42).

El narrador comienza a compenetrarse con el mundo de San Juan y sus alrededores, uno que intenta pero no logra entender del todo, y surgen inquietudes que emanan de la herida colonial de su Isla. Ante su incompreensión respecto a un país que ve descomponerse cada vez más, nuevamente emprende su caminar sin rumbo fijo por las aceras de la ciudad, pero en esta ocasión sus paredes se muestran sucias y el aire que allí respira resulta asfixiante. Es, pues, durante esta etapa de la vida del escritor-narrador que transcribe sus fracasos y desilusiones con la patria y los convierte en creación artística y literaria. Llama la atención que sea en San Juan que prolifere como escritor, pues se esperaba que fuese en la cuna de la intelectualidad occidental que gozase de una intensa actividad artística. No obstante, lo que no podía proveerle París al narrador era la inspiración necesaria y la urgencia de desarrollarse como intelectual. Puerto Rico, en cambio, con todos sus desperfectos, fue suelo fértil para el ejercicio creativo de la palabra.

El narrador demoró años en conciliar su incapacidad para encarnar la reforma inmediata que quiso impartir en su sociedad materna. A pesar de ello, la resistencia mediante el arte y la literatura hicieron menos amargo su regreso: “Aceptaba las deficiencias que me rodeaban, y aunque no lo quisiera admitir, ya no vivía de la misma manera mis empeños y pasiones. Escribía, pintaba o esculpía, sabiendo que nadie esperaba lo que hacía” (p. 177). Con la vida del narrador, Lalo presenta una versión del exilio puertorriqueño escasamente explorada por la literatura isleña, el artista-intelectual, personaje que comparte insuficientes características con el típico migrante pobre que desde comienzos del siglo XX ha protagonizado más de una vez las olas de migración hacia los Estados Unidos.

Si bien el narrador llegó a sufrir una precariedad económica alarmante en varias épocas de su vida, el haber elegido trasladarse a un destino donde el costo de vida es muy elevado, además de ser impopular entre los puertorriqueños, permite ver que las motivaciones detrás de su destierro voluntario poco tienen que ver con la necesidad económica. Puede intuirse que dicha decisión tuviera más que ver con la persecución del narrador de un lugar idóneo para desarrollarse como profesional y escritor. Incluso las peripecias de índole sentimental que este vive en París, que actúan como catalizador para su regreso a la Isla, distan de las del emigrante de cuello azul caracterizado comúnmente por la literatura puertorriqueña. Es un hecho que vale la pena aclarar, ya que no se puede equiparar la experiencia del exilio de un escritor y artista de clase media, que además cuenta con una enorme consciencia social, a la que históricamente ha vivido el grueso de la diáspora de la Isla, que se puede dividir principalmente entre la clase pobre trabajadora y ciudadanos con alta preparación académica y experiencia profesional. No obstante, no se debe restar mérito alguno a la hazaña literaria de Lalo, pues a pesar de que el narrador no comparta cuantiosas características con el perfil del migrante puertorriqueño, el autor desarrolla con desenvoltura su pensamiento existencial respecto a la mustia realidad social de la Isla y el rol que desempeña sobre esta su “Ciudad Letrada”. Así pues, el regreso a Puerto Rico del migrante de Lalo está teñido con los colores del compromiso social y, paradójicamente, del desarraigo.

Con esta novela, el planteamiento de Lalo es que en una Isla cuya historia no conoce la libre determinación, sus ciudadanos son los exiliados por excelencia pues no existe un lugar en el mundo que les pertenezca, que puedan llamar su hogar. Es tal vez por ello que el narrador de la novela emprende un viaje fuera de los “cien por treinta y cinco” en los que nació y fue confinado para buscar en el exterior, primero en Nueva York y luego en París, un lugar donde elaborar su producción artística y dar sentido a sus inquietudes de identidad. Curiosamente, ambos suelos rechazan la semilla de sus anhelos y, en consecuencia de ello, la cosecha de sus frutos artísticos, intelectuales y amorosos se ve frustrada. Esto lo lleva a regresar a su natal Puerto Rico, donde el estancamiento del mundo en la ciudad le niega al narrador un espacio acogedor donde encontrar la

felicidad tanto buscada en tierras lejanas. No obstante, el escritor-narrador acepta su exilio indefinido y entiende que la única manera de sobrevivir al hedor del mundo colonial que le rodea es refugiándose en el ejercicio literario, aunque no gozase en la Isla de un cuerpo de lectores o admiradores. Después de todo, “leer y escribir era inútil pero ineludible... [era] la forma de ocupar mi tiempo y mi lugar” (p. 195).

Tanto en su novela, *La inutilidad*, como en “Puerto Rico como condición” y “Dolor del color de la raíz país” –y como evidencia un gran volumen de su obra– la propuesta de Lalo es hacer frente al ambiente de estancamiento social y espiritual del país mediante la palabra. “El texto es una transcripción de los signos vitales de la Ciudad: es el lugar donde la Ciudad se vuelve habitable (sólo con la escritura), y hasta querida con todas sus miserias, precisamente porque mirarla tal cual otorga el placer de la lucidez, de lo inevitable” (Avilés: 347). La escritura se convierte en ese escudo que, aunque no le permite herir de muerte el aparato colonial – primero muere aplastado de desilusión el escritor –, sí funciona como una estrategia de supervivencia, como un modo de mantener la cordura. Después de todo, San Juan es a la vez “la última frontera del subdesarrollo” (*Libro de textos*: 147) y el único lugar posible donde puede el escritor establecerse. Como expresa Lalo en una entrevista realizada en Argentina por Gabriela Tineo y Víctor Connena,

Camino con mis zapatos viejos, tratando de sobrevivir intelectual y artísticamente en una sociedad muy problemática... decidí que debía escribir sin antecedentes, desde el vacío mismo en el que estaba. Por ello entiendo por qué a veces mis libros chocan con toda una serie de presupuestos nacionales y regionales. Enfrenté la escritura sabiendo que ya lo había perdido todo y lo hice sin miedo. Quizá ésta sea la cualidad más apreciable de mi esfuerzo: el escritor insignificante que soy no se amilanó ante el vacío, ante el silencio y la invisibilidad interna y externa, y con poco o nada que ganar, escribió sin esperanzas, descubriendo un camino de libertad (p. 224).

Conclusiones: contarle es tan inútil como ignorarlo

Si algo se ha mostrado en las presentes páginas de análisis, es que la escritura de Eduardo Lalo presenta una compleja red de planteamientos filosóficos y existenciales en relación a su país. Estos buscan ser un antídoto al “status quo” de la literatura puertorriqueña, ya acostumbrada a responder a la vergonzosa condición colonial de la Isla con un exacerbado sentir patriótico. La propuesta de Lalo ante la inescapable realidad social de Puerto Rico no es pegarse en el pecho con los puños, afirmando ante el mundo su nacionalidad y su cultura para hacerse ver y escuchar. No se victimiza, ni tampoco a sus compatriotas, porque como comenta en “Puerto Rico como condición”, “si algo ha probado la condición de los puertorriqueños es que estos no son reducibles a su enfermedad. Casi sin palabras, casi sin números, la vida sigue en nosotros. Relegados por la

historia al hábitat extremo del colonialismo, constituimos una lección de resistencia”. A través de obras como las aquí discutidas, el escritor muestra una honda preocupación que se manifiesta en sincero desconsuelo, en la comprensión de que, al menos en estos momentos de la historia, no hay mucho que se pueda hacer al respecto de la situación política y social de la Isla. Es por ello que para Lalo, la única actividad de valor en la que puede desenvolverse para lograr sobrevivir al desazón de su humillante existencia es describirla, y quizás re-escribirla, es plasmarla a través de su escritura. “Desde muy temprano en mi vida he pensado el lugar que me ha tocado... Puerto Rico es como es. Todo en su lugar. Digamos, antes del final, las palabras desnudas” (“Puerto Rico como condición”).

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HOW TO COPULATE WITH IMPOTENT WORDS AND BIRTH SILENCE AS AGENCY: MARLENE NOURBESE PHILIP'S *LOOKING FOR LIVINGSTONE: AN ODYSSEY OF SILENCE*¹

DANNABANG KUWABONG

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

I reached out my hand felt the evidence of SILENCE all around around me
original primal alpha and omega and forever through its blackness I touched some-
thing warm and familiar like my own hand human something I could not see in
the SILENCE reaching out through the SILENCE of space the SILENCE of time
through the silence of SILENCE I touched it his hand held it his hand and the
SILENCE

I surrendered to the SILENCE Within (Philip, 1991: 75).

In "The castration of Livingstone: Marlene Nourbese Philip's successful seduction of the father of Silence" Isabel Hoving (2002: 270) attests that Philip turns "history upside-down, translating the age-long process of colonization into gender-specific terms of sexual aggression from the word to silence, inserting a very disrespectful and playful sexuality in a field as grave as the postcolonial deterritorialization of language." She argues further that Philip "explores the question of silence. She writes as if she is the first historian of silence, it's very first mythographer" (2002: 270). Philip, she rightfully reads, disagrees with those who see silence as lacking agency and disempowering, and the absence of voice as being synonymous with erasure of presence. Thus, Philip, as I stipulate, phlebotomizes with unrelenting delegitimations the supremacist European phenotypic and epistemological fabrications that distort the histories and humanity of Africans and its Diasporas. In addition, she unrelentingly interrogates how these epistemologies coincide with histories of patriarchy in which the Africana female is further silenced, seduced, and denied. Out of these exploratory *cuestionamientos*, Philip develops a counter epistemology as a tool to exhume shrouded histories for the reclamation

¹ This paper was first presented as "Maternal silence welcomes the hungry word of the daughter: a reading of Marlene Nourbese Philip's *Looking for Livingstone: an odyssey of Silence*" at the 3rd Annual Islands In-Between Conference on the Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the Eastern Caribbean, November 9-12, 2000 at the University of the Virgin Islands, St. Croix.

and redefinition of Africana women's voices. Manoeuvring through migratory spaces she re-enters Africana female wombs of silences and discovers potential tongues that "heal the word wounded by the dislocation and imbalance of the word" and restore the "i-image equation" (1989: 21). Hence the Africaribbean daughter, using her skin as an organic map (1991: 7), peregrinates in search of her Africana mothers, resident in various prisons of silence. Her enterprise seeks a return to a balance, to an equation become "weary / with the conviction of word" and the heavy "gravity of silence", each pulling her in different directions:

sharing the pull in attract
 Word
 and Silence
 balance in contradiction
 Silence and Word
 harmony of opposites
 double planets
 condemned
 to together. (*Looking for Livingstone*, 1991: 34)

232 This symbiotic/syncretistic/rhizomatic culturescape that the Africana Diaspora daughter, traveler, and narrator navigates becomes her semiotics of spatial and temporal subconscious, doubling as consciousness of a clearing where she can begin a process of "restructuring, reshaping and, if necessary, destroying the language" (1989: 19) of imperialism: English (1989: 67) or reformatting it. The end result: reterritorialization of that language as agency to achieve balance and unity between word and i-image inclusive of positive fullness and wholeness for all (1989: 19). Philip's struggle for a language is not singular, as writers such as Michelle Cliff, Dionne Brand and others have engaged in similar searches (Hoving, 2002: 271-274). But as Hoving (2002: 273) has argued, Philip's approach is uniquely refreshing in her multi-layered and multipronged strategic assemblage of disparate narrative tools to endorse silence as an empowering site for agency. The battle ground: an anagram of silences. Arriving first at ECNELIS she is frustrated by the inability of the women there to teach her what the color of Silence is, nor where or how to find it. They tell her that she will know it when she finds it. They wage war on the SINCEEL every hundred years and the victors impose their language and worldview on the defeated. An analogy to European territorial, cultural, and language wars against Africans. Like European invaders and explorers, the victors in ECNELIS are quick to point out that SINCEEL are "those whose beliefs differ from ours about the primacy of words or silence" and the loser is condemned for the next century to follow the winner's beliefs: 'where there was silence, the winner imposes the

word; where the word, silence' (1991: 12). The women of ECNELIS provide horrific details of actions used globally to impose silences on women beginning with bodily mutilations:

it bound the foot
sealed the vagina
excised the clitoris
set fire to the bride
the temple dance was
no more
in the banish of magic
the witch burned
celluloid ripple
gripped
by pincers
whirs round and round
bitch-white
nigger-woman
black
Victoria
Queen or Jemimah
whore-wife
virgin-slut. (1991: 13)

They further argue that, entrapped in these ancient and modern barbarities against women's bodies and minds, women get pushed into realms of Silences, and become "grounded / in the or of either" (1991: 13) liminal voids.

While the ancient and modern initiation rites binding women's tongues are recognizable in different traditions in ECNELIS, the women at LENSECI represent another area in which silence becomes a retreat that provides temporary relief. Weighed down by physical labor, and dehumanized by the glorified travelogues of European explorers such as Henry the Navigator, Christopher Columbus, and Jacques Cartier, who all demonstrate their imperial and masculinist agendas to "discover and possess . . . destroy" (1991: 15), the women of LENSECI are wary of words. Not because they have no language or words, but because silence becomes a strategy of resistance. The enemy cannot read your thought if not expressed in words. An old woman in LENSECI, feigning and performing ignorance, nonetheless points out that European travelogues and cartographies are evidence of the imposition of words that distort and dehumanize Africana peoples:

“All along the map’s edges someone had drawn monsters and exotic creatures - some with two heads, others with human bodies and monster heads – filling all the blank spaces with these drawings” (1991: 15). In addition, the use of Christianity and imaginary European value systems, thought, and education, became and still function well as tools in the project of Silencing. The traveler, a Diasporic Africana woman who is pregnant with the word of the white father thinks she is saved from all this, and is unaware that she is the product of that invasion.

Her acquisition of the European conquistador episteme disenables her from the language of her foremothers in SCENILE. She is requested to transcribe ancient scripts in the library of the SCENILE as a learning process. She must learn to read the meaning of silence between the empty white spaces among words. These hide the horrors of cultural panyaring and despoliation traced on her Africana foremothers’ bodies and wombs. Her epiphany comes as she realizes that both she and Livingstone desire the same knowledge, and this is captured in very sexually graphic language, the predatory and nightmarish implantation of European patriarchal words into the womb spaces of mother Africa:

FOR EXACTLY TWO HUNDRED YEARS NOW I HAVE BEEN
HAVING THE SAME TWO RECURRING DREAMS--SOMETIMES
ON ALTERNATE NIGHTS, SOMETIMES ON THE SAME NIGHT--

HE – LIVINGSTONE – AND I COPULATE LIKE TWO BEASTS – HE
RIDES ME – HIS WORD SLIPPING OUT OF THE WET MOIST
SPACES OF MY SILENCE – I TAKE HIS WORD – STRONG AND
THRUSTING – THAT WILL NOT REST, WILL NOT BE DENIED IN
ITS SEARCH TO FILL EVERY CREVICE OF MY SILENCE – I TAKE
IT INTO THE SILENCE OF MY MOUTH – AND IN A CLEARING IN
A FOREST HE SITS AND WEEPS AS STANLEY COMFORTS HIM
– (1991: 25)

The destructive European word has taken root, and has become a degenerate pregnancy that cannot mature into a living baby, nor can it be aborted. Thus, “IN A CLEARING IN A FOREST HE SITS AND WEEPS AS STANLEY COMFORTS HIM” (1991: 25). Livingstone’s tears are caused by a feeling of emasculation, for the sexual encounter was a fellatio in which the traveler takes Livingstone’s instrument of penetration, his phallus into all the secret dark places in her mouth and sucks out all his pride without giving him a fruit of his labor except silence. As Hoving has argued, what Philip presents here is not about rape, it is about castration, it a “rigorous rewriting of a history of victimism” in which the victim maternal silence silences the intrusion of phallic words

and turns the invader into a victim of his own adventures (2002: 291-292). Nonetheless, there is no consensual relationship between master/rapist and the raped/enslaved woman as Philip argues in *A Genealogy of Resistance and other essays* (1997: 13) even if there is a signal of complementary desires. Yet the sense of a recurring nightmare and its consequences are registered: “AS I STRUGGLE TO BIRTH . . . THE MONSTROUS PRODUCT OF HIS WORD AND MY SILENCE – CONCEIVED IN THE SILENCE OF MY OWN, MY VERY OWN WOMB” (1991: 26).

Hoving rightly argues that the ideological impotence of Livingstone is analogous to castration, and his tears reflect the Freudian/Lacanian theories of men’s fears of castration (2002: 284-285). Tears reveal an understanding of how his word has silenced the words of Africa (2002: 315). Ironically, Livingstone complains to Stanley that his impotence has earned him a ban from the symbolic world of female Silence that the female traveler, a victim of Livingstone’s word, now moves freely in. He thus becomes the symbolic “Other,” he had helped create. Because the Africaribbean daughter is carrying the degenerate word of Europe in her womb, she engages that epistemology to reinscribe her precoital self. However, because the words are corrupted, it is a futile post-coital attempt at repair:

How parse the punish		
	in Silence	
		-Noun
		-Verb
absent a Grammar		
how surrender to within		
that without		
	remains	
Silence		
	demands the break	
the die		
	in release	
in life.		(<i>Looking for Livingstone</i> , 1991: 59)

She must emasculate, castrate, and destroy both the imaginary bondage of patriarchal epistemology and the illusive boundaries of female silence in order to engage in creative repairs. The rules for creative repair are founded on the experiential knowledge and flexible norms of her foremothers celebrated in *She tries her tongue* in very erotic terms:

Slip mouth over the syllable:
 moisten with tongue the word.
 Suck Slide Play Caress Blow--Love it, but if the word
 gags, does not nourish, bite it off--at its source--
 Spit it out
 Start again. (Philip, 1989: 67)

This “recipe for (linguistic) fellatio becomes a manifesto for self-defense” argues Naomi Guttman (1996: 54), and is linked to the “enforcement of the idea of ‘universal grammar’, which is that of a foreign language disguising itself as ‘universal’” (1996: 54). Escape and recovery from imposed linguistic fellatio lies in the “kinopoesis of African languages--language that moves with a certain kinetic energy, and that is a distinctive quality of African languages; . . . as well the various demotics of the African Diaspora” (Philip, 1989: 9). However, the daughter now pregnant with the hungry word can only try new semantic permutations: appropriation, transposition, innovation, and superimposition of transferred Africaribbean linguistic patterns in varying tone and mood intensities reflective of her emotional, cultural, and intellectual needs (1989: 66) within “the silence\s--the interstices of time” (“ignoring poetry”, 1997: 124).

236 This transference of maternal history and identity to the daughter through corporeality (“Discourse on the Logic of Language”, 1989: 56-57) is shown in concrete verse: Corporeality as language, as Philip intends it, enables the mother to transfer maternal agency that enables the daughter to resist and defeat phallocratic European edicts against enslaved Africans speaking their mother tongues. Thus, matrilineal filiation is a performative mediation of knowledge and naming through the duplicitous nature of orality, as opposed to, the fixity of the written word. To Philip, corporeality is a metaphor conveying the historical brutalization of the Africaribbean female through multiple exploitations, as unpaid labor field and house slave, and as a machine for the reproduction of extra free hands in the master's home: Philip writes:

The Body. And that most precious of resources--the space. Between. The legs. The black woman comes to the New World with only the body. And the space between. The European buys her not only for her strength, but also to service the black man sexually--to keep him calm. And to produce new chattels--units of production--for the plantation machine. . . . (“Dis Place”, 1997: 289)

Similarly, Michael Dash argues that “the use of corporeal imagery as a process of self-formation” (1989: 21) is therefore “fundamental to the phenomenal reality of the [Caribbean] text. It is responsible for a system of imagery in Caribbean literature whose

center is the body” (20). To articulate this reality of experience Philip experiments with a jazzy arrangement of her poetic lines:

WHEN IT WAS BORN, THE MOTHER HELD HER NEWBORN CHILD CLOSE. SHE BEGAN THEN TO
LICK IT OVER. THE CHILD WHIMPERED A LITTLE, BUT AS THE MOTHER'S TONGUE MOVED
FASTER AND STRONGER OVER ITS BODY, IT GREW SILENT - THE MOTHER TURNING IT THIS
WAY AND THAT UNDER HER TONGUE, UNTIL SHE HAD TONGUED IT CLEAN OF THE CREAMY
WHITE SUBSTANCE COVERING ITS BODY.

THE MOTHER THEN PUT HER FINGERS INTO HER CHILD'S MOUTH - GENTLY
FORCING IT OPEN. SHE TOUCHES HER TONGUE TO THE CHILD'S TONGUE, AND HOLDING
THE TINY MOUTH OPEN, SHE BLOWS INTO IT - HARD. SHE WAS BLOWING WORDS - HER
WORDS, HER MOTHER'S WORDS, THOSE OF HER MOTHER'S MOTHER, AND ALL THEIR
MOTHERS BEFORE - INTO HER DAUGHTER'S MOUTH

Phallographic Eurocentric fiction presented as history must first be interrupted and then disrupted to create spaces for the eruption of Africana female voices. The experiential herstories “interred” in the meta-histories of Europe, composed through imaginary narratives, travelogues, racist philosophies, pseudo-science, religion and language, must rise up through the cracks caused by these interruptions as uprising textualities.

textbody-
 body as text
 body inscribed
 on text
 on body
 to interrupt
 disrupt
 erupt
 the text of the new world
 is a text of
 a history of
 interruptions
 of bodies
 a body of interruptions
 bodies of interred
 eruptions
 how to interrupt
 disrupt
 erupt
 the body
 of the text
 to allow
 the silence
 in erupt. ("Dis Place", 1997: 307-308)

Philip advocates a rapture of enslaved Africana voices through the ruptures of hegemonic European phallographic histories (*Frontiers*, 1992: 256).

Philip forcefully restates her theory that the Africana woman arrived in the Caribbean with only "her body, and the memory and history which the body could contain. The text of her history and memory are inscribed upon and within the body which would become the repository of all the tools necessary for spiritual and cultural survival" ("Managing", 1992: 298). Philip's prayer then, writes Kofi Anyidoho (pp. 59-60) is:

That body should speak
 When silence is,
 Limbs dance
 The grief sealed in memory;
 That body might become tongue

Tempered to speech
And where the latter falters. (*She Tries Her Tongue*, 1989: 98).

Such a reinscription is envisioned and facilitated among the women of CLEENIS (*Looking for Livingstone*, 1991: 42). The questing daughter, loaded with her hungry words, is ritually bathed, and massaged thoroughly in “fragrant oils, . . . as their hands moved over my body, loosening tired, aching muscles, . . . [the hands] spoke a language to my body - every cell within me released its ancient and collective wisdom” (p. 42). Thus, the women of CLEENIS impart language to their daughter releasing the interred histories her body carries. In a farewell ceremony, the CESLIENS enable the daughter through a ritual in which she is encircled in silence, to come to her own understanding of the impotency of words of the father tongue accumulated through formal European education, and to reject them. Mama Ohnce draws a circle enclosing the daughter/traveler. The latter then is given a string to measure the circle. The string goes around the circle two and half times. All the women leave her in the circle and go away in silence. She tries to leave the circle but cannot. All her European linguistic, academic, social, creole intelligence, sophistry, and belligerence fail her. In a moment of submission to silence, she achieves an epiphanous awakening. Silence now to her is a strategic withdrawal from combative argumentation. Claiming silence enables her to claim a personal space from where she steps out of the circle:

Where the thought came from I don't know--it wasn't even a thought--an impulse, perhaps--unbidden--without my willing it--but I began to trace a circle in the earth--around me--with my finger-tip--around and around--scoring the earth deeper and deeper. Now I was safe. Within my own circle--contained by theirs. And inside this circle-- the solutions to the anagrams the SCENILE had given me: SURRENDER and WITHIN . . . I got up and stepped out of my circle, gingerly walked through the larger circle, and, lifting my feet up and over the boundary stepped into the arms of Mama Ohnce and the other women, who now cried with and for me. (Philip, 1991: 38).

This episode is a metaphor of writing as a liberatory act for women. The epiphany of freedom begins in silence that reveals the impotency of European and patriarchal epistemological sophistry represented by the bigger circle, against the Silence of Africans. The illusion of power wielded by the outer and bigger circle is denied authority as the daughter repositions herself in a womblike space where Silence is instructive. But stepping out of the circle after acknowledging it is not enough. The daughter still carries a heavy baggage of words, which she must sweat off before she can erupt into her own voice. She is hence taken through a ritual of purification in a sweat-lodge to sweat away

the poisonous baggage of words in the land of CLEENIS. She is told to leave all words behind except three words. Before she can step into the lodge, she becomes extremely agitated. But once inside the sweat-lodge, she vomits all the words she has grown up with except “birth”, “death” and in between “silence” (1991: 43). After a year in the sweat-lodge, she wakes up from her stupor of dreams “curled in the fetal position on the floor, crying and crying. I was hundreds, even thousands, of words lighter” (1991:45). Even after this, she has to fight the temptation to trade her newly discovered agency in silence with the impotency of the words of the market place. But centuries of silence become a kumbla of tears that catch her tears and transform them into meaning. The tears in the sweat-lodge fill a “calabash to over and flowing across the ages fast flowing river so wide! So deep! Carrying me back to the source . . . the source of my Silence” (1991: 45) reflected in historical edicts against enslaved Africans in the Americas:

EDICT II

Every slave caught speaking his native language shall be severely punished. Where necessary removal of the tongue is recommended. The offending organ, when removed, should be hung on high in a central place, so that all may see and tremble (She Tries Her Tongue, 1989: 58)

Recognition of the origin of her silence provides her with maps to guide her trip to NEECLIS. Here she learns further that language is not synonymous the spoken or written word. Silence is also language. The NEECLISIAN mythographer, Arwhal, articulates importance of Silence as language: “silence does not necessarily mean an absence of sound” (*Looking for Livingstone*, 1991: 51). Thus, the Africana daughter, as Arwhal advocates, must invent a new multilayered narrative, “a quilt in all the colours of my Silence--to keep [her] warm in [her] travels” (55). A narrative that reverberates with the rhizomatic, symbiotic, and syncretistic histories and cultures of the African Diasporas. Talking to Barbara Carey, Philip further defends the efficacy of silence as the retraction into one’s center against a circle of stifling tradition. She sees this as an act of resistance and as liberating. Her search is for a “language to understand what is beyond the margin . . . a language to explain or maybe to read the ‘nothing’ beyond the boundaries” of

Euro-centric discourses of exclusion (“Secrecy and Silence” 18). Philip’s language is engendered in the interstices of European episteme that denies her subjectivity and becomes an “anguish,” “/anguish,” “english / a foreign anguish” (*She tries her tongue*: 58). Here Philip realizes that though English is the language of her dis-ease, that is the only one she has as a daughter of the diaspora, and must learn to operate within it for her own survival. Concomitantly therefore, the traveler once again is imprisoned in NEECLIS in “a huge room ablaze with coloured fabric and yarn, and she was telling me I would have to stay there until I could ‘piece together the words of (my)silence’” (1991: 51). Again her garrulity is impotent. She is instructed:

Weave us something . . . never seen before - using what you have, what is yours . . . What we all have, . . . word and silence - neither word alone, nor silence alone, but word and silence - weave, patch, sew together and remember it is your silence - all yours untouched and uncorrupted. The word does not belong to you - it was owned and whored by others long, long before you set out on your travels - whore words. . . . But to use your silence, you have to use the word. (1991: 52)

These instructions are qualified with this disorienting information: “The word does not belong to you – it was owned and whored by others long, long before you set out on your travels – whore words. . . . But to use your silence, you have to use the word” (1991: 52) Going nowhere with imperious anger, she finally submits to the Silence around her. It paves the way for her transformation and empowers her to weave. Weaving, as a personal art and hieroglyphic language enables her understand how “Silence could speak and also be silent – how Silence could be filled with noise and be still” (52). She now understands that “Silence does not always mean the absence of sound, because in all that sound – of my own voice – I was able to find and hear my own Silence. And I was ashamed – of how much I had resisted the wisdoms Arwhal had offered me in presenting me with a chance to find my own Silence” (1991: 52).

Discovering her Silence energizes her to make the last laps in her search for Livingstone. She meets Livingstone and discovers a common humanity with him. Like Livingstone, she too had armed herself with words as tools to destroy her silence. But the experiences in the lands of SCENILE, LENSECI, ECNELIS, NISCLÉE, CLEENIS, and NEECLIS, and the emptiness of the words she sees at the museum of Silence, make her realize the futility of convoluted European epistemologies deployed to silence African peoples. What she seeks she finally discovers and is therefore able to use: Silence/Word as complementary opposites in the art and act of self-reclamation and re-naming:

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VIDEO GAMES AS NARRATIVE ENGINE: CAN VIDEO GAMES CREATE NARRATIVE AS PROFOUND AS THAT OF LITERATURE?

LUIS A. SÁNCHEZ GALAN

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

The main intent of this article is to identify whether or not video games create narrative of similar nature and quality to that created by literature. In the paragraphs that follow, we will look at the definition of literature, the definition of video games, narrative theory and then a comparison between a specific video game sample and a literary sample to offer a more practical approach to the question at hand. But first I will give a brief explanation detailing how I came to arrive to the conclusion that underpins my thesis. As a self proclaimed “gamer” since the first decade of my life, I’ve found myself at odds between two media that capture my imagination: video games and literature. I’ve always loved these two forms of entertainment, but I’ve never quite been able to distance them from each other. They both have similar characteristics: story, relatable characters, and at times, unbelievable environments and inconceivable futures. But are video games a form of literature?

We know that video games can certainly function as a representation of reality. A great example of this is a game titled *Assassins Creed IV: Black Flag* by developer Ubisoft. The game is set in a digital representation of the western portion of the Caribbean region and it exploits the supposed events of the pirate age with the help of its protagonist Connor. Although the game offers a very vivid and convincing representation of the Caribbean region, the question still stands; is it a form of literature? It should be noted here that this was my initial question before I reformulated it as: “Can video games create narrative as profound as that of literature?”

Let’s now consider the standard definitions of literature in order to better understand the question before us. According to the *British Encyclopedia*, “Literature is a body of written works and has traditionally been applied to those imaginative works of poetry and prose distinguished by the intentions of their authors and the perceived aesthetic excellence of their execution.” This means that besides being imaginary and fantastical they display a degree of quality in their elaboration. All of these characteristics mentioned in the definition cited correlate with the video game genre with a few exceptions that need be discussed, once the definition for video games is provided.

According to the previously cited *British Encyclopedia* a video game is an “interactive game operated by computer circuitry that offers an immersive experience to the player.” This definition in general focuses on technical features, but what draws our attention are the words *immersive* and *interactive* and their correlation with the meaning of literature. Both modes of entertainment involve an *immersive* experience but there also seems to be a stark contrast between the two, namely, *interaction* (Schulzke, 2014: 251-265).

The prospect of interaction in a game changes the way we experience the narrative in a way that cannot be found in traditional literature (Sartre, 1965). If, as the definition states, “*Literature is a body of written works...*” we encounter here another characteristic that differentiates it from video games. Can we coherently conclude, then, that video games cannot be literature nor can literature be video games? The answer is no because rather than thinking of video games as a *form of literature* we can contemplate the possibility of video games creating a narrative in the same way as does literature.

But what exactly is narrative? In their work titled *Narrative theory: core concepts and critical debates* David and James (2015) mention various ways in which one can approach narrative. For this discussion we will primarily focus on two of the most important theorists in the field.

The first of these theorists is Vladimir Propp. Propp analyzed hundreds of Russian fairy tales, and concluded that one can in fact classify characters and their actions into clearly defined roles (David & James, 2015). According to Propp, the hero by definition seeks something, the villain opposes the hero, the donor will be the one helping the hero with a gifted object, the dispatcher will be the one sending the hero on his quest, the false hero will corruptly assume the hero’s role, the helper will be the hero’s companion and the princess will be the reward but will also require protection from the hero. That particular way of looking at narrative fits perfectly with movies like *Star Wars* but for more recent and unconventional entertainment narratives it does not.

Another important theorist who deserves our attention is Tzvetan Todorov. Todorov suggested that most narratives start with what he called as a state of equilibrium in which life is “normal” and the main characters are “happy” and then that is disrupted by an outside “force” which has to be eliminated in order for the equilibrium to be reestablished (Todorov). This model fits better than that of Propp with most narrative found in both conventional and unconventional contemporary media (Todorov).

Now that we have some notion of the ideas put forward to define video games, literature and narrative, we can address the question at hand more directly. As one can probably imagine, there isn’t much in the way of published academic work which looks at the relationship between literature and video games in general or on the narrative structure of video games in particular, although there are some video blogs and traditional blogs that do so. Most of the academic work on video games tends to study the relationship between real world aggression and video games or cognitive effects of video games on

children (Sandford & Madill, 2007). The lack of academic studies on the topic, however, should not deter us, since video games are a relatively new phenomenon in terms of academic study.

I previously stated that video games create a narrative but in what form? I managed to find a source on that subject which states the following: "...narrative elements and conventions taken from other media are still present to a great degree in many games, even as the terms and definitions are not always agreed on" (Wolf, 2003: 59-60). What this citation suggests is the need for more exploration of the topic whether or not there is consensus on the matter. Video games in essence produce in depth stories that not only follow a plot line but also engage the player in the world they create, and the video game worlds that immerse us are constructed according to Todorov's theorized equilibrium-disruption scenario. While the player of video games could be considered to be analogous to the reader of literature, as mentioned above there is a difference between the two in the relation to the storyline itself, in that the actions of the player can influence how the narrative eventually unfolds. Even though it is true that the player can change the direction of the story, like the reader of literature he or she cannot control the ultimate consequences of his or her actions.

An example of the previous statement with regards to the *player/reader* relationship is to be found in the inner workings of a game titled *The Last of Us* by a gaming studio called Naughty Dog (Skolnick, 2014). In this action/adventure experience (Naughty Dog 2013), the player is immersed in a world that is plagued by an infectious fungus that when in interaction with humans takes control of their bodies through the cognitive functions of the brain. The infection spreads through what appears to be most of the populated areas on Earth and with time disrupts society as we know it.

Twenty years pass and the *player* finds himself embodied in a protagonist named Joel; a contractor and father of a teenage girl named Sarah. During those twenty years we see Joel suffering from the terrible loss of his daughter, but he does a good job of hiding his grief through his anger and through the all-consuming challenge of coping with the increasing need for survival tactics. The main story takes place in a containment center deep in the heart of Boston. The city is ruled by marshal law and the walls of the containment center are surrounded by humans infected by the fungus. Resources are scarce and society no longer functions but in spite of those difficulties Joel manages to scrape by. The protagonist is a smuggler of food rations and he distributes them across the different districts of the city. Even though he no longer has his daughter, her absence is somewhat quelled by the presence of Tess, his "partner in crime" and his occasional lover.

The plot changes when Joel and Tess are recruited for a smuggling operation by a rebel group fighting the government called *The Fire Flies*. The cargo to be smuggled in this case, however, is no ordinary cargo, instead it is a teenage girl named Ellie. At first the duo (Tess and Joel) carry out the job as if it were business as usual until they discover

the girl is immune to the fungal infection affecting most of humankind. Joel loses Tess when trying to escape the infection outside the city. As her final wish, Tess convinces Joel to carry the girl to a group of doctors in Nevada, the only place where they are searching for a cure to the fungus.

Joel's relationship with Ellie grows. At first they see each other as complete strangers and occasionally look for ways to get rid of each other. Although that's true at first, they later see each other as being partners and even more so; father and daughter. A year passes and they reach Nevada. When they do, they are not so sure what to expect but they eventually come across the team of doctors they are searching for. They examine Ellie to see what causes her immunity and they discover that the reason she is immune is because of a specific type bone marrow she alone possesses. The doctors tell Joel that they need to remove the bone marrow in order for them to produce a vaccine, but if they do so she will most likely become infected and die. Joel cannot cope with this news and all of his memories dating back to his daughter's death come back to him. He doesn't want to suffer these feelings of loss once again and so he decides to kill all of the doctors and take Ellie with him because she is the closest thing he has to his long lost daughter. In the actual video game, the player is embodied in Joel and goes through the traumatic events that make up the plot. It is evident that *The Last of Us* creates a narrative just as profound and thought provoking as any form of literature (Skolnick, 2014). The fact that this literary quality of narrative is not unique among video games is evidenced by the readiness with which traditional literary forms are being converted into video games. For example, within six months of its recent publication, no fewer than six different video game developers have been making games inspired by Maxwell Neely-Cohen's novel *Echo of the boom* (2016).

In his most recent article titled *Appetite for risk: at the intersection of video games and literature* Neely-Cohen stresses the need for video games to be taken seriously not only as a means to create narrative but as a viable alternative to literature. He states: "The literary world and the video game world could greatly benefit each other. Even a conversation, let alone the beginning of real collaborations and dialogues, would help each contend with their respective shortcomings" (Neely-Cohen). In more general terms what the author is trying to convey is the possibility of a mutually beneficial and enlightening relationship between literature and video games.

As a point of comparison with the narrative just explored from the video game *The Last of Us* I will now proceed to explore the narrative of a piece of traditional literature, the contemporary novel titled *The road* by Cormac McCarthy (2006). I selected this novel because its dystopian storyline is very similar to that of *The Last of Us*.

The road transports us to a very depressing future on an almost unrecognizable planet earth. The world has been consumed by what McCarthy only explains as a "big fire" giving constant allusion to the possibility of a recent nuclear war. But in this vast and depressing universe we find a family; a father and a son (named only as Man and Boy)

struggling to survive amid the prevalent scarcity of food and water. The father and son relationship is the focal point of this story, the novel is told from the father's point of view and we are continually given bits of information with regards to the background of these individuals through a series of flash backs. Over the course of these momentous glimpses into the past, we find that the father has taken sole responsibility for his child because the mother committed suicide due to the fact that "she couldn't go on" as the author puts it given the realities of this new world. The novel ends with the father taking his last dying breath, and thus leaving his son to fend for himself. The Boy then encounters a couple who take him in as their own.

The novel *The Road* and the video game *The Last of Us* share a range of similar thematic and structural characteristics in their narrative themes and structures. Both involve dystopian worlds focus on the parent/child relationship. But most importantly, in terms of the question addressed in this article, both comply with Todorov's definition of narrative: they both involve an initial moment of 'equilibrium', a moment of disruption and a constant search to put an end to that disruption.

In conclusion, I find it useful to consider the results of a study done by Kaufman & Broder (2015) for the American Psychological Association. They conducted a survey with 512 randomly chosen individuals and proceeded to ask them, in groups of 1 or 2, what made the video games that they played most memorable, the degree of enjoyment derived from the game or the degree to which they found the game meaningful. Most of the respondents reported that the games they considered most memorable were those from which they derived the highest levels of meaningfulness, rather than those from which they derived highest levels of enjoyment. Kaufman and Broder state that: "enjoyment was most strongly associated with gameplay characteristics and satisfaction of needs related to competency and autonomy, whereas appreciation was most strongly associated with story characteristics and satisfaction of needs related to insight and relatedness" (2015). This research not only helps us understand the enormous potential of the topic examined in this article as an area of academic research, but also helps us to realize that video games are evaluated and appreciated by players based on the extent to which they create a *meaningful* narrative.

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**MULTIPLE IDENTITIES AND CULTURE IN THE GREATER
CARIBBEAN AND AFRO-ATLANTIC**

THE WEST AFRICAN ORIGINS OF THE CARIBBEAN BANJO

ROBERT W. NICHOLLS

UNIVERSITY OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS, ST. THOMAS CAMPUS

The banjo is part of the Caribbean cultural legacy. A skin covered lute prototype occurs in the Upper Guinea region of West Africa and this artifact shows the connection between this region and the Americas. Cecelia Conway in her book *African Banjo* (1995:161) states “for the slaves . . . the traditional banjo provided significant and tangible continuity with Africa and its music.” Luffman (1789: 135-136) uses the term “banjar” in a letter from Antigua dated March 14, 1788. He states:

Negroes are very fond of the discordant notes of the banjar. . . . The banjar is somewhat similar to the guittar [sic], the bottom, or under part, is formed of one half of a large calabash, to which is fixed a wooden neck, and is strung with cat-gut and wire. This instrument is the invention of, and was brought here by the African negroes, who are most expert in the performance thereon which are principally their own country tunes. I do not remember ever to have heard anything like European numbers from its touch.

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In playing “their own country tunes” it is noted that the banjo’s notes are described as “discordant.” Unlike the clean ringing notes of the guitar and European forerunners in harps and lyres, traditional banjos and its forebears issue a dampened or muffled note, a “plunkety plunk” tonal quality that might have jarred on the sensibilities of European ears of the time. Around 1770, on his plantation in Jamaica, Thomas Thistlewood’s tolerance became so strained that he “broke Job’s banjar to pieces in the mill house” (Hall, 1989: 131). The use of a calabash or gourd is basic to Caribbean banjos of the 17th to 19th centuries and a gourd sounding chamber has been integral to African construction for millennia. Conway points out that the lack of trees in the savannah regions of West Africa makes wood scarce and even today calabashes are important materials for instrument construction (p. 162). Calabash shells can also be used as water drums as well as maracas.

Early descriptions of the banjo as derived from the African calabash lute can be found in reports from the Virgin Islands, Antigua, Barbados, Jamaica, Martinique, and Surinam. In September 1687, British physician and naturalist Sir Hans Sloane (1707) visited

Jamaica while traveling through the West Indies. Twenty years later, he published an account of his travels that includes descriptions and illustrations of early gourd banjos. In Jamaica ca. 1688, Sloane describes “instruments in imitation of lutes . . . [which are] made of small gourds fitted with necks, strung with horse hair, or the peeled stalks of climbing plants. . . . These instruments are sometimes made of hollow’d timber covered with parchment or other skin” (see Figure 1 below). On some occasions sturdy circular cheese boxes were pressed into service as resonators. The term “banjo” is not the only name used in early descriptions. Bryan Edwards (1794) lists the “Banjo or Merriwang” among Jamaican instruments, while Bayley (1830) describes a band in Barbados circa 1829 that consisted of drums “a pipe, a gumbay [drum] or bonja [banjo].”

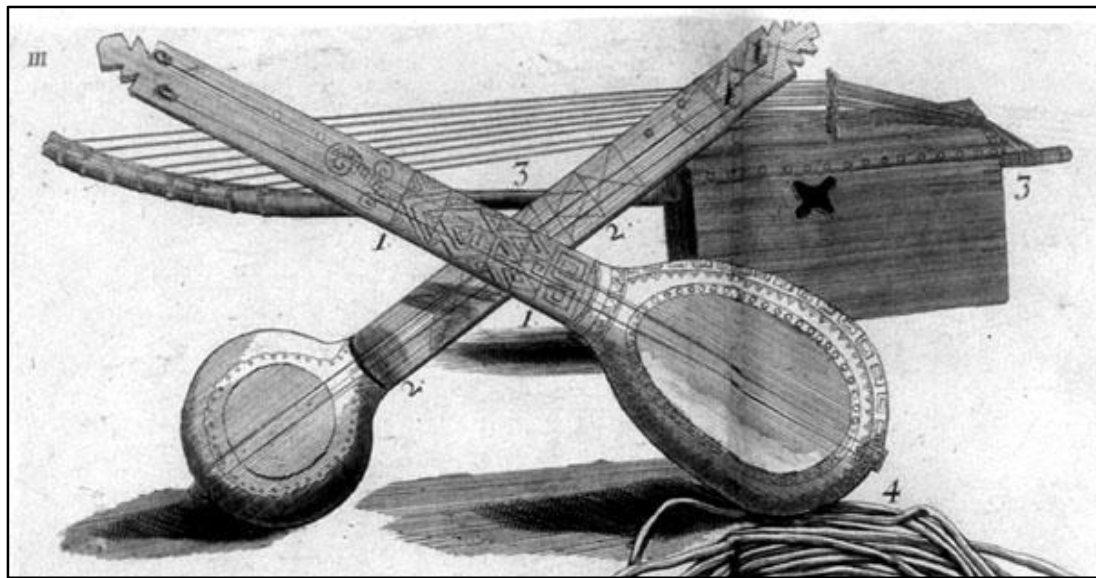


Figure 1 British physician and naturalist Sir Hans Sloane simply captioned his illustration of early Caribbean banjos and a West African harp-lute, “strum-strump” (Sloane, 1707: iix)

During the 1730s, in St. Thomas in the then Danish West Indies, Carstens (1997: 78) refers to “Asen-kiefter, which are the jawbones of donkeys strung with horse hairs.” Later, Oldendorp (1770: 249) describes Virgin Islands instruments circa. 1768. He observes that “quite early the children make a kind of fiddle for themselves, constructed by stretching several horse hairs over a shingle and then stroking them with a bow or *plucking them with their fingers*” (emphasis added). In the British Virgin Islands in 1806, Pinckard describes musical instruments including the “Banjar . . . a course and rough kind of guitar.”

As manifested in the Americas, banjos vary as to whether they have four or five strings. In the Caribbean the four string banjo predominates. In Martinique in 1694, Jean Baptiste Labat observed a banjo and noted “four strings of silk or dried bird gut were raised on a bridge above the skin” (1726, Vol. IV: 159). Stedman around 1775 describes an instrument called “Creole-bania”, in a Creole variety spoken in Surinam: “The Creole-bania...is like a mandoline [sic] or guitar, being made of a half gourd covered with

sheepskin to which is fixed a very long neck. . . . This instruments has but four strings, three long and one short, which is thick and serves for a bass; it is played by the fingers” (1972: 377).

The tradition of singing to lute accompaniment is widespread in the Western Sudan where both four string and five string lutes are found. In his article, “Senegambian Archetypes for the American Folk Banjo”, Michael Coolen says that, the *kôla-lemmé* of the Diawara of Mali which “looks much like an early folk banjo”, has four strings, as does the *gambaré* of the Soninké (Coolen, 1984: 123). Conway (1995) argues that the Wolof are an important link between the Western Sudan and the United States and she sees parallels between the two regions, “especially between a Wolof musical instrument, the *halam*, and the American banjo” (p. 28). The Wolof *halam* or *xalam*, and *tidinit* of Mauritania have five strings (Coolen: 121), as does the Mandinka *kontingo* (p. 124). Coolen states that the Fulbe *hoDu* “is usually constructed with four playing strings, although the best musicians usually have five” (p. 124). An interesting variant of the calabash lute, known as *engu*, which is almost spherical in shape, is found among the Iggede people of Nigeria’s Benue State. As played by Agute Agurukpo and recorded by Bjorn Ranung (1973), the *engu* has only two strings and a metal vibrator attached to the bridge. It is tuned and played as if it were an instrument for the reproduction of speech of which there are many varieties among the Iggede (Nicholls, forthcoming b).

In the Americas, twentieth century banjos, whether of four strings or five strings, have accommodated different styles of playing. Whereas both can be strummed, the five string banjo is more commonly plucked or picked. The four string banjos of the Caribbean are part of a rhythmic syncopation tradition and are invariably strummed. Hans Sloane’s caption to his illustration of 17th century banjos and a West African harp-lute is simply captioned “strum-strump”, which reinforces the notion that Caribbean banjos were strummed rather than picked. Both the strummed and picked styles can be historically observed in musical traditions. Minstrelsy which became popular in the 19th century USA featured a uniform strummed style and same is true of Traditional Jazz (Dixieland) which emerged from street parades and marches and which includes banjos strummed as part of the rhythm section.

In my article, “Pete Robinson, black London drummer of the early twentieth century” (Nicholls, forthcoming a), a photo of the “Original Philadelphia Coon Band,” ca. 1920, includes two banjo players. The banjos are typical four-stringed instruments strummed with a plectrum. One has a long neck while the other is shorter. Banjo players in the Jug Bands of prohibition Memphis, such as Gus Cannon, strummed, but sometimes alternated it with picking. In the Eastern Caribbean the banjo continues to be featured in fungi bands or quelbe (scratch) bands which perform traditional songs especially at Christmas and holiday times. In the Virgin Islands quelbe music genre, fast strumming and cross rhythms are utilized. In this case, the banjo often sounds more like a dynamic percussion instrument than a melodic instrument and sometimes the rapid strumming

approximates the Rasgueado patterns of Spanish Flamenco guitar, where the rolling finger-strumming bears a resemblance to a revving motorcycle!

Experts in this style in the US Virgin Islands include The Late Frank Charles (see Figure 2 below), King Derby, Edgie of Stanley and the Ten Sleepless Knights (see Figure 3 below), and Jamsie Brewster. The latter is known for fashioning ukuleles from oversize “sardine cans”, metal food containers about five inches wide by seven or eight inches long. Edgie also sometimes plays such an instrument (see Figure 4 below). Regarding the five string banjo, the fifth string serves as a drone string. Derived from the Appalachia drop thumb or claw hammer style, the five string banjo is generally picked, though this can be alternated with short strummed sequences. Rapid picking styles associated with Blue Grass Music are popular in the USA these days.



Figure 2 The Late Frank Charles was born in 1906 and lived in St. Croix. He was a foremost culture bearer and musician and played drums, banjo, ass pipe, steel [triangle], and squash [guiro]. In Frederiksted he played for some of the best known masquerades including Paddy Moore and Marshall the Mocko Jumbie. He made his own bass drum while his steel was made by a local blacksmith. When interviewed on 7/1/1996, he explained, “Two of the drums are regular kettle drums which I bought. I bought a little silver banjo as well. It’s made of metal and has the word “Dixie” inscribed on it. It only has four strings and I call it a “ukulele banjo.” (photograph by Robert Nicholls)



Figure 3 Eldred “Edgie” Christian of Stanley and the Ten Sleepless Knights, 1996 (photograph by Robert Nicholls)



Figure 4. Edgie with his “sardine can” ukulele during a tea meeting at Fort Frederiksted in St Croix, 1995 (photograph by Robert Nicholls)

Pentatonic scales, with five notes to an octave are common in sub-Saharan Africa and influenced folk music in the Caribbean, including banjo playing. In his book *Savannah syncopators* (1970), Paul Oliver shows that the rhythmic orientation of jazz syncopation originated in the savannah regions of West Africa. Conway (1995) pursues this discussion and argues that while jazz “had origins in the parade music, ragtime, and dance music”, the “blues had origins rooted vocally in work songs and instrumentally in stringed traditions: fiddle, banjo and guitar” (p. 25). Conway argues “not only that banjo music preceded the blues but that banjo song, music, and ensemble types were highly influential upon the formation of the blues” (p. 26). Against this, it can be noted that although the islands possess a rhythmic syncopation tradition, historically they inherit pentatonic scales in major keys, not the hexatonic blues scale which consists of a minor pentatonic scale plus “blue notes” nor the heptatonic, or seven note conception of the “blues scale”. In short, the half-tones and wining notes of the blues were not part of the Caribbean tradition.

Conway sees the griots of the Savannah as integral to the process of trans-Atlantic transfer. Gerhard Kubik in his book *Africa and the blues* (1999: 187) shows that the Malian Empire of the Dyula and Mande had bardic traditions of history recital and commentary in song as performed by professional griots. Conway points out that griots historically belonged to an indigenous slave-caste and therefore it is possible that “a number of the griots were sold as slaves and exported to America at a musically formative time early in the slave trade” (1995: 27). However it can be shown that although Cariso singers and Calypsonians, with their historical and socio-political commentary in song, fulfill a similar role to savannah griots; they use different scales and meters. Calypsonian and Carisonian vocal styles are “syllabic”, where each syllable of text tends to be matched to a single note, rather than “melismatic” whereby a single syllable of text is sung while moving between several different notes in succession.

Some countries in northern and west-central Africa have adopted musical scales now associated with Islamic music. Rather than along the Guinea Coast, Paul Oliver (1970) suggested that the affinity in musical structure between the blues and certain African musical traditions should be sought in the broad savanna hinterland of West Africa, from Senegal and Gambia, across Mali, northern Ghana, and Burkina Faso to northern Nigeria. Senegambia was part of the French slave-trading network to Louisiana and Gwendolyn Hall (1992: 34) maintains, “It is relevant ... to look to Senegambia for the African roots of Louisiana’s Afro-Creole culture.” The melismatic tradition is historically common to the Sahara and Sahelian regions and is also found in the blues and especially in the wailing moans and field hollers of Blacks in the Deep South. Conway says that when Paul Oliver met griot performers he saw for the first time “the combination of vocal, rhythm, and stringed instruments which hinted at a link with the blues” (p. 23). The blues employ a repetitive riff in guitar refrains ala Charlie Patton, Bukka White, and Howlin’ Wolf, which also appears in Sahelian lute music

Both Coolen and Conway have examined similarities in the playing technique of Appalachian banjos and the lutes of the Western Sudan which involve “an interplay between the thumb and the index finger, with a small percentage of the notes played by the middle finger” (Coolen, 1984: 130). Coolen elaborates:

There are striking similarities between this approach and more traditional ways of playing the American banjo, especially those approaches known alternately as ‘frailing,’ ‘drop-thumb’, and ‘claw-hammer.’ The basic downward stroking of the finger(s), while the thumb primarily plays the drone string, characterizes all of these approaches. This is precisely the same basic approach used by xalamkats to play the *xalam*. (ibid)

The history of the banjo in the Caribbean and the Americas is more complex than it might at first appear. In addition to the dichotomies of four strings versus five strings and strumming versus picking; this article has considered the pentatonic scale versus the hexatonic blues scale, and the “syllabic” versus “melismatic” vocal styles.

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ASSESSING THE INEFFABLE: THINKING ABOUT LEARNING OUTCOMES AND THEOLOGICAL STUDIES IN THE CARIBBEAN

ANNA KASAFI PERKINS

UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES, REGIONAL HEADQUARTERS

Outcomes based education has potential to bring about the rebirth of theology in facilitating the development of a more relevant and more contextual, quality theology. – Nico Botha (2010)

Twisting unaccustomed tongue around hurt which they cannot speak of as ‘ineffable’/Definition: that which is too great or too extreme to be expressed in words.
– Mel Cooke in “Malapropism” (2014)

The “product” of Christian ministerial training, lay formation and theological education in our Caribbean theological schools, seminaries and colleges is an unusual one.¹ We aim to produce a certain kind of person rather than create some tangible material thing or simply teach certain skills. In that regard, Caribbean theological educators are no different from the other “producers” of higher education like the University of the West Indies with its distinctive graduate (University of the West Indies 2004). However, where we are distinctive is that our “products” (our graduates), we claim, are formed within the ineffable crucible of faith and are moulded to be persons of character and service to church and society. This is expressed, for example, in the self-description of St Michael’s Theological College in Kingston, Jamaica: “an institution of higher education dedicated to excellence in theological and scriptural studies leading to personal, ethical and spiritual formation” (archdioceseofkingston.org). Yet, if we listen to the rumour mills, the gossip in the pews, the complaints of students, the salacious news reporting, the pain of victims, etc., it appears that some of our “products” seem to be rather faulty. Some ministers, lay workers, priests, catechists, and other persons, who have been theologically trained, have been implicated in various kinds of ethical misconduct and spiritual failings (Hines, 2012; McGreggor, 2014). Despite reports aplenty, these failings are not only of a sexual nature, but also include

¹ The use of the language of production in the context of higher education is highly contested. Aleshire’s (2003) concerns with the influence of the language of production on education is acknowledged, even as that language is appropriated for purposes of this introduction.

acts of fraud and corruption. This has led some ecclesial bodies like the Anglican Church in Jamaica and the Cayman Islands to create for their members Codes of Ethics that address directly standards of behaviour for ministers. Others have, like the Roman Catholic Bishops of the Antilles Episcopal Conference, issued clear statements on sexual misconduct.

What seems clear is that a gap appears to be opening up between the quality products that we are expected to turn out and the faulty products that wear our brand. We, of course, ask, what is the reason for this? Have we been using inferior raw materials? (Admitting candidates based solely on academic qualifications?) Is our production line obsolete? (Our methods of training and formation out of sync with current needs?) Does the factory need retooling and the production workers re-training? (Are theological colleges relevant? Well structured? Staff qualified and competent?) All of the above? However, before we can address any of these questions we need to consider three underlying questions:

1) What is it we are aiming to produce through our theological formation programmes? (What kind of person do we want to turn out/turn loose on unsuspecting congregations or institutions? Perhaps it is because we are not clear what we want that we are producing “products” that do not meet the needs of the market or that are downright dangerous.)

2) How will we achieve this aim? What are the inputs, methods, controls that we will utilize in order to achieve our purposes? (These certainly include our courses, and internships and various programmes of studies, teaching and assessment methods, trained faculty, etc.)

3) Importantly, once the products come off the production line, how will we test/measure that our aims have been achieved? (How will we check to see that, all things considered, our graduates actually turn out the way we want and hope?)

The third question is a seminal one in higher education and cannot be escaped by theological schools “if they wish to be a part of the ecology of higher education” (Aleshire, 2003: 1): how are learning outcomes of theological education being measured/to be measured? Should they even be measured? Can they be measured?

Aim of the discussion

This discussion, which is written from the perspective of theological educator cum quality assurance professional, begins a discussion around the learning outcomes (ethical/spiritual formation) of students of theology in the Caribbean Association of Theological Schools (CATS), that is, the four schools/ seminaries affiliated with the University of the West Indies. It recognises that the outcomes of such spiritual/ethical formation may be difficult to define and operationalise, much less assess, i.e., they are “ineffable” (Chickering & Mentkowski, 2006). Indeed, in the judgment of some, as illustrated in the words of one seminary professor, “Let us do our work and stop com-

plicating our lives and the lives of our schools with proposals for *measuring what cannot be measured*” (Klimoski, 2003: 35; emphasis added). Klimoski believes that the work of theological educators, unlike that of other educators, cannot be measured. Implied perhaps in such a statement is that it *ought* not to be measured either. Yet, recognising the ineffability of much of theological formation does not mean there are not observable manifestations that can be taken account of. So, Aleshire (2003) maintains: “the outcomes theological educators most want to be attained are the most difficult to assess” (p. 9). Difficult does not mean impossible. It is wholly reasonable to expect that theological institutions identify and clarify exactly what they are trying to achieve and why, and what those studying can be expected to learn to do and be.

The concern with learning outcomes in theological education falls between two poles: 1) the refusal of some advocates for assessment to acknowledge that “some important aspects of learning cannot be counted” (Klimoski, 2003: 35) or are difficult to measure; and 2) the trap that some theological educators may fall into by tagging theological learning as unmeasurable. Both these poles must be avoided.

The discussion calls for more careful delineation of the learning outcomes of theological education and recommends some actions that may begin the process of assessment in order to close the gaps between expectations and outcomes, promise and fulfilment. Indeed, pedagogically, theological learning has to address “more than just the head in order to do justice to what theology is, and how it works” (Marsh, 2014: 120). At the same time, it recognises that the peculiarities of the faith experience of the individual person, particularly the experience of conversion and call, complexifies the situation. It also acknowledges the role that ongoing formation must play in the development of the theologically-trained person, especially that which can be/should be provided by their ecclesial community. It calls for theological schools to become more skilful at outcomes assessment because “we care about the work our graduates do and the communities they serve” (Aleshire, 2003: 7).

Theology at the University of the West Indies

The University of the West (UWI) offers theological education through affiliation with four theological colleges: United Theological College of the West Indies (UTCWI) and St Michael’s Theological College (SMTC), Mona, Jamaica; St John Vianney Seminary (SVJ), St Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago, and Codrington College (CC), Cave Hill, Barbados. These colleges are associated with Christian denominations as follows, UTCWI – multi-denominational, including Baptist, Anglican, Methodist, Moravian, etc.; SMTC and SVJ – Roman Catholic; and CC – Anglican. Together they are members of the Caribbean Association of Theological Schools (CATS).

According to the UWI's Ordinance 15, an institution approved for affiliation has to satisfy the Senate that it "has attained an appropriate standard of educational efficiency" (15. 2). Section 6 of the Ordinance recognises that some subjects may not be taught by the University and as such affiliations may be a means through which such subjects can be accessed at the University. This is certainly the case with theology. The Ordinance was revised in 2013 to recognise St Michael's Theological College given its name change from St Michael's Seminary in 2002 and its focus on theological education of lay persons rather than seminarians, that is, clergy. While the Ordinance does not define the meaning of affiliation, some light can be thrown on that relationship through an examination of the Policy on Affiliated Entities from Ohio State University (OSU). OSU defines an affiliated entity as:

1. an organization that has a legal existence separate from the University, and
2. which is formed or operated to support or complement the mission of the University, and
3. (a) was created by the University, or (b) is controlled or strongly influenced by the University, or (c) receives significant financial support from the University, or (d) uses University resources, name, or identity. (Ohio University Policy on Affiliated Entities)

The theological colleges all exist as legal entities separate from the UWI while they operate in a fashion that supports and complements the mission of UWI. While not being creatures of UWI, nor being controlled or significantly funded by The UWI, they use UWI resources such as the library as well as its name in delivering degree programmes, which UWI regulates, quality assures and awards.

Theology at UWI is perhaps a unique creature; it is not quite the cognitively focussed university type nor the profession/ministry focussed seminary type discussed by Marsh (2014) and others. Rather, it is a hybrid process, with both cognitive and ministerial elements present therefore making it an even more holistic approach to formation.

Assessing outcomes in higher education

The current importance of student learning outcomes represents a significant convergence of two major trends in global tertiary or higher education (HE): the assessment movement and the accountability movement (Frye, 2007 in QAU, 2008). The Caribbean is not immune to movements outside its shores; indeed, Caribbean theologian Roderick Hewitt (2005) speaks of the transformation of local theological education in light of the impact of global issues. Interestingly, Aleshire (2003) finds that the external accountability movement that has pushed assessment forward in higher education to be less than salutary, while he applauds the internal value that assessment brings.

Assessment

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, the focus of accrediting agencies around the world has been on the assessment of learning outcomes. The debate is no longer between outcomes-based assessment and resource-based assessment. Educational outcomes assessment has won hands down. Student learning outcomes assessment looks at learning outcomes, i.e., the personal changes or benefits that follow from learning, in other words, “value added” (QAU, 2008). Such personal improvements can be measured in terms of abilities or achievements, e.g., the ability to master fundamental information in the sub-discipline of hermeneutics such as the application of the historical-critical method in interpreting Scripture or the ability to demonstrate effective verbal communication skills in a well-structured and delivered homily (presentation skills) in homiletics. Undoubtedly, the language of outcomes is oftentimes skewed towards the cognitive perspective, the area that has to do with intellectual abilities and skills (Clewett, 1996 in QAU, 2008).

However, there is a whole dimension of learning outcomes that deal with the affective domain that cannot go unnoticed/without assessment (Shephard, 2008 in QAU, 2008). Included among the capacities in the affective domain are the oftentimes ineffable outcomes which some find difficult to measure or to operationalise. The affective domain includes attitudes, interests, appreciation, and modes of adjustment (Linn & Miller, 2005). Being ethical is a key outcome within that domain that is directly relevant to our concerns. At the same time, what often goes unnoticed is that there are outcomes in tertiary education in the Caribbean that go beyond the improvements in personal skill and ability that we cannot ignore, for example, that students benefit in such ways as improved social status, increased employment prospects, and opportunity to pursue further studies, oftentimes outside the region.

The Quality Assurance Unit of the University of the West Indies, in a paper on international trends in higher education (2008), argues that this is the area of outcomes that has the most recognition among many of the stakeholders in the region. Few of us would argue the contrary. That is the reason we find ourselves responding to the question, “What can I do with Theology?” Clearly, the naming of outcomes is a key element in accountability.

With increasing access to tertiary education in the region and across the world, stakeholders such as regional governments, ecclesial bodies, students, and employers are calling for greater accountability from institutions such as the members of CATS. At the same time, with some of the support for tertiary institutions coming out of the public purse, demand for value for money is increasing. Comparisons are drawn between local and international institutions – are the students of this college more work-ready than of those of a rival institution? How are their soft skills? Do they just have “book knowledge”? Are they able to work in teams and not undermine the process? The need to demonstrate effectiveness and efficiency is also increasing. At the same time, the call for such information is not only external; theological colleges can themselves

benefit from knowing and comparing their students' learning outcomes; this information is important for instructional improvement, programme development, accountability and even marketing. Without a doubt, evidence of high quality learning outcomes may serve to attract funding, partnerships and, more importantly, students.

What we are attempting to do

I will now take the liberty of trying to flesh out what I believe we are trying to do in our theological education programmes. As noted previously, we are not simply trying to turn out good academics with the ability to expertly exegete the most obscure biblical passages, nor are we trying to turn out technically sound liturgists who know the best placement of the Christ candle, nor are we simply turning out soul stirring preachers who can bring us to deep emotion...We want to form (note the use of that term), mould, shape persons of good character/habits/attitudes and values, who in their living and being will undertake right actions and so lead to creating communities of justice and peace. Or as Marsh (2014) says, our work is aimed at "human flourishing". Essentially, we aim to turn out ethically aware persons with a deep spirituality committed to justice; persons who can live satisfying lives of faith and contribute to the well being of church and society.

In this regard, UTCWI, for example, states that the intended learning and formation outcomes are:

Students will:

- ask questions and develop a sense of curiosity in the learning process;
- develop skills necessary for theological enquiry in an ecumenical and gender sensitive environment and the organisation and integration of such learning into a framework of meaning;
- enter into a process of integration of new knowledge, experience and faith in a manner that facilitates personal faith development and the exercise of ministry in the world;
- be encouraged to develop the necessary skills, values and attitudes which are prerequisites for ministry formation and practice;
- be offered a range of courses which allow them to satisfy their unique needs and interests, while at the same time satisfying core requirements for certification;
- build a foundation for lifelong spiritual, professional and academic development; and
- grow in the necessary confidence and skills to become effective leaders in the church and society. (UTCWI website)

These are combined with the stated 14 characteristics of the ideal UTC graduate, which include, being proficient in biblical exposition and application, morally sensitive, spiritually mature, proficient in church management, and responsive to social

needs (Lewis, 2011). The listing represents an attempt to combine elements of the cognitive and affective domains effectively. It strikes me, however, that on this first go round the list may be a bit too long. Perhaps, what we need to do is to begin the articulation at the level of CATS. The CATS already has a useful frame of reference in the UWI articulation of the distinctive graduate for the 21st century. Such an articulation needs to be a collaborative effort including students and faculty, administrators and churches. Once this is done, each institution can then tailor this in a fashion that meets the requirements of its circumstances.

How are we doing it?

The key means for turning out our specific theologically formed graduate is the theological education curriculum. Our curriculum should be grounded in articulated educational values, assumptions and learning principles that other educators can examine and debate (Chickering & Mentokowski, 2006: 225). The curriculum should be designed to ensure students demonstrate some core values and attitudes. It would be important to articulate levels of performance that indicate attainment. These levels of performance must be re-articulated in terms of changes in the student population, current scholarship and national and ecclesial contexts. For example, as Hewitt (2005) demonstrates, the student who is now interested in theological studies is no longer necessarily interested in official ministry and many women are entering programmes which formerly were primarily the province of men. The best scholarship in teaching and learning points out that learning does not only take place in the classroom but also among peers and can be facilitated by co-curricular activities, especially through apprenticeships and “learning by doing” (Jurkowitz, 2003). It is important then for us to re-engage our curriculum revision efforts so as to link our course offerings to our learning outcomes and craft the non-curricular environment to facilitate the achievement of learning outcomes.

How do we know we are really doing it?

Clive Marsh asks: “What might be some of the specific issues for, and from, theology as a discipline, as we consider how theology is taught and learned, be that in a higher education arts and humanities context, or in a seminary, college, and course?” (2014: 22). Marsh conducts his investigation using what he calls the “highly contested concept of learning outcomes” (LOs). It is important to identify observable indicators of learning outcomes at the level of student behaviours, attitudes, and values. Examples of this can be:

- Being upset at dishonesty and acting against it
- Being actively engaged in justice issues and demonstrating social responsibility

Once an agreed upon list of observables is completed, then the college can employ a variety of means of tracking them over a specified period for frequency and intensity.

Strategies can include participant observation in the cottages and dorms, cafeteria, library, and other gathering places, monitoring of more formal actions like disciplinary committee hearings, etc. Of course, these means are more labour intensive but they keep us close to the daily realities of our institutions. These methods are less obtrusive and may involve students in a meaningful fashion. It will help to keep in the forefront of their minds who and what we are hoping to help them become.

A more obtrusive strategy is the use of survey questionnaires and we have been utilising these in varying ways. From time to time, St Michael's engages with various stakeholders like alumni and pastors through mini-surveys and focus group discussions. A wealth of information is garnered from this. For testing the graduate directly there are a variety of commercial instruments available such as *Multidimensional Measurement of Religiousness* or *Measures of Religiosity*. Perhaps the best known survey comes out of UCLA Higher Research Institute (HERI). The domains in this particular survey build on previous surveys and so include measures like spiritual outlook/spiritual wellbeing/spiritual behaviour/spiritual experience, etc. I am not suggesting that we invest in this kind of instrument, however. We need to design our own for CATS and, ultimately, the theological education sector in the wider Caribbean. With some creativity, commitment and foresight we can design and run such a survey. We need to identify an intelligent and enthusiastic graduate student who might be interested in this; our collaboration with UWI may provide us with resources and support. Various units at UWI have had extensive experiences in designing and running all kinds of surveys. Retesting and repeated use of surveys will indicate changes in our student experiences and outcomes over time. This is a way that CATS can make an important contribution to our nations and regions.

What is clear is that we need both quantitative and qualitative data about perceptions and behaviours. We therefore need to supplement our surveys with focus groups and interviews similar to those undertaken in preparation for quality assurance reviews. "Statistical findings help us understand how widespread and significant the impacts – positive or negative – of various interventions may be. They can help us understand how various influences interact and the relative power of those influences. But only qualitative data get to a level of human detail that helps us understand how diverse individuals are actually influenced" (Chickering & Mentokowski, 2006: 224). The former President of UTCWI recently took a trip through the islands of the Eastern Caribbean and Guyana. She had meetings with various stakeholders including, the leadership of several ecclesial bodies. Her report makes interesting reading. One comment from the conversation was that "while preaching and intellectual competence were strong areas in which UTC graduates are functioning, there were some deficiencies in the knowledge, skills and attitudes of the clergy". Of course, follow up studies of graduates can also provide evidence of how students have benefitted from

their education at a CATS institution. This can feed into institutional planning and improvement, and curriculum and co-curriculum development.

Towards a conclusion

In conclusion, assessment is key for continual institutional improvement. It aids educational planning and problem-solving. At the same, “assessing experiences and desired outcomes is especially challenging when it comes to interventions designed to encourage spiritual growth, authenticity, purpose, and meaning”, as obtains in theological formation (Chickering & Mentokowski: 220) or what Aleshire calls “learning for religious vocation” (2003: 13). Many of the intended outcomes of the spiritual-ethical formation of theological students and ministerial candidates can be described as ineffable, incapable of being expressed in words. However, that does not mean impossible to assess. It acknowledges that not all knowledge should be limited to what is empirically verifiable. It is important to learn to assess this kind of outcome as this learning has a significant impact on communities of faith and the wider society, whom our graduates serve. Outcomes based assessment recognises that resources do not ensure that graduates of our theological schools will possess a particular skill or characteristics or behaviour pattern. Spiritual growth is highly interactive and interdependent with other important dimensions of human development such as integrity, identity, meaning and purpose. With our specific mission as theological schools to serve church and society in response to faith in Christ, it behoves us to ensure that we are good stewards, who, when called to give account of our handling of affairs, can show how, through our programmes, individual lives and communities have been transformed.

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A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SOME HEADLINES FROM NEWSPAPERS IN PUERTO RICO, THE BAHAMAS, JAMAICA, THE UNITED STATES AND ST. CROIX ON THE VIRGIN ISLANDS FOUNTAIN VALLEY MASSACRE OF 1972

ALMA SIMOUNET

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

On the afternoon of September 6, 1972, a group of young men entered the clubhouse area of the Fountain Valley Golf Course in St. Croix. Sixteen persons, including guests and staff, were in the clubhouse area at that time. The intruders, armed with a variety of weapons including a machine gun and shotguns, took cash from a clubhouse shop and snack bar, robbed some of the guests, and killed eight persons. Four others were wounded while trying to escape and the remaining four were able to escape unharmed. The survivors reported seeing various numbers of gunmen, agreeing that the men wore masks and fatigue-type shirts and perhaps also fatigue pants. (Government of the Virgin Islands v. Gereau, 11 VI 265, 271 [3rd Circuit Court 1974] as cited in Joseph, 2014: 3-4)

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Introduction and comments on *othering* and the abuse of power

News of the 1972 Fountain Valley Massacre in St. Croix, as it was referred to in the media, initially generated reactions of shock and dismay, because the magnitude of this event surpassed any other happening of a criminal nature in the history of the US Virgin Islands (USVI). As word of mouth spread and newspaper coverage began to be made available to the public on the islands, in the Caribbean region, and on the mainland of the United States, a variety of interpretations emerged, each one a reflection of the particular ideological perspective of individual editorial boards.

Reactions of people in St. Croix also varied according to individuals' stances on the state of society on the island. The kaleidoscopic diversity of the demographics of St. Croix was reflected in the postures taken by the various ethnic groups that live there: the local Virgin Islanders, the 'white' US Continental inhabitants, the 'Hispanic' constituents (mainly Puerto Ricans and their descendants), the 'down-islanders' (those who had migrated from the more southerly Caribbean islands), Palestinians in business and a handful of individuals from other countries. The newspapers that covered the event, especially those of St. Croix, each evoked a tone of veracity in their descriptions, for, to the lay reader, the written word seems to project a sense of entitlement of the truth that is still hard to question in today's world (Roberts, 2008). Despite the number of

voices heard after the event, with different interpretations as to its causes, we wish to focus here on the headlines of some articles that were published in various newspapers both immediately and a few months after this tragic event.

The objective of this work is to examine the language used in some headlines concerning the Fountain Valley Massacre of 1972 in a number of newspapers from the US and the Caribbean, with the objective of identifying some linguistic strategies that journalists utilize to project the ideological stances of the editorial boards of the newspapers for which they work. More specifically, we wish to unveil the ways in which ideas about *othering*, especially racism, are masked in newspaper headlines through the use of language. In addition, we wish to uncover the illegitimate use of power or power abuse. In his book on discourse and power, Teun van Dijk (2008) points out the importance of telling the difference between the legitimate and illegitimate use of power. He underscores this by stating (p. 19): “When are the power resources of the journalist, such as special knowledge and information as well as direct access to the mass media, used legitimately, e.g., to inform the citizens, and when is such power abused, to misinform, to manipulate or harm citizens.”

Our intention is to take an in-depth look at the language that was used in the formulation of some of the headlines designed to draw readers’ attention to the longer, more detailed description of this criminal event in the articles that they introduced. The goal is then to identify, in the brief words of a headline, the ideological stance of a given newspaper with regard to the event, in order to grasp the ideological slant used in the interpretation of what took place on that warm afternoon of September 6, 1972. According to Van Dijk (2008: 8), the limited number of words in each headline can indicate how each text is “framed in terms of the negative mental consequences of discursive domination – disinformation, manipulation, stereotypes and prejudices, lack of knowledge and indoctrination – and how these may mean or lead to social inequality....”

We must not forget that the mass media have access to the organization and presentation of news, and as such, can easily engage in the distortion of information through misinformation, lies, propaganda and other discursive abuse (Van Dijk, 2008: 8). The guidelines with which good journalistic writing of headlines should comply such as the use of active voice, strong verbs and stringent space requirements notwithstanding, we believe that a close analysis of the language utilized in the headlines helps bring to light the mental processes, intentional and non-intentional, that express the ways in which the reporters or the editorial board, those usually responsible for the writing of headlines, viewed the event. Through this analysis, we hope to provide evidence of the deeply-rooted notions of ethnocentrism that lead to *othering* and issues of disinformation and abuse of power, usually placing those who differ from what has been constructed by ruling elites as ‘the norm’ on a lower scale according to categories such as ethnicity, race, level of education and socioeconomic status. We also plan to provide evidence for the influence of the group with greater economic power on St. Croix over

the media's (mis)interpretation of this event. Once again Van Dijk's words are relevant here (2008: 10):

This means that we need to examine in detail the ways *access* to discourse is being regulated by those in power, as it is typically the case for one of the most influential forms of public discourse, namely that of the mass media; who has access to the (production of) news or programmes, and who controls such access? Who is capable of organizing press conferences that will be attended by many journalists? Whose press releases are being read and used? Who is being interviewed and cited? Whose actions are defined as news? Whose opinion articles or letters to the editor are being published? Who may participate in a television show? And more generally: whose definition of the social or political situation is accepted and taken seriously?

According to some important dictionaries on line, such as Merriam-Webster, Oxford and Cambridge (accessed on line on May 1, 2016), a headline is understood to be the title, heading or set of words that appear at the head or top of a story, article, passage or page, usually written in large letters over a story in a newspaper or magazine. A headline is also defined as a brief group of words that attempts to convey the essence of the write-up it precedes. In attempting to say in a few words what the article that follows expresses, writers of headlines can fall into the trap of selecting words that reflect their own ideological posture, or that of their editors, toward the event they are describing. In the case of what took place in Fountain Valley, the headlines of newspapers from various parts of the Americas conveyed similar messages at the surface level, but a closer look at the choice of words reveal subtle forms of discrimination towards the people of the islands, the 'islanders' or 'natives', as they were referred to. The views of those at the higher echelons of economic and political power in Virgin Islands (VI) society and in the US as a whole could also be read in these headlines which helped to perpetuate the process of *othering* through the abuse of discursive power.

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Theoretical concerns and methodology

The theoretical and methodological approaches of discourse analysis in general (DA) and of critical discourse analysis in particular (CDA) (Van Dijk, 2009), provide the most appropriate perspectives for such analysis of headlines and media reports (Riggins, 1997: 2). The qualitative aspect of DA and CDA ensures that findings are not merely numbers and statistics, but that the subtleties of the phenomena under study are revealed. Discourse studies involves close readings of speech and writing in their cultural context, for language is a socially situated cultural form (Hymes, 1974). It is imperative to look at the larger sociopolitical contexts, since "those contexts may determine features of [...] use in ways that are not evident from a focus on language alone..." (Saville-Troike, 2003: 253).

Fairclough, one of the original scholars working within the framework of CDA in the 1990s, 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 some ‘objective’ reality because it is constructed and shaped according to the personal interests of the writers or those with power over them (Riggins: 2) and to the socio-cultural values learned in their own process of socialization and enculturation. Since we have decided to focus on the linguistic features of headlines, we would like to discuss some notions that apply to headlines specifically.

Headlines attract attention; they give us a sense of what we will be reading about, and precisely because of this, their importance is related to their ability to grasp our interest. Develotte and Rechniewski (2004) posit that headlines achieve prominence because of their diffusion, the power they exert by luring the readers into their particular reading or perspective of what is to be discussed and the shared knowledge of the socio-cultural context they attempt to describe. Since headlines are usually very short, they are able to be read by a higher number of readers than the texts that they introduce do. In today’s world, one that requires so much reading of text, rapid ways of becoming informed have become a priority. We are therefore bombarded by one-liners that have been written to capture our attention. They do so because of linguistic elements that have been aptly selected to stimulate our interest, such as highly charged emotional words, words that may send conflicting messages and therefore strike our curiosity, or words that are juxtaposed in such a way that they present two different interpretations.

Headlines also tend to orient readers to the journalists’ particular take on or insight into the subject of the article, to the ideological stance that underscores their presentation of particular events. Utilizing larger and bolder than normal fonts size and occupying strategic places on the page, the success of a headline lies in its ability to relay to readers what the article is all about. Ambiguity and word play are often used in headlines because they play on the readers’ desire to find out if they are on the right track in terms of the content. Finding out that they were right makes readers resonate with the writers’ viewpoint and engage positively in a set of tacit agreements with the author (Develotte & Rechniewski, 2004). Headlines also attract our attention because we view them as helping to perpetuate our own particular postures such as “who is the good guy in the film” and “who is the bad one”.

In order to analyze the headlines under study, we combined Van Dijk’s approach to CDA and his study of discourse and abuse (2009; 2008) with some of Fairclough’s elements of analysis (1995). The work of Ramos Isern (2007) was of unquestionable help in providing a number of headlines from St. Croix newspapers and in the analysis of the data. Headlines were examined for instances of the following six discursive strategies: 1) lexicalization, 2) modification, 3) verb usage in relation to agency or lack of it, 4) focus of emphasis, 5) binary opposition, and 6) *othering* discourse. Lexicalization refers to the use of negative labels to refer to behavior that is considered to be non-

acceptable according to established dominant stereotypes. Modification happens when parts of speech such as adjectives, noun adjuncts or adverbs ascribe negative meanings to the words they modify. Verb usage includes the choice of verbs, the use of modals, the use of the passive voice, and other strategies that can ascribe or deny agency. When we talk about the focus of emphasis, we wish to identify the specific words that lead the readers to what the writer believes is the most important issue. Binary opposition can be openly stated or implied. It brings two conflicting ideas face to face, and by doing so, it achieves a greater impact on the reader. Although imagery has not been listed above as a category by itself, its use is identified within other categories. It can be very effective in conveying emotive messages and messages whose words create particular images in the mind. It includes metaphors, similes and hyperbole, for example.

Finally, *othering* discourse refers to a choice of words for the purpose of conveying a particular message that portrays ‘others’ in a negative way. These ‘others’ may be people of different cultural or racial background (skin color, phenotype) which taken together may form the basis for ethnicity (Alleyne, 2002). *Othering* discourse rests on the notion that at the individual, institutional and cultural levels there are hierarchies among humans, and these hierarchies stand for differences in physical and cultural features (Lustig & Koester, 2013). Those features which supposedly correspond to those of the writer are usually considered to be superior and those features which supposedly correspond to those of the ‘other’ are considered to be inferior (Ramos Isern, 2007: 78).

The data collected and analyzed for this study consists of headlines concerning the Fountain Valley Massacre from the period immediately after the event to one year later from the following newspapers: *El Nuevo Día* and *The San Juan Star* (San Juan, PR), *El Caribe* (The Dominican Republic), *The Tribune* (Nassau, Bahama Islands), *The Daily Gleaner* (Jamaica), *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times* and *Time Magazine* (US Mainland), and *The Saint Croix Avis* (St. Croix, USVI). We are grateful to the work of Ramos Isern (2007), whose photocopies from the Saint Croix newspaper helped to provide the majority of headlines under consideration in this study.

Findings and analysis

The analysis of the language used in newspaper headlines to describe the Fountain Valley event is discussed below, as summarized in the content of six tables which appear in the appendix at the end of the article. Each table lists the data for each of the six countries whose newspaper headlines are analyzed (Puerto Rico, The Dominican Republic, The Bahama Islands, Jamaica, the US Mainland and Saint Croix). Each of the six tables contains columns that correspond to the six discursive strategies outlined above (Fairclough, 1995). In order to make the discussion as clear as possible, we take up one table at a time, delving into how each newspaper presents its version of the Fountain Valley event. Due to space restrictions in this publication, the analysis is presented in abbreviated fashion. On some occasions, all of the elements of analysis for a

particular headline are discussed when they present themselves as an emblematic example of interconnectivity of purpose. More frequently, the discussion refers to a group

Table 1 Puerto Rico Newspapers: *El Nuevo Dia/ The San Juan Star*

=HEADLINE	DATE	LEXICAL- IZATION	MODIFI- CATION	VERB US- AGE	FOCUS OF EM- PHASIS	BINARY OPPO- SITES	OTHERING DISCOURSE
Buscan asesinos en Santa Cruz	9/8/72	Asesinos	none	Buscan	Buscan asesinos	Asesinos vs. Inocentes	Asesinos
Matan a siete en Santa Cruz	9/8/72	none	siete	Matan	Matan a siete	none	People in Saint Croix (STX)
Identifican asesinos de 8 norteamericanos	9/11/72	Asesinos	ocho	Identifican	Identifican asesinos	Norteamericanos vs. Nativos	Asesinos de norteamericanos
Cacería humana en Santa Cruz	9/11/72	Cacería	Humana	none	Cacería humana	Humana vs. Animal	Hunt for local people
<i>San Juan Star</i> P.R. St.Croix : A fear –gripped Paradise	8/19/73	Paradise with fear	Gripped	none		Paradise vs. Hell	Crucians are not ‘paradise people’

of headlines from the same newspaper, since they bear an intertextuality that projects itself as the dominant message through whose word selection and word placement performs the manipulation of the readers’ cognitive apparatus and thus exerts discursive influence over their ideologies (Van Dijk, 2008: 211).

Table 1 presents the headlines from two newspapers in Puerto Rico; *El Nuevo Día* (END), a major Spanish-language daily of wide circulation on the island and *The San Juan Star* (TSJS), an English-language paper whose buyers constituted a limited English speaking readership at the time. The headlines from END focus on that aspect of the story that tends to quickly attract the eyes of readers: *asesinos* (murderers), *matan* (they kill), *asesinos de norteamericanos* (murderers of North Americans) and *cacería humana* (human hunt). These are words that, by themselves, in both languages, are closely associated with weapons, violent death, and stereotypical negative connotations about Caribbean peoples, notwithstanding the fact that END is published in a Caribbean island. However, historically speaking, Puerto Rico is an island that has always seen itself, together with the Dominican Republic and Cuba, as one of the “civilized” Spanish islands while the “other” Caribbean islands east of Puerto Rico, the Lesser Antilles, as they are also known, are not considered to be as “civilized”. This negative assessment is probably due to the fact that the population of these non-Spanish speaking islands is

overwhelmingly African descended. This process of inter-island othering is amply documented, especially in Puerto Rican and Cuban literature and history. Thus the selection of nouns, adjectives, verbs becomes the focus of emphasis and is used to *other* the local people on St. Croix. Crucians and Americans are portrayed as opposites. Santa Cruz, the name of the island, is repeated in the headlines to ensure that the readers know that the killings occurred there and not here, and that the people responsible for the murders of the Americans are from there, and that they are being hunted. The imagery conveyed is one of a place where violence reigns, where it is committed by local people who should be hunted like animals, a historically documented way of depicting African descended peoples from the days of slavery to the present (Roberts, 2008). Thus the perpetuation of the stereotypes of others and the manipulation of information by “those in power... [in] one of the most influential forms of public discourse, namely that of the mass media...” (Van Dijk, 2008: 10) is accomplished.

The newspaper headline from TSJS appeared almost a year later (August, 1973). This was the only sample we were able to retrieve. It is interesting to see the manipulation of words in the headline in order to convey misinformation via a binary opposition: “St. Croix: A fear-gripped Paradise” (Paradise vs Fear). In other words, St. Croix is considered in the tourist literature as Paradise, but its people are presented here as being devoid of any positive, human traits. The opposite of Paradise is Hell, and the people in this case are indirectly referred to as hellish. As a Crucian friend of ours said: “After Fountain Valley, tourism never recovered [on St. Croix].” Further on in this discussion, we will see how the headlines in influential US newspapers have dealt a deadly blow to island tourism. Some people refer to this as ‘sweet revenge’ for the killing of American tourists. Both papers depict the event with headlines that strengthen the concepts of violence, death and fear in a setting normally associated with sun, beaches, drinking, partying and happiness for American tourists. Disinformation in veiled discourse is the tool used here to perpetuate the dominant discourse equating ‘black’ with evil and ‘white’ with innocence.

Table 2 República Dominicana Newspaper: *El Caribe*

HEADLINE	DATE	LEXICALIZATION	MODIFICATION	VERB USAGE	FOCUS OF EMPHASIS	BINARY OPPOSITES	OTHERING DISCOURSE
Arrestan tres SospechososMatanza de ocho personas en Islas Vírgenes	9/8/72	Sospechosos Matanza Personas Islas Vírgenes (IV)	Tres	Arrestan	Arrestan/sospechosos	Matanza Personas vs. Matanza animales	Sospechosos de Islas Vírgenes
Persiguen en Santa Cruz Autores de una Masacre	9/9/72	Autores Masacre Sanat Cruz	none	Persiguen	Persiguen Autores	Autoridades vs. Autores de masacre	Locales de Santa Cruz autores
Agentes FBI participan en Cacería	9/9/72	Agentes FBI Cacería	none	Participan	Agentes FBI	FBI vs. Local Police	Policia local no buena
Continuación en Santa Cruz Búsqueda Banda Criminal	9/11/72	Búsqueda Banda Santa Cruz (STX)	Criminal	none	Continúa búsqueda banda criminal	Banda vs. Individuos	Banda criminal en STX
Acusan a dos hombres Matanza en Isla Vírgenes	9/11/72	Hombres, IV Matanza	Dos	Acusan	Dos hombres	Matanza Hombres vs. Matanza Animal	Hombres en STX asesinos

Table 2 shows the headlines concerning the Fountain Valley 1972 Massacre as published in a local paper from the Dominican Republic, *El Caribe* (EC). The five headlines included contain new information that was not published in Puerto Rico. First, this Dominican paper refers to the event as a *masacre* (massacre), a word that entails the killing of defenseless people; second, it reveals that FBI agents are participating in the *cacería* (hunt), underscoring the perception of the perpetrators as animals; third, it calls the group of people responsible for the event a *banda criminal* (a criminal gang), a phrase that has the connotation of a group that regularly commits crimes such as the murder of unprotected people; fourth, it provides a definite number of the victims of the massacre, *ocho personas* (eight people); fifth, it cites a preliminary number of *tres sospechosos* (three suspects) who were arrested; and sixth, it states that *dos hombres* (two men) were accused of the *matanza* or killing. All of this new information about a Crucian happening in a Dominican newspaper, around thirty years before the arrival of thousands of Dominicans in St. Croix, reveals a strong interest in the events of other Caribbean territories. Additionally, the aspect of implied binary opposites seems to be underscored: the killing of people vs the killing of animals; governmental authority vs the *autores* or perpetrators of the massacre; the intervention of a US federal governmental agency, the FBI, vs the local island police; a criminal band vs individuals with no ties to a particular criminal group; and finally, ‘arrest eight suspects’ vs ‘accuse two men’.

There are several implications here as to *othering* practices and discursive manipulation

in these Dominican newspaper headlines. Although there are some elements similar to those found in the newspapers from Puerto Rico, the strongest statements in the headlines insist on the need for the FBI to intervene, because the local police force does not seem to be able to handle the situation. It seems that as soon as the FBI came in, suspects were arrested and men accused. In addition, the headlines are framed not in terms of individuals committing a crime, but instead on the assumption that the crime was committed by a criminal gang, probably identified as such by the FBI. The local police are *othered* as incompetent in a veiled reference, and without any evidence, the authors of the crime have been transformed into members of an organized group of criminals, probably not identified by the local police. Paradise vs Hell is not an issue, nor is it the concept of local people vs Americans, probably because in the 1970s, the Dominican Republic had not yet become a major tourist destination.

Table 3 Nassau, Bahama Islands Newspaper: *The Tribune*

HEADLINE	DATE	LEXICALIZATION	MODIFICATION	VERB USAGE	FOCUS OF EMPHASIS	BINARY OPPOSITES	OTHERING DISCOURSE
FBI called in on V.I. Massacre	9/7/72	FBI Massacre	V.I.	Called in	Federal Agents called in	FBI vs. Local Police	Local police no good/FBI called in
8 Americans Machinegunned to death and robbed in St. Croix	9/7/72	Americans Death	Machinegunned to death	Machine gunned to death & robbed	Americans assassinated and robbed	Americans vs. Locasl	St. Croix people bad
Police question 3 men about VI killings	9/9/72	Police men VI killing	Three	Question	Police question men	Men vs. Victims	Three local men
V.I. Problems Underscored: 2 Suspects in St. Croix Massacre charged with murder	9/11/72	Problems underscored/ 2 Suspects Massacre murder	V.I./ St. Croix	Charged	Many problems in V.I./2 suspects	V.I./ Problems St. Croix Massacre	V.I. problems/ 2 suspects
St. Croix Killers at large	9/12/72	St. Croix Killers	At large	none	Killers on the loose	St. Croix vs. Killers	Killers in STX
V.I. Massacre 3 Fugitives Caught after Tipoff Given	9/13/72	Massacre Fugitives Tipoff	3/ V.I.	Caught Given	Massacre in V.I. /three caught after local help	Caught vs. Free	Massacre in V.I.
Charges against 2 suspects are dropped in V.I. Massacre	9/16/72	Charges Suspects Massacre	2/ V.I.	Are dropped	Charges dropped for 2	Dropped vs. Accused	Charges dropped in massacre
(Highlights) V.I. Plead innocence in Massacre charge	9/29/72	V.I. Innocence Charge	Massacre	Plead	Suspects plead innocence	Innocence vs. massacre charge	Should not Plead innocence

Table 3 contains the headlines from the newspaper *The Tribune* (TT) in Nassau, one of the islands in the Bahama Islands. There are eight headlines from the day after the event until almost the end of the month. What immediately strikes the reader is that the news

presented in the headlines in the Dominican newspaper are presented as well in TT with brief additional information that gives an indication that other things took place. For example, while in the newspaper EC the FBI ‘participated’ in the investigation, in TT the FBI was called in to assist. The newspaper editorial board needed to send a clear message as to the territorial status of the Virgin Islands in which crimes like this one are to be investigated by ‘proper’ and not island authorities – an *othering* practice. Besides, the FBI was not ordered to ‘go down’ (too old school colonial to state it this way), but instead they were ‘called in’. We then learn that the victims were not only robbed but also ‘gunned down to death’, a vivid description of the type of death they suffered, an example of the manipulation of words in order to impress the reader to the point that any punishment meted to those responsible would be acceptable. In the Dominican newspaper, three men were ‘arrested’ but in the Nassau it was one who was merely questioned; VI problems are ignored in the former but underscored in the latter, three fugitives are caught, but only after a tipoff; those arrested plead innocence and two of them have their charges against them dropped.

This table in particular presents an excellent example of the richness of verb usage in the presentation of headlines with the objective of catching the eyes of potential readers and thus newspaper buyers: FBI called in; Americans machine gunned to death and robbed; police question; VI problems underscored; 3 fugitives caught; charges dropped; suspects plead. Moreover, the Nassau newspaper mentions that there are killers at large in St. Croix a week after the event, a way of creating with words a certain kind of morbid curiosity that moves readers to seek out more information by buying the paper in the coming days.

Table 4 Jamaica Newspaper: *The Daily Gleaner*

HEAD-LINE	DATE	LEXI-CALIZA-TION	MODIFI-CATION	VERB USAGE	FOCUS OF EM-PHASIS	BINARY OP-POSITES	OTHERING DIS-COURSE
Two ar-rested: 5 sought in Golf Club murders	9/7/72	Two/ 5 /murders	Golf Club	Arrested sought	Two killers arrested and 5 sought	Two arrested vs. five sought Golf Club Murders	Locals re-sponsible for-murders
USVI Hor-ror Eight shot dead In Golf Club Robbery	9/7/72	Horror Eight Golf Club Rob-bery	USUI dead GolfClub	shot	The USVI is a horror/ locals kill and rob	Golf Club vs. Robbery	USVI horren-dous/Local rob, kill
Gang attacks FBI frees de-tained	9/13/72	Gang FBI Detained	none	Arrested frees	Local gang attacks fed-eral author-ities and mocks them	Gang vs. FBI Attacks/Frees	Local gangs are bad; at-tack federal authority

Table 4 presents three headlines from the Jamaican newspaper, *The Daily Gleaner* (TDG). The context of the situation where the violent event takes place is identified in two of the headlines, thus adding information that is crucial to the way readers view the event, catching their attention by underlining the nature of the victims as people connected to social and economic power. It is not a happening just on a tropical island in the Caribbean like Jamaica, but at a Resort Club where affluent people, tourists, or people on vacation go to play golf. Thus the use of the name of the place where the crime took place adds to the focus of the happening by constructing through words an ambience of relaxation, tranquility, and peacefulness brought suddenly to an unexpected, horrific end with the acts of robbery and the murder of eight defenseless individuals. The headlines also make it clear that this event took place not just in the Virgin Islands, but also in the United States Virgin Islands. By this we infer that the use of USVI in the headline implies an occurrence on a territory that belongs to the United States, a country which has the means to solve this crime and punish the offenders, for justice cannot be left to the local authorities. The focus of attention in the headlines is on the horror of the situation, the place where the eight were robbed and shot dead and on the information that up to this moment, only two were arrested and five others sought. We can infer from these same headlines that only local African descended residents of St. Croix could have executed this crime on unprotected, innocent, victims who were probably European descended (a speculation on our part), and who were visiting the island – a despicable crime. The words used convey powerful images of black terror and white innocence. The third headline was kept with the other two, because the editorial board of the newspaper probably found the content hard to figure out, given the information provided that a gang had attacked and mocked the FBI and, in addition, freed those detained – an unexpected, serious, yet comical event that the newspaper found would attract readers.

Table 5 U.S. Mainland Newspapers: *Washington Post*, *TIME Magazine*, *The New York Times*

HEADLINE	DATE	LEXICALI- ZATION	MODIFI- CATION	VERB USAGE	FOCUS OF EMPHASIS	BINARY OPPO- SITES	OTHERING DISCOURSE
<u>Washington Post</u> 3 islanders/ Held in St. Croix Slayings	9/8/72	Islanders Slayings	3/ St. Croix	Held	Islanders re- sponsible for slayings	Islanders vs. Tour- ists	Islanders did slayings
3 Suspects Seized in 8 St. Croix killings	9/9/72	Suspects St. Croix Killings	3/8 St. Croix	Seized	3 suspects seized in St. Croix killings	Three sus- pects/ eight kill- ings	Locals did kill- ings
<u>Time Magazine</u> Virgin Islands The Resort Murders	9/18/72	V.I. Murders	Resort	none	Murders in a place called Paradise	Resort/ Murders	V.I. A resort place with mur- ders
Virgin Islands: Behind the Fa- çade	9/25/72	V.I. Façade	(behind or veiled)	none	The V.I. peo- ple mask a different real- ity	V.I./ Fa- çade	Locals hiding behind a mask
<u>The New York Times</u> Economic Fu- ture Clouded by V.I. Slay- ings	9/11/72	Future Slayings	Economics V.I.	Clouded	Murders af- fect local economy	Economic Future/ V.I. Slay- ings	Slayings by lo- cals affect island economy
Marshals called to TENSE St. Croix	9/17/72	Marshals St. Croix	Tense	Called	Need to call federal mar- shals	Tense/ Paradise	Federal mar- shals do better job than local police
Virgin Island Governorsays Press overplays racial role in killings	10/16/72	Governor Press Role Killings	V.I./ Racial	Says Over- plays	No racial role in killings acc. to gover- nor	Governor says not racial vs. Press says yes racial	Press others/ lo- cals

Table 5 lists the headlines of two influential daily newspapers and one weekly magazine in the Continental United States: *The Washington Post* (TWP), *The New York Times* (TNYT) and *Time* (T). The two headlines from TWP reveal the true power of the press. So far, in the examples we have provided from different newspapers, only insinuations had been made about the killers being local islanders. This is the first time we encounter in the headline a frontal and direct identification of the three people held in the slayings as ‘islanders’ from St. Croix. In addition, the event is referred to as ‘slayings.’ The online Collins Dictionary (retrieved on July 26, 2016) describes the word *slaying* as a murder that is deliberate and violent but motiveless. Therefore, the focus of attention is on ‘those others’ from the island that committed a senseless and violent crime. The islanders/suspects were first held then seized, the first verb a weak one and the second one a more powerful word to use in juxtaposition to the number killed.

TNYT has three sets of interesting headlines. The first one underscores the effect of the slayings on the economic future of the USVI. The concern or focus of attention here is directed at the direct economic effect on tourism, which the paper believes has been negatively impacted, using the verb ‘clouded’ which conveys an image of uncertainty

and negativity. As to its *othering* effects, the words in the headlines send the message that if the island economy goes from bad to worse, it is the result of the slayings of tourists by local people. The second headline from TNYT, eleven days after the event, is a comment on the tense situation on the island, which necessitates calling in federal marshals to St. Croix. We are not clear as to what is actually going on, but it seems that the situation has gotten out of hand in a place that is marketed as paradise. These words awaken feelings of fear of the possibility of a local vs federal confrontation, but the image portrayed is one of great uncertainty that is not necessarily of an economic nature. It is not until we read the third headline that the racial overtones of the confrontation become clearer, as the VI governor accuses the press of overplaying the role of race in the killings. Here the governor points his finger at the power of the press for conveying misinformation and for *othering* the local population. It is this last accusation that is later on blown out of proportion by the US media.

TIME Magazine published two in-depth articles whose titles revealed information typically found in headlines. The first one was published five days after the killings took place and juxtaposed the horrific events with the images that come to mind upon the mention of the word 'Resort.' The focus of attention is precisely the coming together of binary opposites Resort vs Murders and in a veiled fashion, tourists vs locals, white vs black, federal vs local, rich vs poor. The second headline integrates the wording "Behind the Façade" and the article invites the reader to look beyond the tourist promotion hype in order to encounter the real Virgin Islands and their histories of slavery, colonialism, poverty and pain which are normally hidden from the visitor. In this article, the façade is similar to a mask behind which the true stories of the islands are hidden, an image that is many times hard to convey.

Table 6 Saint Croix Newspaper: *The St. Croix Avis*

HEADLINE	DATE	LEXICALI- ZATION	MODIFI- CATION	VERB USAGE	FOCUS OF EM- PHASIS	BINARY OPPO- SITES	OTHER- ING DIS- COURSE
Seven Gunned to death at FV Club	9/7/72	Death	Seven/ FV Club (Fountain Valley)	Gunned	7 killed	Death/ FV Club	Club members as above mentioned assaulted
Marshal Record Force Hunt Down Slayers of 8	9/8/72	Marshal Force Slayers/8	Record/ eight	Hunt down	Record Force Hunt Slayers	Marshals vs. Slayers	Slayers (animal like)
No Warning Shooting Started	9/8/72	Shooting	No warning	Started	No Warning (cowardly)	Warning vs. No warning	Inhuman & no warning
Funeral Saturday for 2 Massacre Victims	9/8/72	Funeral Saturday Victims	Massacre	none	Funeral for Victims	Victims vs. Killers	Implied through victims
Evans' statement on slaying	9/8/72	Evans' statement slaying	none	none	Statement of governor	Governor's statement vs. what the press says	governor
Charges that Imported Ideology Reason Island's Racial Strife	9/8/72	Charges/ Ideology Reason/Island' Strife	Imported/ Racial	Charges (ambiguous noun or verbs)	Imported Ideology behind killings	Outside Ideology/ local Ideology	Outgroup bad
\$200,000 bail set each	9/12/72	Dollars/ Bail/each	200,000	Set	Bail amount	(Implied) Amount vs. Victims	\$ on killers Local killers deserve high bails

Table 6 was left for last, because since the sad event took place in St. Croix, it is important to see how the local newspaper, *The Saint Croix Avis* (TSCA), crafted the headlines for its articles aimed at the local public. In this table we have seven headlines from the day immediately after the killings until five days later. It would not have been abnormal for this daily newspaper to have included numerous news articles each day about the event. The seven headlines in Table 6 cover seven different but important aspects of the story which became the focus of emphasis: that the killings occurred at Fountain Valley; the record number of marshals sent to 'hunt down' the slayers; words from a witness (the first cited thus far) that describe a situation for which there was no warning; the funeral of two victims, probably residents of the island rather than tourists; Governor Evans' statements about the slayings, where he expresses his concern with the way the press has viewed the event through the prism of US racial problems. In another article the governor explains that an imported ideology of racial strife, typical in US contexts, was being brought in to explain what had happened. He thus makes an outright attack on discursive misinformation by the American press in their attempts to find a reason for the killings. Another article focusses on the amount of money set as bail for each accused suspect.

Table 6 continued: Additional headlines from the St. Croix Newspaper: *The St. Croix Avis*

HEADLINE	DATE	LEXICALI- ZATION	MODIFI- CATION	VERB USAGE	FOCUS OF EMPHASIS	BINARY OPOSITES	OTHERING DISCOURSE
\$ 25,000 Reward for Killer SuspectsLa- beet Ballantine Jo- seph	9/9/72	Reward/ dol- lars/ suspects	25,000 Killer 3 names (included)	none	Reward Amount	Reward Amount Vs. Suspects	Money Killer suspects
Evans Says Slaying not Racist	9/9/72	Evans/ Slayings	Not Racist	Says	No Racial Implications	Racial vs. Not racial	Governor wrong
Defense Attys Ask Court release 5 Mur- derSuspects	10/25/72	Attorneys Court Suspects	Defense Murder 5	Ask Release	Defense Asks release	Imprison/ Release	Suspects
Court Head asksOpen head trial of FV Five	10/28/72	Court Head Trial FV Five	Open Head FV	Asks	Open Head Trial	Open vs. Close	FV Five
Two in FV case moved to STX. After Jail Row	10/28/72	Two Case STX Row	Jail	Moved	2 minutes moved	In STX Vs. out	Use of and Two to refer to peo- ple
1973 Defendant tells Court Alleged Police Brut- ality	4/18/73	Defendant Court Brutality	Alleged Police	Tells	Police Brutality	Brutality vs. No bru- tality	Defendant (not referred to as suspects a year later)
Labeet Brutality Charge Supported by former Cop	4/19/73	Labeet Charge Cops	Brutality Former	Supported	Support for brutality charge	No brutality vs. Support for charge	Victim of bru- tality
Remove Labeet from Court for outburst obscurities	7/31/73	Labeet Court Obscurities	Outburst	Remove (com- mand)	Remove Labeit	Keep/ Re- move	Labeet's Ob- scenities
FV Slayers Found Guilty on all Counts	8/14/73	Slayers Counts	FV Guilty All	Found	Guilty Verdict	Guilty vs. Innocent	Back to use of Slayers

When the first news of the killings became known, local people believed that it was the result of a robbery gone wrong, as reported in *Massacre in Paradise* (Willocks & Allick 1997), for it was inconceivable that murder on this scale could happen in St. Croix, even less so at the plush resort of Fountain Valley. Most people interviewed in the aftermath of the massacre were first incredulous, and then when told it was true, believed that it was the result of a poorly-planned robbery in which the killings that occurred happened by mistake. They doubted the sensationalistic binaries in the headlines. Their suspicions were confirmed when it emerged that not all of those killed were members of an elite group of tourists (1997). The second headline focuses on the record force of marshals while it *others* those that were involved in the killing by identifying them as animals that need to be hunted down. The third headline focuses on the report by an eyewitness as to the unexpected and therefore ‘arbitrary’ nature of attack.

The fifth and sixth headlines are the most interesting for the present study. Both refer to the issue of ‘imported ideology,’ that is, the governor’s belief that the press is guilty a US-style racialized explanation for the event. He states that the misinformation in the press releases in the US can be traced to the ethnocentric perspective of State-siders

who are quick to frame such events in terms of *othering* discourses. As a result of this view from the US press, it was possible to justify the visible presence of federal marshals, the use of intimidation by the FBI and the alleged use of torture by these same authorities on many local people in order to extract confessions (personal communication from local islanders). It also served to justify continuous pressure from the residing 'white' population (this is the term used on the islands to refer to people who are not black and who come down from the US and settle in the USVI) after the killings in articles and interviews in the local newspaper, which led to a virtual state of siege by federal authorities (Willocks & Allick, 1997; Joseph, 2014).

Closing thoughts

This article is but an initial look at some of the issues that emerged from the coverage of the Fountain Valley Massacre (as it is referred to in St. Croix) by a variety of newspapers in the Caribbean and the United States. Fairclough's elements of analysis (1995) provided the platform for our initial examination of issues concerning power abuse and *othering* and proved to be effective in the identification of ideological stances in the headlines about the 1972 event. In this process, we have been privileged to have access to a publication on the massacre by Judge Harold Willocks who, together with Myron Allick, the Jury Foreman of the Fountain Valley Trial, answered many pressing questions. We also have had access to Attorney Michael Joseph's 2014 publication about his brother's involvement in the killings and his eventual death while in prison. A number of boxes that contain documents about the event have been promised to us by Judge Willocks. We still need to interview the many who were somehow connected to those who were the victims, to those who were the attackers and to those who believed they knew something about how and why it all happened. In other words, we have much work ahead of us.

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REPRESENTATION AND INVISIBILITY OF BLACKNESS IN PUERTO RICO'S *EL NUEVO DÍA* NEWSPAPER

JUAN S. SEPULVEDA FIGUEROA

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RIO PIEDRAS

Introduction and review of the literature

The dominant national discourses in Puerto Rico tend to deny the existence of racism on the island. This is done by deploying unproblematic notions of *mestizaje* and colorblindness under an official narrative that at once pretends to acknowledge the fact that Puerto Rico has a mixture of Taíno, African and Spanish roots, while at the same time denying the unequal power relations that accompanied that mixture. While these discourses are seemingly well intended, they have devastating consequences in the lives and interactions of Puerto Ricans themselves. “The notions of race mixture operate within very specific structures of power that often exclude blacks, deny racism and invalidate demands for social justice” (Godreau & Franco Ortiz, 2008: 1). The current socio-cultural climate in Puerto Rico undermines and nullifies the struggles encountered by its afro-descendant population. While these hegemonic discourses uphold certain ostensibly egalitarian values, racism and race-based micro-aggression operate seamlessly but invisibly on the island.

When the Puerto Ricans are presented with evidence that demonstrates how prejudice and discrimination based on race transpire on the island, the majority of the population perceives these to be isolated incidents. Moreover, most consider these manifestations of racism to be nothing of the sort, but instead they tend to see them as little more than misinterpretations on the part of African descended people of “innocent” words or actions directed at them. African descended Puerto Ricans are thus blamed for their own oppression, by being accused of ultra-sensitivity or of adopting foreign and/or culturally inappropriate perspectives. In any case, instances of racism at all levels, from individual to systemic, have been well documented on the island, in works such as Godreau & Franco Ortiz’s “Arrancando los mitos de raíz, Franco Ortiz & Ortiz Torres” “Desenmascarando experiencias de racismo cotidiano con niñas y jóvenes de Loíza, Puerto Rico” and Cruz Janzen’s “Out of the closet: racial Amnesia, avoidance and denial – racism among Puerto Ricans.” But more academic work is urgently needed to acknowledge and confront racism in Puerto Rico by demonstrating how it pervades everyday life on the island.

One way to visualize how the hierarchies of race and racial ideas such as *blanqueamiento* operate in Puerto Rico in a way that the population can acknowledge is to examine the mainstream media and the representations of blackness portrayed there. Local televised programming from *telenovelas* to news broadcasts often cultivate a specific phenotype that consist of lighter skin and European facial and body features as the ideal to which all Puerto Ricans should aspire. This representation of European looking Puerto Ricans is extended to magazines and newspapers, and while some Puerto Ricans exhibit such phenotypes, this depiction hardly aligns with the demographics of the island. In this study I seek to bring this problematic to center stage by focusing on the lack of representation of afro-descended people in one of the islands most widely distributed newspapers, *El Nuevo Día*.

There is a social significance that motivates this study. The lack of representation of the black body promotes negative stereotypes and encourages prejudice towards this underrepresented group. This process of marginalization effectively separates the Puerto Rican community from its African roots and buries the voices of African descended people living on the island. In the 2010 census, we have graphic evidence of how the ideology of *blanqueamiento* influenced 75.8% of the island's population to characterize themselves as 'white' when confronted with the binary system of racial classification on the US Census form. The phenomenon of distancing oneself from blackness provides a platform from which disinterest and disdain towards any characteristics associated with 'black' in official racial discourse can emerge. "The celebration of racial mixture through an ideology of *mestizaje* serves to distance Afro-Latinos from blackness" (Godreau & Franco Ortiz, 2008: 2). Thus it is problematic when *mestizos*, *triguenos* and other denominations for Afro-Latinos permit them to avoid describing themselves as black (see Franco Ortiz & Ortiz Torres, 2004).

The media is a powerful tool in which notions that celebrate this type of mentality can either be reinforced or challenged. But currently, the ideology of *blanqueamiento* is enforced and promoted by the media in Puerto Rico. Countless cases of injustice against African descended people and other racially defined communities have been underreported and silenced by news outlets. In June 2012 the Civil Liberties Union gave a voice to those underrepresented communities by publishing a report titled "Island of Impunity" in which mortifying tales of the abusive treatment that low-income Afro-Puerto Rican and Dominican communities face on the island. Although these groups deserve a local space in which they can be heard and acknowledged, the mainstream media does not seem to be providing it.

Many scholars have highlighted the importance of representation and the effect it has on self-worth and ideas of inclusiveness. "Estudios realizados en Estados Unidos han demostrado que los niños internalizan mensajes que asocian la negritud con inferioridad o fealdad y ser blanco con belleza o superioridad desde temprana edad." ["Studies done in the United States have revealed that children internalize messages that associate

blackness with inferiority or ugliness and being white with beauty or superiority from a very young age”] (Godreau & Franco Ortiz, 2013: 23). This provides us with a framework for evaluating the role of the media in forming and shaping minds through the images that it portrays. Notions and imagery that place blackness in a negative light are commonplace in Puerto Rico. From a very young age we are indoctrinated to equate blackness with slavery and these notions are reinforced by imagery that continuously places the black body in positions of servitude and compliance (see Godreau et al., 2008). While there are some instances in which blackness and African roots are celebrated, these are mostly limited to the areas of music and festive folkloric art. But celebration turns to resistance when any suggestion is made to the effect that contemporary black art and styles could possibly have their origins in Puerto Rico. Such was the case with the 2001 Banco Popular video special that focused on Afro-Puerto Rican traditions (see Arroyo, 2010).

Godreau has written extensively regarding the racial programming of Puerto Ricans, and how mentalities and attitudes regarding race are based on factors related to education and representation. “Lo ‘Negro’ y ‘Africano’ siguen asociados con cualidades negativas ... Estas asociaciones se mantienen y perpetúan a veces simultáneamente en los medios de comunicación, en el trabajo, en la familia y en la escuela” [“Blackness and things African are still associated with negative qualities ... These associations are maintained and are perpetuated simultaneously by the media, on the job, in the family and at school”] (Godreau & Franco Ortiz, 2013: 20). In her research she focuses on the lack of educational programming and practice that valorizes blackness and develops tools to counteract racism, but these same glaring omissions can be applied to the media that we are exposed to in Puerto Rico as well.

Duany has provided insightful accounts of how Puerto Ricans describe themselves in relation to their phenotypes and socio-economic status. “Anyone with a light skin tone, European facial features, and straight hair can claim to be white regardless of their ancestry” (Duany: 3). This explains in part the overwhelming presence of European looking Puerto Ricans in the media, since it aligns with the perceptions that Puerto Ricans have of themselves and their identity.

Methodology and results

In this study I focus on the imagery presented in the *El Nuevo Día* newspaper in order to make a statistical analysis of the representation of people of African descent in its pages. Race representation is difficult in a society that is racially mixed, thus, a number of factors had to be taken into account in order to accurately attempt to count a given image as depicting a person of African ancestry. First, the phenotype: the person needed to possess visibly light brown to black skin and features of African ancestry like, fuller lips and curly hair. Second, the image: The resolution for most of the pictures is low

quality and thus in order to be counted for the study it needed to be focused enough that the subject in question could be recognized as being of African descent.

The pictures were evaluated at a ratio of 1:1, which means if there was one black person present in the shot; the picture counted as fulfilling the representation requirement, and was tabulated as such. Comic strips and digital art were not counted in this study. It is important to note that, because of the for-profit nature of newspapers, some of the pictures portrayed in *El Nuevo Día* are advertisements produced and paid for by private companies. These were not counted if they appeared in special sections (non-periodic) of the newspaper in the form of glossy pages, but were if they appeared in the *clasificados* section.

First, I collected a sample of 39 issues of *El Nuevo Día*, starting from February 16, 2016 to March 21, 2016. The dates were selected at random with no particular interest in any events that may have been occurring at the time. The dates used were the following (MM/DD); 02/16, 02/18, 02/29, 03/01, 03/02, 03/03, 03/05, 03/07, 03/08, 03/09, 03/10, 03/11, 03/12, 03/13, 03/14, 03/15, 03/16, 03/17, 03/18, 03/19, 03/21, 03/23, 03/24, 03/25, 03/26, 03/27, 03/28, 03/29, 03/30, 04/02, 04/04, 04/06, 04/07, 04/10, 04/12, 04/13, 04/14, 04/20 and 04/21.

Second, I established multiple categories in which to place the pictures that were tabulated. This included the common sections across the newspapers collected; *Cartas*, *Contenido*, *Cultura*, *Deporte*, *Mundiales*, *Negocios*, *Perspectiva*, *Portada*, *Puerto Rico Hoy* and *Promoción*. Add-ons to the newspaper like *Por dentro* and *Viajes* were not counted. *Portada* makes reference to the first page of the newspaper, *Contenido* to the single page on which the table of content appears, and *Promoción* to pictures that were advertisements and appeared outside of any section. The page number on which the picture appeared was also recorded. In terms of the content of the picture, I included characteristics regarding the sex of the person depicted. These were based on physical traits and the appearance of the subject in question; no distinction was made regarding fluid gender denominations. Age was also taken into account but it did not yield any significant results for any category. In the case that multiple African descended people appeared in the shot, the picture was categorized by sex using the most underrepresented category, which tended to be women. The raw numbers were analyzed using IBM's SPSS statistics software, version 23.

Looking through the images in *El Nuevo Día*, it is not difficult to note the lack of representation Afro-descendants. In Figure 1, however, we are able to demonstrate this quantitatively by contrasting the mean for the "groups" measured: African descended females, African descended males, and non-African descended people. On average, out of a total of ninety-six images per newspaper, European looking Puerto Ricans are depicted in eighty-three pictures while Afro-descendants are depicted in thirteen. These

results can be interpreted as reflective of a systemic process of silencing in which the representation of blacks is suppressed.

Table 1, which accompanies Figure 1, allows for a more in-depth look into the categorical distribution of the pictures. It adds to the information in Figure 1 by presenting the ranges in which pictures of Afro-descendants appear in the newspaper. Figure 1 reveals how the disparity in representation of images of African descended people directly and disproportionately affects African descended women, with an average of just two women per newspaper out of ninety-six total images. Table 1 demonstrates that, in the case of African descended women, we observe a minimum of zero images (in a whole newspaper issue), and a maximum of 7. The data shows us that Afro-descended females will sometimes not have a single representation in a newspaper issue, in contrast with the other categories.

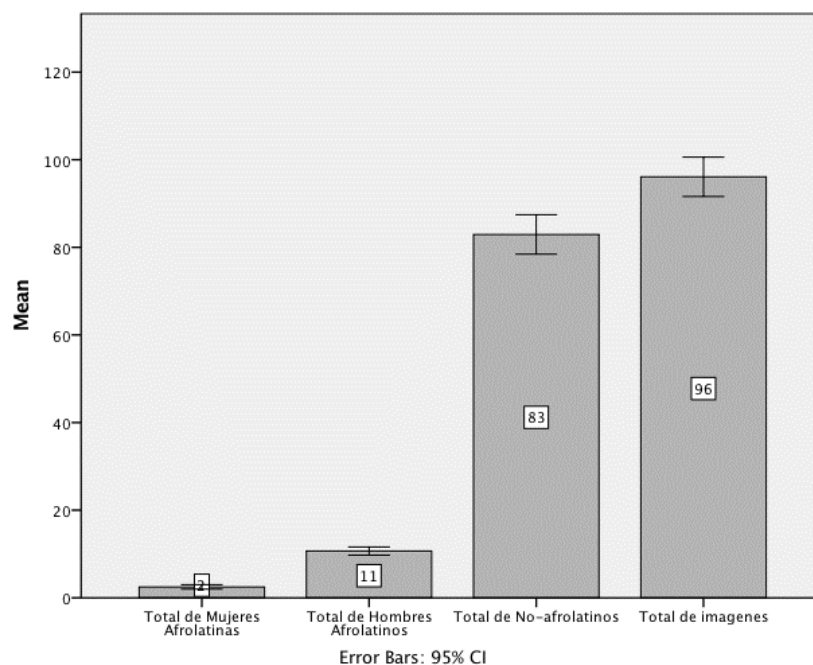


Figure 1 Average number of images of African descended females, African descended males and non-African descended people

When we look at Figure 2 we see how images for Afro-descended people are spread out over the newspaper sections by the different sexes. Pictures of black men and women are usually clustered with each other. Most male afro-descendants in the newspaper are found in the Sports section. While some of these pictures tend to feature local sport, they

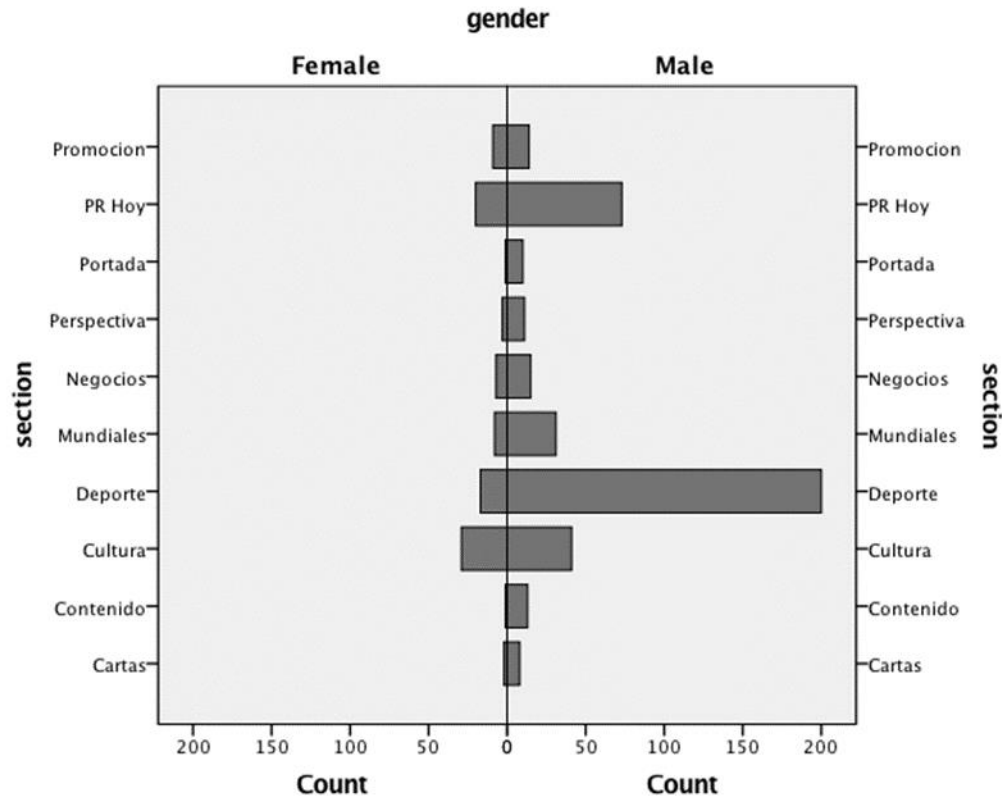


Figure 2 Distribution of African descended males and females by newspaper section

also portray events in the sport leagues of the United States. The cluster of black bodies in this section of the newspaper in contrast to their absence in the others enforces stereotypes regarding the physical performance of people of African descent.

Table 1 Images of African descended people on the cover of the newspaper.

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance
Total de imagenes	39	68	122	96.10	13.841	191.568
Total de No-afrolatinos	39	59.00	112.00	82.9487	13.94717	194.524
Total de Afrolatinos	39	7	24	13.15	3.752	14.081
Total de Hombres Afrolatinos	39	6	17	10.67	2.868	8.228
Total de Mujeres Afrolatinas	39	0	7	2.49	1.604	2.572
Valid N (listwise)	39					

Table 1 provides us with information on the scarcity of images of African descended people on the cover of the newspaper. This under-representation is underscored when compared to the number of images of African descended people on the sports pages. Most the few cases where Afro-descendants do appear on the cover are associated with a cover story about sports. If we take, for example, the 2nd of March, the 8th of March and the 12th of April, dates on which cover page (*portada*) spikes occur, we see that they are mostly associated with a cover story about a sports event. On the 2nd the caption reads: “En vitrina el futuro del Basket Boricua”, on the 8th: “Jaime Espinal Rumbo a Rio

2016” and on the 14th: “John Holland firma con Boston en la NBA.” While there are some exceptions, like the cover of March 21st which featured President Obama, the overwhelming amount of covers that include an image of an African descended person do so in relation to a sports story. The association between cover and sports sections was significant in our tests as shown in Table 2.

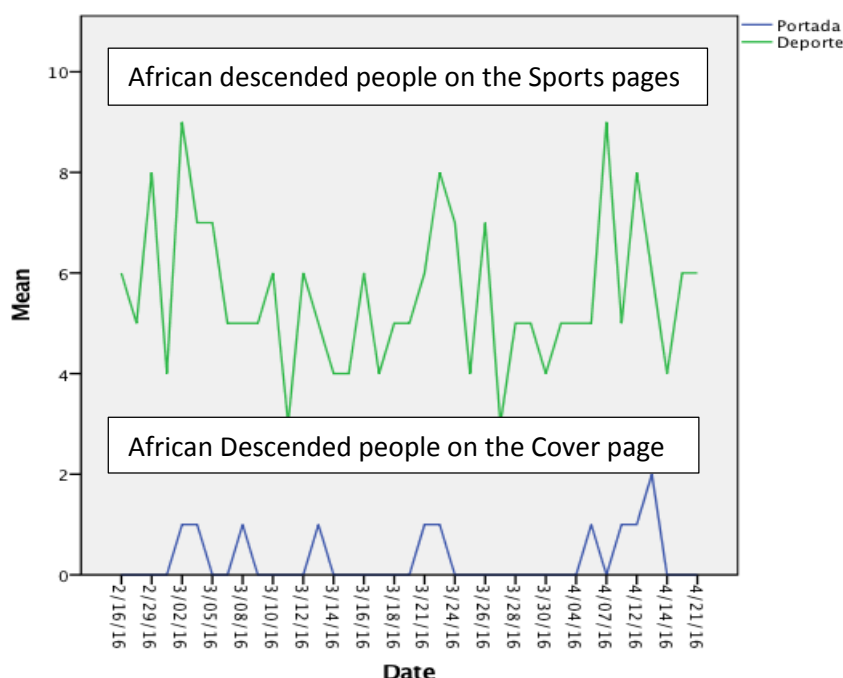


Figure 3 Images of African descended people on the Cover page versus images of African descended people on the Sports pages

Table 2 Statistical details of the distribution of African descended males and females by newspaper section (Spearman's rho)

		Cultura	Deporte	Portada	PR Hoy	Total de Afrolatinos	Total de Mujeres Afrolatinas	Total de Hom-bres Afrolatinos	Total de imagenes	Total de No-afrolatinos
Cultura	Correlation Coefficient	1	-0.001	0.074	-0.25	0.189	.430**	0.041	0.283	0.233
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	0.996	0.656	0.124	0.25	0.006	0.802	0.081	0.153
	N	39	39	39	39	39	39	39	39	39
Deporte	Correlation Coefficient	-0.001	1	.321*	-0.225	.533**	.362*	.446**	0.023	-0.11
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.996	.	0.046	0.169	0	0.023	0.004	0.891	0.506
	N	39	39	39	39	39	39	39	39	39
Portada	Correlation Coefficient	0.074	.321*	1	-0.145	.388*	0.177	.419**	-0.173	-0.249
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.656	0.046	.	0.38	0.015	0.281	0.008	0.292	0.127
	N	39	39	39	39	39	39	39	39	39
PR Hoy	Correlation Coefficient	-0.25	-0.225	-0.145	1	0.299	0.03	.328*	0.129	0.051
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.124	0.169	0.38	.	0.065	0.858	0.042	0.434	0.756
	N	39	39	39	39	39	39	39	39	39
Total de Imagenes	Correlation Coefficient	0.283	0.023	-0.173	0.129	0.123	.470**	-0.068	1	.952**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.081	0.891	0.292	0.434	0.457	0.003	0.682	.	0
	N	39	39	39	39	39	39	39	39	39
Total de No-afrolatinos	Correlation Coefficient	0.233	-0.11	-0.249	0.051	-0.12	0.284	-0.279	.952**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.153	0.506	0.127	0.756	0.467	0.08	0.086	0	.
	N	39	39	39	39	39	39	39	39	39

In Figure 4 we observe a very strong linear correlation ($.952, p = 0$) between images of non-African descended people and the total number of images presented in a given issue of the newspaper. However, this correlation does not hold for images of African descended people ($-.068, p = .682$). So while the number of images of non-Afro-descendants in a given issue of the newspaper increases when there are more images in that issue, the same is not true for images of Afro-descendants. This indicates that there is a limited number of slots for images of African descended people in *El Nuevo Día*.

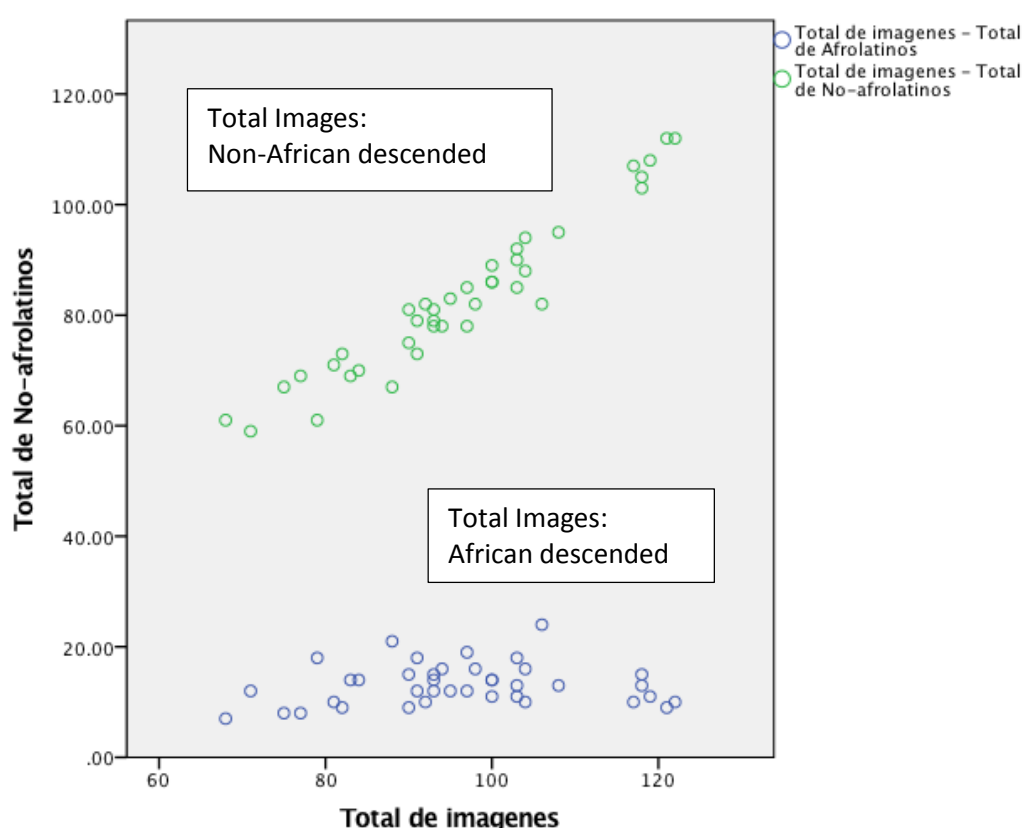


Figure 4 Numbers of images of non-African descended and African descended people versus total number of images in a given issue

Discussion

The results presented above suggest that the concept of colorblindness has provided a smokescreen behind which media outlets such as *El Nuevo Día* have been able to exclude images of African descended people from their coverage. Under the guise of *metizaje* the media promote the myth that we are all being represented, but in reality only an exclusive segment of the population gets most of the attention. This has resulted in a lack of African descended bodies represented in the media and has perpetuated stereotypical notions of blackness. As the present study shows, if we were to eliminate sports stories from the sample, images of African descended people would hardly ever appear on the cover, and only an insignificant number of images of Afro-descendants

would appear in the paper overall. The shocking paucity of images of African descended people becomes even more alarming when the almost non-existent images of African descended females are tallied. The ideas of beauty, pride and self-worth that come with being able to identify with a positive image of one's community has become a privilege for those that possess a non-African descended phenotype.

While the sample size for this research was small (only 39 newspaper issues were considered) it provided enough data to yield statistically significant results. The results constitute robust evidence for the lack of images portraying African descended people in the media, and shed some light on the subtle ways in which racism and discrimination saturate our daily lives. To complement this study, it would be interesting to analyze images of African descended people in televised programming viewed in Puerto Rico, in order to provide a bigger picture that might reveal the extent to which the Puerto Rican community is bombarded with imagery of 'whiteness'. The bleaching process (*blanqueamiento*) is still very much alive in Puerto Rico, and its effects are as devastating today as they have always been.

Acknowledgement

I want to give thanks to Miguel Rivas for preparing the statistics upon which this article is based and for producing the figures and tables, thus allowing for the results to be presented in an organized and concise matter.

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CARIBBEAN CULTURAL STUDIES: 21ST CENTURY PARADIGMS FOR UNIVERSITY-LEVEL HERITAGE EDUCATION AND ARTS LEGACY PROGRAMS

CHENZIRA DAVIS KAHINA

VIRGIN ISLANDS CARIBBEAN CULTURAL CENTER

UNIVERSITY OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

“Caribbean Cultural Studies: 21st Century Paradigms for University-level Heritage Education & Arts Legacy Programs” is a multi-faceted developmental project that mobilizes best practice sociological, educational and psychological heritage research paradigms to create, institute and sustain effective integration of arts and sciences in cultural heritage studies and related programs. This project’s initiatives include implementation strategies, interdisciplinary curricula, class activities and cultural literacy research enhancing Caribbean Cultural Studies frameworks for university students’ mastery of historical analyses of current issues of critical importance in the development of the Caribbean and beyond. As a key component of the project, new media technology resources provide an overview of 21st century cultural heritage issues linked to internship, teaching, research and publication opportunities. One of the overarching goals of the project is to foster critical thinking, creative leadership strategies and ambassadorial skills.

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Since the final years of the 20th century, African, Africana, Black and related studies programs have experienced serious challenges and a number of these programs have been eliminated from universities and colleges throughout the Americas, due to so-called lack of interest or lack of relevance. Hence, it has become essential to advocate for the incorporation of more proactive and progressive approaches to research, academia and technological literacy that are inclusive of authentic, historically-accurate and unapologetic Caribbean, AfRaKan and Indigenous studies into mainstream university and college courses, degree programs and professional development training. Cooperative and collaborative educational programs initiated within the Virgin Islands Caribbean Cultural Center (VICCC) which is housed in the College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences (CLASS) at the University of the Virgin Islands (UVI) can serve as a point of reference here. At VICCC, Caribbean Cultural Studies (CCS) programs are

being redesigned to meet the practical challenges of the 21st century. This is being accomplished in part by making maximum use of technological advances as well as by forging interdisciplinary linkages with other higher education institutions.

The exclusion of African and Black studies programs from higher education curricula – even in institutions whose students are predominantly of African Black heritage, ethnicity and ancestry – follows many of the same counterproductive dynamics that typify the exclusion of CCS programs in the Caribbean and beyond. To counter these dynamics, it will be necessary to integrate public history, digital humanities and social sciences themes into a new wave of CCS paradigms, programs and activities. At VICCC, this is being attempted by such initiatives as:

- 1) collaborative educational programs via memoranda of understanding between the U.S. National Park Service and the University of the Virgin Islands, under the rubric of the Heritage Education and Arts Legacy (HEAL365©) program, which includes internship and research activities that count for credit toward a CCS degree;
- 2) Virgin Islands Centennial Commission historic preservation and cultural restoration lectures, colloquia and related programs documenting the impact, of 100 years of U.S. governance since the handover to the U.S. of the former Danish West Indies in 1917;
- 3) sponsorship of activities related to United Nations-designated International Decade for People of African Descent (IDPAD) 2015-2024, under the theme of “Recognition, Justice and Development”;
- 4) participation in the annual Presidential Interfaith and Community Service Campus Challenge/Gatherings that explore faith-based influences on culture, heritage, identity, and educational environments;
- 5) linkages to CARICOM’s Caribbean Reparation Commission (CRC) research database, global/Pan African activism, and related University of the West Indies (UWI) resources; and
- 6) other activities centering around entrepreneurial and economically-sustainable cultural heritage-driven initiatives, cultural heritage performing arts programs, etc., all integrated into UVI-CLASS CCS degree and certificate programs.

In the process of reintroducing CCS degree programs at UVI, the VICCC has been designated to produce, develop and mobilize a number of academic resources, including: course design, research, publications, mixed media programs, conferences, academic exchanges/internships, community partnerships, interdisciplinary cultural media, economic-heritage tourism initiatives, all for the University and the wider VI Caribbean community. This has been facilitated and strengthened by mutually beneficial collaboration and cooperative partnerships with organizations, institutions and agencies, such

as the National Park Service (NPS-STX); St. Croix Unified for Community, Culture, Environment and Economic Development (SUCCEED); the University of Puerto Rico-Río Piedras; the University of the West Indies at Cave Hill Barbados; Rutgers University (NCAS); California State University, Northridge; the Virgin Islands Developmental Disabilities Council (VIDDC); the Center for Social Justice, Human Rights and Civil Rights at the University of Georgia, Athens; the Slave Wrecks Project (SWP); George Washington University; the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of African American History and Culture (NMAAHC); the Alexander Hamilton Awareness Society; the Caribbean Landscape Conservation Cooperative (CLCC); the VI Centennial Commission; the National Museums of Denmark; the VI Social History Associates (VI-SHA); the Global Breadfruit Heritage Council; the Per Ankh M Smai Tawi (PAMST); the Caribbean Pan African Network (CPAN), and others.

Some of the actual activities carried out in partnership with the above mentioned institutions include:

- 1) collaborative course and degree development with the principal investigators of the Slave Wrecks Project including Dr. Steve Lubkemann of George Washington University, Capitol Archaeological Institute; Dr. Paul Gardullo and Associate Curator Mary Elliott under the leadership of Dr. Lonnie Bunch, Executive Director of The Smithsonian Institution-National Museum of African American History and Culture; Dr. Albert Jose Jones and Jay Haigler of Diving With A Purpose; Superintendent Joel Tutein, Dr. Meredith Hardy and Zandy Hillis-Starr of the U.S. National Park Service, St. Croix; and the SWP's additional global core partners Iziko Museums of South Africa; U.S. National Park Archaeological Center (SEAC) & Submerged Resources Center (SRC); the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA); and honorary partner African Centre for Heritage Activities (ACHA);
- 2) heritage preservation and public policy development programs to protect St. Croix Maroon Sanctuary lands and public histories with SUCCEED;
- 3) cultural resources and health research projects facilitated by Danish scholars Dr. Bernhard Bierlich, Dr. Mille Gabriel and others;
- 4) education programs and archival development for the St. Croix African Slave Database facilitated by Dr. George F. Tyson of VI Social History Associates;
- 5) collaborative lectures, conferences, publications and educational research with the University of Puerto Rico- Río Piedras; the University of the West Indies at Cave Hill, Barbados; and the Eastern Caribbean Island Cultures (Islands In Between) Conference (ECICC-IIBC); and
- f) multiple informal linkages with the UNESCO TransAtlantic Slave Trade and ID-PAD programs.

UVI, a Land Grant Institution (LGI), is the only Historical Black College and University (HBCU) in the Caribbean. Most VI Caribbean Americans have family roots, origins and historical narratives that spread throughout the Caribbean Americas. These narratives tell of how their primarily African ancestors were subjected to capture, enslavement and transport to the Americas under horrific circumstances. These narratives also reveal a strong, persistent and unbroken tradition of self-determination and resistance on the part of these same ancestors, as well as on the part of other marginalized peoples, such as the Indigenous inhabitants of the region. VICCC is playing a role in preserving and elaborating upon these narratives, with many community-oriented outputs, including fostering the articulation of principled critiques of dominant historical discourses by such VI-driven community initiatives as “A People’s Journey to Self-Determination and Decolonialization.”

Both regional and global scholars assert that Caribbean Cultural Studies is an essential component of the general education of students: a) who are of Caribbean heritage and origin; b) who are attending and/or working in Caribbean-based institutions; c) who want to contribute positively to the education, society, politics, spirituality and social transformation of the Caribbean; d) who intend to contribute to the perspectives, ideologies and leadership paradigms of sustainable Caribbean social development; and e) who wish to contribute to diverse disciplines in Caribbean Studies. Caribbean culture is very much alive and is worthy of value, respect, development and restorative justice. The 21st century is an opportune time for the restoration and reintroduction of Caribbean Culture Studies. Culture heals humanity. Land is our foundation. Spirituality unifies us.

MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, LITERATURE, ETHNICITY AND GENDER IN THE GREATER CARIBBEAN AND AFRO-ATLANTIC

‘A YOUNG WOMAN’S VOICE DOES NOT BREAK; IT GROWS FIRMER’: A CRITICAL READING OF AMA ATA AIDOO’S *AFTER THE CEREMONIES*: NEW AND SELECTED POEMS

HELEN YITAH

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON

This collection of poems by Ama Ata Aidoo is an act of recovery (of many poems that were thought lost), as well as a reaffirmation of the scope, diversity, and importance of her poetic work. The poems in *After the ceremonies* (2016) were selected to give as ample a representation of Aidoo’s poetic oeuvre as possible in terms of her wide-ranging subject matter, her flexibility in style, and the complexity of her thematic and formal concerns. It brings together many new and collected poems written over three decades. The new poems comprise her most recent as well as others that she refers to as previously “misplaced or downright lost poems”. The published ones are mainly selections from her two collections, *Someone talking to sometime* (Harare: The College Press, 1985) and *An angry letter in January* (Coventry: Dangaroo Press, 1992), as well as others that appeared in anthologies, journals and magazines.

Despite her published collections, Aidoo, a world acclaimed pioneer African writer, is better known for her plays, novels, short stories, and essays than for her poetry. Her novels, *Changes: a love story* and *Our sister Killjoy* are read in courses on women’s and African literature studies all over the world, and her plays, *The dilemma of a ghost* and *Anowa* are studied and performed around the globe (cf. the 2012 performance of *Anowa* by the Theatre Department of University of California, Santa Barbara).

Yet Aidoo’s poetry presents intense observations and insights into the reconstitutive characteristics, as well as the multi-faceted nature of her literary production in particular, and of women’s poetry in Africa today in general. She tests the measure of the times, articulating now the possibilities, now the limits of a longed-for community of with an ethical democracy; of postcolonial state formation in Africa and the factors that influence it: nation, history, governance, civil society, economy, class, gender, etc. But she also reconstitutes “reality” by fracturing metanarratives about nationalism and other Unitarian ideologies, for as she tells “Kojo T.”, the addressee in “As he dust begins to settle II: an afterword, twenty years on”, “the dust never really settled. It

rose higher”, and Africa’s “Freed Leftists” are “Lugging the briefcases of ‘Ultra Rightists’ and despair”, caught in

A complex confusing current

Wondering

What next?

Which way?

Where?

How?... (Aidoo, 2016: 15)

Here Aidoo references the constantly shifting bearings of political and ideological perspectives in postcolonial Africa. Gone are the days when “the right way to be [was] left!” (Aidoo, 2016: 14). In the new ideological framework of Structural Adjustment Programmes, which have ushered in the “fresh twin gods in town” (Aidoo, 2016: 14): Privatisation and Divestiture, hopes have been demolished, and long held ideals have perished. In this poem, as in many others in this collection, Aidoo demonstrates how history matters in contemporary life and how it contributes to fundamentally changing the way we view the everyday world.

Aidoo’s poetry deals with many and varied subjects ranging from history, slavery, travels and exile, to motherhood, love, childhood, friendship, relationships, hope, loss, crime and punishment, politics, family, nationalism, the decolonization process, education, poverty, despair, dreams, and happiness. Her poetry reveals an irrepressible spirit that is engaged in teasing, criticizing, praising, sighing, crying, reflecting, admiring, satirizing, and admonishing the people to/for whom she writes. As South African female poet Lebogang Mashile suggests in her poem, “Wild women warriors”, words shape worlds, therefore “when we create, we shape the planet” (2005: 60). Like the “whirling worlds” that Mashile refers to in her poem, Aidoo’s poetic world is multi-directional, at once creative and critical, avowedly grounded in historical context, yet charting new ways of seeing, thinking, believing and doing. The historical context implicated in her poems is not simply a source of inspiration and material: it is mimicked and mourned, parodied and praised, queried or questioned by an irrepressible, speaking “I”.

The poems in this collection are arranged in a way that foregrounds historicity and chronology. Part One comprises mainly new poems, together with a few previously uncollected ones, all arranged in a prelude and four sections. The “Prelude” features a poem Aidoo wrote for her late mother, whom she fondly calls “Aunt Abasemah” (Aidoo 2016: 3-4), then in her mid-90s. Though written five months before “Aunt’s” passing, it was read at her funeral, following Aidoo’s obituary for her in Fanti. “To

My Mother in Her Mid-90s” is an appropriate introduction to this volume because in terms of form and content it rhymes with the rest of Aidoo’s oeuvre.

Written in 2010 while Aidoo was in the U.S. (Providence, Rhode Island), and performed first in Abeadzi Kyiakor in the Central Region of Ghana, this poem illustrates how personal-political memory is framed through the referencing of time and place – a major focus in her poetry. Its confessional mode; the unanswerable questions it poses that break the dichotomy between discursive and imaginative writing; its deployment of the language of the intimate to speak about concerns at both the private and the political levels; its multiple voices – passionate, philosophical, critical, sensuous; its weft of social and emotional bonds; its multi-generic nature (a combination of lyric, narrative, anecdotal incident, and nostalgic eulogy); and its single-minded celebration of life – these are but a few of the characteristics that give Aidoo’s poetry its remarkable diversity in shape and range. As we read about “Aunt’s” revered name “pulled and dragged into talks/private and public”, we in turn are “dragged” into her (and Aidoo’s) milieu of experience, which is the situating of the personal in the social space.

The other sections in Part One are “Fires and ashes”, “Grieving for the living”, “The national corruption index and other poems”, and “Ghana: where the bead speaks”. The first of these is made up of five poems that deal with subjects ranging from nation building (“An afterword”), to exile (“Me pilgrim”) and marriage (“After the ceremonies”). Yet each captures a significant event (or a series of events) with a distinctive thrust. “Me pilgrim” tells about the migrant poet’s feelings of isolation, alienation and insecurity among her own people as she moves in and out of the community. She describes herself as:

Lacking the solidity of
bricks and mortar
dependable land
the glow of gold and
other valuables (Aidoo, 2016: 6)

It is a brutally honest portrait of life as she experiences it – a complicated situation, but one that she would not give up.

She will continue
to wait for my next move.
When the neighbours wake up in the morning
I shall be gone . . .
. . . again! (Aidoo 2016: 7)

The traveling, the moving, the trips, displacements, and transfers are emphasized by the poet as they illustrate her peculiar situation, all the while revealing a pattern that

sticks to the skin. An inordinate scribbler, Aidoo often picks up on what is left out in discussions of migration and exile, in this case the disenfranchisement of, and the resentful attitude towards the African migrant, even within the continent. Ironically, in postcolonial Africa, those grounded in their roots where they were born are in no less a nervous condition, for:

these days
home is
what we fear most;
where we think they are,
who can go
nowhere else

where we get buried while
we wait to die.

(“These days I”, p. 103)

Thus, sometimes Aidoo purposefully resituates her female subjects and their entitlement to autonomy. “After the ceremonies – for Belle” illustrates one such occasion. In this poem, “the matter on hand” is a marriage rite that interrupts norms and opens fresh vistas for the reconfiguration of women’s private worlds. Defying tradition, Belle, whom the speaker addresses as “My child”, dispenses with the spectacle that is typically associated with such ceremonies:

If they came to see
1 Best Man
2 Maids of Honour
4 Bridesmaids
1 dozen pages
2 dozens flower girls,
they were not there. (Aidoo 2016: 19)

In its portrayal of Belle, who deliberately interrupts business as usual to create her own version of a wedding, Aidoo amplifies emerging African feminist discourses that view difference as enriching contemporary African experience. It is a portrait that complicates the relationship between feminism and femininity – in a context where to be different is to be “unfeminine”. There are no “Rose petals and powdered sandalwood”, no feminine hairdo or designer gown, but rather “close-cropped hair” and a “Sahelian unisex cool” attire, “Wondrously white, silvery, perfect...”. “None of that was/ marriage/ by most people’s reckoning”, says the speaker, who refers to herself as “Yours Anarchistically Truly” (Aidoo 2016: 21). Yet this “right rite” was not without

a healthy dose of grace, elegance, and fun in the form of drums, castanets, ancient and modern music, food, drinks, jokes, and laughter.

But there is little to laugh about in “Grieving for the living” which features seven eulogies addressed to literary, political and historic figures with academic celebrity and/or authoritative weight, including Efua Theodora Sutherland, Flora Nwapa, Nelson Mandela, Bessie Head, E.K. Gbedemah, Kofi Awoonor and Jean Genoud. Although the delicate sense of loss expressed in these lyrics seems directed towards nobody but herself, they prompt one to ask how a poet of Aidoo’s stature could have been so neglected in literary scholarship that there are few published critical works on her poems. In each, the center piece is an anecdote that draws out complicated emotions – of loss, renewed with urgency and grief – fist-knocking, breast-beating grief, but also grief dignified and sober:

we hold on to knowing
ourselves as daughters of
darklight women
who are so used to Life
--giving it
feeding it—
 (“For Bessie Head”, p. 29)

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Sometimes she makes an experience present and vivid in her thoughtfully contemplative voice:

Oui, Jean,
it’s about you
with a tippie of whisky-and-water:
milling the garlic and the peppers
to merge with the mustard
all moistened with the oil for
the day’s leafy drenching
 (“A taking care of our bourgeois palates II: *-in memoriam Jean Genoud, 6 years on*”, p. 32).

Aidoo’s dirge-lyrics trace the many-striated contours and disjunctures of relationships, real and imagined, ruptured by death. The melding of voices that these poems take, from Fante idiom, to French, to English slang; and from I/we to he/they, reflects the mire of un-sortable emotions through which the speaker passes, emerging scarred but confirmed in her belief in the ties that bind her to her kindred spirits who are celebrated in these verses. The reader is invited to mine them for their multiple layers of

meaning, for what feminist critic Jita Allan (2009) terms “both difficult and hopeful lessons” (p. 267).

But we are not made to forget that we are reading, not biographies, but works of art. Aidoo draws from the artistic traditions of her native Fanti culture. “Awoonor? Ebei OO!” (p. 41), a poem for which she has a version written solely in Fante for the late Kofi Awoonor, poet, professor of literature, politician, novelist, and diplomat. In this poem, as in others such as “Mourning Ricci” (p. 64), Aidoo interweaves the tone and mood of traditional Akan dirge poetry with the elegy or lament, which expresses sorrow for the dead, or the poet’s nostalgia or melancholy. Unlike the latter, however, Aidoo’s Fante dirges, though composed in mourning and expressing deep sorrow, do not express the hopelessness that characterizes some elegies in certain European traditions. L. A. Boadi’s comments on J.H. Kwabena Nketia’s *Akan funeral dirges* can be applied to Aidoo’s: “Death causes pain but it is not presented as a frightful, gloomy and goulsh event” (2013: 4).

In “Mourning Ricci” (p. 64), which occurs under “The national corruption iIndex and other poems”, for example, although the poet/speaker, who identifies herself as one of “the sisters” of the deceased, mentions Ricci’s death, she does not make any philosophical statements about death, nor does she express any beliefs about death and dying. Instead, she projects her emotions onto the living, through whom she evokes the feeling of loss: “your many orphans ...begotten of you/ or not”; the women who are left without a companion; and unpaid employees. In an ironic tone, she gently chides him for the various things he left undone, declaiming:

So what I regret
is on behalf, not
of me, at all, but ours:
this beleaguered community
and it’s young, Ricci. (Aidoo, 2016: 64)

It is what Boadi terms “an objective way of expressing emotions” (2013: 5), a practice that is informed by the African world view in which the living, the dead and the unborn share the same space and an unbreakable bond. The Fante refrain in the first (Fante and English) version reiterates the use of concrete language to express the emotions of the speaker/performer:

Amanfo ei
Hom mbohwe Ricci bi a ose woewu,
ma yereye n’eyi!

Countrymen/women!
Come and see: they say Ricci has died
And we are burying him! (Aidoo, 2016: 41)

Unlike the traditional Akan dirge, however, the solo female voice in this poem does not sing of ancestors or ancestral homes or any historical icons that have impacted the history of the clan. Rather, it is of the deceased himself; his feats and failings, that she sings.

But sometimes Aidoo casts her wide-angle lens over larger social issues, as is the case with some of the poems under “The national corruption index”. That Aidoo’s poetry shows a remarkable diversity in shape and range can be seen in the poems that make up this section. Private worlds meld with public ones in pieces like “Really funny numbers” (pp. 55-57), the first poem in this section. In this poem, too, facts, knowledge, journalistic reportage and formal experimentation combine with humor to depict inverted social norms and perverted social justice in postcolonial Ghana. The poem begins with a quoted excerpt from a national weekly newspaper, *The Mirror*, which tells about a twenty-one year old farmer sentenced to twelve months imprisonment with hard labor for stealing 150 Ghana cedis (\$40) worth of smoked fish. The absurdity of this sentence becomes clearer in the light of a lighter punishment given to a 61 year old who helped to rape and rob the nation comatose. This poem is refreshing, reminding us of certain stories, experiences, and at times neglected realities that are very real despite being reduced to packaged news stories and human rights struggles by television and the internet. The use of this excerpt is not simply a matter of style or a rhetorical choice, but also it indicates an ethical attitude – through which Aidoo offers Ghanaians a reality check and her own judgment regarding what she considers a senseless sentence: the state may be “robbed and raped/ comatose”, but it

should have
dragged itself up -tottering or reeling – to
give him,
at 21 mind you,
no less than a second chance, and
‘Case closed.’ (Aidoo, 2016: 57)

Parts Two and Three consist of selections from Aidoo’s two collections, *An angry letter in January* and *Someone talking to sometime* respectively. In these two parts, the original arrangement of poems has been maintained. Among the selected poems from *Angry letter in January*, “A young woman’s voice does not break: it gets firmer” (pp. 132-133), written for Kinna, Aidoo’s daughter, when she was in her teens, is a gesture of love from mother to daughter about the evolution of womanhood. It very easily qualifies as an *ars poetica* for this volume. An intimate conversation between women who have lived and witnessed the full extent of each other’s lives, the poem is an act of inter-subjective recognition and a demonstration of how a puny voice (in this case, that of a young female) can be afforded the full weight of intellectual significance, particularly among the widely recognized male icons that appear throughout the vol-

ume: Kwame Nkrumah, Malcolm X, the Sitting Bull, and Stokely Carmichael. The poem suggests ways in which the personal, historical, and political import of this book might be read.

It is significant that this first poem is dedicated to Kinna, as are a good number of others that similarly celebrate her. Mugo, in her conversation with Aidoo, puts the point this way: “from your writing, and especially from your poetry, it is evident that Kinna is not just your daughter, but your friend, and in many ways a kind of intellectual mate” (2012: 37). Aidoo replies:

Kinna...literally believes or she tells me that even the writing I did before she was born was in anticipation of her birth...It's made my life. I don't know whether because she's been my only child or what, but you're right that we're kind of close. A bit more like friends, but sometimes she makes me feel like I'm the daughter (Mugo, 2012: 37).

This healthy and intellectually stimulating relationship is captured in each of the “Kinna poems”, which together constitute a central presence within the network of poems. But “A young woman's voice does not break...” stands out in the way it portrays a young woman's intellectual coming of age, and via the paradoxical title, signals how it transcends the physical maturity typically associated with her male counterpart. It sets the pace for the convention-defying, yet maturity-mediating female voice that characterizes Aidoo's poetry; the keen “eye” which, while negotiating its own existence, also subsumes a collective organizing, sensitive, thinking “I”, that feels, sees, speaks, and imagines contrary to what is expected. This mother/ daughter dynamic is really striking and well dealt with here. Where Rita Dove, for example, treats the matter obliquely through myth in her collection *Mother love*, Aidoo tackles the subject head on – celebrating, offering multiple perspectives and engaging the reader in this distinctive dynamic of the mother and daughter relationship where the daughter functions as a muse without the usual gender peculiarities associated with the traditional “muse” trope.

This thinking, feeling, speakerly “I” is the subject of two critical studies of her existing collections, one by Vincent Odamtten (2000) and the other by Jane Bryce (2012), and therefore these are worth mentioning here. Both are important in the sense that they explore the way her poetry positions her inside Africa, the African Diaspora and the black feminist movement. Bryce's paper takes off from an interview she had with Aidoo after *Someone talking to sometime* was published (qtd. in Bryce, 2012: 305). To Bryce, Aidoo, in her poetry, writes about the intimate experiences that she could not express in her works in the other genres. Based on this view, Bryce declares that her 2012 essay “focus[es] on the significance of time” in *Someone talking to sometime*, “to enable us [to] decipher the personal story too often submerged by the political narrative” (Bryce, 2012: 316). There is little doubt that in her poetry Aidoo gets close up

and personal. Indeed, one of the boundaries she traverses in her poems is the one between critical distance and creative expression. Thus by focusing on a personal perspective, Bryce's essay gives some very useful insights into the constantly shifting political and ideological borders that Aidoo so brilliantly captures in the collection.

Yet, important as time is in Aidoo's poetry, to focus solely on this feature would be to ignore the equally relevant, "twin feature" of space. In fact, there is a general tendency in her poems to describe herself in terms of proximity (against, to the left, behind, toward, between) in relation to other people or objects in her perspectival frame, or even to ideas, thus connecting herself to the natural world, to global economies of exchange, to languages, to literary and artistic traditions, and to African and European cultures. This feature is evocatively captured in poems like "Wondering about him who said no to the glare of the open day" (pp. 200-204), a poem in memory of her twin brother who was stillborn. In this poem the speaker juxtaposes "up here" (i.e., her geographical and emotional space) with "down there", the space she perceives her lost twin to be inhabiting. But it appears there is no intention to establish a dichotomy between "here" and "there"; rather, life and death are so close that they merge in the same physical and emotional space. Therefore, "up here" it is "normal" for children to leave home in the morning for school with joy and hope, "and/ in the evening,/ trembling hands opening freezer doors at/ the mortuary" (p. 203). Nor does time change the dynamics of this space, for as the speaker remarks:

They still
marry us in our
shrouds, and
bury us in the fineries of
the wedding day. (Aidoo, 2016: 203)

Bryce comments on the ironic tone of this poem, which is "compounded by the paradoxical play that deliberately confuses positive and negative, past and present, life and death" (2012: 308). This kind of ironic tone is a familiar occurrence in Aidoo's works. For example, one comes across it in Aidoo's *Changes* (1991) where the grandmother of Esi Sekyi, the protagonist in this novel, ruminates on the subject of marriage: "When we were young we were told that people who were condemned to death were granted a wish on the eve of their execution. ... Anyhow, a young woman on her wedding day was something like that. She was made much of, because the whole ceremony was a funeral of the self that could have been" (Aidoo, 1991: 110).

In the poem, as in the novel, the female speaks against the condition of her existence in the stasis that characterises the (un)contested arena of marriage and its potential to stifle female autonomy. "I definitely grew up among women who can be described as strong in terms of an understanding of their own lives and what is expected of them

and how they should negotiate their existence”, Aidoo tells Micere Mugo (Mugo, 2012: 31). The rejection of the “funeral” of marriage is an intertextual trope that articulates a connected and central identity for “us”. In addition, in narrating her physical and emotional presence “up here”, the speaker in the poem is not so much engaged in introspection as she is in looking outward to draw connections across unlikely terrains: “eggs and hammers” “snakes”, “whales and/ ants with intestines”, “cedis that/ fly/ faster than the/ latest dream in/ aeronautical concords” (Aidoo, 2016: 201-202).

It is against this background that Vincent Odamtten’s observation that Aidoo’s poems in *Someone talking to sometime* and *An angry letter in January* invite us to forge abiding relationships makes much sense. According to Odamtten, her poetry is collectively calling us “to form new, stronger bonds, insisting that, despite the negativity of all we see around us, despite what her poetry often reveals, an organic relationship is possible between human beings” (2000: 216). Certainly, organic relationships take a central place in Aidoo’s poetry, as is evident in poems like “A birthday gift” (p.140), written for Micere Mugo’s daughter, Mumbi. In this poem, Aidoo presents an unusual gift to Mumbi: “a bowl of petals/ possibly coloured,/ dried and scented/ *artificially*” (p. 140, my emphasis). Commenting on the poem during a private conversation I had with her, Aidoo remarked that she had considered “fresh flowers too *organic*” (my emphasis), and that in giving this bowl of dried petals she had thought about “the idea that a gift should be useful” (Personal conversation, Café Des Amis, Afrikiko, Accra, February 8, 2014). The bowl of petals is a gift given for its emotional value rather than for its material worth. Thus, it is the relationship, not the gift that needs to be kept alive.

Not all relationships are this straightforward, however. In *Someone talking to sometime*, for example, we find poems such as “Of love and commitment” (p.145), which capture Aidoo at her most passionate. Written for Omafumi Friday Onoge, a professor, Marxist scholar and social anthropologist who was the speaker’s one time true love, the poem is a sentimental longing for lost love. It creates a private-public space that is shared by memories of political figures – namely, the afore-mentioned Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and Kwame Nkrumah, who are recurring figures of revolution in Aidoo’s work. For a woman like Aidoo, “doing/ things I had never done before...things I always knew I should never do” comes easily; therefore the beginning of this poem should come as little surprise to her readers. However, the “unthinkable” things the love-struck speaker does in this “Dido and Aeneas” affair take us through the most tender emotions manifested in a keen devotion to, and adoration of “he” who is “larger than life”. Theirs is a bond fortified by a common political consciousness roused by the Pan-Africanist vision as articulated by Kwame Nkrumah, the American Civil Rights Movement, etc.

But the poem is as much about the strong chemistry in this union of souls, as it is about love found and lost, as we watch the couple pack and part ways. Aidoo ex-

plained that she “rejected his offer of love because it was put opaquely” (Personal conversation, Café Des Amis, Afrikiko, Accra, February 8, 2014). The organic nature of Aidoo’s poetry is evident in the way that individuals interconnect with each other, often with Aidoo’s irony and humor seeping through the lines. Hence, the idea of the deflation of an expansive love, which is explored in “Of love and commitment”, can also be seen in following lines from “For Kinna II”:

my love,
pawed by
rising expectations and
rocketing inflations,
just
couldn’t
fare
better than a fat mouse
before a lean cat. (Aidoo, 2016: 221)

As with her first love, the publication of her first two collections of poetry marks an important space in Aidoo’s life and career. She went to Zimbabwe on self-exile. At the time, she needed a place where she could raise her daughter, Kinna (who was in her early teens), away from the complications of the political fall-out that occurred in 1983 after she was sacked as Ghana’s Secretary of Education during Jerry John Rawling’s Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) regime. Aidoo was also looking for a non-racist environment: “I wasn’t going to come to the US, I wasn’t going to go to Europe or England. So I just decided, why not go to Zimbabwe?” she told Micere Mugo in an interview (Mugo, 2012: 40). In Zimbabwe Aidoo found a congenial political, social and literary climate fermented by the new beginning that this nation’s newly won independence offered, as well as by the friends that surrounded her, including Mugo who had relocated from America. By 1991 Aidoo was the first president of the Zimbabwe Women Writers. Aidoo also remarked to Jane Bryce in the 1985 interview cited above that living in Zimbabwe was “enormously awakening and enriching” and that “the very fact of being here widens my awareness of Africa and the people of this continent” (qtd. in Bryce, 2012: 302).

Ironically, in Harare Aidoo found herself in the midst of women who “expressed fear of censure and retribution for trying to write while running a family” (qtd. in Bryce, 2012: 304). Bryce cites “One woman’s story of how her husband destroyed her manuscript and extinguished the lights at night to stop her writing” (2012: 304). Also, Aidoo had to contend with the disapproval of the local people for engaging in economic activities that were considered to be beneath her. She was “very, very broke” (cited in Bryce: 302), and to support herself and her daughter she did tie-and-dye. However, the native community was “disapproving of the fact that I was a University lecturer and a

writer and I had been a full-blown minister – and how dare I just do tie-and-dye?” She continues:

It was incredible. I kept asking myself, and the people who would bring the gossip to me: would they, rather, forgive me if they heard I was stealing to look after me and my child? Would it be preferable? (qtd. in Mugo, 2012: 40).

This hostility aside, however, Aidoo sees her sojourn in Zimbabwe as “a nicely productive time” because, apart from her two volumes of poetry and her children’s stories and poems, which were included in a series of supplementary readers for schools, “a novel like *Changes* was completely written in Zimbabwe” (qtd. in Mugo, 2012: 40). As Kari Dako (2012: 423) puts it, the Zimbabwe years constituted “a necessary stop on her way through life...a place... to get back to writing... a transient period [of] waiting to get back to Ghana”.

Aidoo’s poetry occupies an important space in her oeuvre. It is not simply that the poetry was published after she had established herself as a writer through her plays, *The dilemma of a ghost* and *Anowa*, her book of short stories, *No sweetness here*, and her first novel, *Our sister Killjoy*, as well as her critical essays. Looking back on her school days, she remembers “when a teacher asked me what I wanted to do for a career. I just said ‘Oh I want to be a poet’. Yeah, poetry...can you imagine?” (qtd. in Mugo, 2012: 32). Despite the teacher’s assertion that “poetry doesn’t feed anybody”, and notwithstanding her own bemusement at the prospect of becoming a poet, Aidoo recounts that she wrote poetry and won prizes for it before she began writing in the other genres, and decades before her first volume of poetry appeared. It is therefore not surprising that her prose narratives have been described as “prose-poetry narrative performances” (Odamtten, 2000: 160).

However, unlike her other works, which portray fictional worlds, Aidoo’s poetry is “real” [with all the illusory dimensions of that concept]; personal [in the sense of being willing to unabashedly treat her biography as source material for the themes and ideas explored in the work]; and of “this nightmare world” where the persona is, “just learning to cope/ in places where/ [she] cannot take anything at all for granted” (“An insider’s view”, Aidoo, 2016: 118). Moreover, as she says in a poem addressed to Efua Sutherland, writing poetry is for her “a confession of sorts” (“An interrogation”, Aidoo, 2016: 23). Her poems plumb her interior life and articulate its negotiation with an outside and often complex historical, political, and aesthetic community. As she puts it, poetry “is so painful it has a way of bringing out the inner layer of any writer” (cited in Bryce, 2012: 305).

This statement explains the intimacy with which she approaches her poems: practically every one of them is dedicated to “family – close and extended”, friends and “peers too: academic, intellectual, and sundry other learned ones” (“An interrogation of an

academic kind”, Aidoo, 2016: 23). Each poem is a “laying bare” of emotions and experiences generated by the exigencies of these relationships. Her poems are spaces where depth, connection, and knowledge of otherness can be articulated by the persona who stands left of centre on Aidoo’s poetic canvas. There are gestures of love, loss, separation, closeness and distance, death. Many of the poems featured in this volume, which are representative of Aidoo’s poetry in general, are what she terms in one of her poems, “veritable tsunamis of woe” (“Ghana: where the bead speaks”, Aidoo, 2016: 75). Already well known for her poetic prose (for example, *Our sister Killjoy*, 1977), and her penchant for breaking away from conventional molds, Aidoo approaches her poetry with the same feather-ruffling interpretations of vexed questions pertaining to those marginalized by dominant Western culture: the new immigrant, the working class, women, and other identities denied the voice of authority.

Aidoo’s is not just a voice of authority but also one of liberation from normalizing poetic conventions. She explains that her joy upon receiving her author’s copies of *Someone talking to sometime* arose in part from her realization that this collection signaled her liberation from self-censure:

I think it was because I haven’t really published a book since *Our Sister Killjoy* and then, I’ve been literally suppressing my poetry and now I realize I shouldn’t have and I feel especially happy that they’re out (qtd. in Bryce, 2012: 304).

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This self-imposed ban was due to her anxiety about the relevance of her poetry and to “her misgivings about writing poetry at all, especially in English”. But her irrepressible spirit ensured that the poems in *Someone talking to sometime* “literally got themselves written” (Bryce, 2012: 304). To produce poetry in a colonial language at a time when the language question was a subject of heated debate in African literature, was to create “a further departure, further gaps, more mileage between you and the community around you” (qtd. in Bryce, 2012: 305). These considerations, coupled with the tendency of poetry to bring out her innermost pain, fueled her dis-ease regarding this genre. Her two published collections, as well as this new volume of her selected, new and uncollected poems, indicate that she has come to terms with some of these anxieties and now effortlessly glides between English, Fante, Latin and French in her poetry in a weaving motion that produces a quilt with layers of stitching made from material as varied, yet as related as natural and man-made hurricanes, freedom and limits, home and exile, life and death. The result demonstrates Aidoo’s great capacity to make connections between experiences separated by space and time.

One cannot turn from the subject of Aidoo’s language without mentioning her ear for a good rhyme, her idiosyncratic punctuation, and her breathtaking, often breathless, rhythm. Witness, for example, the following excerpt from “Speaking of hurricanes”

(Aidoo, 2016: 97-100), a poem in which storms hurled “across the Atlantic to/the poor Americas/ and the poorer Caribbean” are juxtaposed with the “political and economic tornadoes” in Africa that:

blew our hopes
up, down, left, right:
anywhere and everywhere... except
forward to fulfillment. (Aidoo, 2016: 98)

Here, the damage done by Africa’s economic and political hurricanes is clinched in the line, “blew our hopes”, and reinforced by the imagery of uncontrolled and uncontrollable movement. But Aidoo makes it clear that women suffer the most as a result of the vagaries of these storms, as able-bodied men, who in the days of the Slave trade, used to pick cotton on “our conquerors’ doorsteps”, now sit idle while African women “in various forms of/ civilized bondage” are still subjected to “wiping/ baby snot and adult shit”. In such a topsy-turvy world, it is little wonder that “Just reckoning the damage is a/ whirlwind of sorts” (p. 97).

Aidoo uses her linguistic experiments to tack lyric to language, and to exploit language to “memorialize the past” (Ogunyemi, 2009: 3) through narratives and reminiscences. Therefore, regardless of her having been advised by “a worthy friend and/ a loving brother” to

“stop shouldering
the world’s troubles,”
--one meaning Africa,
the other women – (“Routine drugs I”, Aidoo 2016: 191)

we know that, like Kinna in “A young woman’s voice does not break...”, Aidoo’s voice on these weighty matters can only get firmer. We can tell that she will continue to use her poetry as a means for shouldering these burdens, by creating an ethically-considered space for herself within the global and the Black feminist poetic traditions, as well as by clearing a “real-space” to take up issues of nation, race and gender, for as she aptly describes herself, she is:

the
blasted mouth
of a
bloody time. (“1977”)

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THE PASSION OF RESISTANCE: LANGUAGE, RACISM AND COUNTER-HEGEMONY IN CLAUDE MCKAY'S *HOMES TO HARLEM*

RAÚL J. VÁZQUEZ VÉLEZ

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

...parler, c'est exister absolument pour l'autre
...to speak is to exist absolutely for the other
(Frantz Fanon)

Formerly derided as obscene proletarian literature rife with racist portrayals of African Americans, *Home to Harlem* has received greater attention from scholars and critics during the last decades. McKay's novel is commonly approached as a creator of places of resistance to Euro-American languages and cultures steeped in early twentieth century capitalist hegemony: this work reads Harlem as a space where Afro-descended peoples can learn to love their "blackness" as a way of being in the world and seeing it. However, while this space and all it offers might be preferable to capitalist ideals and the "white" masks preconized by the African American bourgeoisie, it is by no means free from conflict and ambiguity. As Catherine Rottenberg states in "Writing from the margins of the margins: Michael Gold's *Jews without money* and Claude McKay's *Home to Harlem*", the eponymous neighborhood is portrayed as a place one can return to after experiencing the alienation and marginalization that characterizes an "outside" world ruled by Euro-American hegemonic interests. Harlem "seems to represent the possibility of shedding many of the norms and values of the dominant society which... is always implicated in racism" (Rottenberg: 124). This Afro-American neighborhood is a perfect means to "explore the possibility of creating a subculture full of ["black"] race pride, pleasure, and value not based on the standard of white imperialism, exploitative capitalism, or the compromised (because complicit) ideals of the black middle class" (p. 124).

"Black" and "white" standards/ideals saturate the very language of the characters. This saturation becomes part of an eternal struggle for or against such desires and intentions, reflected in the fear African Americans have of being invaded by the establishment's agents of law enforcement, which spells certain doom for nightclubs, speakeasies and other spaces and places they call theirs. This constant threat of loss permeates the language and thought of these peoples, jeopardizing the few venues of escape available to

them as well as the power and agency of their language. As Frantz Fanon explains in “The negro and language” (the first chapter of *Black skin, white masks*), this aspect of life is riddled with centuries of pain, violence, conflict and seamy intentions:

To speak means to be in a position to use a certain syntax, to grasp the morphology of this or that language, but it means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization [...]. A man who has a language consequently possesses the world expressed and implied by that language [...]. Mastery of language affords remarkable power. (Fanon: 17-18)

Although Fanon delineated these parameters within the context of the Francophone Caribbean, they are nonetheless useful for approaching language, power and place in *Home to Harlem*: its characters define the world, others and themselves through language, yet using said language causes them to be defined by that language themselves. This is what occurs at the start of the novel, when Jacob “Jake” Brown recalls a curious incident in his life:

One day an English sailor from a Channel sloop made up to Jake. “Darky”, he said, “you ‘arvin a good time ‘round ‘ere.”

Jake thought how strange it was to hear the Englishman say “darky” without being offended. Back home he would have been spoiling for a fight. There he would rather hear “nigger” than “darky”, for he knew that when a Yankee said “nigger”, he meant hatred for Negroes, whereas when he said “darky” he meant friendly contempt. He preferred white folks’ hatred to their friendly contempt. To feel their hatred made him strong and aggressive, while their friendly contempt made him ridiculously angry, even against his own will. (McKay: 5)

This moment leaves Jake quite discomfited: unable to console himself with physical violence, the former soldier sees his indignation dissolve into “friendly contempt” analogous to that which the Englishman might feel towards him. Jake has learned to recognize terms like “darky” and “nigger” as racist insults, yet differences of locale, cultural background/contexts and the ambiguity of the sailor’s intentions hinder his desire for retaliation. The unease this incident creates illustrates the instability that hegemonic and counter-hegemonic languages create in the protagonist and other characters. This exchange between Jake and the Englishman could be easily written off as confirmation of the initial assessment of the “color problem” that Fanon offers during his Introduction to *Black skin, white masks*: “There is a fact: White men consider themselves superior to black men. There is another fact: Black men want to prove to white men, at all costs, the richness of their thought, the equal value of their intellect” (Fanon: 10). However, the novel handles the occurrence in quite a strange way:

Jake crossed over to London. He found plenty of work there as a docker. He liked the West India Docks. He liked Limehouse. In the pubs men gave him their friendly paws and called him “darky”. He liked how they called him “darky”. He made friends. He found a woman. He was happy in the East End.

[...].

The Armistice had brought many more black men to the East End of London. Hundreds of them. Some of them found work. Some did not. Many were getting a little pension from the government. The price of sex went up in the East End, and the dignity of it also. And that summer Jake saw a big battle staged between the colored and white men of London’s East End. Fisticuffs, razor and knife and gun play. For three days his woman would not let him out-of-doors. And when it was all over he was seized with the awful fever of lonesomeness. He felt all alone in the world. He wanted to run away from the kind-heartedness of his lady of the East End. (McKay: 6-7)

The change of place alters the contexts and intentionality that mediate the use of the term “darky”: what in the United States is a racist slur answerable with a stab through the heart or a shot to the head becomes an ambiguous term at Le Havre, then transforms itself into an amicable one when Jake reaches London. Even so, racialist undertones do not disappear completely: the narrator claims that Jake befriended his fellow dockers, yet says nothing in regard to their relationship. Perhaps Jake liked being known as the “darky”/token “black” of the group, but he might have come to feel this way after a period of precarious tolerance. In any case, the “race war” in the East End ended that joyful epoch in Jake’s life, taking with it dear friends, the love of a good woman, and a space this restless wanderer could call his home away from home and the tyranny of “white” power. Moreover, Jake’s return to Harlem gives him no peace. The Great War might be over, but its aftermath has yet to fade:

Jake told Zeddy how he walked right out of it [his regiment] straight to the next station in Brest. Le Havre. London. The West India Docks. And back home to Harlem.

“But you must keep it dark, buddy”, Zeddy cautioned. “Don’t go shooting off your mouth too free. Gov’mant still smoking out deserters and draft dodgers.” (p. 22)

Harlem might be a welcoming place for Jake, but the freedom he finds there is not without its dangers. His very presence is saturated by the problem of race, as Zeddy elaborates:

“It’s better to keep your business close all the time. But I’ll tell you this for your perticular information. Niggers am awful close-mouthed in some things. There is fellows here in Harlem that just telled the draft to mount upstairs. Pohlice and soldiers were hunting ev’where foh them. And they was right here in Harlem. Fifty dollars apiece foh them. All their friends knowed it and not a one gived them in. I tell you, niggers am amazing sometimes. Yet other times, without any natural reason, they will just go vomiting their guts to the ofays about one another.” (p. 23)

This character discloses the dynamics that mediate language, space and the agency of Afro-American peoples in Harlem: African Americans are more likely to resist the “white” establishment when they band together, yet somebody in Jake’s position should not speak carelessly where others might hear, not only because individuals are not as reliable, but because particular persons are likelier to become victims and victimizers of racialized language. Since these and other aspects of life are not free from the agency and influence of “outsider” groups and persons, language itself is permeated by the needs and desires of individual speakers along with those of the time and world they live in. As consequence, Fanon’s warning that having and mastering a language requires possessing “the world expressed and implied by that language” brings sinister tidings:

Every colonized people – in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality – finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country. The colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country’s cultural standards. He becomes whiter as he renounces his blackness, his jungle. (Fanon: 18)

Having no access to the languages, dialects, etc., spoken by their enslaved ancestors, people like Jake and Zeddy must rely upon the oppressor’s language. Although all characters of African descent (except for Ray) use one form or another of African American Vernacular English, which is itself a reappropriation/resaturation of the “master” language with the intentions, needs and desires of marginalized groups and peoples, this factor alone cannot keep the “ofays” from interfering with the lives of African Americans: subversives in circumstances similar to Jake’s risk falling into the system’s traps if they do not keep their words and deeds “dark”. Apart from obvious racist analogies (“act/think like a friendly, contemptible “darky” rather than a hated “nigger”), Zeddy’s warning urges Jake to keep “white” and “black” others *in* the dark. Regardless of race pride and solidarity, African Americans should not put themselves at each other’s mercy through misuse of the “white” man’s language and the worlds its mastery opens.

These dynamics of language mediate upon readings and critical reception of this novel and other works by McKay: *Home to Harlem* has been praised as a realist depiction of Afro-American customs and ways of life, but it has also been condemned as an exercise in obscenity and flaunting of racist stereotypes. Not surprisingly, such derision mostly comes from members of the so-called “black” bourgeoisie or intelligentsia. Yuan-Wen Chi argues in “In search of black identity: Claude McKay’s *Home to Harlem*” that

[h]is [McKay’s] attack on the self-complacency of black intellectuals made them wary of him. ...McKay’s break with contemporary black intellectuals was largely derived from the discrepancy between the promotionism of his peers and his perception of black reality and consciousness. (Chi: 106)

McKay spurned this shameless pandering to Euro-American tastes and prejudices on the part of a “black” elite aching for what Chi calls “white approval”. Additionally, Afro-American intellectuals like W.E.B. Du Bois accused McKay of promoting “black” stereotypes favored by “white” audiences seeking respite from civilization and its discontents. Stephen H. Bronz states that works like *Home to Harlem* were incompatible with the values of the African American elite at the time: “Nearly all Negro critics, including W.E.B. Du Bois, urged Negro writers to take full advantage of their popularity by describing only edifying aspects of Negro life. And some authors rebelled against this stricture” (*Root of Negro racial consciousness: the 1920’s, three Harlem Renaissance authors*: 14; quot. in Chi: 106). Wayne F. Cooper elaborates on the nature of McKay’s rebellion in his Foreword to the 1987 Northeastern University Press edition of *Home to Harlem*:

Within the larger Harlem community, as within American society, McKay’s characters in *Home to Harlem* occupied a marginal position. They were largely uneducated. They lived in boarding houses and in what today might be called “single-room occupancy” hotels. Their love affairs tended to be brief and fraught with ambivalence; they often ended abruptly, sometimes violently. The women with whom they were involved had their own incomes as cooks, domestics, entertainers, waitresses, or clerks; some worked as part time prostitutes. Between the men and women in *Home to Harlem*, there existed both passionate tenderness and competitiveness, a mutually jealous independence of spirit that often resulted in antagonism and separation. (Cooper: xxi)

These and other facts contradicted the image Du Bois and others wished to present to the “white” elite. *Home to Harlem* and similar works featured working class African American men and women that were the antithesis of what the “black” intelligentsia

believed African Americans should be: educated, self-made, morally upright men temperate in their food and drink; honest, chaste women, economically dependent upon men and living with them in legally and religiously sanctioned monogamous, heteronormative marriages, where the husband is master of the house and the wife is his faithful companion within a familial structure conducive to the well-being of society at large. Needless to say, these “New Negroes” must speak flawless Standard English and should refrain from the “broken” dialects/pidgins used at the fringes of polite society. Of course, such ways of thinking and living did not correspond at all with McKay’s characters, particularly those from *Home to Harlem*:

Their places of entertainment were cabarets, night clubs, saloons, pool halls, gambling dens, buffet flats, and houses of prostitution. They imbibed alcohol freely; some sniffed cocaine or smoked opium. They lived with a potential for violence emanating from white society and from their own desperate desire for a freer life. Self-hatred, color-complexes, sexual struggle, corruption, drug addiction, ghetto congestion, and class divisions within Afro-America can be found in *Home to Harlem*. McKay was aware of these problems, and he neither ignored nor apologized for them as simply the consequences of the white injustices committed against Afro-America. (pp. xxi-xxii)

326 Not only are these Harlemites involved in seedy affairs and engaged in potentially self-destructive behaviors that spit upon the proverbial straight-and-narrow path championed by most African American intellectuals: they live at constant risk of violence from mainstream society and each other. By focusing on these unsavory aspects of urban proletarian Afro-American life, McKay disparages the “black” bourgeoisie’s quest for acceptance and respectability within the parameters of Euro-American society: he denudes the vituperation of Du Bois and others as self-serving posturing that stems from thinly-veiled desires for “white” legitimacy grounded upon models of conventional gentility alien to most African Americans. As Fanon explains, this division between peoples of African descent is rooted in language sprung from colonial rule and the skewed ways of thinking/seeing the world and self it creates as part of the exercise of power:

The black man has two dimensions. One with his fellows, the other with the white man. A Negro behaves differently with a white man and with another Negro. That this self-division is a direct result of colonialist subjugation is beyond question. ...No one would dream of doubting that its major artery is fed from the heart of those various theories that have tried to prove that the Negro is a stage in the slow evolution of monkey into man. Here is objective evidence that expresses reality.

But when one has taken cognizance of this situation, when one has understood it, one considers the job completed. How can one then be deaf

to that voice rolling down the stages of history: "What matters is not to know the world but to change it." (Fanon: 17)

McKay begs to differ: human beings *must* know the world if they are to change it, hopefully for the better. By presenting those sides of Afro-American experience that people like Du Bois would rather forget, the novel warns that human life cannot be expurgated to adhere to arbitrary ideals which even their upholders often fall short of.

Yet McKay is not blind to the dangers of reducing Afro-descended peoples to exotic Others that cater to the desires of the "white" establishment. In "The contagious fever of the jungle: primitivism in Claude McKay's *Home to Harlem*" Francesco Pontuale discusses the novel's "emphasis on the instinctual, the sensual and the animal" aspects of African Americans mired in the Harlemites underworld; according to Pontuale, this novel "reinforced many of the stereotypes associated with blacks, especially... their "primitivism" (Pontuale: 65). He adds that the work of scholars/critics like Robert Bone's *The Negro novel in America* "set the parameters for much of the future critical debate on McKay's fiction". As a consequence, subsequent readings appraised *Home to Harlem* as "the glorification of the "primitive Negro" and the apotheosis of instinct over reason" (p. 65). Pontuale points out the strengths and weaknesses of such readings, casting a critical glance at the work of Bone and others:

In *Home to Harlem* primitivism is politicized by McKay's race awareness and leftist radicalism. It consequently becomes a way of revaluing and recuperating that which is positive and particular to African American consciousness; it is a critique of the culture and morality of the white American middle class and therefore a political expression of black identity. However, in the exclusion of women from its discourse, and despite McKay's radical leanings, primitivism also betrays the novel's entrenchment in the white patriarchal ideology of individualism fundamental to the American myth. (p. 66)

Read under this scope, McKay's novel becomes an archaeology of African American life, customs and manners within the context of early twentieth century North American capitalist hegemony, yet *Home to Harlem* should not be reduced to a picturesque "Negro" novel: it is a great disservice to label this work a mere diatribe against the racist "white" American establishment and the aspirations of the "black" elite, and it is just as wrong to assume it uncritically endorses the "joy of living" and "primitivism" of the Afro-American working class. Critics and scholars must be careful not to read their own ideological biases into such a complex work of art: aspects such as the celebration of life and political protest are present within *Home to Harlem*, but readers should not focus on any one of these possible readings to the exclusion of all others.

The intentions that saturate language also mediate upon the reception and interpretation of the Other and his language. Jake deduces something similar when he wanders the streets of Harlem. Having violated the prohibition of leaving the docks he works at during lunch hour, he is accosted by a “white” fellow worker who makes a strange admission:

The man told Jake that there was a strike on and he was scabbing. Jake asked him why there were no pickets if there was a strike. The man replied that there were no pickets because the union leaders were against the strike, and had connived with the police to beat up and jail the pickets. (McKay: 44)

Upon hearing this, Jake claims to never have worked during strikes inside and outside of the United States. After the man congratulates him for delivering “a real man’s talk” and invites him to join the dock workers’ union, Jake refuses in no uncertain terms:

“...I won’t scab, but I ain’t a joiner kind of a fellah”, said Jake. “I ain’t no white folks’ nigger and I ain’t no poah white’s fool. When I longshored in Philly I was a good union man. But when I made New York I done finds out that they gived the colored mens the worser piers and holds the bes’n a’ them foh the Irishmen. No, pardner, keep you’ card. I take the best I k’n get as I goes mah way. But I tells you, things ain’t none at all lovely between white and black in this heah Gawd’s own country.” (pp 45-46)

This exchange delineates one of Jake’s many passion-driven mechanisms for resistance: he is “Negro” in regard to customs, language and political allegiances, but he is also astute enough to see through the words of others. This allows him to spot sinister dealings rooted in ways of thinking that are no better than capitalist oppression and “black” bourgeois mimicry. Jake will never compromise on his zest for all that life has to offer within his limited means, but he will not become a shady “black,” “white” or “gray” pawn of people in positions of power to achieve this. Jake’s rejection of “scabbing” resists even Zeddy’s racist justification, leading to the first of many disagreements between them. Dismissing his friend’s condemnation as moralistic hogwash, Zeddy explains his way of being in the world:

Seems lak youse [Jake] gittin’ religion, boh. Youse talking death, tha’s what you sure is. One thing I know is niggers am made foh life. And I want to live, boh, and feel plenty o’ the juice o’ life in mah blood. I wanta live and I wanta love. And niggers am got to work hard foh that. Buddy, I’ll tell you this and I’ll tell it to the wo’l’ – all the crackers, all them poah white trash, all the nigger-hitting and nigger-breaking white folks – I loves life and I got to live and I’ll scab through hell to live. (p. 49)

This discrepancy between Zeddy and Jake shows that *Home to Harlem* does not consider any of its characters as representatives of any “race”: the fact that Zeddy “scabs” in search of pleasure and comfort is no excuse to disparage African Americans as a whole any more than Jake’s repugnance towards the practice makes him a paradigm of noble and exalted “blackness”. The novel never argues for or against the words and doings of its characters: their language, deeds and their consequences ultimately belong to them, even if they unfold within a context of racism and abuse of “black” and “white” power. Rather than spokesmen of desirable or undesirable behavior, these characters are fully-fledged people dealing with all the good and bad that is inseparable from what it means to be human within an oppressive society geared to self-centered pursuit of happiness and fulfillment.

In *Home to Harlem*, Claude McKay examines language as an arbiter of racialized hegemony in 1920’s North America. By showing how characters like Jake and Zeddy create and live out their resistance to capitalist influences and coercion, this novel teaches scholars, critics and readers to put aside their ideological biases when analyzing all types of discourse, hegemonic or otherwise. Doing this will decrease the risk of misreading works of art by examining them through scopes that are ill-suited for the purpose, and might also do justice to the broad array of passion-driven mechanisms for resistance that all oppressed peoples assemble for themselves, even as it sheds light upon those countless and variegated repertoires of cunning ingenuity that masters and subjects alike call upon whenever they saturate language with their own intentions.

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RACE RELATIONS IN EARL LOVELACE'S *THE DRAGON CAN'T DANCE*: CAN MASCULINITY SUBVERT ETHNICITY?

TYRONE ALI

UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES, ST. AUGUSTINE, TRINIDAD

With Britain's abolition of slavery in 1838, India became the major overseas source of cheap labour for the sugar industry in the West Indies, and the East Indians of subsequent Indentureship brought their own peculiarities, cultural nuances and sensibilities to the Caribbean. Between 1839 and 1917, approximately 416,000 indentured Indians, procured largely from the poverty-stricken districts of India, were imported as slave substitutes and by 1970, descendants of Indians comprised 35 per cent of Trinidad's population (Ramchand: 157). Today, the population is approximately 47 per cent East Indians, on par with the Afro-Trinidadian percentage. The survival of Indian culture was made possible largely by the lack of any deliberate attempt to alter its behavioural codes, religious practices, belief systems, and world view, in sharp contrast to the white plantation owners' manifest efforts at cultural erasure in the case of the African slaves. Moreover, the Indian community segregated themselves in isolated units in the rural areas of the island. Nevertheless, the introduction of this new community into the previously highly racialized society of the White/Black West Indies made inter-racial conflict inevitable, with Indians striving to retain their individuality against a slow but ever-increasing process of creolisation. Indians, initially referred to as 'East Indians' as a differentiating label from the resident 'West Indians' of the Caribbean, were being subsumed under the 'West Indian' umbrella and this threatened to dilute their identity in the process of cultural syncretism that was becoming characteristic of the West Indies.

Against the backdrop of this encroaching process, and increasing awareness of the permanent presence of Indians in the West Indies, there was a push in a more socially realistic direction on the part of literary writers to incorporate an interaction of races in the ethnographic landscape in their works. Ramchand claims that West Indian novelists tend to base their works upon the racial groups they grew up in. They do so, not because they are writing for or on behalf of those groups but because they know those groups best. In general, therefore, the Indian character either does not appear, or is pe-

ripheral in fictional works by non-Indian writers. Likewise, novels by writers of Indian origin are peopled mainly with Indian characters (p. 173).

Earl Lovelace's canonical novel *The dragon can't dance* (1972) creates an interesting easel upon which African-Indian relations from the early 1930s to the immediate post-Independence era of the 1960s and 1970s are depicted, centering race relations themselves as a key source of attitudes of the male Indo-Trinidadian in matters of identity. Perhaps the greatest hurdle for the Indo-Trinidadian male protagonist in this work mirrors the great difficulty faced by the indentured labourer upon his arrival in the West Indies: reconciling his national and ethnic identity, and sense of manhood, with the amorphous one that was boiling, bubbling and emerging in the cauldron of creolisation.¹

Interracial rivalry between Indians and Africans was almost natural in the early years. The Africans saw the Indians as scab labour living a heathen's life, culturally. At the time of arrival of Indian immigrants, African ex-slaves had already been inculcated with a colonial West Indian sensibility, devaluing the colour of dark skin, considering Christianity to be superior to all other faiths, and negating the cultural merit of indigenous foods and practices. Reddock claims that, "In the same way they devalued their own African cultural survivals, and their African phenotype, they also devalued the heathen and 'backward' practices of uncivilised 'coolie culture'." (p. 117) Most Indian cultural resistance, therefore, is projected as resistance to the dominant Afro-Creole culture of yesteryear, which has been transported to the present Indo-Trinidadian's sense of Afro-Creole Imperialism over the Indo-Creole culture. Morgan contends that "The concept of Indians as being marginalized and given a disproportionately small share of the national pie, remains alive today" (p. 109). This is in spite of there being little evidence of segregated Indian life as was the case during indentureship.

Hintzen argues, rather, for a new emergent cultural hybridity underpinned by both cultural and racial insertion of all the races that has led to a historical reformulation of creole identity today. In particular, claims Hintzen, "hybridised rituals and symbols of Asian-Indian representations and practices are gaining considerable visibility in Creole construction. This is despite the latter's historical exclusion from the creolised space of Trinidadian identific discourse" (p. 100). At the time that Lovelace wrote *The dragon can't dance*, Trinidad and Tobago had already claimed Independence from Britain, marking a critical milestone in the socio-historical and political-economic pe-

¹ According to Reddock, the term 'Creole' was originally used to refer to all persons born within the region but with an external origin. Today, in Trinidad and Tobago, it is used in three senses with the latter two contributing to Indians' increasing sense of perceived alienation from nationalism as well as their perception of losing cultural and ethnic identity in a process of cultural domination: "(1) to refer to an amalgam of descendants of Europeans who still dominate the local economy, known locally as French Creoles; (2) primarily by Indians to refer to persons of African descent, also referred to by a Hindu derivative "kirwal" and (3) to refer to cultural artefacts of the dominant culture such as creole food, creole bacchanal, and so on. The term "Creole", therefore, for Indians is strongly identified with Afro-Creole culture" (Reddock: 114).

riod of the country's evolution. By this time, prominent voice had already been given to the Indian's presence as he (re)negotiated space and notions of identity – gender, ethnic and national – within a creolised panorama.

Interestingly, race relations between Afro-Trinidadians and Indo-Trinidadians in Lovelace's *The dragon can't dance*, juxtaposed to the germinating creolisation process being experienced in the novel's setting of Calvary Hill in Laventille, also contribute directly to the masculine identity constructed by the sole male East Indian, Pariag, who together with his wife, Dolly, choose to make the Afro-Creole Hill their home. Whereas the other central male characters' quests for manhood are primarily distinguished by a sexual hypermasculine thrust, Pariag, or Boya as he is intimately referred to by Dolly, is engaged with forging both his masculine and ethnic identities without attention to sexuality. Pariag originates from rural New Lands sugar estate and he "had come to the city to live so that he could join up with people, be part of something bigger... be more than just a little country Indian" (p. 77).

It is the cultural legacy of being a "country Indian" that creates parallels between Lovelace's Pariag and Samuel Selvon's Tiger in *A brighter sun* (1952). Like Tiger, Pariag falls victim to the time-honoured Hindu tradition of an arranged marriage. Unlike Tiger, however, Pariag attempts to rebel against it by initially claiming to be unprepared for the familial responsibilities that define East Indian marriage. His defiance against the established social practice continues as he declares, "And besides, I want to choose a girl for myself. I is the one going to have to live with she" (p. 79). Lewis labels Pariag's father's riposte as 'vitriolic' (p. 177): "'For yourself?' his father asked, 'For yourself? You think you getting married for yourself? You think I get married for myself?'" (p. 79). The repertoire of cultural and ethnic issues embedded in this exchange is far-reaching. Beyond the immediate reprimand to Pariag for even the suggestion of deviating from enshrined Hindu custom, Pariag's father wails a plaintive note as he unloads his own surrender to an emasculation and resultant passivity of manhood, which he experienced by burying individualism in preference for family and community decades ago.

The fundamental imbedded premise is that honour in Indian families is generated by acquiescing to the decisions of a strong overarching patriarchy that stifles individualism in order to cultivate group identity and ensure familial expectations. His quatrain of rhetorical questions depicts the passive notion of manhood that can be ascribed to the Indo-Caribbean male for centuries of such denial of self in bartering for an identity saturated by Hindu religious socio-cultural creed. Marriage of free choice among Indians even at this juncture after indentureship is not yet a reality and, eventually, Pariag succumbs to this coercion as testimony to the overwhelming discursive force of Hindu culture. He attempts to reclaim his manhood in his attitude toward Dolly before their marriage:

‘What you name?’ he asked her, kinda tough.

‘Dolly,’ she said. She was trembling.

‘I is Boya. You ever... you ever went to Port of Spain?’ as if he himself was familiar with the city. You going to have to live in Port of Spain,’ he said. (p. 80)

Here Pariag’s fiat to Dolly mirrors another similarity to Tiger’s stance in adopting a patriarchal approach in dealing with his wife. The Indo-Trinidadian male is indubitably attempting to project a notion of manhood that he expects his submissive Indian wife to accept unquestionably.

Tiger and Pariag tread diverse paths from the first day of their respective marriages, however, as they both hold their wives in different degrees of esteem. It is only at the very end of *A brighter sun*, that Tiger realizes his wife understands, accepts and appreciates his aspirations; contrariwise, it is at the very commencement of Pariag and Dolly’s relationship that Pariag realizes the unwavering faith and trust that Dolly has in him because when he questions her about Port of Spain, “he saw in her eyes that she believed in him, believed that he was more than country, that he had dreams” (p. 80). Consequently, he experiences a high level of intimacy in his marriage that Tiger fails to achieve. Although Pariag initially takes her for granted, it is his partnership with his wife that allows him a certain masculine fulfilment. This becomes total in his embrace, and the subsequent reciprocity, of the Creolisation process that pervades Calvary Hill.

Pariag’s aim is to be included in the Yard, to be accepted by the residents of Alice Street, but the opposition of cultures does not allow this. Together with Dolly, he occupies a physical space in the Yard but they remain socially invisible and are excluded from all aspects of the dominating Afro-Creole culture. In assessing this culture in relation to Indian sensibility and its impact on developing nationalism, Morgan declares that an overwhelming sense of alienation, vulnerability, and fear or defilement causes Indians to complain bitterly of exclusion (p. 118). Indeed, it is this exclusion that feeds the intimacy and heteronormativity experienced between man and wife in this novel, as Pariag and Dolly grow closer together in the face of mounting alienation from the other residents on Calvary Hill. In his Carnival spectacle of characters, Lovelace aptly labels Pariag ‘The Spectator’ as he remains on the periphery of life on the Hill looking in. Pariag rationalizes that his diminutive physical stature together with his Indo-based culture accounts for his ostracism:

‘You know what it is, Dolly,’ he said to her when they were in bed.

... ‘They not *seeing* me, that is what it is. That it is; they don’t *see* me.

You see?’

‘How they could not see you?’

‘Well, I ain’t big. I mean, I ain’t have no huge muscles, and I don’t sound tough, and I ain’t tough, and I can’t fight, and don’t know how to play steel-

band or sing calypso, and I don't know much about Carnival... You see?' (emphasis in text, p. 91)

Two notable points surface here. Firstly, there is the undeniable perception by the Indo-Trinidadian that calypso and Carnival are elements of Afro-centric culture, which serve to alienate those of East Indian ethnicity from a nationalistic sense of ownership of these creative art forms. Morgan lends credibility to this assertion: "Indeed, calypso, along with Carnival, is often cited as possessing the power to convey the Trinidadian 'spirit' [and]... [a]ssociated with lower-strata Afro-Trinidadian cultural identity, calypso is a hybrid form." Pariag appears accurate, therefore, in his assessment that his lack of knowledge, involvement and practice of the Afro-based Carnival culture, underpinned by his ethnic frame, accounts for his exclusion. He defines his own masculinity, which becomes marginalized, in relation to the black masculinity, which is comparatively hegemonic by virtue of its dominance in the Yard.

Secondly, Pariag's 'confession' to his wife – and himself – is a baring of soul that Western notions of manhood would label a complete emasculation of masculine identity. According to psychologist Robert Brannon (1976, as cited in Kimmel: 10), "One may never do anything that even remotely suggests femininity. Masculinity is the relentless repudiation of the feminine."² Pariag's declaration reveals an admission of inability and incapacity to handle a crisis – attributes associated with Brannon's notion of *femininity*. Lewis claims, "Caribbean men might fear a loss of respect, status and honor from such a confession to their wives or women and may therefore suppress all that Pariag so freely shares" (p. 179). Pariag, however, seems secure in the intimacy he and Dolly share, an intimacy characterized by tremendous confidence in his relationship with his wife, and this more than any other factor permits his free-flowing words.

The subsequent attainment and destruction of his bicycle reflects going against the grain of non-possession as the survival code on the Hill. It is this feature that brings realization to Pariag that the meeting of the Afro-Creole culture and his Indo-Trinidadian sensibility is a case of "ne'er the twain shall meet". His quest for selfhood and identity, initially anchored in a campaign for acceptance in the Yard, is slowly replaced by an assertion on his part that his earlier perceived deficiencies of cultural ignorance were never the causal factor of his ostracism. Rather, he begins a process of

² Brannon summarized the Euro-American definition of manhood into four distinct phrases:

(i) "No Sissy Stuff!" – One may never do anything that even remotely suggests femininity. Masculinity is the relentless repudiation of the feminine.

(ii) "Be a Big Wheel." – Masculinity is measured by power, success, wealth and status. As the current saying goes, "He who has the most toys when he dies wins."

(iii) "Be a Sturdy Oak." – Masculinity depends on remaining calm and reliable in a crisis, holding emotions in check. In fact, proving you're a man depends on never showing your emotions at all. Boys don't cry.

(iv) "Give 'em Hell." – Exude an aura of manly daring and aggression. Go for it. Take risks.

(Kimmel: 10-11)

self-awareness that causes him to examine the Afro-Creole man, and not himself, as needing a measure of self-confidence: “Some nights later, he turned to Dolly on the bed. ‘Maybe is not because I is Indian’, he said to Dolly. ‘Maybe the Creole people just fuck-up’, and later he surmises, “‘Girl’, he said, ‘these people not fuck-up. They crazy!’” (p. 147). Pariag begins to take stock of his own cultural legacy rather than adopt that of his Afro-Creole neighbour as it gradually dawns on him “that his entry into the creole culture depended not upon his abandoning or suppressing the Indian heritage, but rather upon bringing it with him so that it might alter and be altered by the creole construct” (Ramchand: 184).

Throughout Lovelace’s account of Pariag’s mission to attain an ethnic and masculine identity, African-Indian relations become the catalyst that facilitates a cultivation of intimacy between him and Dolly. The unspoken love between them serves to solidify Pariag’s emergent masculine identity as the incident of his destroyed bicycle forces him to look inward at his intimate relationship with his wife. He invites her to visit the cinema with him to look at an Indian movie and her immediate overwhelming reaction of weeping causes him to realize, “that this was the first place he had asked her to go to, and he found that he had water in his eyes too. And he smoothened her hair and he didn’t know what to say, and he held her close, and she held him” (p. 143). Typical of the sentimental Indian movies that paint a picture of romantic love for its lead actors, Pariag and Dolly experience an inundating renewal of romantic love and intimacy in their relationship. And in the process of forging his own identity, Pariag recognizes Dolly’s and the fundamental and all-encompassing role it plays in the construction of *his* masculinity. His fictional representations of Pariag and Dolly, therefore, grant Lovelace success in his attempt to sketch out the possibility, and exceedingly high probability, of love and intimacy overshadowing the odds stacked against an individual in the abyss of despair that permeates Calvary Hill.

The dragon can’t dance depicts various aspects of the Indo-Trinidadian man’s negotiation of gender, ethnic and national identities as being at the heart of human existence. It serves to somehow maintain the duplicity of traditional Indo-Trinidadian male identity while it simultaneously engages an unexpected sprawling of its tendons into a blossoming creole masculine identity. Lovelace leaves the reader with an undiluted understanding of the process of creolisation at play and the Indo-Trinidadian man’s quest to negotiate his own identity as he plunges ahead just after pausing and surveying his options at the crossroads of gender, ethnic and national identities – an intersection that must be traversed by every male Indo-Trinidadian.

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THE BLACK SUBJECT AS AESTHETIC OBJECT IN TWO TRAVEL NARRATIVES OF THE WEST INDIES

NEMESIO GIL

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

The English colonial travel narrative is exceptional in its rendering first of the ‘native inhabitants’ of the Caribbean and, later, the enslaved African subjects that would substitute the aboriginal labor force during the very lucrative plantation era. Among the multiplicity of colonial accounts ranging from Thomas Gage’s *The English American, or a new survey of the West Indies* (1648) to John Stewart’s *An account of Jamaica* (1808), two travel narratives stand out for their significance as historical, political, economic and ethnographic documents in the epochs they were produced and, especially, for their attempts to ‘re-habilitate’ the black subject in the “exotic”, but subjugated, New World: Richard Ligon’s *A true and exact history of the island of Barbados* (1657) and R.C. Dallas’s *A short journey in the West Indies* (1790). Both travel writers engage in producing a variety of images that strongly illustrate their texts, and the pictorial references employed in depicting black men and women testify to the influence and significance of a thriving visual culture in Europe. These images are influenced by or referenced through the plastic arts (e.g., painting and iconography), via well-known literary and pictographic similes (e.g., Don Quixote de La Mancha) or by way of images of elegance in a society strongly marked by class difference (e.g., the English footman vs. the Caribbean servant).

For example, Richard Ligon praises the physical attributes of a black mistress who possesses more “elegance” than Queen Anne, admires a group of African men for their physiognomic attributes or draws an arresting picture of a stooping female slave with baby on back in a way that is as enigmatic as the icon of St. George. R. C. Dallas, for his part, pictorializes an African female lover to be as ladylike as any metropolitan *dame*, and an athletic black man who fights a shark in mid-water. These “pictures” rendered in their colonial texts seem to validate the black subject’s presence and physique as equal or even exceeding those of his or her white counterparts, but only in an ideological locus established and authenticated by white European hegemony.

Among the aforementioned examples, I will highlight an instance in each narrative that will illustrate the portraits Ligon and Dallas envisioned, as their observed black subjects become objects depicted, visualized, and finally beautified to conform to European

aesthetic conventions. Interestingly, in Ligon's and Dallas's reports, the black subject – both freed and enslaved men and women of African descent – is not exclusively visualized in the usual denigrated or Calibanesque fashion of the traditional colonial travel narrative, as brought to our attention by Winthrop D. Jordan (*The roots of racism in America*, 1974) and Peter Hulme (*Colonial encounters: Europe and the native Caribbean 1492-1797*, [1986]) in their studies of debased and exotic colonial portraits of Africans. Instead, Ligon and Dallas deploy specific strategies of depiction and the ideological conventions of European aesthetics to create partially acceptable or desirable images of dark skinned subjects in the eyes of a metropolitan reading audience.

Richard Ligon's *History* is a remarkable account that "provide[s] perhaps the best description of a West Indian colony in the seventeenth century" (Krise: 16) and "vividly...allow[s]...readers at home to visualize the environment, ...and all the varied people he came to know" (Kupperman: 6) in island locales such as Cape Verde, Madeira, and Barbados. It is an illustrated travel account that constructs an organic portrait of the black subject in the age of English colonial expansion. R.C. Dallas, for his part, is better known as poet Lord Byron's friend and the collector of his Romantic letters, even though he had also written various texts such as *History of the Maroons, from their origin to their establishment in Sierra Leone* in 2 volumes (1803) and *The Marlands, tales illustrative of the simple and surprising*, in 4 volumes (1805). Still, his *Journey* also offers an array of descriptions of the black subject observed on his father's estate in Jamaica. Michael Ashcroft in his *Jamaica Journal* article titled "Robert Charles Dallas" calls the *Journey* a "book that gives a vivid, often racy, account of some aspects of Jamaican society" and directly reflects its author's "contemptuous opinion of white society" living on the island with a community of oppressed black subjects at their feet (p. 94).

Richard Ligon's *History* will provide the first case study in this brief reflection. A gentleman classically trained in the arts, music, and architecture, Ligon visits the Caribbean in the 1640's, on the threshold of the expansive edifice that was to become English Empire, at a time when the slave trade was accelerating rapidly. His text shows a constant and particular preoccupation with environmental and, especially, human aesthetics. On many occasions, his gaze is fixed on the black subject:

I have been very strict, in observing the shapes of these people; and for the men, they are very well timbered, that is, broad between the shoulders, full breasted, well filleted, and clean legged and may hold good with Albert Dürer's rules, who allows twice the length of the head, to the breadth of the shoulders, and twice the length of the face, to the breadth of the hips, and according to this rule these men are shaped. (p. 103)

Ligon thus claims an authoritative and legitimate power of observation and rendering. The portrait he paints of the black men he sees is as systematic and structured as any of the architectural designs of sugar mills he sketched in the *History*. He refers to his subjects by enumerating parts of the body, modifying them with nouns (“timber”, “filet”, “breast”, “leg”) that can also be used as passive verbs (e.g. “The corners of the structure were timbered”), adjectivized by adding “-ed,” etc. Ligon therefore presents these men as if they were architectural structures. In addition, by enumerating the parts of the body, he systematically fragments the whole of the black subject’s being and identity.

Next, he cites Albert Dürer, the sixteenth century German artist who is considered the master of the Nordic Renaissance in Europe and an expert on art and exquisite taste. The artist’s prominence as a “great Master of Proportions”. as Ligon calls him, renders his aesthetic norms an indisputable standard for the “correct” rendering of human beings. Therefore, the visual transposition of the black subject from “Negroes ... likened to beasts” (Jordan: 15) to a subject suddenly endowed with aesthetic possibilities is at play here. But Ligon’s “approval” of these black men is only legitimized through the German painter’s guidelines. He specifically alludes to Dürer’s *Four books on human proportions* (1471-1528) where the artist presents specific rules to portray the most “beautiful” human beings (i.e. “twice the length of the head, to the breadth of the shoulders.”) In the final analysis, however, the human models in Dürer’s sketchbook are predominantly white Europeans. Therefore, Ligon’s Negroes are “striking” only to the extent that they conform to the Eurocentric parameters that Dürer establishes. They thus become objects of the colonial reporter’s “beautifying” gaze.

In short, in the eyes of Ligon, black subjects – profitable commodities in the colonial market at the service of England’s colonial enterprise – are exalted according to a normative ideal of beauty whose validity rests on aesthetic rules determined by European authorities. So it is that Ligon’s beautified visualization becomes a eulogy of the black subject as aesthetic object fragmented into its anatomical parts in a deconstructive pictorial exercise that reproduces European conventions of physical magnificence. The legitimization and acceptance of the black man’s physiognomic potential thus corresponds to a superlative aestheticizing that matches the colonial project’s expansionist agenda: The black and the beautiful are the most productive and profitable.

R.C. Dallas, a “young English-educated heir to a substantial estate” in Jamaica wrote *A short journey to the West Indies* in 1790, a book in two volumes that has been considered “remarkable for its bitter attack on slavery” (Ashcroft: 94). His father, a Scottish doctor, had bought the profitable estate in 1730, but by 1778 it was in financial difficulty, which Dallas intended to attend to during the visit he describes in his text (Williamson: 128). Most importantly, as an abolitionist, Dallas writes his

account in order to “root out the very name of slavery” and to convince his metropolitan readers of the “cruelties and hopelessness of plantation life” (Ashcroft: 95) in the critical juncture between the recent French Revolution and the impending Haitian Revolution. However, it is the aesthetic strategy of his portrayals that underscores his attempt to create a visually acceptable portrait of the Jamaican slave. In the following excerpt he focuses his attention on Old Cudjoe, a Negro servant on his Jamaican estate. Dallas’s depiction of this man is as pictorial as it is thought-provoking:

As to his person, it is a little moulded like La Mancha’s knight – as lean as you can well conceive; as erect, but not quite so tall, as Quixote:

...[and although] his nose...is in shape like the ace of clubs,...archness, rather than disgust, it is the effect it produces, and, with the good-natured smile natural to him, gives a pleasant cast to his countenance. Put him now into a stone-colour coat, with orange cape and cuffs, a striped waistcoat and breeches, neatly buttoned at the knees...and you have...an old beau black footman.
(p. 67)

Dallas’s first pictorial reference is to the well-known Spanish Hidalgo, Don Quixote. Cervantes’s novel was first translated into English by Thomas Shelton in 1612. Reprints and new editions in English followed steadily from 1652 into the Age of Reason. Still, the most famous translation in the eighteenth century is that of Charles Jervas, a portrait painter, and was read widely in England and the United States with more than 100 copies in print, “most of them accompanied with engravings” (Knox: 1). Nevertheless, it was not only the pictographic lure of the illustrations complementing the printed copy, but also the images that Cervantes evoked in the *written* text that activated the imagination and influenced the pro-abolitionist’s gaze upon the black subject/object.

In her introduction to *Cervantes and the pictorial imagination* (2009), Ana María G. Laguna asserts that contemporary Cervantists such as Karl Ludwig Seilig and Helmut Hatzfield have always been captivated by the role of the arts in the Cervantine corpus, and have highlighted the pictorial dimensions of his prose (p. 14). In Book I, Chapter 1, the Quixotic knight is immediately visualized as an authentic man of “tough constitution”, “hard featured”, “an early riser”, inquisitive, and an avid reader of “books of chivalry”. Later on, the portrait adds a certain dignity and pride that impels him into adventure and moments of wise reflection within the burlesque narrative. Diego de Miranda, a gentleman in luscious green garb is impressed by the knight’s allure during their first encounter (Álvarez: 1): “[S]emejante manera ni parecer de hombre no le había visto jamás, admiróle la longura de su cuello, la grandeza de su cuerpo, la flaqueza y amarillez de su rostro, sus armas, su ademán y compostura” (“Such manners

and presence he had never seen in a man, he admired the length of the neck, the greatness of the body, the leanness and yellowness of his countenance, his gesture and posture” [my translation]) (Cervantes I: 16). The suggestive richness of images evoked in the Spanish text was a direct and visually active cross-reference for Dallas and his educated metropolitan readers already habituated to a thriving visual culture.

Therefore, in an attempt to “beautify” or, better yet, “(re)generate” or “re-habilitate” the old Negro servant in the eyes of the metropolitan reader, Dallas presents him as dignified, admirable, with an air of nobility, instead of contempt and debasement as are the enslaved subjects in Edward Long’s *The history of Jamaica* (1774). Again, adjectives such as “lean” and “erect” give the impression of a quasi-noble physique. The “good-natured smile” erases remaining traces of any “grotesque” physiognomy, although his nose (“in shape like the ace of clubs”) is definitely not “refined” as on the “sophisticated” faces of his European counterparts.

Next, the anti-slavery advocate intends to present Cudjoe not as a debased slave, but as an honorable servant through the pictographic metamorphosis of European aesthetic conventions. He thus continues his dynamic visual exercise by re-dressing the servant with clothing that will make him appear nobler and, even if in an illusory manner, on the higher platform of European aristocratic society: “a beau footman” or “personal assistant” as if suggesting “better an English-looking footman than an Afro-Caribbean slave.”

In a strategy reminiscent of Ligon’s fragmented exercise in reverse *A Short Journey to the West Indies* – i.e. Dallas draws or puts together a “picture” of his model, Cudjoe, while Ligon imaginatively dismembers his black slaves into beautifully shaped anatomical parts – the pro-abolitionist enumerates the various pieces of clothing (“cuffs,” “coat,” “breeches,” etc.) and stimulating modifiers (“stone-colour,” “orange,” “striped”) in an attempt to create an appropriate and holistic but Europeanized image of the black man. The new clothing could help turn the old black servant into an “appealing” and “acceptable” individual in the minds of anti-abolitionists whose gaze could see the African man as nothing but a beast. The old black servant could finally be venerable in the eyes of his superiors and detractors through Dallas’s act of aesthetic metamorphosis. Again, only then may the dark skinned subject/object be rendered and finally visualized as “dignified,” and thus aesthetically “pleasing.” Old Cudjoe’s portrait – as emblematic of the representations of other black servants – would have to be rendered or, better yet, (re)worked for both the pro- and anti-abolition communities in England in order to elevate the status of the denigrated and despised black man.

It is thus evident that Ligon and Dallas worked under the influence of European visual culture and concepts of beauty in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Therefore, they constructed the images articulated in their texts – which result in beautified colonial portraits of the black subject – on the basis of established and widely disseminated iconographic elements that merge with traditional concepts of “otherness” for the

definitive and authoritative construction of a black and beautiful subject. They were in fact enriching the colonial report with visual cross-references of highly pictorial and suggestive potential that imply a (re)presentation of the black subject as almost – but not quite in the eyes of the European colonizer – worthy of tolerance. Indeed, the idea that “human beings are created ‘in the image and likeness’ of their creator”, as visual culture theorist W.J.T. Mitchell implies in his study of early iconology (p. 2), points directly to Ligon and Dallas as “creators” of aesthetically attractive and tolerable-to-the-sight black slaves while almost “restoring” them to “the image and likeness” of their European counterparts through the purifying catalyst of the visual arts and aesthetic conventions referenced in their colonial reports.

Ligon’s and Dallas’s dynamic portrayals contrast with, if only in chosen instances, the traditional degrading and vilified portraits that colonial travel writers continued to produce under the authority of the Western ideological project to “historicize and distinguish [themselves] from [their] others” through “visuality and [the] visualizing of history” (Mirzoeff xiv). But in the final analysis, as embellished as they may be, all of the images of the “other” the West has produced in writing, in the plastic arts or – as in the case of Ligon and Dallas – in the cross-referencing of the visual arts with the written text, emerge from the conflicted Eurocentric “encounter between Europe and America, civilization and... unregenerate savagery” (Hulme: 3). The colonial artist/writer will always observe, depict, and visualize his subject/object from the hegemonic side of the binary equation.

Finally, it is useful in this instance to bear in mind the arguments put forward by the late Edward Said in his analysis of the West as a “corporate institution” whereby he demonstrates how the Western imperialists engaged in what he termed “Orientalism” as a means to construct and authorize images of the East through literature, media, and the arts for predetermined political, economic, and social purposes related directly to their colonial enterprise. He maintained that Orientalism is a “systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage – and even produce – the Orient ...ideologically...and imaginatively” (p. 3). If we replace Said’s “Oriental Others” with Ligon’s and Dallas’s “African Others”, it could be said that both of these travel writers created written and visual imagery whose aesthetics were saturated by a colonial discourse in order to “manage”, “produce”, and “promote” alternative visions of the black subject in the West Indies. In the end, their subjects nevertheless remained objects aestheticized exclusively through the European imperial gaze, and ultimately camouflaged to appear desirable, acceptable, tolerable.

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REMEMBERING THE SUTTEE: WOMEN FLEEING DEATH BY IMMOLATION IN LAKSHMI PERSAUD'S *RAISE THE LANTERNS HIGH*

KEVIN GEORGE KELLY

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

The Indian Indenture Program, which began in 1838 and continued until 1918, replaced slave labor once abolition occurred in the Americas. Indenture represented the largest forced migration of South Asian peoples up until the partition of India and Pakistan. Although a majority of the recruits were from lower castes, some of the recruits were Brahmins, mostly widows that were either escaping the tradition of the suttee which involved being burnt alive atop their husband's funeral pyre or widows cast out into the street after the practice of suttee was banned in 1829. This essay explores transgenerational memories of Indian women who fled the suttee in Lakshmi Persaud's *Raise the lanterns high*. Persaud utilizes Vasti Nadir's transgenerational and personal memories to explore misogynistic cultural practices in both East India and the Caribbean, as well as the women who resist those practices.

Lakshmi Persaud begins *Raise the lanterns high* with childhood memories, including one involving a note attached to a mirror in her mother's bedroom. The note declared that the mirror "belonged to a Queen who fled performing suttee on the king's pyre, though this was her duty; she was bound by honor and loyalty so to do. When the new King was crowned, his favorite Queen sold everything this rebellious widowed Queen had left behind convinced that it had been sullied by association" (p. 13). In the novel, this event is utilized as a catalyst to summon the past and explore the arguments for and against the suttee. In Hindu culture, wives that embrace a subservient role are considered *sati*, morally pure and ideal, which is the highest praise that can be bestowed upon a woman. The opposite of *sati* is *asati*, which is a woman who either conducts herself outside of the culture's prescriptive gender rules and roles. A wife is transformed automatically from the status of *sati* to that of *asati* upon the death of her husband because she thereby loses the guardian of her sexuality. To perform what is now commonly referred to as *sati* or suttee is the only way for her to regain *sati* status.

Joerg Fisch, in *Burning women*, reveals that the suttee as it is described in the Shatstras, and practiced in India, is a prototypical ritualized "following into death" custom that has been practiced across the globe, although not in most cultures, for thousands of

years. The author defines it as “After the death of a person, one or more persons follow him or her into death in a ritualized and public act, voluntarily or involuntarily” (p. 5). Fisch explains that since it is ritualized, “following into death” is not a discrete occurrence as it is embedded within each culture, regardless of frequency. Kevin Birth, in “The immanent past: culture and psyche at the juncture of memory and history”, stresses the importance of ritual and performance in the examination of the past within cultural anthropology. Although the British restricted the suttee for many years and then issued a complete ban in British India, there were many parts of India that were not under British control, therefore the suttee continued for some time in many smaller kingdoms. The colonial government undertook a cautious approach to ban the suttee in these regions to avoid political conflicts that could have sparked an independence movement, although they finally implemented a complete ban in 1862 (Fisch: 443). The ban was doubly successful in that it also created a pool of unattached and abandoned women who were cast out into the streets by their in-laws to avoid financial responsibility. Unable to return to their father’s home due to Hindu custom, many women resorted to prostitution. Those that begged and sang for food or money were also assumed to be prostitutes, thereby making both groups sexual targets of men and physical and verbal targets of jealous wives. This also made these widows a threat to brahmanical patriarchy, as these women had no husbands or fathers to monitor their sexual activities to ensure that Hindu bloodlines were maintained (Chakravarti: 579-580).

348 *Raise the lanterns high* begins in the 1960s when high caste Vasti Nadir who recently graduated from a university in England, returns to Trinidad with an education degree and begins teaching at Saint Ursula girl’s school in Port of Spain. It was the first school in Trinidad to open its doors to the children of indentured laborers, and Vasti aspires to some of the feminist ideas she was exposed to while abroad. Vasti wants to help both students and their mothers take advantage of a rapidly changing Indo-Caribbean society and break free from a prescribed gender role that requires total acquiescence to a man’s will.

Vasti though, has her own gender based conflict to resolve as her widowed mother and Uncle arrange her marriage to a doctor from a good family, a marriage that she is not sure she wants. Vasti recalls a conversation when she tells her sister Pushta “No one asks me what I want to do – well, I will say it now. I want to try and help my girls at the school to begin that crucial questioning, to walk the path that leads to their thinking for themselves, becoming discerning...I want to engage their mothers...I want to show that these changes can be approached sensibly” (p. 30).

Vasti remembers her Ajee (grandmother) telling her about her own grandmother who was slated to die on the pyre of her deceased husband, but instead fled and boarded a ship in Calcutta. Vasti’s great-great grandmother did not even know the boat’s destination, but she possessed enough resolution to choose the unknown over certain death. Vasti then contemplates the other women in her family and wonders if she hails from a

long line of “mutineers” (p. 34). As part of the arranged marriage process, the future bridegroom, Karan, and the rest of the Walli family pay a visit to the Nadir household to finalize the arrangements and to subtly make known Vasti’s future role because “strong women, after their marriage, bend their heads and pull the family cart” (p. 18). Vasti engages Mr. Walli and Karan in spirited debate in regard to the role of women in modern Trinidad and Mr. Walli responds invoking the influences of a foreign education on young Indo-Trinidadian women’s values. Mr. Walli tells the Nadirs that “we know how our women should behave. We don’t need lessons from other cultures. Our Sita from Ramayana is a model for all our women.” This reference to Sita in the Ramayana as an ideal woman reveals the source of many of the gender norms that dictate a woman’s role in both Indian and Indo- Caribbean society (p. 46).

Such stories from Hindu Holy Scriptures are utilized as guides for gender behavior and familial responsibilities on the Indian subcontinent and in the Diaspora, but there exist multiple interpretations of these stories as well as different versions of the Scriptures themselves. The stories in the Ramayana have been debated for centuries and most modern scholars agree that Sita suffered greatly at the hands of Rama in many of the epic stories that are crucial to the construction of Indian culture. Some scholars ignore Rama’s abusive behavior and cite Sita’s unwavering commitment and loyalty as qualities of the ideal woman. There are some modern scholars though, that characterize Rama’s actions as unfair and even barbaric, citing three different episodes in the scriptures. The first incident is known as Agni Parikshawhen, or trial by fire, where Sita is abducted by a demon and Rama fights the demons and saves Sita, but questions her chastity. Rama demands that Sita throw herself into a fire to prove that she has remained faithful, and afterwards crowns her Queen. Kamla, the protagonist and narrator of *Butterfly in the Wind*, recalls this episode from the Ramayana, because her mother often retold it as a means of instruction for prescribed gender behavior. Kamal remembers:

It had to be proved publically that Sita has been faithful to her husband in both thought and deed. So she is put through what my mother called ‘trial by fire’, ‘ the proving of her purity’ by the cleansing ritual of fire which consumes all human ugliness, including a woman’s unfaithfulness. Sita enters the flames. The writer of this moving epic, I noted, showed no extenuating circumstance whatever, for the woman. It was only when Sita stepped out of the fire, without a hair of her body singed, that she was able to return to her husband, Rama. (pp. 100-101)

The second event occurs several years later when Rama questions Sita’s fidelity even though she is pregnant with his child, because there are rumors about her pureness. Rama banishes Sita from his Kingdom, but does so without even talking to her. Rama has one of his men take pregnant Sita out into the forest and leave her there. She is then forced to seek refuge in the retreat of a sage named Valmiki, where she raises her twins.

The third and final abuse that Sita endures occurs when Rama goes to her in the forest to ask her to return, but not before she must undergo another trial by fire to ensure her pureness. This time though, she declines and calls on Mother Earth to open up and collect her, which it does (Hess 2-3). Undoubtedly, by highlighting Sita as the ideal wife, Mr. Walli expresses his understanding that Vasti's role as wife is one where she will conform to her husband's will. This line of reasoning, adopted by most conservative Hindus, can be viewed as vague or even contradictory. In the first event, Sita willingly undergoes the fire test to prove her steadfast devotion to Rama, but in the third event Sita refuses to follow Rama's command and prove her fidelity, and she does not undergo the trial by fire.

It is after the last visit with her future in-laws, when Vasti realizes that her Uncle will formally approve the wedding that Vasti feels overwhelmed by her lack of voice in the process, she narrates:

I felt the heavy weight of the past pressing down upon me. I wondered where the source of the mighty stream whose tributaries flow into every aspect of life to render females less worthy than males. There was biology. There was also the denial to women of the marital tradition of power, choice, and control, without which their worth is reduced and their feet directed to the common people's gate- an exit for expendable citizens. (pp. 50-51)

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Kevin Birth, in his essay "The immanent past: culture and psyche at the juncture of memory and history", lists five distinct methods of examining the past in cultural anthropology, one of which involves cognitive memory/ personal recollections. This approach draws on personal experiences and Vasti's recollections of planning for the wedding fall into that category. Vasti feels torn between familial and societal expectations and her own free will. Nonetheless, the wedding plans proceed and Vasti feels more and more anxiety until she finds herself before the mirror in her mother's room the night before the wedding. Under the light of a full moon, Vasti stares into the mirror at a reflection of a blue chair that is not in the room. She is mesmerized by the chair and the mirror until she feels a powerful lunar effect pulling her, swirling her, until she collapses face forward into an unconscious state (pp. 82-83).

Vasti recalls waking up confused as she is in another place and another time, in the Fort of Jyotika, Northern India during the 19th century. She feels as though this is not the first time that she has been there, and she senses that she understands what is about to happen as she floats above the scene. This is the type of memory that Marianne Hirsh refers to as postmemory. Postmemory is when a person is able to recall another generation's traumatic past and those past memories become their own. Vasti is able to float

above undetected by those around her and she enters the Queen's quarters and she recognizes the three Queens: Queen Meena, Queen Dayita (both from the northern region of India), and Queen Renu (from the southern region of India). The three Queens have just received word from a royal messenger that the King died in battle and that his body will be brought to the fort soon. The Queens' grief for the loss of their husband is coupled with an understanding that a suttee will be required. The suttee is commonplace in Northern India where Queens Meena and Dayita are from, but not in the southern region where Queen Renu is from, so conflicting feelings exist in regard to culturally required behavior in the event of a husband's death (pp. 92-94).

Sally J. Sutherland points out in "Suttee, sati, and sahagmana" that the action of a widow performing self-immolation after the death of her husband is represented in several *Dharmaśāstra* texts which guide Hindus on religious, legal and behavioral conduct. Multiple texts describe two types of suttee, *sahagamana* (self-immolation on the husband's funeral pyre) and *anumara* (self-immolation on a later date). Furthermore, the author reveals that the modern day term suttee, the act of self-immolation by a widow upon her husband's pyre, is a British Anglicization of the Hindi term *sati* which is a woman of the highest regard traditionally bestowed on a widow who chooses to be burned to death on her husband's funeral pyre. It also added to the reputation of the deceased husband and Queens Dayita and Meena understand "becoming suttees on the late King's pyre further enhanced his stature, honour, and prestige".

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Queen Renu though, is already planning to save the other two Queens from the pyre, which is slated for the same time as the return of the King's body. In addition to being born in a southern province, Queen Renu was raised to be independent and enjoyed many activities, such as hunting and horse riding, normally reserved for men. In the process, she developed "a freer, more masculine way of thinking" (p. 95). Queen Renu asks Queens Dayita and Meena to meet the next morning to discuss the situation and they agree, even though they understand that she will attempt to dissuade them from following through on their duty as both wives and Queens. Vasti's transgenerational remembrances of this also touch upon the status of degraded widowhood. Despite hailing from a province that did not practice the suttee, Queen Renu knows she will be subjected to an abominable existence as a surviving widow. Queen Renu conveys her thoughts:

What will my position be when this is over? She thought . . . And what will become of me day to day? Here, a widow's life is a living death. I will be shunned and placed at the rear of the palace. We, who were once someone's daughter, sister, mother, servers to all, by custom moulded, are ill-equipped for a self-propelled life. Maimed by outmoded ideas from the past we hop about with damaged lives like wounded birds. (p. 101)

Dr. Jean Chapman, a researcher with the Simone de Beauvoir Institute reveals that widows are expendable within Brahmanical Indian society and the suttee is a convenient way of disposing of them. She states that “One way of describing [suttee] sati is widows are sacrificed on the altar of misogyny” (qtd in Jang).

At the meeting, Queen Renu pleads with the other Queens to reconsider allowing themselves to be burnt on the funeral pyre. She argues that the scriptures call for a symbolic act and the supreme creator would not call for wives to be “put to death in that most cruel of horrors-burned alive on a pyre-pinned down by logs while the priest, her children and family watch and listen to her shrieks and cries for help before she is painfully consumed” (p. 131). In her next breath Queen Renu proposes that they reject the suttee and devote their lives to the betterment of the women in their kingdom through a school in the Royal Compound. Queen Meena is amenable to the idea, but she fears the wrath of the Royal Court as well as the subjects who would view rejection of the suttee as abandonment of the King, and the people would believe that the “king should for the first time in our history leave the palace, his kingdom alone-unaccompanied, as if he were a commoner, a lowly subject” and also there would be the “silent taunts” as the Queens would now be viewed as *asati*, or unclean (p. 133). Queen Renu responds though that they should write down a plan so that they could enlist pundits that might have a more “enlightened” interpretation of the scriptures to help persuade the royal court to change tradition. They also agree that the royal Pundit Krishna, who is to convene with them shortly, would have to endorse this effort.

Pundit Krishna, the highest holy man in the Kingdom of Jyotika, understands that ensuring the suttee is performed correctly is the most important task he has ever undergone. Pundit Krishna visits the Queens to prepare them for the suttee. He explains to them:

Your becoming suttees is the ultimate act of devotion and loyalty which cannot be rendered even by the elements. I, with the people of the Kingdom of Jyotika, salute you. I, as well as the hundreds of your subjects anxiously awaiting you, am blessed to have lived to see this glorious day of the salvation you will bring to all those intimately related to you. (p. 144)

The Pundit then opens a sacred text and reads aloud:

She that goes with her husband to the other world purifies three generations, that is the generation of her mother’s side, her father’s side, and her husband’s side; and so she being reckoned the purest and the best in fame amongst women, becomes too dear to her husband, and continues to divert herself with him for a period equal to the reign of fourteen Indras or three and a half cootee years (thirty-five million years) which is equal to the number of hairs on a human body. (p. 145)

Pundit Krishna then looks up and explains that there can be no other duty as a loyal wife, than to perish in the flames of her husband's funeral pyre, thereby "purifying" him of his sins, as well as those sins of the widow's maternal and paternal families. In *Burning women*, Joerg Fisch explores some of the very texts Pundit Krishna quotes, and affirms that these passages do exist in more recent Dharmasastra texts, but that this not the case in the older texts. The author reveals that there is no documentation of the inception of this cultural phenomenon in India, and that the earlier holy scriptures do not mention widow burning at all, except for a couple of ambiguous references. Furthermore, Fisch states that the newer texts contradict older texts written between 200 BC and 100 AD, such as Manusmṛti, which provide detailed instructions on behavior and funeral rites and call for widows to "lead a completely ascetic life" (p. 229). The author also ascertains that Brahmin pundits later witnessed widow burning and that they attached it to Hinduism through the description of it in newer texts, as well as the explanation of rules and the affirmation of religious benefits bestowed upon the *sati* (p. 253).

Pundit Krishna then explains how the people of Jyotika will pay homage to the Queens as part of the suttee process as well as other details of the proceedings and then waits for the Queens to grant permission for him to exit. It is then that Queen Meena presents the Pundit with a sealed scroll and encourages him to open it and read it in their presence. Within the scroll, the Queens detail their plans to reject the suttee and to open up a school for girls, and they also request Pundit Krishna's assistance with the presentation of the proposal to the Royal Court. Initially the Pundit is confused, not sure if the scroll is a tool of deceit designed to entrap him, but he then moves on to the possibility of temporary insanity. His subsequent thoughts are of the response from members of the Royal Court and the crowds of people that wait to see the spectacle of the funeral pyre with the Queens burned alive.

Vasti's remembrance of Pundit Krishna's immediate thoughts about the reaction of the people of Jyotika is critical in the examination of history. As mentioned earlier, Joerg Fisch highlights how the suttee is a ritualized cultural performance and Kevin Birth ascertains that ritualized performances are one of the key approaches to exploring the past in cultural anthropology. Joseph Roach's introduction to *Cities of the dead*, titled "History, memory, and performance", lends support to this idea by explicitly making the connection between history and performance. The very act of self-immolation on a funeral pyre by a widow is an act of performance before the crowd.

While the Pundit talks to the Queens, the village is abuzz with activity as the people await the pyre and suttee. Workers wash and prepare horses and elephants in anticipation of the procession for the King's funeral pyre. Vasti observes that:

Expectation was growing of the spectacle to come; the royal funeral would be more deeply moving than a royal wedding, with its pomp and

splendor . . . The people of Jyotika were in awe of the grand spectacle that awaited them. Many were leaving their homes and their workshops to ensure a close view of the Queens, of whom they had heard much but never seen. Already jostling and pushing and shoving were taking place; anger flared here and there. (p. 107)

Most wait to see an act that is mentioned several times in their holy scriptures, one that has been practiced countless times over thousands of years and elevates both the deceased King and the self-immolating Queen to an almost God like status. Many feel blessed themselves to see a ‘sacred’ act performed, and others cheer, encourage, and even police the event to ensure the proceedings transpire to their end. One such case, which occurred long after the British banned the practice, took place in the village of Sartha in the province of Bihar in 1927. A Brahmin named Sidheswar Pande died after a long illness and his body was escorted to the Ganges River by pundits and family where he was to be cremated. A rumor circulated that a suttee was going to be performed, at which point the police interceded and the family agreed to send the widow home before they performed the cremation. The family reneged on the deal and proceeded to the cremation site where a large crowd waited. Andrea Major, in “The burning of Sampati Kuer: sati and the politics of imperialism, nationalism and revivalism in 1920s India”, reports that:

A large and enthusiastic crowd gathered to witness the immolation, encouraging the widow with shouts of ‘sati ki jai’ (long live the sati). The police, though present, were unable, or unwilling, to forcibly remove the widow, so instead formed a cordon around the pyre to prevent anyone lighting it. Despite this precaution, Sampati’s clothes ignited and the pyre was soon ablaze. Not long after, both widow and corpse came, by uncertain means, to be in the river. The police tried to rescue her, despite being urged not to interfere, and eventually she lay down on the bank under a tree. There she remained, hideously burnt, for more than forty-eight hours before the Sub-Divisional Officer (SDO) was able to arrange for armed troops to remove her to the local jail for treatment. In the meantime, the crowd had grown even larger, with motorbuses leaving their usual routes to bring people to see the ‘satimata’ (literally ‘sati mother’, an honorific).

Queen Meena recalls a conversation with her personal servant Manu, where she proposes staying without performing the suttee, but Manu informs her that it is very likely that the “angry, disappointed crowd could easily lift me and throw me on the burning pyre” and even the King’s personal guards would be adverse to stepping in and protecting her, as they too could be attacked by the crowd (p. 221). Thus, with the importance of the public performance, as well as the importance of adherence to cultural norms, the Pundit attempts to convince the Queens to fulfill their wifely duties via the suttee. The

holy man reminds the three Queens of the horrible existence they would endure and the degradation that they would be subjected to if they refuse to honor their duty as widows. Pundit Krishna tells them:

You would be choosing a wretched existence, instead of taking the departure that enables you to be transformed, becoming sacred and holy, immortal. Men and women will come from afar to worship at your sculptured soles and palms. I beg you, Royal Queens of Jyotika, to reconsider your refusal to embrace our longheld tradition that has served us well, lifted our esteem beyond our boundaries. Would the people of Jyotika not ask themselves, “What does it say about the King of Jyotika, who has given his very life to protect us, if his wives will not accompany him on his last journey?” (p. 153)

He goes as far as to offer them “sufficient opium” to ensure that they not only will be apprehension free, but also will feel no pain as they are consumed by the flames. In addition, he informs them that he will bribe the guards, so the people of Jyotika will not know they went under the influence of narcotics.

The practice of drugging the widow as a means of ensuring the suttee will be performed has been recorded many times in journals and newspapers, with one such case “An account of a woman burning herself, by an officer”, which was published in the Calcutta Gazette in 1785. The writer noted that the widow appeared under the influence of bhang (marijuana) or opium as she was led to the pyre and that once on top of the pyre, she “laid herself down by her deceased husband, with her arms about his neck. Two people immediately passed a rope twice across the bodies, and fastened it so tight to the stakes that it would have effectually prevented her from rising had she attempted” (qtd in Karr: 90) The use of opium ties in with one of the main arguments for abolition- that most widows did not voluntarily commit the act of suttee, therefore it was not in compliance with scripture.

One of the major proponents of the suttee ban, Walter Ewer, Superintendent of Police in the Lower Provinces, argued that the act as it was being conducted in British India “bore little resemblance to its scriptural model as a voluntary act of devotion carried out for the spiritual benefit of the widow and the deceased.” Ewer further stated family members often compelled widows as a result of financial interests because the deceased husband’s estate would revert back to them and/or they would not be responsible for maintenance of the widow. Additionally he mentioned the townspeople, who were attracted to the “spectacle” and instigated the process. He added that if the widow dared change her mind, “the entire population of the village will turn out to assist in dragging her to the bank of the river, and in keeping her down on the pile” (Mani:34- 35). Thus Pundit Krishna’s efforts to convince the Queens to follow through with the suttee and

his offer to drug them so they would be able to complete the act both conflict with the interpretation of the scripture that requires the act of suttee to be of the widow's own volition. Queen Renu understands this and presents their case rejecting the suttee.

Queen Renu stands and asks for the Pundit's permission to make her case, thereby positioning the beginning of the proposal in a form he could not refuse. She then proceeds to inform Pundit Krishna that her argument will be in the form of "four shafts of light", the first of which is that the Shastras, or Holy Scriptures, are inconsistent in respect to the practice, with some sections that advocate the suttee, whereas other sections prohibit it. Additionally, the Queen points out that it is not practiced in all parts of India (p. 157). The conflicting information in the Holy Scriptures leads to different interpretations of the texts. As stated earlier, Superintendent Walter Ewer used scriptures to support his contention that the suttee should be abolished, but there were others that used scriptural interpretations to argue in favor of the suttee.

In 1805, a magistrate in the Behar district stopped a suttee that involved a drugged and or intoxicated twelve year old girl and asked the colonial government for guidance on the matter of suttees. The Secretary of the Government referred the matter to the head of the criminal court, Nizamat Adlalat, who in turn sought guidance from Pundit Ghanshyam Surmono. The court asked the Pundit "whether a woman is enjoined by the Shaster voluntarily to burn herself with the body of her husband, or is prohibited; and what are the conditions prescribed by the Shaster on such occasions? (qtd in Mani: 37) Pundit Surmono, responded with a descriptive, as opposed to prescriptive analysis, when he stated:

Having duly considered the question proposed by the court, I now answer it to the best of my knowledge: every woman of the four castes (brahmin, khetry, bues, and soodur) is permitted to burn herself with the body of her husband, provided she has no infant children, nor is pregnant, nor in a state of uncleanness, nor under the age of puberty; or in any of which cases she is not allowed to burn herself with her husband.

Pundit Surmono then quoted scripture to support his interpretation:

There are three millions and a half of hairs upon the human body, and every woman who burns herself with the body of her husband, will reside with him in heaven during a like number of years.

In the same manner, as a snake-catcher drags a snake from his hole, so does a woman who burns herself, draw her husband out of hell; and she afterwards resides with him in heaven. (qtd in Mani: 37)

Despite the use of the word 'permitted', as opposed to 'enjoined' or 'required', the colonial government received this response as confirmation of the suttee as a prescriptive

religious act. Additionally, there were no citations of examples of the benefits of performing the suttee, the Pundit only highlighted where the scriptures discussed a suttee performance. Officials then released a circular based on Pundit Surmono's response, albeit five years later, which stated that the suttee is a religious act for Hindus that would be permitted based on "the [colonial] government's commitment to the principle of religious tolerance." (Mani: 33)

So Queen Renu's first challenge is not without merit. Queen Renu's second challenge, or shaft of light, also involves the scriptures. The Queen rightfully points out that the Shastras state "that the paths to God are many", therefore if the Queens choose a good path, such as education, then they are in line with others seeking Dharma, or "the good." (p. 158). Hinduism proposes that if one leads a good life and reaches a union with God, then that union will be eternal. If the person fails to achieve a union, they will be reborn until the time that that union is reached. The four main paths for the good life are "devotion, knowledge, work, and meditative exercises" and the person only needs to choose one path (Whalen: 26).

The Queen links her third challenge directly to the King's masculinity by stating that "King Paresh would have felt humiliated had his soldiers thought he could not gain salvation by his own actions." The final shaft of light is the strongest and Queen Renu presents Pundit Krishna with a challenge that strikes at the heart of Sanatan Dharma, or core Hindu principles. The Queen states:

As long as our men are able to satisfy their appetites, indifferent to the pain, distress, and dishonour they bring to others; as long as such men are able to gain Heaven without compensating their victims; as long as such men are not seeking forgiveness and without the need to live their lives better, but instead await their salvation by sacrificing the lives of others on the pyre; these men will have no incentive to lead the good life that pleases God. Such a combination of rewards for men is repugnant to all human feelings everywhere and is also at variance with the ways of Heaven. Any kingdom that continues to practice this ignominy will bring the wrath of God upon it and remove itself from men's vision of what is enduring, worthy, and honourable. It shall become a nothingness that not even the wind feels or sees. (p. 159)

According to Gaura Krishna, author of "Sanatan Dharma", Sanatan Dharma is the eternal law or Cosmic Law which forms the basis for Hinduism. It governs everything in the universe including human behavior. When someone does something that conflicts with Cosmic Law, it causes an effect or a karma, which needs to be purged. The consequence of the bad actions are what purges a person, therefore a person who never feels the consequences of bad acts will never be in harmony with Cosmic Law and will never be united with God (pp. 1-11). So Queen Renu not only positions the suttee outside of

the foundation of Hinduism, but also brands those that support the suttee as being unworthy of salvation. After the final challenge, the Queen gives the Pundit a sealed scroll with additional reasons for him to read in private and then Queens Renu and Meena retire so Pundit Krishna might accompany Queen Dayita to view the King's body. En route to observe King Prasad's body, Queen Dayita informs the Pundit that her personal pundit/advisor has passed away and requests a referral for a pundit worthy of such a high position.

After taking leave, Pundit Krishna is obsessed with the possibility of being the Queen's private pundit and develops an elaborate plan to position himself as the best candidate, while ensuring Queen Dayita does not perish on the funeral pyre. His plan involves a slave girl named Kala, who he believes the King raped and sired a child with. The plan involves convincing Kala to take the Queens' place on the suttee, and in the process purify her for having a child out of wedlock and raising the status of her daughter Sujata. The immolation of a slave girl on the pyre in India was not an uncommon practice during the cremation of a ruler in India, although this was traditionally done in addition to his wives. However there was a notable exception in 1861 when the Maharajah (Prince) of Udaipur died. All the Prince's wives refused to follow him into death via the suttee, so his mistress performed the suttee in their place (Fisch: 263; 296).

During all these proceedings, Vasti continues to feel as if she is watching them transpire for a second time. Vasti recalls when the Queens summon the slave girl, Kala, who is accompanied by her advisor, Pundit Baalaajee, and the Pundit being highly suspicious of the Queens' motives for the meeting, given that Kala is of the Sudra caste, the servant and lowest class within the caste hierarchy at that time. The word Kala means black, which is why East Indians referred to the sea as the *Kala Pani* (black water). Kala has been marginalized multiple times, first by caste, then by enslavement, and finally with her rape, which leaves her as damaged goods even amongst the Sudras. So Pundit Baalaajee rightfully suspects that the Queens will ask Kala to take their place on the funeral pyre. The Pundit's understanding of the sacred texts is along the same lines as Queen Renu's, so he coaches Kala in the event of a request to "thank them and say you need time to make up your mind; say you will give an answer when your mind is pure. Your state of mind is not pure. Kala, if when they offer you something, you would like to have it" (p. 178).

With this said, Kala meets with the Queens and Pundit Krishna tells Kala to sit in a blue chair in front of the Queens, which is the same blue chair that Vasti sees in the mirror. The Pundit explains to the slave girl that becoming a suttee will change not only her life, but the life of her daughter as well. The Pundit explains:

I will become Sujata's guru, and will ensure her well being. At the appropriate age, her duties will be in the honoured venues of the palace. She will be taught the skills of a lady-in-waiting as a tribute to her mother becoming a royal suttee. The Queens will gladly guide her upbringing.

The daughter of a King's suttee carries a most honourable place in the province. (p. 187)

Kala understands the proposal and she is confused as to why her personal advisor Baalaajee would deny her great honor, as well as to deny her daughter and future descendants the opportunity to ascend castes. The caste hierarchy governs every section of Indian society and determines where a person can live, work, marry, and even who they can interact with. Sujata, being born to Kala, is predestined to live the life of a servant, as will her children and her children's children.

According to Siddaramu B, author of "The consciousness of caste in the contemporary Indian society", the caste system is an unjust predetermined hierarchy that perpetually marginalizes groups of people. Additionally he notes that:

Two aspects of caste inequalities deserve attention: inequality of opportunity and inequality of outcome. Centuries of caste-based social organisation have left a legacy of inequality in access to land, education, business ownership and occupation. These processes lead to unequal access to productive resources and thereby lead to material disadvantages. However, caste-based inequalities are not simply limited to inequality in opportunity. It has also been argued that even highly qualified members of lower caste face social and economic discrimination resulting in inequality of outcomes. (pp. 1-2)

So Pundit Krishna's proposal would reverse all the injustices of caste for Kala and her descendants.

Queen Meena then motions for a servant to bring out a tray, and on it are three ornate gold pieces of jewelry encrusted with rubies, diamonds, sapphires, and other precious stones. Kala is mesmerized by the jewelry, but it is time to provide an answer to Pundit Krishna and the Queens. Kala states that her mind is not pure because she is thinking of the beauty and the value of the gifts, so she needs time to think about the proposal. She also expresses concern that the King might be disappointed when he is joined by a slave girl in heaven. With this, Kala and the Royal Court are dismissed and the Queens retire to ponder their fate (pp. 187-193). As this happens, Vasti sees Baalaajee as he makes plans to leave, disgraced by his role in challenging the Queens and the Royal Pundit. The decision to reject the suttee, in this case by the Queens and Kala, was not unheard of in 19th century India. As revealed earlier in the chapter, there were many women that rejected the suttee and were either drugged or forcibly compelled to perform this cultural ritual.

Queen Meena's servant Manu previously informed Pundit Baalaajee that recruiters at a port in the south are searching for East Indians to board ships to work in another country, one where they could purchase land after five years. Baalaajee approaches Kala with the offer to leave in search of new opportunities and Kala accepts because "the very idea of owning a piece of the earth here in Jyotika would never have occurred to her,"

and would not have been possible because of her enslavement (230). Within this transcendent state, Baalajee's memories merge with Vasti's and she can recall that Kala and the disgraced Pundit slip out of the Royal compound under the still of the night. She also remembers the conversation the Pundit had with Manu, Vasti recalls that "Manu had told him it was the place to go if you wished to leave for work overseas, to begin another life. They had once talked idly about going together, and Manu described the route. He remembered much of it and his feet were guided by this memory (p. 231).

En route to the south, Kala and Baalajee stop at a shrine where they meet up with and join Manu and Queen Renu who is disguised as a male merchant in an effort to escape the compound undetected. The four make their way to a port in the south where they are "spotted by a man who was recruiting labourers for plantations abroad. The recruiter takes them before a magistrate and they are registered and shortly thereafter they find themselves in a depot waiting departure. Later Queen Renu, Manu, Pundit Baalajee, and Kala walk up the swinging steps of a ship, not quite sure of the destination, but they understand they will have a chance at a new life (p. 266). While this transpires, Queens Meena and Dayita undergo an internal debate about custom versus will, and both decide to leave. They too dress as male merchants and head for the port in the South to seek a new life with the possibility of choices and freedoms not afforded widows in India.

As the Queens make their escape, Pundit Krishna is given his leave. He departs with two stagehands who wish to "travel to seek their fortune in a land overseas where, with hard work, they could become rich and return as maharajas." (p. 328)

With all those involved either heading to the port or waiting at the depot, Vasti's paroxysm ends when her sister finds her "forcibly thrown to the floor, as if struck by a car. The impact was on her forehead. Her face was swollen, discoloured; badly bruised as if she had been lifted and dropped more than once" (p. 253). Her sisters Pushpa and Devi call the doctor and Vasti awakens with total recall of the events she witnessed, and also with a renewed vigor to proceed with the wedding on her own terms and with her own vows. Vasti informs her sister Pushpa that some of the traditional vows, such as promising "to conduct myself in society as to never bring disgrace or dishonour to his honoured name," are unsuitable because she has no intention of staying married should her husband or his family abuse her mentally or physically, or demean her in any way (p. 323).

Vasti's last memories of the Queens are on her wedding night in the mirror. The Queens appear and Queen Dayita tells her that "Youth is transitory. Life offers only a potent moment, use it to the full. Gain from this encounter. Will you so use your youth or will you harbor past ugliness and whither within. Free yourself from past memories" (p. 349). Queen Renu then comes forward to speak, as she is about to form a word, her new husband Karan enters and all three Queens disappear and Vasti begins her wedding night. As this happens, Devi is awake in her home and the memories shift to thoughts of the future as Devi thinks that "Vasti will prepare her daughters for a change larger

than she has experienced. Her grandchildren will be offered far, far more than she, Devi, can possibly envisage. It is the way of the world.” (p. 351)

Jean Chapman, in “Victims of violence in Indian families: where misogyny and misandry meet”, highlights that brahmanical patriarchy requires acceptance by women of practices which often contradict Hindu scripture. Thus Vasti’s postmemories reveal that women fleeing the suttee were not passive victims of Brahmin patriarchy, as they were portrayed by the British. The Queens and Kala were powerful agents, who not only rejected an unjust cultural practice, one that is still being performed today, but also liberated themselves from the system of caste and its associated behavioral norms. The widows who fled the suttee and signed indenture agreements utilized the labor scheme as a vehicle for change that enabled them to move from the status of pariahs to agents of their own destiny and in the process to challenge brahmanical patriarchy and create new opportunities for women, both on the Indian subcontinent as well as in the Caribbean.

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**MULTIPLE IDENTITIES, HISTORY AND POLITICS IN THE
GREATER CARIBBEAN AND AFRO-ATLANTIC**

EL ATLÁNTICO, EL CARIBE Y CRISTOBAL COLÓN

WILFREDO A. GEIGEL

SOCIETY OF VIRGIN ISLANDS HISTORIANS

El viaje de Cristóbal Colón en 1492, erróneamente titulado el Descubrimiento de América, ha sido catalogado por algunos como el evento más grande en el mundo después de la venida de Cristo. Su importancia comenzó a tomar auge cuatrocientos años después de su ocurrencia, primordialmente en los Estados Unidos debido a la influencia italiana que estaba en pleno desarrollo en ese país en aquella época. A su llegada a las islas Lucayas y en particular cuando desembarcó pocos días después en suelo cubano, Colón confuso con su hallazgo, creyó haber llegado a Cipangó, como era conocido Japón en aquel tiempo. La cartografía de entonces localizaba varias islas innominadas en el Atlántico, o más probablemente en el Caribe, probablemente el resultado de viajes anteriores por navegantes que habían surcado esos mares durante los pasados ciento cincuenta años. Esto confirma lo señalado por Bartolomé de las Casas, que indígenas de la Española le indicaron haber recordado gente negra en la isla muchos años antes. (Vol. 2, cap. CXXXI).

Desafortunadamente, debido a la secretividad de las empresas marítimas comerciales y la incompreensión de los historiadores terrestres de concebir que en aquella época los barcos se alejaban de las costas por semanas o meses utilizando el conocimiento de la navegación de altura que lo hacía posible, esos aspectos no fueron considerados seriamente en la historiografía hasta recientemente. Son estos, parte de los factores que han ocasionado la exaltación de la empresa colombina y el desvirtuar lo que realmente fue, incluyendo su titularidad, que debió ser identificada como *la empresa caribeña de 1492*.

La empresa colombina denominada descubrimiento de América, no amerita el título ni el despliegue de alarde de grandeza, ni singularidad que se le ha otorgado durante los últimos cien años. Fue otra aventura comercial como muchas otras emprendidas como parte de la expansión de Europa en aquella época. Muchos de los historiadores y los promotores de Colón tratan al hombre como un personaje aislado del mundo que le rodeaba. Esto permite proyectar una imagen de grandeza, pero Colón no puede estudiarse en un vacío. Es imperativo ponerlo en perspectiva y dentro del contexto de su tiempo. Es esencial una mirada interdisciplinaria a su alrededor, no solo dentro del reino de Castilla y Portugal, sino también de otros pueblos motivados por el comercio

y las exploraciones marítimas como los genoveses, catalanes, venecianos, florentinos e ingleses.

Tradicionalmente, el enfoque ha sido la llegada de Colón a algún punto supuestamente desconocido, el 12 de octubre de 1492. Esta tuvo el beneficio de romper con unas pautas establecidas de confidencialidad que regían este tipo de empresa durante aquellos tiempos. Era norma no divulgar el destino ni propósito de los viajes marítimos. Cristóbal Colón como buen relacionista público y responsable a los accionistas (stockholders) de su empresa dio a conocer el resultado de sus gestiones. A Colón le convenía dar a la publicidad su hazaña. Lo hace inflando los datos de sus hallazgos territoriales, porque había obtenido el título de gobernador y virrey de “todas las islas” de las cuales tomo posesión. Además, era acreedor del diez por ciento del valor de todos los productos extraídos. Una buena promoción resultaría en la justificación para el financiamiento de otro viaje.

Desagraciadamente, todavía se oyen aquellos comentarios como: Colón estableció que el mundo era redondo; derroto la idea que al alejarse de las costas los barcos caerían al abismo al sobrepasar el horizonte; tuvo problemas con la tripulación y esta se amotinó porque no se veía la tierra; o que la reina Isabel le regaló sus joyas para financiar su viaje. Por si acaso algún lector recibió alguna de esa información errónea, deben corregirla. El mundo siempre fue redondo y su redondez fue confirmada por Pitágoras y medido por primera vez mediante fórmula geométrica por Eratóstenes (c. 276-194 a.e.p.) quien la calculó a base de una circunferencia de 25,000 millas, habiéndose equivocado únicamente por solo cuatro por ciento de la medida exacta. Otro que hizo un cálculo, errado por cierto, también, fue Posidonio (90-160 a.e.p.). Este se equivocó por 7,000 millas de menos. Fue este cómputo el que se utilizó posteriormente por Tolomeo (90-160 a.e.p.), cartógrafo griego nacido en Egipto, que estableció los fundamentos para la cartografía del Renacimiento. Por su error, el grado de latitud era de 50 grados en vez de 60 grados, lo que ocasionó una distorsión en los mapas y creó un mundo más pequeño que el real.

El problema de la redondez de la tierra lo provocaron los cristianos, quienes no podían aceptar un postulado pagano. De acuerdo a San Agustín, este expresa en su obra, *Ciudad de Dios*, (libro XVI, cap.16), que era imposible que existieran antípodas, o sea, seres humanos en el otro lado del mundo, colgando con la cabeza hacia abajo y los pies hacia arriba. En cuanto al motín de la tripulación contra Colón, lo contrario ocurrió, de acuerdo a los testimonios vertidos durante los pleitos colombinos. Colón quería regresar y fue Pinzón quien insistió continuar hacia adelante. Y, ¿las joyas? La Reina no podía disponer de ellas pues estaban pignoradas, o sea depositadas en garantía contra un préstamo como el que le había hecho la villa de Orihuela. Es incontrovertible también que los reyes empeñaban sus joyas sin distinción de reinos, en varios municipios, algunos de escasa importancia, o, como Valencia, que hizo prestamos a los Reyes desde 1489 a 1502, según se refleja en los Manuales de Consejos y Regis-

tros de Cartas Reales de aquel Ayuntamiento. Los préstamos se hicieron siempre sobre joyas reales. (Valladar, 1988). En aquella época, como hoy en día, era común que los gobernantes gestionaran préstamos para financiar sus operaciones. En el siglo XIV, el Rey de Inglaterra pudo haber contribuido a la quiebra de la empresa florentina, la Casa de Peruzzi en 1343 por los préstamos excesivos obtenido de esta.

Volviendo a don Cristóbal, con todo lo que se ha investigado y escrito, es muy poco lo que se conoce sobre su persona. No se sabe si alguna vez capitaneó una nave o si surcó los mares como marino o comerciante. Sabemos que llegó a Portugal a consecuencia de un naufragio en 1476 y allí permaneció por espacio de varios años. Durante su estadía pudo constatar la actividad marítima de los portugueses y es muy probable que viajara a la Guinea ecuatorial, emporio del comercio lusitano. Irrespectivamente de la capacidad en que viajó, sacó mucho provecho a sus experiencias en ese país.

Durante el siglo XV, Portugal y Venecia eran los únicos dos países de Europa en los cuales el estado controlaba toda la actividad marítima. La energía vital de los países y ciudades estados europeos era consumida por eventos internos. España, por ejemplo, en su guerra de reconquista. Por tal razón no estaban equipados ni tenían interés en la empresa Colonial. En aquellos centros, el espíritu mercantil apoyado por la curiosidad intelectual y la euforia de aventura romántica era empresa privada cuyos fines no era provechoso hacer público. Esa confidencialidad, sin embargo era extensiva a las empresas mercantiles de Portugal.

Si Colón se involucró en el tráfico marítimo entre Lisboa y la Guinea ecuatorial, obviamente acumuló conocimiento como era usual para los marinos de aquella época, quienes aprendieron su oficio de la experiencia acumulada a través de generaciones. El conocimiento adquirido por los marinos no era el resultado de escritos o lecturas sino la transmisión oral y la experiencia en el mar. Los métodos de navegación practicados por capitanes y pilotos, al igual que los maestros constructores de embarcaciones, no estaban postulados en principios científicos sino en la experiencia personal y la observación. De igual forma, anterior al uso de los portulanos (un tipo de carta marina) creada durante el siglo XV, la cartografía de la época no era para asistir a la navegación, sino una mera representación gráfica de relatos medievales que contenían imágenes, tanto reales como ficticias, resultado de hallazgos puramente imaginarios. Esto era el resultado de “la decadencia y oscurantismo de los conocimientos geográficos y de cartografía de la Alta Edad Media en Europa” (Pinheiro Marques, 1994: 15). Durante sus años en Portugal, Colón debió familiarizarse, directa o indirectamente con una zona marítima que cubría desde las ciudades y puertos del Atlántico norte y la costa de Flandes hasta los archipiélagos de las Azores y las Canarias. El historiador francés Pierre Chaunu (1982: 63) encuentra de lo más curioso el hallazgo de estos dos archipiélagos en el siglo XIV. Dice:

La casi simultaneidad de descubrimiento llama necesariamente la atención. Marca la gran fecha de nacimiento de la navegación de altura, al

fin libre de las costas. La distancia que separa Flores o Corvo, la más occidental de las Azores de la más oriental de la Canarias, Fuerteventura o Lanzarote, es el orden de 2200 Km. ¿Se ha medido bien la talla relativa de este pedazo de océano al que hemos propuesto llamar Mediterráneo atlántico? Alrededor de dos millones de kilómetros cuadrados, de golpe y porrazo, por el simple juego de las mayores distancias a las que se arriesgaba un cabotaje liberado de la costa, a la búsqueda de vientos de popa, entre 1320 y 1350, el espacio marítimo abalizado del Occidente cristiano se acrecentó en dos terceras de un Mediterráneo. Ante tal cambio y una heterogeneidad espacial, la simultaneidad de descubrimiento adquiere todo un valor. Ya desde un principio hubo un cambio de ritmo en el orden del descubrimiento.

Solamente cuando se consideran los descubrimientos en una época tan temprana es que puede apreciarse la importancia de la navegación y lo poco que conocemos de sus consecuencias. Para la mayor parte de los historiadores, la exploración del Atlántico no tiene gran atractivo porque entienden que la falta aparente de beneficio económico no justificaba los riesgos de lanzarse a la mar. Después de todo, a Juan Caboto se le gratificó por el rey de Inglaterra con meramente diez libras esterlinas por su “nueva isla”. (Quinn, 1974: 137). Esta, se dio a conocer posteriormente como el continente norteamericano.

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Veamos, sin embargo, que está ocurriendo en el Atlántico. Además de los portugueses, los castellanos, los mallorquines y los genoveses están surcando las aguas del Atlántico hacia oeste y hacia el sur combinando sus empresas comerciales con aventuras exploratorias entre los años 1291 y 1312. La cronología de esos viajes comienza con los hermanos Vivaldi quienes zarpan de Génova hacia la costa occidental africana cerca de las Islas Canarias. Estas islas son escala forzada en los avances hacia otras partes. En el año 1312, otro genovés, de nombre Lancelloto Malocello, llega a las islas estableciendo un puesto en una de las Canarias la cual todavía lleva su nombre, Lanzarote. Varios años más tarde, mallorquines y catalanes transportan religiosos quienes tiene la misión apostólica de la conversión de los nativos, los guanches, cuya llegada a estas islas es todavía un misterio, especulándose que pudieron haber sido vikingos. En 1402, el normando Jean de Bethencourt, sale a la conquista de las Canarias con el endoso de Enrique II de Castilla, quien a cambio de ese apoyo exige sumisión de parte del conquistador. De esta forma el archipiélago adviene a formar parte del reino de Castilla.

La isla de Madeira estaba Colónizada para el año 1425, lo que presupone que había sido visitada con anterioridad a esta fecha. De las Azores se sabe por la documentación, que habían sido visitadas por genoveses a partir de la segunda mitad del siglo XIV y recibido marinos y Colónizadores portugueses, no más tarde del 1475. Por otro

lado, las islas de Cabo Verde fueron inicialmente conocidas por los genoveses, quienes al servicio del rey de Portugal comienzan su Colónización para el 1460.

En la historiografía europea, prácticamente no se le presta atención a la pesca o a la caza de la ballena, lo cual, por más de doscientos años antes del 1492, se ejercía extensamente en el Atlántico norte por daneses, noruegos, bretones y en particular los vascos. Esta actividad no era casual ni puramente incidental. Jenkins en su *History of the whale fisheries* (1971), indica que los barcos balleneros surcaban los mares desde antes de la invención o el uso de la brújula. Lo hacían en mar abierto hacia el oeste y se dice que para el año 1372 habían llegado a los Bancos de Terra Nova. Esta información fue verificada por González Echegaray (1978) y por De Terán (1949) en su examen de un documento en los Archivos Departamentales de Basses-Pyrénées. Las ballenas de Terra Nova se conocían como Sarda para distinguirlas de las que se encontraban en la Bahía de Vizcaya.

Continuando sus viajes, los vascos llegaron al Golfo de San Lorenzo donde descubrieron otra especie de cachalote que identificaron como la “Gran Bahía”. Cuando el Golfo de San Lorenzo se empobreció, los balleneros procedieron hacia las aguas heladas de Groenlandia donde cazaban la ballena groenlandesa que para ellos era la misma del Golfo de San Lorenzo (Jenkins, 64). Otras fuentes, tal como Bailac (1827), indica que los vascos habían llegado a Escocia en el siglo XIV y a Islandia para 1412 (Ruspoli, 1955). Una vez en Islandia era solo una corta travesía hasta el norte de América. Arqueológicamente se ha comprobado la existencia de las fábricas de procesamiento de aceite de ballena en América del norte para finales del siglo XV y principios de XVI. En 1412, de acuerdo a Ducéré (1982) había 20 barcos balleneros en Groenlandia, habiendo llegado a la boca del Golfo de San Lorenzo. Para 1497, ya estaban firmemente establecidos en Terra Nova (Gonzales Echegaray, 1978).

La exclusión de la pesca y la actividad ballenera en la historiografía podía excusarse ante la escasa documentación existente. Pero en esencia, como expresa Ballesteros (1954) antes de las flotas mercantes, surgieron las flotas pesqueras. La evolución natural es que de las últimas surgieron las de índole comercial. La razón es obvia. La necesidad de obtener alimentación es esencial y requiere los esfuerzos más elementales de cualquier grupo humano para obtenerla.

El aspecto mercantil era otro cantar. En cuanto a Portugal se refiere, hasta 1443 el comercio y la navegación en el Atlántico era gratis. Cualquiera podía montar una expedición a Marruecos o a las costas de África occidental para comerciar, tomar botín o piratear, mientras la corona recibiera un quinto de lo obtenido. A partir de esa fecha se convirtió en un monopolio de la corona (De Olivera Márquez, n.d.). Este control fue ratificado por el Papa quien otorgaba un endoso pontificio mediante edictos conocidos como Bulas a partir de 1452, para garantizar la titularidad contra otros monarcas cristianos.

Era necesario constituir un derecho de ocupación y posesión en esos parajes. El Infante Enrique de Portugal, quien en las tierras vagas de las islas atlánticas *res nullius*, aplicaba el derecho casi feudal de la tradición portuguesa, ejercía el dominio sobre las tierras descubiertas, repartiéndose con la Orden de Cristo, los rendimientos eclesiásticos de ellas. ¿No eran esos descubrimientos una nueva forma de conquista? ¿No eran estas empresas una continuación de las cruzadas? Constituida la base para la soberanía, era necesario hallar una forma de explotación. Como su potencial económico y organización eran insuficientes, la corona portuguesa recurrió a la concesión de permisos o privilegios a cambio de una participación. Estos privilegios se concedían de dos formas: una, si la iniciativa privada incurría con los gastos del equipo y el viaje, Enrique recibía 25% de la ganancia. Si por el contrario, Enrique corría con los gastos, las ganancias se dividían por igual.

Estos negocios eran una extensión del sistema feudal. Durante las décadas de 1460, 1470 y 1480 se emitieron varias cartas de privilegios a navegantes, o confirmando estas a sus herederos, los derechos señoriales sobre islas o tierra firme que se asumía haber sido vistas. Algunas de esas empresas fracasaron. Una en particular, que prosperó, fue la de los nobles, Joao Vaz Corte Real y Alvaro Martins Homen, en 1447, parece haber logrado la llegada a Groenlandia o Terra Nova, la cual llamaron, la tierra del Bacalao (Terra dos Bacalhaus). Otros le siguieron en los ochenta. Uno de ellos Fernao Dulmo en el 1486, quien obtuvo un contrato para navegar 40 días fuera de las Azores para buscar islas (Coutinho, 1951).

La idea de descubrir tierra a occidente, de acuerdo a Coutinho, el principal historiador marítimo portugués, es anterior al nacimiento de Colón. Harris (1884), otra de las fuentes colombinas más importante, menciona unas veinte veces las tentativas desde 1431 de descubrimiento de tierras a occidente. Entre ellos Diego Tieve en 1452, Fernan Tele en 1475 y Joao Vaz Corte Real, a quien la tradición le atribuye el descubrimiento de Norteamérica en 1472 (Coutinho). En todo caso, no hay duda de que llegada la década del noventa, la creencia sobre la existencia de tierras al oeste estaba ampliamente establecida, especialmente con aquellos residentes de las Azores y Madeira. Todo tipo de comentarios circulaban, ya no fundamentados en leyendas tradicionales, sino en la experiencia de dos o tres generaciones de marinos. Cortesão, en su obra, *Os descobrimentos pre-colombinos dos portugueses* (1997), calcula que desde que los portugueses comenzaron a sus viajes hasta la Guinea, sus navíos surcaron las aguas atlánticas más de 3000 veces antes de 1492. De acuerdo a De las Casas (Lib. I cap. 13) Cristóbal Colón escribió en un libro que hablando con hombres de la mar, personas diversas que navegaban los mares de occidente habían visto o tenido experiencias que corroboraban la existencia de islas hacia el poniente. Uno fue Martin Viceynste, quien se hallaba a 450 leguas al poniente del Cabo de San Vicente. Otro quien le contó sobre el particular, fue Pero Correa, con cuñado de Colón. En la isla de Flores, una de las Azores, le contaron que habían encontrado dos cuerpos en la playa con facciones que

no eran de cristianos. Así mismo relató que un Antonio Leme, de la isla de Madeira, quien en uno de sus viajes “bien al poniente” había visto islas por donde andaba. En otra ocasión, dice Colón, que un vecino de Madeira fue a pedirle al rey en 1484, una carabela para descubrir cierta tierra que veía cada año.

De las Casas afirma que Colón había visto cartas de marear, que ponían islas a más de 200 leguas al poniente de las Canarias y de las Azores. En una ocasión salió uno de nombre Diego Detiene, con un piloto del puerto de Palos, Pedro de Velasco, quien por las condiciones del mar sospechaba se hallaban islas cerca, pero no prosiguieron porque era tarde en la época. Eso ocurrió 40 años antes de la partida de Colón. Esta versión concuerda, de acuerdo a De las Casas: con “lo que ahora llamamos la del Bacallaos”. Otro piloto también portugués, Vicente Díaz, también vio una isla que creyó era verdaderamente tierra.

“Y todo esto dice Cristóbal Colón en sus libros de memorias que le dijo el mismo hermano, Francisco Lazana, y le añadió más, que había visto dos hijos del capitán que descubrió la dicha isla de Tercera, que se llamaban Miguel y Gaspar Corte Real, i en diversos tiempos a buscar aquella tierra; y que se perdieron en la demanda el uno en pos del otro”.
(De las Casas, I, cap. XIII).

Colón también había recibido confirmación de la gente de Gomera y de Hierro y de las Azores quienes afirmaban y juraban que ellos veían tierras todos los años. Durante la época de Colón se llevaba a cabo una extensa actividad marítima entre Lisboa y Bristol. Numerosos pilotos de origen genovés y portugués navegaban en barcos ingleses.

Debemos recordar que los portugueses a su regreso a Lisboa de los viajes a la Guinea tenían que navegar en un arco amplio hacia el oeste en el Atlántico, porque los vientos y las corrientes no les permitían subir a lo largo de la costa africana. Los portugueses descubrieron que en su viaje de regreso del África, cuando se alejaban de la costa africana con el viento de popa podían regresar a Lisboa en una ruta mucho más satisfactoria. Navegar en dirección norte a lo largo de la costa, se había claramente establecido, era extremadamente difícil y arriesgado, debido a las condiciones del océano en esas partes. Viajando en una dirección noroeste hacia el medio del Atlántico se convirtió en una rutina y ese curso se dio a conocer como la “volta del mar largo” o la “volta de Guinea” como le llamaban los marinos portugueses. “Esta navegación larga”, de acuerdo a Coutinho (1951), conocida de los antiguos era hecha a merced de los monzones que en nuestro verano soplan de sudoeste y en el invierno de nordeste. Los portugueses del siglo XV obligados a la navegación larga tuvieron que crear para el Atlántico, la ciencia náutica. Fue procurando al oeste vientos favorables para virar hacia Lisboa, que llegaran al mar de las islas. Y fueron primero que otras naciones (Coutinho, Vol. 1 p. 291). Algunas de las autoridades portuguesas en el campo sostie-

nen que fue de esta forma, en el viaje de regreso de la Guinea a Lisboa, que las islas Azores fueron descubiertas (Coutinho, 1951).

Navegar el Atlántico no era una nueva experiencia, como hemos visto. Se estaba llevando a cabo por cerca de doscientos años, principalmente por los portugueses y los genoveses. Si Colón tiene una deuda de agradecimiento con alguien, es con aquellos que le precedieron por generaciones, probando las aguas del Mar Océano, haciendo posible su navegación y retorno seguro. Prácticamente ninguno de los estudiosos de Colón toma en consideración lo preciso del derrotero tornado en su regreso del primer viaje entre su destino final en el Caribe y la llegada a las Azores. Pero, si esas personas trazaran la “volta del mar largo” tendrían que concluir que Colón regresaba por una ruta que él o sus pilotos tenían que conocer. De las Casas (1965) reporta que el Rey Juan de Portugal consideró que a su regreso Colón había tornado una ruta que forzosamente debía ser la de Guinea, o la de las islas de Cabo Verde, o de una de las Azores. Aparentemente, él había ordenado, en todas esas partes y sitios sobre las cuales el regia, que si Colón regresaba por cualquiera de esas rutas se le apresara y regresara a Lisboa encadenado. Para sostener una opinión de esa naturaleza debía estar sustentada en hechos que Colón revelara al rey cual era el derrotero que tomaría cuando su empresa fue discutida en Lisboa vario años antes.

Otro factor importante en el desarrollo marítimo del Atlántico en esta época lo es Inglaterra, isla rodeada de mar. Esta se dio a conocer desde temprano por el comercio marítimo, en particular a través del puerto de Bristol, es su costa occidental. No solamente se distingue la ciudad por el comercio marítimo, sino por la construcción de embarcaciones y la capacidad de sus marinos. Todos elementos esenciales para la navegación de altura. Los Tellers Rolls de Easter del año 1465, tienden a implicar, de acuerdo a Quinn (1935), que Eduardo IV de Inglaterra pudo haber estado financiando viajes de exploración marítima por el Atlántico. Hay documentos que reflejan ciertas sumas que fueron pagadas a personas designadas como “explorators”, “explorators itineratus” y “explorator regis”. Esas personas habían sido despachadas a “extra partes marino” y a “ad partes extras”. Mucha secretividad parece haber existido en relación a estos viajes, si tomamos en consideración el empleo de términos como “in certis materiis secretis” o “supra domini regis”.

Existe evidencia que el 18 de junio de 1480, se le concedió licencia a un caballero de nombre Croft y otros mercaderes de Bristol para comerciar durante tres años en “cualquier parte”, que probablemente era la isla de Brasil. Esa masa terrestre aparece en varias cartas marinas a partir de 1325. La isla de Brasil probablemente se refiere al continente norteamericano. En un documento hallado por Vigneras (1955) se indica que se considera como cierto que el cabo de tierra localizado por Juan Caboto en 1497 había sido descubierto “en otros tiempos” por marinos de Bristol y se creía que era parte de tierra firme. El texto de la carta dice:

Se presume como cierto averse fallado e descubierto en otros tiempos el Cabo de dicha tierra por los de Bristol que fallaron el Brasil como de ello tiene noticia Vra Sr la cual se dezia la Ysla de Brasil e presumese e creese ser tierra firme la que fallaron los de Bristol.
(pp. 507-509).

Esta información es posteriormente corroborada por la noticia que el 15 de julio 1480, un navío partió de Bristol hacia la Isla de Brasil al oeste de Hybernia (Irlanda) y el 6 de julio de 1481 los barcos, George y el Trinity de Bristol también zarparon hacia la isla de Brasil (Quinn, 1935). Irlanda e Hybernia están localizadas entre las latitudes 51° 35" N y 55° 20" N. A esa altura no hay otra tierra al oeste excepto Labrador.

Estos eventos están ocurriendo mientras Colón se encontraba en Lisboa. Si tomamos en consideración que el tráfico marítimo entre Bristol y Lisboa era continuo, que muchos marinos en las naves de Bristol eran genoveses, compueblanos de Colón, no es nada de improbable que este conoció de todas esas actividades que se estaban llevando a cabo. A tal punto que en su tercer viaje de acuerdo a De las Casas (Lib. I, cap.CXXX), Colón enfoca su proa más al sur porque quiere confirmar lo que dice el rey Joao II que en esa dirección “dentro de sus límites había de hallar costa y tierra firme”.

Por el poder que ejerce la Iglesia, el rey de Portugal gestiona autorización papal para aclarar los privilegios de Castilla en el Atlántico y para ampliar la donación de territorios que se hizo a si mismo. Portugal busca el endoso papal para garantizar su título sobre los hallazgos en el Atlántico. Esto lo consigue con la bula *Romanus Pontifex*, donándole a Portugal todas las tierras descubiertas. Después, obtiene la Bula *Inter cetera*, que le concede privilegios espirituales y temporales sobre sus dominios. Es una ampliación de la Bula anterior que señala la dirección sur de los descubrimientos “*usque indos*”, sentando las bases para la expansión de los territorios portugueses. En 1479-80, Castilla firma el tratado de Alcámbora-Toledo con Portugal que le concede exclusividad a Castilla sobre las Canarias. Este tratado es ratificado con la Bula *De ternis regis* de 1481.

Con la salida de Colón, Joao II se apresura a proteger lo suyo reclamando otra Bula, la *Eximiae Devotionis*, el 3 de mayo de 1492, para aclarar los privilegios de Castilla, y más tarde, el 26 de septiembre de 1493, obtiene la Bula *Dudus siquidem*, que amplía la Bula de las donaciones para evitar que los barcos castellanos, navegando hacia el poniente “descubran” lo que le pertenece a Portugal. Como si esto fuera poco, también negocia con Castilla el Tratado de Tordesillas en 1494 para correr la Línea divisoria del mundo entre ellos, a 370 leguas más al oeste. ¿Esa extensión de su parte del mundo fue puramente al azar?

La empresa colombina de 1492 se plasma en un momento que cuenta con todos los elementos esenciales, la tecnología y el conocimiento necesario para cualquier perso-

na llevarlo a cabo. Existían embarcaciones aptas para el proyecto, los marinos eran hombres experimentados y conocedores del mar y sus embarcaciones. Tenían conocimiento de astronomía y de navegación de altura. Colón había navegado y se había asesorado con los peritos del mar portugueses. De las Casas (cap. XXVII) ampliando sobre lo que expresaba Oviedo, dice:

“cierto haber sido los portugueses los primeros que esta manera de navegar hallaron y usaron; y de ellos los españoles la tomamos...no se les quite su merecido, antes le damos las gracias y porque Cristóbal Colón y su hermano Bartolomé Colón en aquellos tiempos vivían en Portugal, allende de lo que ellos sabían de teórica y de experiencia de navegación, en Portugal se debieron en esta facultad perfeccionar.”

Tanto así, que las Capitulaciones obtenidas de los monarcas castellanos se ajustan al modelo establecido por los portugueses. No debemos olvidar tampoco que fueron los Pinzón, los pilotos expertos de Palos y sus marinos quienes a través de sus servicios y valor lograron que Colón cruzara el Atlántico y regresara a Sevilla. Mientras tanto, ajeno a lo que hacía Colón, hay varios individuos surcando los mares, navegando en distintas direcciones. Entre ellos, Juan Caboto, quien se encontraba en alguna parte en las costas de América del Norte; los Corte Real están por las aguas de Labrador; Vasco de Gama se encontraba presto para zarpar hacia la India y escasamente varios años más tarde, le estará dando la vuelta al mundo. Colón fue un eslabón en; una de varias cadenas de eventos en la expansión europea. ¿Fue entonces, el hallazgo de aquellas islas en 1492, en el Mar Tenebroso, como le llamaban aquellos que se quedaban en tierra, un evento extraordinario? Ustedes decidirán!

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DIVESTITURE IN THE CARIBBEAN POLITICAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY: *IN THE MIDST OF IT* BY ANR ROBINSON

KAREN SANDERSON COLE

UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES, ST AUGUSTINE

The political autobiography can be conceptualized as a textual space that allows for the study of the intersection of character, motivation and context in the construction of the leader. The society from which the autobiography emerges is significant. Fludernik believes that within a post-colonial environment, the means through which the other becomes the protagonist of the text are important indices of the reconfiguring of identity. Taking the idea of conceptual metaphors as developed by Lakoff and Johnson in *Metaphors We Live By*, a central argument of the present paper is that writers of political autobiographies' 'self-concept' is revealed through the conceptual metaphors that structure their presentation of their story which in turn become a strategic device influencing the selection of events and the narrative strategies used to convey them. In this article, I will use metaphor theory as well as several other tools of discourse analysis to unpack the final sections of *In the Midst of It*, the autobiography of former Trinidad and Tobago Prime Minister and later President ANR Robinson.

Unlike the U.S system, which allows for a maximum of two consecutive terms for presidents, the Westminster system, which is the one practiced in the Anglophone Caribbean, allows prime ministers to remain in political office under two conditions: for as long as their party allows them to remain as political leader, and as long as the populace continues to vote the party into office. Even in this system, Bynander and 't Hart argue

there is a limit: “However good and powerful they may be, all leaders have a “sell by” date. They get old and weary, and sick” (p. 707).

Divestiture is defined by Gronn and Ribbins as being of two types: “With voluntary, planned divestiture, for example, the leader decides (usually by retirement or resignation) to relinquish an appointment. With involuntary divestiture (resulting, perhaps, from the abolition of office, a coup, or death), the decision is made for, rather than by, the leader” (p. 467). Divestiture is often the stage within which the authors of political autobiographies become focused on their political legacy. A preoccupation with legacy is characteristic of the political autobiography because at the moment of writing, the protagonist is often contemplating the end of his/her tenure in office and perhaps the aches and pains of old age. Re-identification with the central metaphor that governs their leadership philosophy, an appeal to cultural values-especially religion-and a restating of accomplishments are also important.

Divestiture in the narrative of ANR Robinson is marked by three significant events – the defeat of the party he led as Prime Minister (although he retained his own seat) in the general elections of 1991, his role as “Kingmaker” in deciding the incumbent in the 1995 general elections and his subsequent assumption of office as President of the Republic. The strategy of the writer is to continue stressing his power on the local and international scene. Bynander and ‘t Hart observe that “After departure from the top job, former leaders – particularly recently exited ones – may still be considerable forces on the political stage” (p. 716). The narrative thus stresses Robinson’s regional and international activity rather than a connection with the people.

Before these are mentioned, however, the narrative moves through the psychological trauma that Robinson undergoes with his loss of national office in 1991. In an e-article on “Five ways to deal with loss of power at work”, author Anumeha Chaturved, details five strategies for those who find themselves in this position: look within, seek clarification, reach out to friends, refrain from negativity, look for options. Seemingly, along this vein, Mark Freeman points to the therapeutic nature of the autobiographical narrative, no doubt particularly from the perspective of divestiture, which “ customarily involves the attempt to interpret the past in the light

of one's present understanding, interest and desires" (p. 16). In his autobiography, ANR Robinson first tries to come to terms with his loss of power itself and his feelings of being betrayed by his country, then he confronts his own position within his political party, and finally he envisions his next steps – politically and professionally.

Conceptually the loss of the 1991 general elections is conveyed through a number of images within the narrative. The futility that the protagonist feels is summarized in the metaphors: HISTORY IS A WRITING SURFACE and POLITICAL PARTIES ARE DISCOURSES WRITTEN ON THAT SURFACE. This image is conveyed in the reference to Robinson's political party – the NAR being "virtually wiped off the political slate of Trinidad and Tobago" (Robinson: 198). The statement refers to the devastating extent to which the elections remove his party as a force on the national scene, by expressing its loss in terms of a discourse which once dominated the historical/political space (the slate) being completely removed from that space (erased from the slate). That the effect of the loss continues to reverberate in the life of the members of the party is expressed through the metaphor: A MAJOR ELECTORAL LOSS IS A NATURAL DISASTER, given that in the 1991 elections most of the members of the NAR were not only removed from national office but also from political representation of their constituencies. The magnitude of this loss is evident in the observation that "only the two Parliamentary Representatives from Tobago, Pam Nicholson and myself...survived the real avalanche of destruction that took place in the General Election" (p. 200). The metaphor: GREAT LEADERS ARE MARTYRS is also invoked here. The extent to which the protagonist feels that his career as a politician has involved immense personal sacrifice is conveyed through his comparison of himself to Winston Churchill. "I remembered the fate of Winston Churchill, the leader of Britain in the Second World War, and what he said – how he had assumed leadership of the country in its most critical stage and had led it to victory in the World War and having achieved victory, he was subsequently fired by the electorate in the next General Election (p. 200)."

The narrative continues to invoke martyrdom as Robinson expresses his belief that the work he had done to stabilize the economy of the country

remained unappreciated, even while a “[...] solid corps of members of the party rallied around me and supported me, and while a few felt that my leadership had played a major role in the collapse of the NAR and the loss of the election, others had no doubt that I had stimulated the country and that I had provided the kind of leadership that was required” (p. 201). The protagonist emphasises that, just as is often the case in natural disasters and acts of personal sacrifice, family, friends and religion provided crucial support to see him through. Robinson invokes family and religious values as the foundation that molded him as a person and as a politician through the metaphors: FAMILY IS A STRUCTURAL FOUNDATION, and RELIGION IS A STRUCTURAL FOUNDATION:

When the NAR lost the election in 1991, I knew it would be a serious disappointment not only for the members of the party but also on the part of members of my own family, especially my dear mother who had been so supportive in all my efforts. When the results came in, I immediately returned from my constituency in Tobago to my home in Trinidad and embraced my mother who resorted, as she always did, to prayer to God and sought to console me. I joined in the prayers that were offered. Members of my family were also there and supported me. Most of all, they remembered the attempted coup. (p. 201)

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The excerpt shows the protagonist attempting to frame his loss in a manageable way, in what Vonèche proposes is the tendency of “Autobiographies, like any storytelling, [to] allow their writers to locate themselves within the formality of narrative (triumph over adversity; tragic defeat sustained with courage...) and thus to regain some control over what is happening” (p. 219).

The protagonist is also careful to show his humanity – frailty - even within the context of his family. His love and appreciation for the support of his wife are unabashedly acknowledged. The protagonist positions himself as one who, through the support of his family and faithful followers, is able to withstand the tragedy of defeat “with courage”. Bynander and ‘t Hart also argue that “the wearing down of political leader’s personal power base, his perceived public communication strengths and his connectedness to old and new generations of voters is eventually going

to erode his or her ability to project authority within the party, and when applicable the government” (p. 708). It is not surprising therefore that the loss of the elections is also followed by pressure from the NAR for Robinson to resign. He discusses his resignation, however, by extending the metaphor of martyrdom and self-sacrifice:

...recognising that a significant section of the NAR was beginning to feel that it was time for a change, ... I tendered my resignation, once more. There was another leader. However, that leader did not last very long and I was recalled again to the leadership of the party. Attempts were made to revive the NAR, especially starting from Tobago as the base once more. (Robinson: 201)

Robinson then goes on to frame his resignation by focusing on what he recounts as his stellar achievements, in order to minimize any sense of his responsibility for the loss of the 1991 election. Brereton argues that Robinson takes no responsibility for the dissolution of the NAR. In the above extract, the distancing of the protagonist from responsibility is seen in the devolving of agency to the “significant section of the NAR” who “feel that it was time for a change”; resigning therefore is presented as an attempt to selflessly acquiesce to the wishes of the majority and not the result of an acceptance of loss. Robinson resigns and a new leader is appointed. The narrative notes that the new leadership is short-lived and Robinson is recalled to serve as leader but in a party that has vastly reduced power on the political scene.

As mentioned above, loss of office gives the protagonist time to reflect on his outstanding achievements locally and abroad:

I had time to reflect on my record, how I had been in the movement for the establishment of an International Criminal Court from the early 1970s, with Professor Robert Woetzel, and I reflected also on how I came on the international scene... I also remembered how I was engaged in human rights at home and in the struggle for internal self-government for Tobago; how I had got involved in promoting Tobago’s case on the Caribbean scene and also internationally. I remembered how I had been discovered by a representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations... I also remembered other conferences to which I was subsequently

invited by the United Nations and that I was invited to be a consultant to the Secretary General of the United Nations. (p. 203)

In terms of leadership models Bynander and 't Hart offer analysis that would seem to suggest that faced with the issue of succession, the protagonist chooses to adopt a consensus-seeking reactive approach, defined by “non-interfering in ongoing successor selection process and accepting its results” (p. 713). These memories serve to reinforce his sense of his own importance outside of the sphere of Trinidad and Tobago politics. This is in keeping with one of the steps identified by Chaturved above – looking within.

After Robinson firmly establishes his continued significance in the professional field of international law and summarizing his past achievements with regard to Tobago self-governance the narrative moves attention to his role once again at the centre of Trinidad and Tobago national politics. Here and elsewhere we see the metaphor: HISTORY IS A STAGE being used by the protagonist, especially in reference to his initial positioning as one of the leading characters at centre-stage as Prime Minister, then his removal from centre-stage as well as from the cast of main characters by the elections in 1991. Here the *it* that the protagonist is *in the midst of* is the theatre of history.

Robinson, however, does not spend the rest of his life waiting in the wings. He moves back to centre-stage when he assumes a critical role in the resolution of the conflict that arises when the elections of 1995 result in a deadlock, with the leading parties – the PNM and the UNC – holding an equal number of seats each. The NAR with two seats, is thus thrust ‘in the midst of it’ (the title of the book) holding the key to decide which party would form the government. This position strategically shifts the balance of power back to the NAR and into Robinson’s hands. Robinson points to his singular importance at this juncture by posing as prophet: “I predicted that the NAR would hold the balance of power. I doubt that anyone took me seriously, but so it was... As leader of the NAR, it was left for me to decide who would be Prime Minister, after consultation with members of my Executive” (p. 205).

This resurgent national prominence that the protagonist thus regains is underlined in the different grammatical constructions that he utilizes to highlight his power in the above passage, such as: “I predicted”, “As leader of the NAR” and “it was left to me to decide”. These constructions emphasize how he becomes the lynchpin in any Trinidad and Tobago government.

The protagonist is not in any way reluctant to emphasise his agency in this instance. The ambiguity and textual ellipsis that will characterise his account further on in the book of the events that lead up to his assuming the presidency of Trinidad and Tobago are absent here. He therefore clearly states the reasons why in 1995 he decides to give the two seats to Panday’s UNC to form the government:

...The PNM, which represented ... the population mainly of African origin, had been in power for more than thirty years. The UNC... represented the population of East Indian origin that had never had anyone as Prime Minister. I thought that historical justice required that there be some change... the East Indian section of the population should have the opportunity, on this occasion, of having a Prime Minister from amongst them. So I felt the decision should go in favour of the UNC. My colleagues agreed... (p. 205)

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Robinson’s role as “Kingmaker” gives him the opportunity to once again have his political discourse re-inscribed on the national slate, after having been ‘wiped off’ in 1991. Once more, his agency, authority and ‘self-sacrificing’ values are strategically emphasized in the constructions that he uses to explain his reasons to support the UNC rather than the PNM. The decision is portrayed, not as one made by his party, but instead as one that he himself made and was later endorsed by the NAR.

The enabling of the UNC to form the government breathes new life into Robinson’s post-1991 political career. When asked by the new UNC Prime Minister Panday what role he would like in the cabinet Robinson hides neither his ambition nor his sense of importance:

I said I would like to be Minister Extraordinaire and Minister of Tobago Affairs. Minister Extraordinaire was a title that had never been used before – it was one that I invented, but Minister of Tobago Affairs was one

which had been. I thought the combination of the two would indicate my very special position in the Panday Cabinet” (p. 206).

The protagonist’s power in the new government is referenced in him deciding what he would like to be and in power to invent and combine titles. There are rumblings of dissatisfaction, however, in the new alliance between Panday and Robinson. These are suggested by the decision of the protagonist “to be very careful and not to appear to be wanting to upstage the Prime Minister, in any respect whatsoever” (p. 206). It should be emphasised, however, that he frames this as his decision alone, suggesting that, according to his voice as narrator, both real power and the prime minister’s peace of mind remain in Robinson’s own hands. Edward Seaga writes in his own autobiography that: “Former prime ministers are restricted in choice if they are to uphold the status of the positions they hold. Big corporations shun former heads of government as person who, it is felt, would be virtually impossible to dismiss and difficult to argue with. The public sector would feel uncomfortable with the employment of a former prime minister which would subject the former ‘boss’ to taking orders from former ‘underlings’. This could be intimidating” (II: 354). Robinson’s expressed desire not to upstage Prime Minister Panday is, however, frustrated because of “[my] extensive experience both internally and externally, my views and the way I presented them, however unassumingly, had great weight in the Cabinet. It appeared, on many occasions, that members of the Cabinet were more willing to support my views than those of Mr Panday” (p. 206).

A number of adjectives and adverbs are used to establish a contrast between the present and the past Prime Ministers, with Panday being consistently portrayed as lacking in the areas where Robinson shines. According to Bynander and ‘t Hart, “No successor can afford to be seen to be dependent on his predecessor in any shape or form. This is why it is more likely for former leaders to complain that their offers to help out are being ignored by their successor than the reverse. The successor often has more to lose than to win from a close and overt continued association with his predecessor” (p. 715). The disintegrating relationship between Mr. Panday and the protagonist is therefore presented as the result of the

incumbent's lack of experience in government when compared to the protagonist's.

In contrast to Robinson's open and unambiguous remarks concerning his trajectory from defeat as Prime Minister in 1991 to "Kingmaker" in 1995, his account of the events leading to his appointment as President of Trinidad and Tobago are much more circumspect and ambiguous, with crucial moments in the process left unexplained. Brereton observes that there are key events that do not receive critical explanation within the text (personal interview). In this respect, the narrative does not fulfil one of the expectations of the genre proposed by Gamble: "The politician's career is reconstructed so as to vindicate the actions and the judgments for which the politician was responsible" (p. 143). The protagonist explains that President Hassanali initially approached him saying that he (Hassanali) had been offered another term as President but he would only accept if he [Robinson] and Panday agreed to his re-appointment. Robinson offered no response: "I merely listened to what he had to say" (207). In the next few sentences the passive is used to hide the agency of whatever action propels the protagonist into the presidency: "It was proposed that I be the next President of Trinidad and Tobago" (Robinson: 207).

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Prior to this the protagonist does not offer any indication of his desire to be president. In fact, the narrative continues to detail his work in the international arena – in the establishment of the International Criminal Court, in poverty eradication and in building "up the status and effectiveness of the Tobago House of Assembly" (Robinson: 207). The only previous reference that suggests interest in the president's office is a categorical denial of deal making: "It has been said, by some, that I had made a deal with Mr. Panday that I should be made President of Trinidad and Tobago, after a while. Let the records show that I made no deal" (p. 206). However, the narrative offers no rationale to explain Robinson's acceptance of the Presidency, nor does it provide a basis for his refusal to answer Mr. Hassanali's request for his approval/disapproval. The protagonist's reticence on these matters supports Marching's claim that, "Writing an autobiography thus becomes a matter of selecting some events in one's life, of emphasizing things that the subject deemed to be appropriate for public consumption. One has to edit, select and construct the self

which is represented in the text” (p.54). It is thus clear that the protagonist wants to cultivate an image of himself as a wise and self-sacrificing statesman, rather than a wily politician. This impetus is aptly summarized by Bruner: “When somebody tells you his life...it is always a cognitive achievement rather than a through-the-clear-crystal recital of something irrevocably given” (pp.692-693).

This less-than-informative strategy is applied to yet another critical issue. We are left to our own devices to explain Robinson’s tie-breaking decision to award the position of Prime Minister to Panday’s rival Manning when the 2001 election once again resulted in a hung parliament, with the two major parties receiving an equal number of seats. In this case, the protagonist offers very vague references, while expressing “surprise” that,

a great commotion took place because of my reference to moral and spiritual values, which was really an excerpt from the constitution itself....It was not only because of the Constitution, but also because of the oaths of office which Members of Parliament had taken that I made the decision. After all, I had no doubt that, if members had adhered to their oath of office, they would advise me to appoint Manning as the Prime Minister. It was on that basis that I acted, and took the decision to appoint Mr Manning as Prime Minister of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago... (Robinson: 212)

But what precisely are the passages from the oaths that one party adhered to and the other not? The narrative does not say and fails to offer an explicit rationale for Robinson’s choice. Abbot notes that “narrative is an act of the opening and closing of gaps, and that in those gaps lie whole worlds that the act of narrative invites us either to actualize or leave as possibilities” (p.50). Robinson’s reasons for acceptance of the office of president and his refusal to re-appoint Panday as the incumbent are two such gaps left in the narrative to the realm of possibility in the imagination of the reader.

Toward the end of his text, Robinson turns to his legacy. Typically at this point in the autobiographical narrative there is a re-cap of lived experience. Robinson attempts to bring a sense of coherence and closure to the

text by highlighting his achievements: “I never thought that I would be President, even when I was Prime Minister. Then I became Minister Extraordinaire and Minister of Tobago Affairs, and conducted myself in the Cabinet with the utmost propriety, in support of Mr Panday, as Prime Minister. I was unanimously recommended by the government to be the President of my country” (p. 222).

This triumphant account is followed by a summary of regional and international successes such as: “In 2002, in Santa Barbara, I received The Peace Leadership Award of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation” (p. 222). Robinson mentions that plans have been proposed for a museum in his honor. All of this is framed by a reference to Hamlet, “There is a divinity that shapes our end”.... I could not but conclude, therefore, that all the factors of my life cohered” (pp. 222-223). Randall and Mc Kim believe that ideally “At some point, one’s quest for narrative coherence should benefit one’s community, one’s society” (pp. 109-110). In regard to his service to country, Robinson states:

When I look back now, I am amazed at how I found myself in the centre of all these major developments in the history of Trinidad and Tobago. Firstly, it was the independence movement, starting with the formation of the PNM. Then it was the way in which the PNM came to power, and how Williams became Chief Minister. Then it was the programme to transform the financial structure of the country from a colonial state to one more suited to the requirements of an emerging independent state. Then the question of my own resignation, the first major resignation, as a Minister, from the PNM; my joining with the Opposition for the removal of the voting machines; and the obliteration of Bhadase Maharaj from the political scene, something which nobody else had been able to do . A lot more was to come. (p. 222)

The protagonist attempts to achieve coherence by framing his personal story within the history of Trinidad and Tobago. He posits a role for himself as a lynchpin – central to all of the major formative historical events essential to the emergence of Trinidad and Tobago as an independent state, while giving himself credit for initiating a number of firsts that define, he believes, his brand of leadership. The end of his political career

is not posited as the end of his significance. Increased activity on the international scene presages an even larger scope for determining his centrality and significance.

Randall and McKim point to the importance of “truth” in the autobiography – “truth” here is defined in terms of its “enduring significance, for a message, an insight, a truth of some sort; not in a technical or historical sense so much as an aesthetic sense or narrative sense” (p. 111). The protagonist ends his narrative with an affirmation of his religious faith, strengthened in old age by various health challenges:

I conclude my autobiography with a final tribute to and acknowledgement of Almighty God and pray that the youth who read this autobiography may be inspired, as I was, and directed by Almighty God to follow in the footsteps that he set out for me, I believe even when I was in my mother’s womb.... My bequest to the youth of this nation, indeed to the world, is to dream the impossible dream. (p. 225)

Expressions of religious faith, nostalgia, and anaphoric links to his early life help to cement in the protagonist’s mind as well as in the mind of the reader that Robinson’s has been a life that has cohered around a central truth in service to his nation, with him at the centre of major local and regional events, truly ‘in the midst of it’.

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TRADITIONAL FISHING FOLK'S KNOWLEDGE ON COSTA RICA'S SOUTHERN CARIBBEAN COAST: A CRITICAL COMPONENT IN A FORMULA FOR LIONFISH REDUCTION

MARÍA SUÁREZ TORO,
CENTRO DE BUCEO EMBAJADORES/AS DEL MAR & ASOPACS

Introduction

The artisanal fishing community on Costa Rica's Southern Caribbean coastline has learned to protect its marine ecosystems while developing an artisanal fishing livelihood based on the traditional knowledge that has characterized the area historically. This has been the case since 1750, when the first non-indigenous fishing folk arrived there from Panama's Caribbean coast, from small Caribbean islands and from the Nicaraguan Atlantic coast. Initially they would create temporary settlements during the fishing months from March to September, but in 1828 the first permanent settlers established themselves in the region. These settlers were Afro-Caribbean fishermen who came mostly from Panamá and Jamaica, some with their families, while others partnered with Bribri and Cabécar indigenous women who lived in the Talamanca highlands. Fishing turtle to sell in Bocas del Toro in Panamá was their main livelihood while they also developed subsistence agriculture and fishing for their food ("Fishers of Turtle", n.d.). The coastal marine ecosystems of the Southern Caribbean where they fish include coral reefs, tidal flats, coastal lagoons, mangroves, and sea grass communities that contain a vast diversity of marine life, in an area of some 12,800 km of ocean.

At the end of the 1970s, two Protected Marine Areas were declared in the region by the government as part of its conservation policy: Cahuita and Gandoca Manzanillo (Hoyt, 2005). Artisanal fishing has continued in the region with strong restrictions being imposed in the protected areas and weaker restrictions being imposed in non-protected areas. The region's fishing communities have been organized under the auspices of the *Association de Pescadores Artesanales Caribe Sur* (ASOpacs - Association of Artisanal fishing folk of the Southern Caribbean Coast – hereafter referred to as the "Association") since 2011 to "protect local artisanal fisheries, improve local living conditions and livelihoods, and establish collective decision-making in the fishing community.

The Lionfish (*Pterois volitans*, and *Pterois miles*) is a small predatory reef fish, with bold red, white, creamy or black bands, pectoral fins and spiky venomous spines (Pterois, n.d.). It was originally was restricted in its distribution to Indo-Pacific waters, but was discovered in the Southern Caribbean region in 2009 by fishermen in the area, who immediately reported it to local and national authorities. In the face a potentially devastating invasion of its marine ecosystems by this dangerous predator, the Association has adopted a holistic approach for reducing its numbers.

The effects of Lionfish on the marine ecosystems of the Southern Caribbean are currently being studied by the Association, principally by tapping into the traditional knowledge of local fishing folk with the goals of collecting data on the Lionfish for scientific studies, gathering the stories of the fishing folk, proposing relevant policy changes to deal with the damage inflicted by this invasive species, and mobilizing the fishing folk to take steps to control the predator themselves. After all, they are the population that is on the frontlines of the invasion. Local natural resource agencies have had to rely primarily on local knowledge, thus reinforcing the importance of local communities and their traditional knowledge in conservation. The fishing folk's organization is showcasing how traditional knowledge is relevant to the protection of marine life, to the maintenance of the livelihood of the community, to the promotion of ethical and sustainable science and to the formulation of renewed policy making about the protection of marine ecosystems.

392 Traditional knowledge is defined in this study as the knowledge that is constructed by human beings in “interactive observation” with other forms of life in their day to day lived experiences in their quest to live life to its fullest. The phrase coined to describe this in the Southern Caribbean has become a motto: *pura vida* (pure life). *Pura vida*, however, is more than just a motto. It is an active concept, not just the descriptive noun that many newcomers to the area might think it is. In this case study, “traditional knowledge” relates to the knowledge that has emerged historically in a community that has had fishing as one of its main livelihood strategies. Fishing folk's interactive observation with the rest of nature has provided a wealth of knowledge that has been critical historically and is critical today in the interaction between protection of the environment and protection of people's livelihoods, showing that it is possible to achieve an equilibrium among all forms of life.

This case study documents how the Association is tapping into its members' traditional knowledges and practices to reduce the population of lionfish and simultaneously establish a local lionfish export fishery to complement more traditional revenues generated through lobster and red snapper sales, while protecting native fish stocks and influencing policy making regarding invasive species in protected areas.

New emerging issue faced by the fishing community

Fishing on the Caribbean Coast of Costa Rica has been largely based on “sustainable fishing”, which to the Association means protecting the coastal marine environment that provides their livelihoods, while at the same time creating better social conditions for their communities. These communities traditionally use many fishing methods including, but not restricted to, spears, hooks, loglines, diving, traps and gillnets. This is contrary to what has happened on the Pacific Coast of the country, for example, where industrial commercial boats and methods, such as bottom trawling, have emerged, almost extinguishing artisanal fishing and definitely impacting marine life in destructive ways. Bottom trawling does not discriminate in its catch and it kills marine life at a rate that does not allow for it to reproduce according to its own natural cycles.

Sustainable fishing has not been easy to maintain in the Southern Caribbean. Conflicts regarding policy have emerged. One example is turtle fishing, a main source of income for fishing folk, which has been banned since 1977 when the laws that created National Parks came into effect with provisions for the protection of endangered species and more recently, Law No.8325 enacted in 2002 for the Protection, Conservation and Recovery of Populations of Marine Turtles. Resistance to those measures did not last long, however, probably because fishing folk had always developed diverse ways of fishing for a diversity of species. During the times of the year when they cannot fish due to weather conditions or the “vedas” (fishing bans) for the protection of the reproduction of lobster, they combine fishing with growing crops, construction and more recently conducting eco-tourism boat trips. Another conflict has arisen because the government has not provided a subsidy to the fishing folk of the Caribbean in the same way that it has for fishing folk on the Pacific coast. This is something that the Association is trying to change by demanding equal treatment.

The most recent challenge, however, comes from the Lionfish which is spreading massively on the Caribbean and Atlantic coasts of Central America because it has no predator in this region. According to marine biologists (Hixon, 2011), there is now a higher larger density of Lionfish in the Atlantic Ocean than there is in its place of origin in the Indo Pacific region. A study by Arrieta (2013) in Puerto Viejo and Punta Mona in 2010 examined the Lionfish as part of the structure of the community of fish in the coral reefs. In the findings, the Lionfish appears as one of the 10 most common species. Another survey conducted by Sandel (2011) of the catch of Lionfish in the Cahuita National Park and the Gandoca Manzanillo Natural Reserve found that there were an average of 92 Lionfish fish per hectare, with Manzanillo having the highest density of Lionfish at $161,5 \pm 217,6$.

Rafael Hernández, a local fisherman in Punta Uva explained how he was first to report the invasion to national authorities and scientists in June 2009 (Personal interview, 2015). Although fishing folk did not have Internet access at that time to learn more about the Lionfish, they realized early on that this was a foreign species, because they

knew their ecosystems from first-hand lifelong experience. Hernández is in his forties and has fished almost every coral reef in the area since he was a child. The strange animal (Lionfish), which looks like seaweed when its camouflage blends into the coral reef, did not fool him when he saw it.

Another experience was related by his younger brother Andres Hernández who, upon realizing that he was looking at one of the fish his brother had reported seeing, went ahead to catch it with his spear and then used both hands to bring it to shore. The stings from the venomous spikes of the Lionfish were so bad that he had to take an ambulance to the local clinic to treat the resulting respiratory problems and swelling which lasted for days. This story sounded the alert for the entire fishing community who in turn began doing their own research and calling attention to the problems posed by the new invader for their ecosystem, their livelihoods and their health.

An early example of the link between traditional knowledge and “good science”

That same year, a fisherman by the name of Jose Ugalde Sr. asked me to show him a weathercast on the computer. He wanted to see if computer technology could help him to figure how weather changes might be having an impact on his fishing and his livelihood (J. Ugalde, personal interview, 2012). I showed him and he was in awe at what he saw on the screen. The weather forecast for the day was correct. “How does it (the computer) know?” Don Jose asked. I explained that there were people placing the information on the computer, people like him who learn through their interaction with the rest of nature, but also people who learn about the weather by studying the issue scientifically in laboratories and through mathematical projections.

“Are they fishermen?” Don Jose asked me. He wanted to know how those people behind the computers knew about the weather. I explained to him that there are many ways of knowing about the weather. “Some have learned it through the study of the weather and climate of the planet and others from practical experience as you learned from your parents and grandparents, which is the oldest way of producing knowledge.”

Almost immediately we engaged in a conversation about climate change, concluding that nowadays it is almost impossible to predict the weather, which is one of the reasons why the fishermen wanted access to computers to try to figure out what is going on. With climate change, the weather has changed so much that as a fisherman he felt he could no longer figure out for sure whether to go out in his boat on a given clear day or not. More than once had Don Jose and I gone fishing only to be caught in strong winds and high waves in his small boat.

Local fishing folk rely on “signs” from the sky when looking south to tell them if the day is going to be clear or rainy. They also ‘read’ the winds which, when they shift to come from the Talamanca mountains instead from the ocean as they usually do, indicate that bad winds are soon to come. They interpret shifts in the rocking of their boats

as well, so that when they rock sideways instead of front to back and back to front, they know that high waves are soon to come. All of these signs have been passed from one generation to the next through years of interactive observation. But today, a red sky at night is not necessarily a sailor's delight as the saying goes. The atmosphere is warmer and it can cause a red glow under new conditions that are not necessarily linked to good weather the next day. Changes in climate – whatever their origins - are bringing about weather patterns that are hard to predict, even with traditional interactive knowledge.

The main thing I learned from this interaction is not to underestimate fishing folk's ways of knowing, because although they might need adjustment in new emerging situations, their traditional science has much to teach academic science in creating a "good science", that is a more sustainable and equitable science, to confront crises such as climate change and the invasion of Lionfish in the Caribbean (Suárez Toro, 2008). The respect for nature is something deeply ingrained in elder fishing folk in particular, who have historically made their livelihood off fishing. Since that experience, Don Jose and I have become members of ASOpacs – the Association of Artisanal fishing folk of the Southern Caribbean Coast, which is combining sources of knowledge to face the new challenges.

Another person who understands a deep connection and respect for nature is Doña Grace Jiménez, a member of the board of the Association. Together with her husband Don Jose Ugalde Sr., she has raised six children by combining fishing with agriculture and construction labor. Doña Grace believes that the rest of nature has to be respected, not only biologically but in its "secrets", something that too often academic scientists overlook, thinking that humankind can control everything. "Nature cannot be fully comprehended, it has its secrets, pretty much like the secrets we keep to protect ourselves and our knowledge from being abused. We can know nature, but with respect", she said (Grace Jiménez, personal interview, 2013). The way that nature responds to changes through adaption and adjustment is a process that "hard" academic science has not yet figured out. For example, biologists today know that biodiversity helps nature protect itself from the impact of climate change, but they do not know exactly how that happens (Brigitte Baptiste in Viera, 2011). This is one of nature's secrets that science has not been able to unravel.

Organized fishing folk's knowledge: a critical component in strategies for coastal conservation

The presence of an organized fishing community on the Southern Caribbean of Costa Rica has been a critical component for success in tackling new challenges that have emerged due to the Lionfish invasion. As part of a campaign initiated in 2012, the Association has embarked on two projects that have already shown the effectiveness of its strategies based on traditional knowledge in joint initiatives with government, aca-

demic bodies, social organizations and other institutions. One project was begun in 2013 under the title “Control of the Lionfish and Conservation of Marine Life in Costa Rica’s Southern Caribbean” sponsored by the Small Donations Fund of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and the other project was begun in 2014 under the title “Improving the Quality of Life of fishing folk in the Southern Caribbean” sponsored by the Inter American Foundation (IAF).

These two projects share four objectives: 1) to contribute to the reduction of the invasive population by implementing diverse methods of catching Lionfish; 2) to promote the creation of an inter-institutional network of collaborators in limiting the threat from the Lionfish; 3) to generate a scientific data base about the Lionfish; and 4) to conduct a campaign in the local communities about the threat of the Lionfish and, since Lionfish is good to eat, the need to become ‘Lionfish predators’ that is, to consume and market Lionfish as a strategy to reduce its numbers.

To date the Association has been the only social organization to mobilize communities on the Southern Caribbean coast of Costa Rica to face this challenge. The context for this mobilization is well described in a recent community initiative (“Why a special law...”, 2014):

The Southern Caribbean is comprised of an historical experience that extends back more than 100 years when the first immigrants to the area arrived from Jamaica and other countries north and south of Costa Rica along the Atlantic Coast. They were fishermen who built their homes along the beach for convenience, as fishing was their main source of livelihood. In the surrounding forests, they cultivated crops of food for their livelihood and to sell, as in the case of cacao and coconut production.

They developed a sustainable family-based economy that recognized from the beginning the importance of living in harmony with the environment. This vision, based on a balanced relationship or co-existence with nature, was a primary resource of all social, economic and human development. The people themselves with little government intervention have used this development model for decades in the region, which is still characterized largely by a family-based economy with micro-tourism enterprises combined in many cases with sustainable agriculture and/or fishing or artisanry. The model is designed to protect and balance the rights of the people and the environment, which in the past led to creation of a number of special environmental reserves that today require a policy where co-management can contribute to co-existence between peoples and environment in unprecedented ways.

The necessity to further develop co-management strategies for the protection of the seas has been made even more evident by the fishing folk's proposals to reduce the Lionfish population, which takes into account the fact that the invasive species does not respect borderlines and frontiers between protected areas of ocean and places where fishing folk can catch Lionfish with no restrictions.

The Association claims that in order to be successful in eradicating the Lionfish, they have to be able to seek them out, even in restricted areas where some kinds of fishing are prohibited by law. Contradictory conditions often emerge in the zones between areas under special protection and unprotected areas. Sandoval Hernandez and Castillo Chinchilla (2011) believe that "the presence of large unprotected areas and the distance that surround protected areas and the distance between one protected area to the next can reduce the exchange between species..." (p. 25). For this and other reasons, it has long been recognized that the protection of the seas is generally weak. "The administration of marine coastal area in Costa Rica has been a conflictive area throughout the last decade, particularly the complaints by the environmental sector about overexploitation of fisheries, the lack of environmental policies and policies about the use of marine resources." (State of the Nation Report, 2013)

Created in 1982, Cahuita National Park hosts a 600-acre (242-hectare) that is known to have at least 35 species of coral, 140 species of mollusks, 44 species of crustaceans, and 123 species of fish ("Cahuita National Park," n.d.). The land areas of the park are home to many types of animals, including the northern tamandua (anteater), pacas, white-nosed coatis, raccoon, sloth, agoutis, mantled howler monkey, and the white-faced monkey. It has a variety of birds as well, including the green ibis, green-and-rufous kingfisher and keel-billed toucan. The Gandoca Manzanillo Wildlife Refuge (REGAMA) includes 10,900 marine acres (4,436 hectares) in which there are five types of coral reefs (The Green Iguana Foundation, n.d.). These formations contain a wide variety of plant and animal species not found elsewhere, including 11 types of sea sponges, 27 species of algae, and 34 species of mollusks, which have been identified so far. The beaches from Monkey Point in Manzanillo south to the mouth of the Sixaola River are sites for four types of sea turtles, all of which are endangered, including the leatherback and green hawksbill.

All protected areas are mainly legislated by the Law of Biodiversity and the Environmental Law and administered by the National System of Conservation Areas or SINAC (*Sistema Nacional de Areas de Conservacion*--SINAC), created in 1994 as part of the Ministry of Environment and Energy (MINAE, n.d.) This Agency administers national parks, conservation areas, and other protected natural areas. Most fishing is banned in the protected areas except for purposes of research, training and ecotourism).

Non-protected areas of ocean are regulated by the Instituto Costarricense de Pesca y Acuicultura (INCOPESCA), under Law no. 7384 of 16/1994 which allows for artisan

(small scale coastal), commercial, sports, touristic, scientific and promotional fishing. Its few protective measures cannot be adequately supervised, opening way for over-exploitation by commercial fishing. A large proportion of the fishing in the Southern Caribbean seas, however, is “responsible fishing,” meaning on a small-scale and does not involve the use of large-scale *pesca de arrastre* (trawling) nor the use of *trasmayo* (gillnet) fishing (in contrast to large-scale commercial fishing in the Pacific). (MINAE, n.d.)

The presence of Lionfish and methodologies for its removal require a holistic approach where fishing needs to occur in both protected and non-protected areas of the ocean in the specific case of invasive species. The Association has made put forward this argument precisely because while the protected areas often include special coral reefs, these same coral reefs are also the preferred habitat of the Lionfish. Héctor MacDonald Sr., a fisherman, member of the Association and coordinator of one of the projects for Lionfish removal said that “one of the problems we face in our efforts to reduce the species is the lack of adequate regulation about Lionfish removal in the protected areas in the Southern Caribbean” (H. MacDonald, personal interview, 2013.) A 2013 study by graduate students at the University of Costa Rica, entitled “Analysis of environmental and fishing norms in Costa Rica and recommendations about the control of Lionfish” (Calderón & Morales, 2013) presented evidence to support this argument.

The Association has been devising, advocating and implementing multiple strategies for the control of the Lionfish. A multi-strategy approach is fundamental to their vision, because their practice as fishing folk has always been based on multiple approaches instead of single interventions. Their results thus far indicate the crucial importance of the active participation of the local population, along with their traditional knowledges and practices.

Drawing from traditional knowledge: multiple methodologies to catch the Lionfish

The Association has put into place a holistic campaign to roll back the Lionfish invasion on the Caribbean coast, demonstrating that a plan with multiple strategies works better as a whole, than does any one single method alone. They are therefore implementing a battery of strategies which range from fishing Lionfish one by one with hooks and spears, to organizing community Lionfish fishing contests involving many fishing folk working together, to the use of “*nasas*” (traps) and more recently, to training youth in scuba diving with tanks in order to spear Lionfish in deeper waters than snorkeling allows.

Furthermore, involving all sectors of the community has enhanced the success of the venture. Traditionally these fishing folk have seen themselves as part of whole communities, therefore, when they design actions to face challenges, they always do so

alongside the rest of their communities. Because the Association is comprised of people who are members of the coastal communities themselves, and because the Association's policy and practice have been in the hands of these same fishing folk, it has been "natural" for the rest of their communities to get involved. "Organic" community actions have brought together fishing folk, their families, local restaurants, male and female vendors, chefs, traditional cooks, schools and government institutions in concerted efforts to face the new challenge. These efforts have contributed to "build community" around the emerging threat of the Lionfish and have contributed to the development of a new consciousness about the links between environmental protection and livelihoods.

Traditional lobster traps to catch Lionfish: bettering lives, bettering the catch

Among the strategies for catching Lionfish advocated by the Association is the use of a lobster trap. In this way, the Association has successfully revitalized a traditional fishing method, which has proven to be one of the most effective methods to capture the Lionfish. This is due to the fact that the traps can be placed in deeper waters than those reached by diving, the fact that many fish can be caught in one trap, and the fact that traps can be left at the bottom of the sea without the need for human presence as the fish are attracted and captured. Also, the fish remain alive until removed from the trap, either to throw back (those that are not Lionfish) or to take back fresh, be it for eating or selling.

Early in the debates by members of the Association as to the best methods to catch the Lionfish, many proposed the use of their traditional traps. But the rising cost of the materials needed to make these devices (chicken wire, wood sticks and tying cord) had diminished their use. On the basis of this local knowledge and experience, one of the first tasks that the Association took on was to locate sources of funding to be able to provide fishing folk with the materials to make the traps. The Association was able to garner enough resources to develop a pilot project involving 19 members of the organization, each of whom received the necessary materials to make the traps to catch both Lionfish and lobster. Each participant signed a written agreement which allowed them to keep the lobster and other fish caught in these traps, but to give the Lionfish to the organization. This agreement allowed the Association to accumulate enough Lionfish to develop a marketing campaign for the fish to consumers, which in turn would motivate fishing folk to continue catching the invasive species.

This arrangement is a good example of the potential success of cooperation when livelihood and conservancy go hand in hand, because the methodology is a "win-win" situation for all, as both research and marketing for consumption further enhance the livelihood of the families while contributing to conservation efforts. "Pun", an elder who has been a fisherman since he was 12 years old, and one of the experts in building the traps said that this traditional form of fishing had become scarce in the area

until the Association provided support to build them once again (Pun, personal interview, 2014). “Material for the traps has become really expensive and here in the Caribbean, we do not have the incentives and support that fishermen get on the Pacific Coast by way of gasoline and a stipend during the times of fishing bans. The support for us to be able to make them again has improved our capacity to catch the Lionfish while improving our livelihoods with whatever else we catch, such as lobster and red snapper, etc.”

Fishing Tournaments: building community through Lionfish hunting

Another successful strategy organized by the Association since 2012 is the annual Lionfish fishing tournament, where community members compete in catching, cooking, learning about and consuming Lionfish. Held for one day every September, fishing folk gather at a particular beach site, organize themselves in teams of three, get in their boats and go out for five hours for an organized Lionfish catch. Meanwhile on shore, government institutions, scientists, women vendors, chefs, families and children develop awareness activities such as showcasing live Lionfish, distributing information, cooking Lionfish to eat and other related activities such as music. At the end of the five-hour saga, the team that catches the largest Lionfish gets an award, as does the team that catches the smallest fish, along with the team that catches the largest amount of Lionfish. All of the catch is counted and examined by students and professors of biology from participating universities to be integrated into a database being developed by the Association for research.

The annual Lionfish event is an opportunity for everyone to get a taste of the fish and also get information about the need to participate in community actions to eradicate it. Lucia Hernández, a young fisherwomen and a member of the Association, was the certified captain of her boat in the tournament on September 27, 2014. Lucia talked about the experience, saying: “It is very important for us to take part in this because although the day looks like the everyday diving that we do to catch fish and lobster. The feeling of a collective effort where all the boats go out at the same time, filled with teams of fishing folk with the one common aim of contributing to reduce the Lionfish, reminds us that we are a community. That is why I love this place. It has provided me and my family with abundant food throughout my whole life!” (Personal interview, 2014).

As part of the preparations for the Tournament, the Association visits each elementary school in the Southern Caribbean region. Young local marine biologists from the area participate with the Association in providing information to students about the Lionfish. The students, mostly grandchildren and children of fishing folk, are asked to talk about what they have learned from their elders about the species but they are also asked to take what they learned from the Association that day back to their homes.

Motivation for the students to undertake scientific experiments while at school also forms part of these community outreach efforts.

One such case is the scientific experiment undertaken by Romi Hernandez, a 6th grader, daughter of Andres Hernández of the Association. With his help she designed and built protected “houses” at the bottom of the ocean where lobster can lay their eggs away from the Lionfish. In the process she learned that the traditional knowledge that her father brought to her research was just as relevant as other scientific information. After all, her father was the one who showed her how to dive, who knew every corner of the reef and who knew the lobsters’ hiding places (R. Hernández, personal interview, 2014). Because fishing folk often construct equipment and tools for their work, he is the one who taught Romi how to build the cement “houses” for the lobsters.

Combining the scientific method with the traditional knowledge that these children learn from their parents is a good way to keep the young connected to fishing, the ocean, their families and their communities. These youth are also the generation that has been the first to break the 6th grade glass ceiling in education in the Southern Caribbean region. For her scientific experiment, Romi received an award and a scholarship to attend high school.

Media, including most every newspaper and radio station in Costa Rica, have covered the tournament, providing a broader audience with information about the campaign to curb the Lionfish population. One headline in Costa Rica’s major mainstream newspaper *La Nación* declared: “fishing folk are a key element in the control of Lionfish” (Soto, 2014). Another newspaper proclaimed:

In Costa Rica, it is local fishermen – not the government – battling on the front lines of the Lionfish war. Spurred by a desire to protect both their businesses and their coasts, fishermen have convinced restaurants throughout the Southern Caribbean to serve the fish and are now developing a strategy to fill the growing demand with a steady stream of dead invasive lionfish (Fendt, 2014).

International media have also hailed the contributions of the fishing community to the campaign.

Scuba diving for a deeper catch: involving youth on their own terms

In the process of exploring ways to connect to youth, three young Afro-Costa Ricans from the area were invited to participate in the 2nd Lion Fish Tournament organized by the Association in September 2012. They were the only young people who participated in the activity and garnered media attention. In pictures of the event, the three youth stood tall with their fishing spears like warriors and the media named them the “Lionfish Warriors”. They were later asked what it would take to get them committed to working on Lionfish control with the Association, and they said that they had been

longing to learn to scuba dive for years. The three youth noted that although they thought that catching Lionfish by snorkeling is very effective and they do it all the time on their own, scuba diving with tanks would allow them to develop new skills in order to go into deeper water and stay longer in places where they had seen many Lionfish in the past but could not reach them.

Therefore, the most recent strategy devised to tackle the Lionfish problem is the creation of a community-oriented scuba diving community center named, “Ambassadors of the Seas”. It was launched in late 2014 with the aid of professional scuba diving trainers who form part of the membership of the Association. The scuba diving center is designed mainly, but not exclusively, to engage youth in learning both to dive with a snorkel and to scuba dive with oxygen tanks so as to participate actively in the protection of the ocean by catching Lionfish at depths not reached by snorkel divers or with the use of traps as well as by conducting periodic clean-ups where foreign debris is collected from the reefs. Their motto is “Scuba diving with a purpose: Preserving the marine ecosystems in interaction with the culture and livelihood of the fishing communities in Costa Rica’s Southern Caribbean” (*Escuela de buceo Caribe Sur*, n.d.). This project was developed to engage the younger generation in the Association’s endeavors, because the relationship of the youth to fishing is not as intense as it was for their parents.

The youth make a commitment to undertake voluntary work hours at home, in the community and with the Association in consideration of the fact that they are trained free of charge, and recognizing that there is a cost for their families, community and the organization in providing this opportunity. The Association is fostering youth involvement in the protection of their marine ecosystems, especially considering that this generation will face the enormous challenges due to climate change and other factors affecting their coastal ecosystems. On May 1, 2015 during the second Lionfish sweep by the Association with the Scuba Center, Rocio León, the mother of Romi, and some of the children who came to the activity suggested that children be educated at an early age not to fear the ocean. She suggested they be trained in snorkeling, identification of reef fish and other activities such as cleaning the shore while the older kids and adults cleaned the ocean floor. On the basis of this suggestion, Lucia Hernández, Rocío Aguilar, Blanca Espinoza and Lariza Brenes Bermúdez have organized the first pilot class with a group of 23 children ranging from ages 2 to 13.

Developing a taste and market for Lionfish consumption: everyone can become a predator

The Association also realized that because the Lionfish is a new species in the Caribbean, developing “a taste” for it in the community was to become as important as devising diverse ways to catch it. Building a market for its consumption would further develop an approach that would link conservation with livelihood, a key to success of

any conservation strategy that requires participation of all sectors of society. The Association has therefore developed a campaign to eat Lionfish and because it collects the catch of all fishing folk, it has become a reliable distributor to local restaurants. Cooks and chefs at the local, national and international levels have been contacted to compile recipes, and cooks are taught how to clean it and cook it safely.

One Lionfish chef is Doña Elena Spencer, an Afro-Costa Rican who was born and has lived in Puerto Viejo her entire life. She teaches a Caribbean Gastronomy class to youth every Saturday and on special occasions, she makes *rondon* with Lionfish. *Rondon* is a traditional Caribbean coconut stew with fish. “Lionfish is an easy meat to cook because it is strong and sturdy, therefore hard to ‘disappear’ in the coconut soup and it absorbs the taste of the spices very well”, explained Doña Elena. Chef Rauch from Colombia who now lives in San José, the capital of Costa Rica, has made contact with the Association in order to form an alliance regarding Lionfish consumption. He has a restaurant in this country and a chain of restaurants in Colombia and elsewhere where he has specialized in Lionfish with great success. He told the Association that the fishing folk-chef alliance is critical to expanding the struggle against the presence of the invasive fish in the Caribbean. He pledged to buy the fish from the Association for his restaurant in the city. Leo Guerrero is another Colombian chef living in Costa Rica. He learned about the Lionfish from the Association and took part in one of its Tournaments, preparing a Lionfish dish with his own recipe. He told the Association that Lionfish has particular gastronomical features that are very important because “it eats other fish species that have a high protein value like lobster and shrimp among others. And as if this were not enough, by eating it we are contributing to clean the environment, the reefs and the lives of fishing folk.”

A priority of the Association has been contacting restaurants in the area and encouraging tourists and locals to talk about their experience in eating the fish in order to “get the fish into the culture”. One such effort last year was to get the President of Costa Rica to try Lionfish when he came to listen to the community on August 30, 2014. Along with 20 of his cabinet members, he sat in a local restaurant “La Esquina”, overlooking the shoreline where local people keep their fishing boats. All of these officials recognized the good taste of the fish and called on the Costa Rican community to support the Association in its campaign. The country’s largest mainstream newspaper, *La Nación* reported that the President declared his support for consumption of Lionfish after having tasted it. The headline stated: “Luis Guillermo Solís supports more consumption of Lionfish, a fish that threatens other marine species in Puerto Viejo.” (Murrillo, 2014)

Sharing recipes and information about how to handle the Lionfish in preparation for cooking has recently been addressed by the Association. Because people know that the fish has a toxin, they are afraid to eat it. “They have to learn that the toxin dies with the fish”, says Héctor Mac Donald Jr., President of the Association (Personal inter-

view, 2014). At the end of the day, every effort in this campaign is dependent upon the consistent and reliable supply of Lionfish to the market, which is in turn directly dependent on the way that the Association upgrades its fishing and data collection methods. This is so because as a non-profit organization, the Association is depending on the commercialization of Lionfish as a way to improve its efforts and make them sustainable in the longer term.

Conclusion

The Lionfish is not the only recent problem that threatens destruction of coastal ecosystems, but in Costa Rica it seems to have emerged as an emblematic metaphor for what is happening along the Caribbean coast and elsewhere in the country. Foreign invasive “phenomena” have disturbed traditional integrated approaches to living which in the past guaranteed the health and wellbeing of local communities. Government actions regarding Lionfish removal as well as concerted efforts among all stakeholders is crucial, but understanding and supporting fishing communities and their traditional knowledge and practice is the foundation upon which any effort in this direction must be built, if it is to have any hope for success. This means that policy decisions must be informed by the historical and empirical knowledge of fishing folk.

Through its programming and practice, the Association has opened a space where fishing folk have been able to organize themselves in ways that have enhanced the connection between conservation and the livelihoods of coastal communities. These efforts are providing innovative approaches to conservation of coastal ecosystems, as well as the conservation of the culture and the wellbeing of their inhabitants by tapping into traditional knowledge alongside scientific knowledge. Working to strengthen livelihoods by developing sustainable fishing which has no negative impact on the environment is proving to be a necessary component in viable strategies for the elimination of the Lionfish. The protection of the livelihoods of coastal peoples and the protection of the environment cannot be separated. One cannot succeed without the other.

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THE DETENTION FACILITIES AT GUANTÁNAMO BAY: SAFE, HUMANE, LEGAL, AND TRANSPARENT?

DON E. WALICEK

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

In July 2016 I observed about a dozen men through one-way mirrors during a two-day media tour of detention facilities at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. These alleged “enemy combatants” appeared to be treated decently by the members of the military with whom they have direct contact. Recent improvements in the conditions of incarceration at “Gitmo” are significant, but they do not address the staggering tensions between law and justice that continue to surround the oldest of all U.S. overseas military bases. President Barack Obama promised “to close Guantánamo” on his second day of office in 2009, yet at the time of this writing 71 detainees remain in the base. Some of them have been held without charges for as long as fifteen years. Thirty of the men have been cleared for release, but their actual departures are controversial and usually take years.

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Compliance

The multi-million dollar compounds I walked through, located in Camps V and VI, house detainees categorized as “compliant” and “highly compliant”. They were designed after maximum security federal prisons in the mainland U.S. The men inside are surrounded by a complex system of locks, security cameras, armed guards, electric gates, and high fences trimmed in concertina coils and barbed wire. At the same time, detainees in these two camps have ongoing access to amenities that the overwhelming majority of prisoners in the U.S. and Caribbean countries are denied. These include air conditioning, health care, outdoor recreational spaces, the option of living in groups, and a library consisting of more than 3,000 donated items. While they establish their own schedules for showering and exercise, they’re locked down in their cells for two hours each afternoon.

The library, the first stop on the tour, is located outside the actual compounds on the grounds of a former detention camp. It includes materials in fifteen languages and newspapers in Arabic from the Middle East. Guidelines establish that books, magazines, CDs, and video games that “promote good moral choices and values” are added to the collection while those depicting military operations, sexual topics, and extreme graphic violence are rejected. The librarian, who uses a cart to deliver requested materials to

detainees, reports that materials for the study of Islam are by far the most popular. Other items in high demand are Harry Potter books, the magazines *Men's Health* and *National Geographic*, and the game FIFA soccer for PlayStation 2.

Civilian contractors offer “life skills” classes in Arabic, English, Spanish, mathematics, computer basics, as well as art. Classes have allowed a few detainees who didn't know how to read or write to become literate. Several soldiers reported that detainees' increased proficiency in English has facilitated daily communication with guards as well as medical staff. Recalling that several military officials condemned the dissemination of detainee poetry in an edited volume published by the University of Iowa, I asked whether teachers now encourage the men to write about their own lives or recent readings. A soldier familiar with programming explained that it's not the focus of the current curriculum. However, she indicated that independent journal writing is “generally seen as a positive activity because it keeps the men busy and contributes to the safety of both guards and detainees.”

But levels of fluency in the language vary, and civilians referred to as “linguists” are still needed as interpreters and translators. A soldier deployed to Gitmo for a second time pointed out that linguists are also the only personnel who can carry or touch the Qu'ran, a rule created in response to evidence that military personnel regularly and intentionally mishandled the sacred text in front of detainees.

The best selling memoir *Guantánamo diary* (2015) by the Mauritanian detainee Mohamedou Ould Slahi began as a handwritten journal. Slahi, who arrived in Guantánamo in 2002, documents beatings, sexual abuse, Islamophobia, and torture during the early part of his detainment. At the same time, he indicates that particular conditions of confinement have improved in recent years and empathizes with captors and guards. Most significantly, Slahi calls upon all who are directly involved in conflicts related to 9/11 and the Global War on Terror to make a concerted effort to dialogue with and seek to understand their enemies. The four members of the military to whom I mentioned his book had all heard it, but none of them had read it.

During our visit to the detainee medical clinic, officers discussing the health of detainees emphasized the idea that “now everything is fine” and “similar to what we would expect back home”. In fact, the Senior Medical Officer used the latter phrase more than ten times during the twenty minutes he spoke with us. He explained that “providers” made health care available 24-7 and stated that the health issues faced by the detainees are typical for males of their age group (they are between 32 and 69). He mentioned a “slightly high” obesity rate of 20% and a high cholesterol rate of 10%, attributing these to sedentary tendencies resulting from long-term confinement. One out of ten of the current population is said to suffer from ongoing mental health issues. The medic identified detainees' concerns about relatives and problems in their countries of origin – but not anxiety stemming from more than a decade of extra-judicial confinement – as the sources of their stress. We saw standard equipment used in training medics, but it had

been modified to feature straps for restraining the patient's wrists, arms, chest, waist, knees, ankles, and feet.

A chair designed for forced feeding was part of the media tour for years, but it grew to be seen as a symbol of abuse and was removed from the premises a few months prior to my visit. The U.S. military refuses to provide details about these matters; however, 5% of the detainee population, probably an average of three or four individuals each week, refuse to eat as a means of protesting against their incarceration and are subject to two forced nasogastric feedings daily. The U.S. government maintains that this is proper medical care, but experts, some of whom identify it as torture, insist the practice is a violation of basic medical ethics. Until 2013 these detainees were formally referred to as "hunger strikers" by the military, but now it often refers to them as "non-religious fasters". The Department of Defense stopped releasing precise figures of the number of men that are forcibly fed. It also took measures to stall a U.S. District Judge's order that videos documenting past feedings be released.

Repeatedly, officers suggested that the ambiance of the part of the facility where the men are held resembled that of a hospital, but the comparison only made me recall the last week of my grandmother's life. She suffered a fall and once hospitalized had to be fed with tubes to stay alive. Each night in the hospital she broke the restraints holding down her wrists and then pulled the feeding tubes that went through her nose all the way down to her stomach. Soon we instructed the doctors not to put them back. The men protesting their detention with hunger strikes have no such advocates, no such freedom.

One of the people to have spoken out against these forced feeding is former Syrian detainee Abu Wa'el Dhiab. He refused to eat and was fed by a tube inserted through his nose into his stomach more than 1,300 times. At first, Abu Wa'el protested being held without charges and later he refused to eat because the U.S. government continued to hold him after clearing him for release (Worthington, 2015). Before his release to Uruguay in December 2014, Abu Wa'el told his lawyer: "They want all of us to be invisible: the detainees, the kind people like the nurse who would not force-feed us, the people who could tell Americans the truth" (Crider, 2014). During my visit to the base, officers and others who work with detainees casually referred to Abu Wa'el as "a trouble-maker". The international press reported him "missing" at the time, but he had actually traveled to Uruguay's consular office in Caracas to request resettlement in Turkey or another country in order to live with his family.

One frustrating aspect of conversing with military officers was their tendency to say that questions about the past were "difficult to answer" given that their deployments to the base had begun only recently. This response was often coupled with the suggestion that problems in the camps were limited to the difficult period of about three months in 2002 (when hundreds of men were forced to live outdoors in dog cages). Reports by various official observers (e.g., members of the U.S. congress, representatives of human

rights agencies) indicate that flagrant abuse is not ongoing, but evidence of this has not been made public. Moreover, the military's refusal to formulate concrete now vs. then comparisons was striking. Thinking that phrasing the question in positive terms might result in the divulgence of some relevant insights, I asked Admiral Peter J. Clarke for "examples of improvements in detention policy over the last decade", but he stated that descriptions of standard operating procedures past and present are classified information.

While waiting for one of the question and answer session with Admiral Clarke to begin, I had noticed – and then quickly photographed – a small wallet-sized laminated card that someone had left on a conference table. Titled "What you can talk about" the card is directed at members of the Joint Task force who frequently interact with media, writers, and other visitors. The text suggests that conversations about operations should be focused on two general topics: mission and challenges. The mission is identified as the provision of "safe, humane, legal, and transparent care and custody of detainees". It also describes the staff as "committed to routine detainee operations that are characterized by dignity and professionalism" and prepared to execute military orders related to the closure of the facility. Three challenges are listed in bold print as suggested topics of discussion: assaults, non-religious fasting, and a "my day in the life of a guard story". The text ends with a list of several reminders:

- Everything is on the record.
- Never say "no comment."
- Avoid opinion / speculation, stick to the facts.
- Stay in your lane and stay confident.
- When in doubt, refer to PAO. [Public Affairs Officer]

The slogan of world's most famous detention center "Safe, Humane, Legal, Transparent" was pasted on the cover of my press kit, but by the end of the visit it was more of an attempt to brand and market than a commitment to presenting the realities of the camps. In addition to restrictions on sharing information about standard operating procedures, the military prohibited comments and questions about legal issues, reasons for detainment, the size of the detained population, detainee releases, and allegations of abuse. If the experience of incarceration has changed dramatically in recent years, if guards are kinder and more professional than in years past, and if the military commanders are indeed committed to correcting past mistakes, then the White House should instruct officers to speak about the relevant issues.

A particularly memorable stop on the tour was a small "media room" in Camp V with access to hundreds of satellite TV channels. Detainees watch alone with their ankles shackled to the concrete floor, seated in a plush La-Z-y Boy recliner that looks like it came out of my parents' living room. I recalled that thousands of Africans were smuggled into Cuba through the bay that was only a mile or so away even after the U.S. and

Britain banned imports of slaves in 1807. The chain and clamp in front of the chair exemplify how today's traditions of detainment build on technologies of enslavement associated with the Caribbean past.

Users of the media room are free to select their own programs, thus they can learn about topics that guards are instructed not to discuss with them and those that are banned from the library. They might, for example, tune in to coverage of their own detention and assessments of the White House's progress in emptying the facility.

Something I learned in my preparation for the visit is that the media room led former detainee Mohammed al-Hamiri to the scholarship of the late Palestinian literary theorist Edward Said. During the seven-year period that lapsed between his clearance for release and his actual return to the Middle East, he once saw a television program that mentioned Said's last book, *Humanism and democratic criticism*. Intrigued, he requested the book from the librarian, and eventually it arrived. For Al-Hamiri, reading Said's work was "like a message [that] was being sent to me from heaven" (Hussain, 2016). In the book Said argues that a more democratic form of humanism – one that builds on more meaningful dialogue among cultural traditions – is both necessary and possible.

Another way detainees connect to the outside world is through monitored Skype calls with relatives. Taking place on a monthly basis, the calls can provide those to be released an opportunity to reconnect with their families before their arrival. A cultural relations specialist from Iraq who uses the pseudonym "Zac" reported that not all of the men who are eligible opt to participate. For some the calls are upsetting while "a few hardliners believe family members will pressure them to soften their political beliefs."

Not all detainees are compliant and highly complaint. Those in the general population who break the rules are classified as "disciplined". This status reduces their access to privileges and comfort items. In addition, they must dress in the orange garments that are now an international symbol of injustice, terrorism, and torture. But during Ramadan, a quiet time in which the men fast, everyone in the general population is reclassified as compliant and given tan or brown pants and tunics to wear. According to the military, the holiday provides a blank slate of sorts, as privileges and incentives continue thereafter until rules are violated.

Little precise information about recent examples of misbehavior or resistance was provided, but a display in a meeting room showed items confiscated during cell raids several years back. Among these were improvised weapons, a cellular phone, hoarded medicine, and unauthorized electronics equipment. In casual conversations with uniformed guards, I learned that detainees have also been disciplined for covering their cell windows and destroying government property. In more formal settings, public affairs officers referred to assaults on guards involving biting, scratching, spitting, verbal insults, and "splashing", the practice of throwing urine and other bodily fluids on camp personnel. The problems, grievances, or misunderstandings contextualizing these assaults were never mentioned.

Side by side

The first detainee that I saw in Camp VI, a big man with a full beard, was busily mopping the quiet two-floor communal compound. Wearing loose clothing and blue plastic gloves, he moved intensely and rather robotically. His excessive energy made me wonder if he might have been one of the detainees who suffered from a mental condition or perhaps he had been coached to perform for an audience. The space the man cleaned was filled with shadows and eerie fluorescent light. Taking pictures proved difficult because of the mirror and sheet of industrial wire separating us. In addition, I stood in a dark corridor, but was not allowed to use a flash. Pictures showing faces, locks, or security cameras were strictly prohibited. The automatic flash on my camera went off a few times, a violation for which a female guard politely reprimanded me. After that I decided some things in the compound were more easily documented with the naked eye and began to list them on a writing pad: a clock, white plastic chairs, a microwave, styrofoam containers, headphones, electronic cables, a large sofa . . . and a huge pack of energy drinks on a table at center stage.

My venture into ethnography took an unexpected turn when a young-looking detainee suddenly appeared just a few feet in front of the mirror. He motioned with huge gestures as if flagging down someone far away. One of the five or six soldiers standing guard behind me quickly put on a protective helmet and entered an enclosed space to speak to him. Through the chain-link wire, the guard gave him permission to begin *salah*, the ritual prayer that Muslims perform five times a day. The detainee was required to turn around a small sign inscribed with the English words “Prayer Call”. Five men put mats on the floor then knelt side-by-side facing the Kaaba in Mecca. The man who had been mopping was now calm, focused, and confident. He moved his body – standing, bowing, prostrating, and sitting – with the elegance of a yogi. His movements suggested not a legalistic approach to ritual, but a freedom of conscience that extended far beyond the fences of the compound.

As the men prayed, I noticed two hand-drawn flags taped up on a back wall. One was unrecognizable, but the other – consisting of blocks of red, white, and black – was the flag of Yemen. More than half of the 40 Yemeni still held in Guantánamo have been approved for release, but the U.S. military insists that it cannot repatriate them until the “security situation” in their country improves. The U.S. has responded to the war in Yemen with drone strikes, the training of more militia units, and \$500 million worth of now missing weapons and military equipment that is presumed to be in the hands of enemies (Whitlock, 2015).

The young man was the last to finish praying. He stood up and moved playfully close to the mirror. He then looked directly into the glass as if posing for a camera and smiled. Later I learned that he is the block leader, the one the other detainees chose to negotiate with those outside their compound.

Detention facility vs. prison

During our visit to an empty cellblock, U.S. Colonel Stephen E. Gabavics explained that the U.S. government considers the site that we visited a detention facility, *not a prison*. Gabavics reminded us that the men there are *detainees* who are held indefinitely. Unlike prisoners, they do not complete sentences. An important fact that never came up in the tour is that the semantics of “detention” were transformed by 2005 Detainee Treatment Act. It stripped U.S. courts of their jurisdiction over the facility by declaring that the base does not form part of the U.S. The act also made the executive branch solely responsible for decisions related to detainees. In terms of the law, the result is a predicament that resembles the thousands of Haitian asylum seekers faced when they were trapped on the base in the 1990s.

The detention facility-prison divide is further complicated by the existence of Camp VII, a secret facility that is not part of the Pentagon’s media tour. It holds approximately 14 “high-value” detainees. The profiles of the men in this facility are more diverse than usually indicated in government references to them. Some of the men in Camp VII are charged in death penalty proceedings while others have never been charged with a crime. Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, the self-identified mastermind of 9/11 and numerous acts of terrorism, and his four alleged co-conspirators are detained there. Segregated in a special section of the camp are two detainees that pled guilty to charges, Majid Khan and Ahmed Muhammed Haza al Darbi.

According to a confidential 2007 report by the International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC), the “enhanced interrogation techniques” and related treatment that these men endured (continuous solitary confinement, incommunicado detention, and inadequate legal resources) in clandestine CIA “black sites” and on the base violated international law (ICRC Delegation for the U.S. and Canada, 2007). ICRC visits to Camp VII are ongoing, and Admiral Clarke indicated that he strives to implement the organization’s suggestions for additional improvements. Tragically, neither President Obama nor the ICRC has succeeded in eradicating injustice there. Consider, for example, that numerous men have been designated “forever prisoners”. In violation of international law, they have been declared ineligible for trial and “too dangerous to release”. Nevertheless, according to the ICRC, Camp VII today complies with relevant international standards. Consider as well the Periodic Review Board operating in the part of the base called *Camp Justice*. It makes decisions about releases by evaluating the threat that detainees currently pose to the U.S. and its allies, but *it does not consider the legality of inmates’ capture or detention*. Some of the innocent men who were unlawfully detained have been freed, but others have been escorted back to their cells, further diminishing our hopes for rehabilitation and closure.

The 2015 case *Mukhtar Yahia Naji Al Warafi v. Obama* further underscores the chasm between current law and longstanding understandings of justice. In this case, lawyers argued for the release of their client, a man purportedly captured and detained under

“the principles of the laws of war” because the President had declared the war in question over (Lamberth, 2015). Senior U.S. District Judge Royce C. Lamberth ruled their ongoing detention lawful even though Obama declared the Global War on Terror over in 2013. Recognizing that the U.S. President had formally ended combat operations, Lamberth rejected the idea that the Commander-in-Chief’s words should be interpreted literally, arguing that they must be understood “in a popular sense” and contextualized by recent events.

The extra-judicial incarceration of the men held at the base should also be considered in terms of a proud tradition of imperialism that dates back to the nineteenth century. Since the period of the Spanish-American War, the U.S. military has relied on diverse means to ensure its dominance in the Caribbean region and beyond, with the land surrounding the bay serving as the setting for a coaling station, a cold war outpost, a center of naval operations, a haven for refugees, a processing facility for asylum-seekers, a place of incarceration for HIV positive Haitians, and a prison camp. The U.S. naval base at Guantánamo has also served as a staging ground for the invasions and occupations of Puerto Rico (1898-present), Haiti (1914-1934), and the Dominican Republic (1916-1924) as well as military interventions in Cuba (1912), Nicaragua (1926-1933), and Guatemala (1960) (Blum: 147). The space’s “in-between” status is sometimes said to be ambiguous, a sort of “grey area”; yet it has been constantly structured by a logic of American imperialism.

414 In recent years many have found some satisfaction in the calls “to close Guantánamo” that emanate from the leaders of the world’s only remaining superpower: among them, Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton, George W. Bush, and dozens of military generals. They assure us that closing the base will make the world safer and protect our freedoms. Nevertheless, the detention center and the base have been updated recently and they have continued to serve as a model for the development of similar facilities in other parts of the world. Official calls to shutter the infamous prison are ahistorical, ambiguous, and disturbingly hollow in terms of their ethics.

Consider, for example, President Obama’s February 2016 declaration that the prison “undermines our standing in the world”; in his words, “It is viewed as a stain on our broader record of upholding the highest standards of rule of law” (Office of the Press Secretary, the White House). Three main problems become immediately clear. First, any honest review of base’s history offers damning testament of the fact that even in broad terms the U.S. has reneged on its responsibility to uphold “the highest standards of the rule of law”. Second, the experiences past and present of those who have suffered directly in the space producing the “stain” (e.g., enemy combatants, asylum seekers, refugees, Haitians forcibly repatriated to situations in which they faced persecution) are forgotten at best. The government’s emphasis is on how others see the U.S., international projection, rather than those whose lives have been negatively impacted by policies of capture and detention. And third, a close reading of Obama’s plan of how to

solve the problem of Guantánamo reveals that the facilities where the detainees are held would not be closed at all. Instead, it would be temporarily emptied, with its most controversial prisoners and practices transferred to the continental U.S. Moreover, the plan preserves indefinite detention and the mechanisms for reopening the facility for future leaders. To make matters worse, the technologies of the camps have already been exported to overseas “black sites” and migrant detention centers operated by the U.S. and its closest allies.

I didn’t get any sleep the night I spent at Gitmo. The flags outside flew at half-mast in honor of five policemen assassinated in Dallas by a veteran. He had served in the War in Afghanistan, the same war in which most of the detainees were captured. My mind was bombarded by half-formed questions about a journalist’s insistence that “the truth must be sustainable”, the general public’s tendency to forget the multiple abuses at Guantánamo, and Donald Trump’s promises to torture more “bad men” there. It was almost as if being physically in the base pushed all the answers further away. The only means of dealing with the anxiety was to recognize that the silences, secrets, and conundrums that loomed so near offered not only temporary refuge but also solid ground for future dialogue.

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ABOUT THE EDITORS



Prof. Dr. Nicholas Faraclas (Puerto Rico) is a Professor in Linguistics at the University of Puerto Rico, Río 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 Curaçao 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@uoc.cw

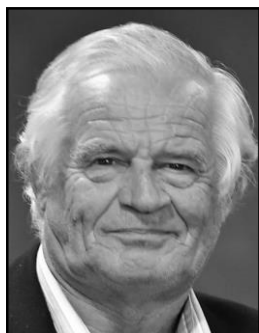


Drs. Christa Weijer (Curaçao) received a Bachelor's degree in French and Dutch, and a Master's in Romance Languages (main subject French) at the University of Leiden, Holland. She taught French and Dutch language and literature for more than twenty years at the Peter Stuyvesant College in Curaçao, and worked for the last fourteen years at the national institute for language planning, Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma (FPI). christa53@gmail.com

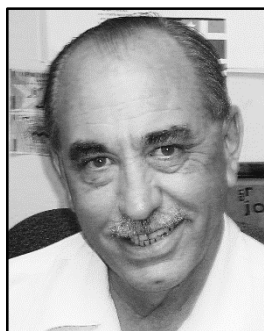


Dr. Elisabeth Echteld (Curaçao) is the Dean of the General Faculty at the University of Curaçao (2006-2012; 2014), where she is now Associate Professor in charge of research. She received her PhD from the University of Utrecht in the Netherlands. Her dissertation focuses on literature written in Spanish 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@uoc.cw; www.uoc.cw

ABOUT THE EDITORS (continuation)



Prof. Dr. Wim Rutgers (Aruba) is a Professor in Literary History and Literary Science with a focus on Papiamentu at the University of Curaçao. He received a Masters degree in General Literary Science in Utrecht and his PhD from the University of Utrecht. He has taught courses and published in the areas of Caribbean, Antillean and Aruban literature. He has long been a literary reviewer in the local press. He has written and published textbooks and manuals on literature for different educational levels. wim_rutgers@hotmail.com

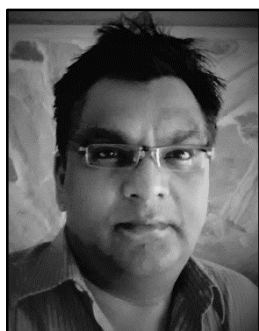


Prof. Dr. Robert Dupey (Puerto Rico) is a professor of English and Linguistics at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras. Having received his PhD from the University of Puerto Rico, he has taught a number of ESL and linguistics courses and has published work in the area of code-switching and language use among Puerto Rican university students. He is currently conducting research on the syntactic and lexical performance of university students. rob23111@hotmail.com

ABOUT THE AUTHORS



Dr. Ama Abrafi Adjei (Ghana) holds a PhD from the University of Education, Winneba. She is a lecturer of English at the University of Education and teaches courses in functional grammar, discourse analysis, stylistics, phonology, and varieties of English and has published some articles in these areas. abrafigh@yahoo.com



Tyrone Ali MA (Trinidad) serves as the Coordinator of the English Language Foundation Unit, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine. His research interests include Caribbean Literatures in English, Masculinity Studies, and Tertiary Level Writing by Caribbean students. The 1993 recipient of *The President's Medal for Teacher Education in Trinidad & Tobago*, Mr. Ali has served his country in many Language-related capacities and enjoys an interdisciplinary perspective on academic research. Tyrone.Ali@sta.uwi.edu



Dr. Jemima Asabea Anderson (Ghana) has been teaching Phonetics and Phonology of English, Varieties and Functions of English, Discourse Analysis, Pragmatics and Sociolinguistics as a Senior Lecturer in the Department of English at the University of Ghana since 1999. Her research interests include cross-cultural pragmatics, speech acts, pragmatics, politeness, the phonology of English in Ghana, Ghanaian Pidgin English, varieties of English in Ghana, sociolinguistics, language choice and language use in Ghana and the codification of English in Ghana. jegyening2000@yahoo.com/ janderson@ug.edu.gh



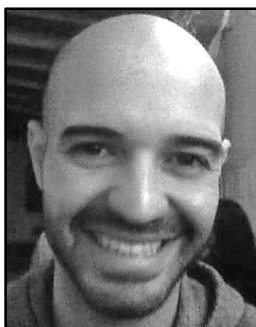
Dr. Mark Andrews (USA) earned his Masters and PhD from Michigan State University. He teaches French and Francophone literature at Vassar College. His research interests center on experimental representation in the novel and contemporary cultural theory. He has published on modern French and Francophone fiction and poetry. His more recent work is focused primarily on Caribbean authors, and he has published on the fiction and poetry of Gérard Étienne, Gisèle Pineau, Edward Kamau Brathwaite, and Daniel Thaly. andrewsm@vassar.edu



Melissa Angus Baboun MA (Puerto Rico) is a graduate student of linguistics at the University of Puerto Rico (Río Piedras). She earned her Masters degree after completing her thesis titled *The Importance of Early Sign Language Acquisition for d/Deaf Infants*. She is interested in researching sign languages, Deaf communities, and Deaf education, focusing on the Caribbean. She worked on the organizing committee of the 6th Caribbean Without Borders graduate student conference. Her aspirations are to teach sign language linguistics and promoting the importance of sign language. mel.a.upr@gmail.com



Kofi Darkoh-Ankrah MPhil (Ghana) is an Assistant Lecturer in the Department of English, University of Ghana, Legon. He holds a Bachelor of Arts (English) degree and an MPhil (English) degree, both from the University of Ghana. His research interests range across a wide variety of critical issues in African Literatures with a particular focus on West Africa. kodarkankrah@yahoo.co.uk

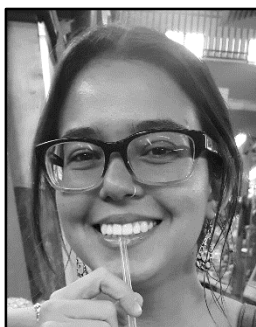


Anthony Díaz Vázquez MA (Puerto Rico) is a doctoral candidate in Hispanic Linguistics at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras Campus. His areas of interest include discourse studies, semantics and pragmatic theory. At the present time, he is working with the slang of the gay communities of the Caribbean and urban music as emblematic of counter-discourse in the Puerto Rican context. anthony.diaz30@gmail.com

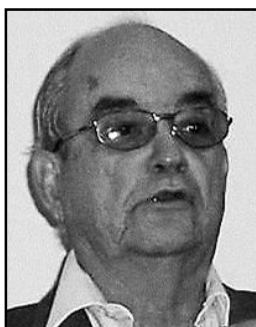


Prof. Dr. Brenda L. Domínguez-Rosado (Puerto Rico) has a BA in Secondary Education (TESS), an MA in American and British Literature, and a PhD in the Linguistics of the Anglophone Caribbean, all from the University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras campus. She has been an educator for thirty-one years and is a Professor of English at the UPR, Bayamón campus. Her interests include sociolinguistics and bilingual education. Her most recent publication is *The Unlinking of Language and Puerto Rican Identity: New Trends in Sight*.

brenda.dominguez1@upr.edu



Lenna Garay Rodríguez (Puerto Rico) es estudiante subgraduada en Estudios Hispánicos y en Estudios del Género y de la Mujer en la Universidad de Puerto Rico en Mayagüez. Sus áreas de interés académico son las olas migratorias del caribe hispanoparlante, la historia y literatura de las comunidades LGBTTIQ en Puerto Rico y el estudio antropológico de la marginalidad socioeconómica de la Isla, entre otros temas relacionados. En su tiempo libre disfruta compartir con su familia, viajar el mundo y practicar yoga. lenna.garay@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. Nemesio Gil (Puerto Rico) completed his doctoral studies in Caribbean Literature at the University of Puerto Rico with a second concentration in Modern Languages. His research interests include the aesthetics of black beauty in colonial and postcolonial literature, the representation of the colonial epoch in cinema, and visual culture in Europe and the Caribbean. He currently works as a film and theater director in San Juan, Puerto Rico. cinema2008@gmail.com



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.

alazho@yahoo.co.uk



Yarelni Iglesias Vázquez (Puerto Rico) es estudiante subgraduada del Departamento de Estudios Hispánicos en la Universidad de Puerto Rico, Mayagüez, donde incluso cursa concentraciones menores en Lingüística y Literatura Comparada. Sus intereses académicos son la investigación crítica literaria relacionada al Caribe, Latino América y el Pacífico; específicamente áreas como ecología postcolonial, migración, lingüística y las teorías anti/pos/de-coloniales, queer, feministas y de raza y etnia. Ha trabajado como asistente de investigación, redactora y editora en diversos proyectos académicos. yarelni.iglesias@upr.edu



Dr. ChenziRa Davis Kahina (St. Croix) is a cultural ethnographer, educator, artist, writer, naturopathic therapist, ordained minister and visionary. Her Indigenous AfRaKan Caribbean ancestry harmonizes with her research studies/credentials from Rutgers, Pepperdine, University of California San Diego, and Natural Health Institute. She is a founding director of Per Ankh, Inc. and is a Visiting Assistant Professor and director of the Virgin Islands Caribbean Cultural Center within the College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences at the University of the Virgin Islands. chenzira.daviskahina@uvi.edu and perankh@me.com



Dr. Kevin Kelly-Cooke (Puerto Rico) holds a PhD in Caribbean Literature from the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras and an MA in TESL from Inter American University in San German, 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, Río 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



Adriana María Mulero Claudio BA (Puerto Rico) is a graduate student pursuing a Masters degree in Linguistics at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras. She received her BA in Hispanic Studies and History of the Americas. Additionally, she has a Certificate in Gender Studies. Her research interests include the syntax-semantics interface, neurolinguistics, the use of counterfactual conditionals and creole languages. adriana.mulero@upr.edu



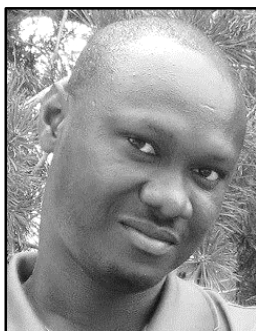
Prof. Dr. Robert Nicholls (St. Thomas) is a Professor of Social Science at the University of the Virgin Islands. He received a PhD. in African Studies from Howard University and has conducted research on the expressive culture of the Iggede people of Nigeria. His academic career has been devoted to exploring linkages between the folklore of West Africa and that of the Diaspora. He has published numerous articles in, for example, *African Arts and Folklore* (UK), and in 2012 published a book titled *The Jumbies' Playing Ground*, UPM. rnicholl@luvi.edu



Nicolás Andreas Ortiz Youngblood BA (Puerto Rico) nació y fue criado en Augusta, Georgia por su madre afroamericana y su padre puertorriqueño. Después de terminar sus estudios subgraduados, este joven diásporriqueño, afroamericano y queer, decidió mudarse a Puerto Rico para continuar aprendiendo sobre el lado paterno de su familia. Mientras estudia para una maestría en lingüística, también se dedica a aprender sobre las relaciones raciales y étnicas, la perspectiva de género, y el español, la literatura y las costumbres de Puerto Rico. naortiz22@hotmail.com



Omar Oduardo-Sierra MA (Puerto Rico) is pursuing his MA in Linguistics at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras. Having specialized in the fields of Political Philosophy and International Relations, he is now interested in the interface between language and political discourse. He is currently researching the characteristics of Puerto Rican environmental discourses, their uses, and the values framed by them. He seeks to apply quantitative research techniques to traditionally qualitative endeavors, and continues broadening his geographical scope. omaroduardo@gmail.com



Kwaku O. A. Osei-Tutu MA (Ghana) taught in the department of English at the University of Ghana, Legon from 2010 to 2013. He is currently a PhD student in the English Language and Linguistics program at Purdue University, where he is working on the grammar of Ghanaian Student Pidgin. k_oseitutu@yahoo.com



Dr. Anna Kasafi Perkins (Jamaica) is the Senior Programme Officer in the Quality Assurance Unit, University of the West Indies, Regional Headquarters, Jamaica, serving the Mona Campus. anna.perkins@uwimona.edu.jm



Dr. Millicent Akosua Quarcoo (Ghana) holds a PhD in English from the University of Ghana. Her main area of interest is sociolinguistics. She has published articles in the area of the sociolinguistics of language contact situations. She is currently a part-time lecturer at the University of Education, Winneba, where she teaches courses in sociolinguistics, applied linguistics and grammatical theory. akosquarcoo@gmail.com



Jo. Robles Lugo MA (Puerto Rico) is a PhD student and research assistant in the Caribbean Literature program at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras. He completed his Masters degree in English Education at the University of Puerto Rico, Mayagüez where he taught basic and intermediate level English. His areas of research focus on 19th and 20th century American Literature and Caribbean Literature. jo.robles@upr.edu



Dr. Norma Liz Rodriguez-Santiago MA (Puerto Rico) is a PhD student and lecturer on film and literature in English at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras campus. She has participated in various conferences in the United States, Trinidad and Tobago, and Puerto Rico, and her work has been published in academic journals and magazines. Her research interests are Caribbean film, women filmmakers, Anglophone Caribbean literature, and kinship relationships within the West Indian region. norma.rodriguez13@upr.edu



Luis A. Sánchez Galán BA (Puerto Rico) is a full time graduate student in the English Department of the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras campus. He is currently working on his Masters Degree in English Literature. In addition to his studies, he is a full time teacher at a private high school in Bayamon. ls.g2009@hotmail.com



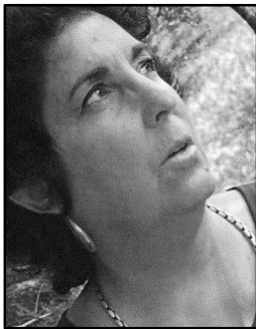
Karen Sanderson Cole MPhil (Trinidad) is an assistant lecturer in the Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics at the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago. She has an MPhil in Literatures in English and M.HEd in Teaching at the Tertiary Level and has just submitted her PhD thesis with a focus on Caribbean Autobiography. ksandersoncole@yahoo.com



Juan Sepulveda Figuereo BA (Puerto Rico) recently finished his bachelors degree at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras campus, with a concentration in Linguistics. He is passionate about social justice and post-colonial theory. Currently he is conducting research in race theory, and how applies in the of Puerto Rican context. juan-pr2@hotmail.com



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 research is focused on Bilingualism, Ethnolinguistics, Identity and Critical Discourse Analysis. asimounet2002@yahoo.com



Dr. María Suárez Toro (USA) is a Puerto Rican and Costa Rican, a certified PADI scuba diver, a fisherwoman, a Board member of ASOpacs, and co founder and co coordinator of the Community Scuba Diving Center Ambassadors of the Sea in Costa Rica. Having received her PhD in Holistic Education from La Salle University in Costa Rica she has worked as an Adjunct Prtofessor at the University of Denver in Colorado since 2000 teaching communications. She is the author of 12 books, three of them about the Southern Caribbean. Maria.escribanan@gmail.com



Raúl Javier Vázquez Vélez MA (Puerto Rico) is a second-year PhD student in the Department of English at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras campus. His research interests include Puerto Rican literature and early West Indian prose and poetry. He has published poetry and short fiction in local journals. inti_x@yahoo.com



Prof. Dr. Don E. Walicek (Puerto Rico) is a professor of English and Linguistics at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras campus. Since 2009 he has served as Editor of the Caribbean Studies journal *Sargasso*. He and Jessica Adams are the co-editors of a forthcoming volume of essays called *Guantánamo and the Empire of Freedom*. don.walicek@upr.edu



Dr. Kadian Walters (Jamaica) currently lectures applied linguistics courses at the University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica. Her dissertation focused on linguistic discrimination in Jamaica's public formal domains. Her interests include forensic linguistics, language rights, language ideology, language attitudes and discourse analysis. She is also a communications consultant who trains civil servants, such as members of the Jamaica Constabulary Force in areas such as public speaking and academic writing. kadian.walters@gmail.com



Prof. Dr. Nagueyalti Warren (USA) is Senior Lecturer and Director of Undergraduate Studies in the Department of African American Studies at Emory University, where she also served as Assistant and Associate Dean 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. nwarren@emory.edu



Prof. Dr. Helen Yitah (Ghana) is Associate Professor in the Department of English, University of Ghana. She is also founding Director of the University of Ghana-Carnegie Writing Centre, established through her initiative. She has taught various courses on literature and writing at the university. As a literary scholar and cultural critic, she has published on gender identity in literature, particularly oral and written African literature, American literature and children's literature in Ghana; and women's cultural production in colonial and contemporary Africa. hyitah@ug.edu.gh; hyitah@yahoo.com

