This volume, *Positive Interferences: Unsettling Resonances in the study of the languages, literatures and cultures of the Greater Caribbean and beyond*, 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. The online versions of these volumes and the other 21 volumes in this series can be found on the Caribbean Languages and Culture Platform in the Partner Collections of the Dutch Caribbean Digital Platform of the Library of University of Curaçao at http://dcdp.uoc.cw/icarplat.

Positive Interferences

Faraclas | Severing | Weijer
Echteld | Rutgers | Delgado

UNIVERSITY
OF CURAÇAO
DR. MOISES DA COSTA GOMEZ

University of Aruba

UoC

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Positive Interferences:

Unsettling Resonances in the study of the languages, literatures and cultures of the Greater Caribbean and beyond

Positive Interferences:
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literatures and cultures of the Greater Caribbean and beyond

Dedication

ELIZABETH SANDERS ARBUCKLE
(August 8, 1928 - May 3, 2019)

A Life of Love, Scholarship and Adventure

Elizabeth Sanders Arbuckle (1928-2019) was my close friend and colleague, an English teacher, and a respected scholar of 19th century British literature who wrote extensively about British feminist Harriet Martineau. I once met a friend from California who said "You know, Betsy doesn't just study Harriet Martineau, she has become Harriet, who has consumed her research and writing for the last forty years." At the time of her passing, Betsy was serving for the second time as president of the Harriet Martineau Society in Great Britain. Stanford University Press published two of Betsy's academic books, and her "definitive" biography of Martineau will soon be published online by her son Michael.

Betsy did her doctoral studies at the University of Edinburgh while taking care of a young family. For many years, she served as teacher, committee member, and MA and PhD thesis adviser in the English Department of the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras campus. Betsy was an avid traveler and one of the four founders of the annual Eastern Caribbean Islands Cultures ('Islands in Between') conference. She attended nearly every one of the first 20 Islands in Between conferences, which have been bringing together students and faculties from universities throughout the Caribbean for the past two decades. She loved teaching, and I remember that once, when she had a group of Puerto Rican graduate students in a Victorian literature class, she created a module on lace-making and invited a Puerto Rican lace-maker to class, in order to demonstrate how lace-making and other activities traditionally relegated to women provided them with the time and venue for organizing themselves to establish and participate in the feminist movements of the 19th century and beyond.

We will surely miss her, but Betsy will always remain with us in spirit at the Islands in Between conferences.

Joan McMurray

Positive Interferences

Unsettling resonances in the study of the languages, literatures and cultures of the Greater Caribbean and beyond

Volume 2

Edited by

Prof. Dr. Nicholas Faraclas
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UNIVERSITY OF CURAÇAO
DR. MOISES DA COSTA GOMEZ

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Cover: Painting by Giolina Henriquez, *Hala di berdad (Wings of truth)*. Acrylic on canvas, Aruba, 1996. Private collection of Jan Mol, the Netherlands.

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Introduction and Acknowledgements

The two publications: *Creative Contradictions: Unsettling resonances in the study of the languages, literatures and cultures of the Dutch Caribbean and beyond* together with *Positive Interferences: Unsettling resonances in the study of the languages, literatures and cultures of the Greater Caribbean and beyond,* contain a collection of articles that present a critical perspective on the languages, literatures, and cultures of the Greater Caribbean and the Caribbean diaspora. The contributing authors include a wide range of voices old and new from the Caribbean and beyond.

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

The online versions of these volumes and the other 21 volumes in this series can be found on the Caribbean Languages and Culture Platform in the Partner Collections of the Dutch Caribbean Digital Platform of the Library of the University of Curaçao at http://dcdp.uoc.cw/icarplat.

The Editors

UNSETTLING RESONANCES
IN LANGUAGE AND DISCOURSE OF
THE GREATER CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND

A SHORT STORY IN THREE CREOLES

IAN HANCOCK

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, AUSTIN

I came across one of the late Timothy Callender's short stories in a little anthology called *It so happen* (Callender, 2010). I particularly enjoyed the story "A deal with the devil" written, like all of them in the book, in Bajan – and *à propos* of nothing, decided to translate it into three other English Lexifier Atlantic Creoles (ELACs) that I am familiar with: Texas Afro-Seminole from North America, Jamaican from the Caribbean, and Krio from West Africa. The translations follow, with relevant notes.

Texas Afro-Seminole

This is written impressionistically. Those involved are *Skip* (Scipio), *Fibba* and *Huckless* (Hercules). Texas Afro-Seminole is an offshoot of Sea Islands Creole (Gullah) that was carried via Florida, Oklahoma and Mexico into Texas reaching there in the 1840s (Hancock, 2014). It is called [ʃɪmɪˈnoːlɪ] or [masˈkogo] by its speakers, who are not familiar with the words *Gullah* or *Geechee*. Unlike Sea Islands Gullah, the future is marked with *en*, negative *n'en*. *Erreh* and *nerreh* mean 'any' and 'not any' respectively. The second person pronoun *hunnuh* is both singular and plural.

HOW SKIP DONE LOS' 'E SOUL

Fum de fus' time dat de 'ooman name Fibba bin come fuh lib een de house whuh dey kittacawnda to 'e own, Skip bin des duh hanker aatuh rum baaad. Hunnuh know how 'e stan wen a nyoung man duh lib da' bachelor life en 'e duh feel 'e sap duh rise, well duh da feelin dey whuh duh moob Skip, ontil 'e cyan do nuttn mo' 'kyusin fuh tink bout Fibba. Night en day, nummuh duh Fibba whey deppon 'e mine. All day, 'e des duh seddown 'long 'e winda duh spy 'pon de house cross de way, een de hope fuh see Fibba come outn 'e do' so 'e could ketch a lee look at um.

Fuh de whole night dusso 'e duh do, so till 'e plum wo' out, but eebn doe a bade bin deddeh fuh 'e leddown, still 'e couldn scacely ketch no sleep. 'E min' bin jes' duh fassn 'pon Fibba.

De nex mornin, 'e git outta 'e bade en go seddown 'gen tuh de winda fuh try ketch a look 'pon de 'ooman.

Hunnuh haffuh aks, duh wuh meck Skip nuh go him one fuh talk tuh Fibba? Well, dishyuh Fibba bin get him own man, a cyarpinter whuh name Huckless, some kin' ob a big oagly dude wheh nuh fraid a no one, wheh could look anyburry traight een de yie en trettn um fuh 'e eebm look 'pon Fibba outa de co'ner a him yie.

Dissyuh Huckless duh one giant, en duh 'e bad repitation whuh meck Skip skade fuh call um out. Fibba bin tell all 'e frien' dem seh "eebn do' me man duh one nasty man, ah know wa' side a me brade git de butter. Enty duh Huck whey buil' de house whey ah lib?"

Ah nuh wan' fuh tell hunnuh seh Fibba nuh eber notus seh-seh Skip want um, en ah nuh wan' fuh say 'e wudn go cross de road tuh Skip house ef 'e bin eber git de chance; but 'e nuh able fuhggit seh 'e man too jallous, s'mburry whuh wudn wait two secon' befoe 'e 'ud teck out 'e cyarpinter tool dem fuh hu't inny-one whuh da'es look 'pon 'im ooman. 'E eebn tell Fibba 'e seff seh 'e wuda kill um ef 'e ebber tink bout 'e gwen cross ober de street. Disshyuh Huckless nuh lub noburry een de roun worl 'cyusin fuh Fibba, en 'e nuh lub fuh do nuttn 'tall 'gin 'sep fuh buil' house.   Well den, Skip nudduh coward, but same time so 'e nuh chupid needer. 'Pon dis paticla day wheh 'e binnuh seddown tuh 'e winda duh peek tru de curtain, 'e see Fibba befoe 'e house duh mine 'e lee gyaadn. 'E look *too* fine een 'e tight dress wen 'e ben ober fuh ten' tuh 'e flower, ontil Skip kudn look 'pon um no mo bidout 'e los 'e mine. Whuh fuh do? 'E studdy duh watch lukka dis ontel 'e des haffuh holler "Wow! Ah ready fuh sell me *soul* tuh de debble ef 'e kud gimme eebm a half-hour me en Fibba des we two togedder!"

No soon 'e done say dis 'e yeddy *KAPANG!!* en de flo broke open en smoke bin dey ebbuhway, en Skip 'tan dey shock tuh det. As 'e tun 'e hade suh, who dat 'e see but Satan! Duh de debble *'eseff* whuh duh 'tanup befo rum een 'e room.

Skip holler "duh whuh hunnuh duh do een me house yuh so? Gullung fum yuh, ah nuh wan' nuttn fuh do long hunnuh, me duh one clean Christian man!"

Satan tell um sey "duh joke hunnuh duh joke, enty? Ah n'en des' yeddy hunnuh duh bague me fuh change hunnuh soul fuh ah gi' hunnuh lee time fuh spen long Fibba?"

Skip skade fuh true. 'E begin fuh see whuh kine a trouble 'e deppon en 'e tell de debble 'gin seh "Hunnuh duh one lyin liar! Ah nebba say nuttn lukka dat!" But de debble des look 'pon po Skip en 'e gie um answer seh "Leh me tell hunnuh one natchal ting: Ah *nebber* duh lie."

Skip den tell um "But nummuh duh *play* whuh ah binnuh play" en de debble tell um 'gin seh "En le' me tell hunnuh one mo ting agin: me, ah nebber duh *play* needer!!"

Den Skip begin fuh cry. "Me mammaw bin raise me good, 'e teach me fuh respec God, but see de trouble wheh duh ail me now!"

De debble des look 'pon Skip. 'E tell um sey "Ah done ketch *nuffa* people same way lukka hunnuh; hunnuh yuman bein', hunnuh *weak*!" Den 'e suck 'e teet en 'e say

"Ah done too weary fuh wase time wit hunnuh; des go on en gi' me hunnuh soul right now."

Skip ready fuh die fuh 'e dat skade. 'E bina 'tanup een de cawnda duh shake lukka leaf, caze Satan bin lif' up a cyatta-nine-tail whip wheh 'e crack smaatly, *wap!* En ah wan' fuh le' hunnuh know, disshyuh whip, dem nuh make out a string, dem bin make um out a sneek! En de nine sneek dem bina twis en tun ready fuh bite po Skip.

Da' duh de time wen Skip 'cide fuh leh de debble do anytin whuh 'e wan'. 'E tell um say "Okay Satan, ah 'en gi' hunnuh me soul, 'cep how ah 'en know seh hunnuh gwen keep hunnuh own part a de bargain?" Scacely 'e say dat, 'e yeddy *konkonkong* 'pon de doe. Satan say "Go look who-dat duh 'tan up duh hunnuh doe."

Duh Fibba! De gyal look 'pon Skip, 'e smile one sweet smile 'pon um, 'e meck 'e body so, en 'e aks um seh "Brer Skip, hunnuh kin do me one ting? Hunnuh cud come ober duh me own house, fuh leh we spen' lee time togedder des we two?"

No sooner de gyal lef, Satan look 'pon Skip en tell um fuh 'e haffuh liddown cross 'e cheer fuh le' 'e flog um. As Skip meck so, de debble tell um "Once ah 'en done flog hunnuh t'ree time, da to'd time, hunnuh soul 'en blonk tuh me, en hunnuh gwine git erriting whuh hunnuh want, 'cludin da fine Sis Fibba ober yonder."

Now Skip duh one happy man. 'E tell de debble seh "Hunnuh nuh yeddy wen 'e bin aks me fuh go duh 'e house, fuh leh we spen' a half-hour togedder? Meck hunnuh duh wase time?? Flog me nuh, me nuh wan' fuh wase time 'pon talk!"

De debble say "Okay. But wen ah duh flog hunnuh, *hunnuh nuh fuh call out nerreh holy name*; do dat, en erriting gwen *stop* en be same lucka how 'e bin dey befo."

Skip say yeh, 'e gree to dat.

Den Satan hice up 'e whip, en gi' Skip one *heby* lash. Aie! 'E feel tuh Skip luck erreh snake bina bite um all tuh once. ''E holler "Ow! Sunnamabitch!

Satan lash um 'gin good, an Skip holler "Damn!!"

But de tud lash whey Satan bin lash um, Skip kudn hep 'e sef en 'e holler "Jesus, Mary en Joseph!!"

All tuh once Satan done gone. Skip 'tan up, 'e look all around um, en 'e see seh di flo nuh broke, nuh smoke nuh bin dey ebbawhey, 'e stan lukka de debble nuh eebm bin deddeh.

Since da time, Skip done be one difren man. 'E nuh wan' fuh talk tuh nombarry no mo, 'e bin des duh trapes up en down de 'treet lukkuh ghos. But eebm errabody f'aid fuh dey close turrum, de gyal Fibba bin still want um, caze a de fix whey de debble bin fix um. 'E tell one a 'e frien dem seh one day wen Hukless nuh bin dey een town, 'e call Skip fuh come spen' lee time turrum, but Skip bin done turn tuh sometin lukka dead pussin, 'e nuh say one word, 'e nuh do nuttn. En from da day deh, erriting done done twix Fibba en Skip.

Jamaican

Here, the protagonists are Rupert, Precious and Trevor.

OU RUPAT LAS IM SUOL

Fram i fors taim we dar' uman Preshas en kom tap a wan ous uoba fram f'im uon, Rupat Jansin did want im baad. Unu nuo ou i tan wen a yong man a lib im bachila laif elti an trang; an a da fiilin we kantruol Rupat so til im kyaan tink bout eni oda ting eksep fi Preshas; nait an die a onggl Preshas we de pan im main. Uol die im jos a sidoung bai im winda a stiir pan i ous uoba yanda, a uop se Preshas wi kom out a duor so im kud sii im. Uol nait a so im de pan tel im taia, bot iivin im kuda lidoung, im kudn sliip non taal; im main jos a fiks pan Preshas.

Maanin kom, im get outa bed go sidoung wans muor a di winda a trai fi tiif wan likl luk a di uman. Unu afi aks unu self a wa mek Rupat jos na guo im wan go taak tu Preshas. Wel, dis Preshas av a baifren: wan kyaapinta we niem Treva, som kain a big an uogli fela we na a fried a nobadi, we kuda luk sumadi triet ina im yai an tretn im ef im iivn luk fram im kaana yai pan im uman. Dis Treva a wan jaiant, an a f'im repitieshan we mek Rupat fried fi kaal im out. Preshas tel im fren dem "Iivn do mi man a ruud bwai, mi nuo a huu-dat a ful mi pliet. A na Treva we bil i ous we mi ste?"

Mi na wan fi tel unu se Preshas na eva nuotis se Rupat lob im, an mi na wan fi se im wudn guo de ef im ha di chans; bot im kyaan figat se im man jelas fi chruu, a buli we wudn wiet tu sekn bifuor im tek im kyaapita tuul dem fi ort eniwan we diir fi luk pan im gyorlfren. Im iivn tel Preshas se im wuda kil *im* ef im main gi im fi kras uoba i triit eni taim. Treva na lob nombari muoran Preshas, an im na lob fi du notn eksep fi bil ous dem.

Wel, Rupat na a kawad, bot siemwie so im na chupid. Dis patikla die ya we im en a sidoung a spai truu im winda kortn, im sii Preshas out a duo a main im gyaadn. Ina f'im tait dres im luk fit an fain wen im butu, tel Rupat kyaan biir fi luk. Wa fi du? Im stedi a wach im so til im jos bos out "Wai! Mi kuda *apili* tried mi suol tu di debl ef mi kud spen jos wan likl aaf-awa aluon wit Preshas!"

Jos az im taak dat *KAPANG!!* Di fluo ina im ous plit uopm, smuok de ebriwiir, Rupat taakl! Az im ton im hed so, a huudat im sii bot *Sietan*. Di *debl* en a tanop de bifuo im ina im uona ruum!

Rupat hala "A wa yu a du ina fi mi ous? Biyaf! Mi na wan notn fi du wi yu, mi a gud Krischan bwai!"

Sietan se "A juok yu mos a juok; mi na jos ier yu a beg mi fi tried yu suol fi som likl lovop taim wi Preshas?"

Nou Rupat bigin fi sii im chrobl. Im skiad. "A lai! Mi na se dat ataal." Sietan gi im ansa se "Na; mi, mi *neva* lai."

Rupat se "bot a ongl plie mi en a plie!" Setan tel im se "An i neks tin we mi neva du, a *plie*."

Den Rupat taat fi krai. "Mi moda wen trien mi gud, im tiich mi fi rispek Gɔd. Luk di chrobl we mi de pan nou!"

Debl se "Mi don kech *nof* a piipl siem wie so; morkl man *wiik*." Im chups. "Beriwel; mi don taia fi chat. Gi mi yu suol."

Rupat riiali fried nou. Im tanop ina i kaana a trimbl laika liif. Den Sietan ies op wan kyat-a-naintielz an krak i. A na tring wa dis wip av, a nain sniek we a rigl-rigl, aal redi fi bait Rupat.

Rupat sorenda. "Aal rait Sietan, mi wi gi yu; bot ou mi gwain nuo se yu wi kiip yu uon paat a di baagn?" Az im taak so, im ier *konkonkong* pan i duo. Sietan se "Luk huu dat a tan op a yu duo-mout."

A Preshas!; di gyal luk pan Rupat, im smail pan im an im wain im badi, an im aks im se "Mista Rupat, mi wan' mek yu du mi sintin. Mi wi bii tuu api ef yu kud gri fi kom spen wan likl aaf-awa tugeda wi mi ina mi giet."

Wans i gyal lef, Sietan luk pan Rupat, an tel im mek im liing im badi uoba i chiir so im kud flag im. Im tel im se "Wans mi wuda don flag yu trii taim, den yu suol gwain de fi mi an yu gwain ha eritin wa yu want."

Rupat *tuu* api nou. Im tel i Debl se "Yu na ier wen da gyal en aks mi fi go a f'im yaad, fi mek wi pas wan likl haaf-awa tugeda? Kom no, flag mi no! Mek wi finish wit dis biznis rait awie!"

Debul se "Aal rait. Bot az mi a flag yu, *yu no fi kaal out non uoli niem*; yu du so an eritin wi stap."

Rupat tel im se im grii.

Den Sietan lif op im wip, im gi Rupat wan *tait* lash. Ai! I tan laik ebri wan a dem sniek dem en bait Rupat wan taim. Im ala out "Woya! Debul ras!"

Sietan lash im agien gud, Rupat hala "Bombo klat!"

Di tord lash we Sietan lash im, Rupat ala "Jizos Mieri an Jozef!!"

Aal av a sodn, Sietan vanish. Rupat tanop, im luk aal about, im sii se i fluo na bruokn eni muor, na smuok na de eniwiir. I tan laik Sietan na iivn ben de de.

Fram da taim de, Rupat a difren porsn. Im na wan fi taak tu nombari, im en jos a waak op an doung ina di triit laik guos. Wais eribadi en a fried a im, stil Preshas en want im; a kaazn di wich wa di debl en wich im stil en a kech im. Im tel wan im fren se, wan die we Treva n'en de a toung, im kaal Rupat fi kom spen likl taim a im giet, bot Rupat don tan laika guos. Im na taak, im na du notn. Fram da de de, eritin *don* bitwiin Preshas an Rupat.

Krio (Sierra Leone)
Here, the protagonists are *Ade*, *Onikɛ* and *Fɛmi*, common Krio names of Yoruba origin. The orthography is the official one, matching that used for all of the indigenous languages in Sierra Leone. *Na* is 'be,' negative *nɔto*.

Because Krio is substantially different lexically from the Western Hemisphere ELACs, a glossary is appended to the story.

AW ADE LƆS IN SOL

Frɔm di fɔs tɛm we di uman Onikɛ bin kam tap na wan os obasay to in yon, Ade Jɔnsin bin kɔle pan am. Una no aw i tan we yɔng man kin fala da in palampo layf, ɛlti ɛn tranga wan, ɛn fɔ tru na da filin we kɔntrol Ade sote i nɔ ebul tink bɔt ɛni ɔda ting pas Onikɛ; nɛt ɛn de na Onikɛ nɔmɔ we de pan in mayn. Ol de i kin sidɔm klos in winda de pin yay pan di os yanda, de abop se Onikɛ go kɔmɔt nado lɛ i luk am. Ol nɛt na so i blan du, sote i taya, bɔt i lɛk i kin lidɔm, i nɔ ebul slip; in mayn jis de fashin pan Onikɛ.

Mɔnin kam, i grap go sidɔm bak na di winda de tray tif wan lili luk pan di uman. Una mɔs kin wɔndrin wetin du Ade in sɛf jis nɔ go bɛl am. Wɛl, dis Onikɛ gɛ' skwɛks: wan kyapinta we nɛm Fɛmi, sɔn kamba agɔngɔshu we nɔ de fred nɔmbɔdi, we kin luk pɔsin ojukokoro ɛf i ivin luk kɔna yay pan in uman. Dis Fɛmi na ajanaku, ɛn na di bra in ishi we mɛk Ade de fred fɔ shegbu-ma-shegbu—fɔ opinkɔl am. Onikɛ kin tɛl in padi dɛn "Ɔl we mi man na jangreman, ɔl we na skaf, a no udat de ful mi plet. Ɛnti nɔto bin Fɛmi we bil da os we a tap?"

Nɔto fɔ se i nɔba notis se Ade kin de milɛ am, ɛn nɔto fɔ se abi i bin fɔ go da say ɛf chans bin de; bɔt i kyant fɔgɛt se in man jalas pas mak; na galut we nɔ go ɛng tu sɛkɛn sɛf bifo i tek in kyapita tul dɛn fɔ tek dɛn at udat ɛn udat diyas luk pan in bani. Kukuya i bin tɛl Onikɛ sɛf se i go kil am ɛf in mayn gi am fɔ wirɔn go ɔda say. I nɔ bin lɛk nɔmbɔdi pas Onikɛ, ɛn i nɔ bin lɛk fɔ du natin pas bil os.

Wɛl, Ade nɔto bin kawad, bɔt i nɔ chupit. Dis patikla de we i bin de sidɔm de spay na in winda, i si Onikɛ nado de mɛn in gyadin. Na in tayt lapa i luk roju ɛn fayn we i butu, sote Ade nɔ ebul bia. Aw fɔ du? I wach am i wach am i wach am baybay wan sote i ala bujubaja "Way! A go tredin mi *sol* to di *Dɛbul* wit *gladi* ɛf a kin gɛt wan af-awa wit Onikɛ!"

Jis i tɔk da wan de *KAPANG!!* Di flo na in os plit opin, smok de ɔlɔbɔt, Ade yɛk! As i tɔn in ed nɔmɔ na udat i si—? Na bin *Setan*. Di *dɛbul* bin de tinap de bifo ram na in yon yon pala!

Ade ala se "Wetin yu de du na mi os? Biyaf! A nɔ bisin bɔt yu, mi na gud Anglikan bɔy!"

Setan se "Na jok yu de jok o; a nɔ bin yɛri yu jisnɔ de beg mi fɔ tredin yu sol fɔ lili tɛm wit Onikɛ?"

Ade bigin fɔ si in ɛleya. I majiji. "Na gati! A nɔ se dat." Setan ansa ram se "Nɔ o; mi, a nɔ ɛva lay."

Ade se "bɔ' na ple a bin de ple nɔmɔ!" Setan tɛl am se "Di ɔda tin we a nɔ ɛva du, na *ple*."

Na in Ade bigin kray. "Mi mɔda bin tren mi gud, i chich mi fɔ rɛspɛk Gɔd. Luk di waala we a de pan naw!"

Dɛbul se "a dɔn kech plɛnti pipul sewe so; mɔtal man wik." I shumɔ. "Bɛrɛwɛl; a dɔn taya fɔ dantɛgɛ. *Gi mi yu sol!!*"

Naw Ade did dɔn fred fɔ tru. I tinap na kɔna de trimbul lɛkɛ lif. Na in Setan es ɔp wan kyatnaynten, i krak am. Nɔto tring dis wip gɛt, na bin nayn kangre we de rakpala, rɛdi fɔ bɛt Ade.

Ade sɔrɛnda. "Ɔrayt Setan, a go gi yu; bɔt aw a go no se yu sɛf go kip yu yon pat pan di bagin?"

As i tɔk so, i yɛri *kɔnkɔnkɔn* pan di do. Setan se "Luk udat de na yu domɔt."

Na Onikɛ!; di gyal luk Ade, i malangba, i aks am se "Mista Ade, a wan' lɛ yu du mi sɔntin. A go gladi *bad* ɛf yu kin gri fɔ go na mi os go pas lili af-awa to mi obasay."

Wans di gyal dɔn kɔmɔt, Setan luk pan Ade, i tɛl am mɛk i ling in bɔdi oba di chia fɔ lɛ i flag am. I tɛl am se "Wans a dɔn flag yu tri tɛm, na in yu sol go blant mi ɛn yu go gɛt ɔl wetin yu want."

Ade *pas* gladi naw. I tɛl di Dɛbul se "Yu nɔ yɛri we da gyal bin aks mi fɔ go te to ram, fɔ lɛ wi pas wan lili af-awa? Du ya, *flag mi nɔ!* Lɛ wi dɔn dis biznɛs wantɛm!"

Dɛbul se "Ɔrayt. Bɔt as a de flag yu, *yu nɔ fɔ kɔl nɔn oli nɛm*, ya? ɛf yu du so, ɔl tin go dɔn gbɔyuwa."

Ade tɛl am se i gri.

Na in Setan es in wip, i gi am wan *tayt* lash. Ay! I tan lɛk ebri wan dɛn snɛk dɛn bin bɛt Ade wan tɛm. I ala "*Wɔya! Dɛbul ras!*"

Setan lash am bak gud fashin, Ade ala "*Dɛm it to ɛl!*"

Di tɔd lash we Setan lash am, Ade ala "*Jizɔs Meri ɛn Jozɛf!!*"

Wan tɛm, Setan ale. Ade timap, i luk ɔlɔbɔt, i si se di flo nɔ broko igen, nɔn smok nɔ de ɛnisay. I tan lɛk' Setan nɔ ivin bin de de.

Frɔm da tɛm de Ade bin dɔn chenj. I nɔ bin wan tɔk to nɔmbɔdi, i bin jis de trɛps ɔp ɛn dɔng na trit lɛkɛ gos. Ways ɔlman bin de fred am, biyol Onikɛ bin stil want am; na we di wich we di dɛbul wich am stil bin kech. I bɔs wan in padi se wan de we Fɛmi nɔ bin de tɔng, i kɔl Ade fɔ kam pas wan lili kɔnakɔna to ram, bɔt Ade bin tan lɛk' jombi. I nɔ tɔk, i nɔ du natin. Frɔm da de de, ɔl tin dɔn bitwin Onikɛ ɛn Ade.

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agɔngɔshu 'a big, ugly person'
ajanaku 'elephant,' but a simile for someone big and ruthless
bani 'sweetheart, girlfriend'
baybay 'overly eager'
bɔs 'gossip, bring up to date'
bɛl 'flirt with'
blan(t) 'customarily'
bujubaja 'hurriedly'
butu 'stoop'
dantɛgɛ 'talk excessively'

diyas 'dare'
ɛleya 'trouble'
galut 'big, ungainly man'
gati 'a lie'
gbɔyuwa 'all gone, finished'
ishi 'reputation'
jangreman 'rough-and-ready man'
jombi 'kind of ghost'
kamba 'sort of (a)'
kangri 'snake species'
kɔle 'admire'
kɔnakɔna 'sneaky, secret'
kin 'customarily'
kukuya 'in fact'
lapa 'woman's wrap'
majiji 'excited, nervous'
malangba 'act flirtatiously'
milɛ 'to envy'
nado 'outside'
ojukokoro 'eye-to-eye'
opinkɔl 'challenge, threaten'
padi 'friend'
palampo 'bachelor'
rakpala 'engage in rough-and-tumble'
roju 'pleasantly and healthily buxom'
shegbu-ma-shegbu 'attempting something regardless'
shumɔ 'suck teeth'
skaf 'nasty person'
skwɛks 'girlfriend; boyfriend'
sote 'until; so much'
waala 'trouble'
wirɔn 'wander aimlessly'

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LEXICAL INNOVATION IN PUERTO RICAN SPANISH: THE INTENSIONAL MEANING OF 'BIEN' AND 'MÁS'

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Introduction

Extremeness in Puerto Rican Spanish is encoded by a number of modifiers, such as *bien* and *más*. When they modify an adjective, they convey a clear exaggerated degree interpretation. In this article, I argue and provide evidence that the exaggerated interpretation is conveyed by an intensional 'beyond expected' reading. Intensionality is a semantic concept that has not been consistently linked to degrees. I argue that the proper treatment of the intensional reading requires that we relativize the degree to the speaker's expectation, thus conveying a 'beyond expected' reading. As a consequence of this relativization we show that extreme expressions in Puerto Rican Spanish have an attitude/intensional component that is not part of the standard meaning. I conclude that this is a clear example of semantical innovation in Puerto Rican Spanish.

In Puerto Rican Spanish (PRSp) there are various extreme expressions that behave as degree modifiers and pluractionals (Padilla-Reyes, 2018). For example, *bien/well* can modify adjectives (1a), while *más/more* can modify adjectives and verbs and *un cojonal/a bunch* can modify verbs (1b). While *bien* is an adjective modifier, *más* and *un cojonal* seem to be able to modify verbs and produce a pluractional-like behavior. In recent literature, it has been argued that these extreme degree modifiers have intensional readings (Padilla-Reyes et al., 2016; González-Rivera & Gutiérrez-Rexach, 2011). Consider the example in (2a). The extreme expression (i) clashes with the follow up (ii).

The extreme expression (i) contains an expectation verb that relativizes Mary's tallness to what the speaker expected. The follow up (ii) clashes with the extreme expression because it indicates that the speaker uttered the first expression (i) even though the state of affairs was according to what he/she expected. The example in (2ai) conveys the opposite of what the follow up statement (ii) indicates. Mary's tallness was more than the speaker expected. The meaning intended of (2ai) is paraphrased in (2aiii).

(1a) ¡Mary es **bien/más** alta!
Mary is well/more tall
  'Mary is extremely tall!'

(1b) ¡Mary corrió **más!/un cojonal**
Mary ran more/a "bunch"
'Mary ran extremely/many times.'

(2ai) ¡Mary está **más** alta! (ii) #Pero la esperaba así.
Mary is more tall But her I-expected like-that.
'Mary is extremely tall! But I expected her to be like that.'

(2aiii) According to what I **expected,** Mary's tallness went beyond that.

On the other hand, degree exclamatives seem to convey the same reading. The exclamative expression in (3) states that Mary's tallness is extreme and is more than the speaker expected. The exclamative generates the same clash that the extreme adverb *más* generates in (2a).

(3) ¡Qué alta es Mary! #Pero la esperaba así.
What tall is Mary But her I-expected like-that.
'How tall is Mary! But I expected her to be like that.'

However there seems to be a problem. These expressions relativize the adjective's degree to the speaker's expectation. Expectation is usually analyzed as an attitude verb, which is intensional in nature (Hintikka, 1962 and Kratzer, 2006). An intensional statement is an expression whose meaning is not computed purely by its extension. This leaves us with a question: how do we account for an extreme expression that has an intensional reading? In this study, we will give an account of this 'beyond expected' reading. Here I will argue that the truth condition of an extreme expression and degree exclamative is relative to the speaker's expectation, making them intensional.

There are three ways that we can interpret extreme expressions in Puerto Rican Spanish. One is the canonical way, where the standard of comparison is determined by context, more specifically by the comparison class (CC). The second way, I will argue, is a standard of comparison that is determined by the speaker's point of view, and is, therefore, intensional. I argue that the *beyond expected* reading comes from the fact that a given degree is higher than the maximal expected degrees.

Gradability and extremeness

Gradability is usually taken to be the province of adjectives, which are canonically represented by adjectives such as *tall, far, little, big, wide,* etc. These adjectives represent a natural kind that can be associated to a measurement value in a scale structure. This value can vary contextually (Kennedy & McNally, 2005). Take for example the adjective *big* in (4). The English word *big* can be associated with a magnitude along a dimension. Suppose that *big* here is associated with height and let us suppose that King

Kong is 30 feet tall. Then (4a) is felicitous in a context where he is compared to objects in the context and those objects' average height is less than 30 feet.

On the other hand, if the objects in the context are 30 feet or more, then (4a) becomes infelicitous. Furthermore, this adjective is associated with an open scale, that is, a scale that has no maximal element. This is shown by its incompatibility with a modifier that fixes the value to the maximal element in the scale (4b). Likewise, we can have a closed, upper closed or lower closed scale and these can be associated with other adjectives such as *full* and *empty* to a closed scale, *impossible* and *straight* to lower closed and *certain* and *safe* to upper closed, (Kennedy & McNally, 2005).

    (4a)   King Kong is big.

    (4b)   *King Kong is completely big.

To capture these facts, gradable adjectives are usually characterized as a relation[1] between an individual and a degree d (Kennedy & McNally 2005) such that d is a point in a scale (type $\langle e, \langle dt \rangle \rangle$). A scale is a $\langle D, \prec, \delta \rangle$, such that D is a set of degrees and $\prec$ a total order on D along a dimension δ such as height, cost, volume, size, temperature, etc. Since an adjective's interpretation varies from context to context, they are evaluated against a standard of comparison d_s given by its positive form or the null morpheme $[\![pos]\!]$ (Cresswell, 1977; Kennedy, 1999). How the standard of comparison is evaluated depends on the Comparison Class (Klein, 1980) and the scale structure of the gradable argument. Here we concentrate on relative adjectives (adjectives that have no maximal degree), which are the ones that can have a clear extreme meaning. For example, in (5) *tall* is true iff x's degree of height is higher than the standard or norm given by context. Notice that in (5b) and (5c) there is no need for a degree lambda because the G is a function that returns a degree and the standard of comparison degree is already bounded to an existential quantifier.

    (5a) $[\![tall]\!] = \lambda x.\lambda d[x\text{'s height} = d]$

    (5b) $[\![pos]\!] = \lambda G.\lambda x.\exists d[G(x) \succ d_s]$

    (5c) $[\![pos\ tall]\!] = \lambda x.\exists d[tall(x) \succ d_s]$

Extremeness is closely related to gradability, but it is not the same. Extremeness is understood as a measurement value being on the extreme end of a scale. For instance, take the extreme word *gigantic*, as in (6a). It conveys a degree of bigness higher/greater than the one expressed by the word *big* or the high degree of (6b). Consequently, extremeness is also characterized as a relation between an individual and a degree. The difference is found in where the degree is on the scale. The degree in question goes beyond the maximal element of the considered scale (Morzycki, 2010). This pattern is exemplified by the semantic representation in (7). In (7), C means the perspective scale or

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[1] It can also be characterized as a measure function from individuals to degrees (type $\langle e, d \rangle$) (Kennedy, 1999):

the contextually provided set of salient degrees. The members of C are those degrees on the scale provided by the adjective, which, for the purpose of discussion, seem to be viable candidates.

(6a) King Kong is gigantic.

(6b)   King Kong is very big.

(7) $[\![gigantic]\!] = \lambda x[big(x) = d \succ max(C)]$

       C = {d: such that d is a viable candidate for the discussion}

The following example will clarify the concept extremeness. Suppose that you are in a zoo and you are looking at apes. You know that usually the height of apes can range from one foot to six feet. However, you are willing to entertain the idea that there could be apes that are seven-feet tall. Suddenly you encounter an ape that is ten feet tall. The ape's height went beyond what you considered the maximum viable height for an ape. In this case, the expression in (8) is felicitous

(8)   That ape is extremely big.

This analysis accounts for gradable adjectives that are lexically extreme. However, consider the following example (9):

(9a) King Kong is super/extremely big.

(9b) King Kong is absolutely super/extremely big.

Here we see that a gradable adjective like *big* can be modified by two degree modifiers, *super* or *extremely*. These modifiers convey extremeness. They take as an argument a gradable adjective and modify it with an extreme degree Adjective Phrase. Their extremeness can also be checked by the availability of an extreme degree modifier, as in (9b).

According to Padilla-Reyes et al. (2016) and González-Rivera & Gutiérrez-Rexach (2011), Puerto Rican Spanish contains a vast array of extreme modifiers and extreme expressions, making it a suitable variety for the study of these classes of meaning. They state that *bien* is an extreme degree modifier in Puerto Rican Spanish (PRSp) compared to its use in other Spanish dialects like Mexican or Andean Spanish. The use of *bien* in other Spanish dialects is usually associated with well-being as in the English word *well* (10a). Nevertheless, in PRSp it can also be used as an extreme degree adjective modifier (10b). Following this, we will gloss every PRSp extreme expression as EXT. The use of *más* is usually associated with *more* as in English (11a). However, in PRSp it not only used as an adjective modifier (11b) but also as a verb modifier to express pluractionality (12a). It might be that *bien/well* is also an expressive, but I do not see how their theory explains the *beyond expected* reading. It would be interesting to see whether *ben/well* behaves as *bien/well* as in (12b) where it clashes with the expectation expression (12bii).

(10a) Yo estoy bien.

       I am well

       "I am well."

(10b) La comida está **bien** rica.
       The food is EXT savory
       "The dish is extremely tasty."

(11a) La nena quiere más arroz.
       The girl wants more rice
       "The girl wants more rice."

(11b) La comida está **más** rica.
       The food is EXT savory
       "The dish is extremely tasty."

(12a) El saltó **más**.
       He jumped EXT
       'He jumped an extreme number of times.'

(12bi) ¡Mary está **más/bien** alta! (ii) #Pero la esperaba así.
       Mary is more tall. But her I-expected like-that.
       'Mary is extremely tall. But I expected her to be like that.'

Nevertheless, we also note that these expressions seem to have a 'beyond expected' interpretation that cannot be given by max(C). The formal characterization in (13) can be paraphrased as *Juan es bien/más alto/Juan is extremely tall* just in case the degree *d* is the product of the entity *j'* (Juan) applied to *alto* and *d* is higher than the maximal element in the considered scale of height. However, as was noted before there might be properties and readings that are found in Catalan's *ben/well* that might be found on *bien/well* that cannot be explained through a degree-based semantics but through a semantics for expressives (Ernst, 2009; Hernanz, 2010). However, *más* does not follow the same pattern as other expressives. The modifier *más* makes reference to quantity and contributes to the at-issue content of the expressions. Notice in example (13c) if it did not contribute to the at-issue content then there would not have been any clash. The beyond expected reading of these expressions seems to contribute to the at-issue content.

However, as Liu (2012) argues, it could be that this *beyond expected* reading is a conventional implicature, and further analysis is needed to determine if it is. All else being equal, this points to the fact that the *expectation* component is lexical cannot be negated. For this reason, I will continue to follow a degree-based semantics and show that one can account for this reading with an intensional semantics. Notice that a gradable adjective is taken to be a measure function that takes an entity and returns a degree. This means that G is a function (it returns a degree) and does not need a degree lambda.

(13a) $[\![\text{bien/más}]\!] = \lambda G.\lambda x[G(x) = d > max(C_\delta)]$

(13b) $[\![\text{Juan es bien/más alto}]\!] = [alto(j') = d > max(C_{height})]$

(13c) Mary está **bien**/**más** alta! #Pero la esperaba así.

Mary is well/more tall But her I-expected like-that

'Mary is of an extreme height, but I expected her to be like that.'

Modals with degrees

The relationship between gradability and modality has recently come to be the focus of much semantic research (Klecha, 2012; Lassiter, 2010; Portner, 2009). These studies focus on how we can account for gradable modals like *certain*, *likely* and *probable*. Take for example the sentences in (14) from Lassiter (2010). They seem to be able to combine with degree modifiers (14a), participate in comparative constructions (14b), degree questions (14c) and explicit degree quantification (14d).

(14a) Degree Modification

It is very likely that Jorge will win the race.

(14b) Comparison:

It is more likely that Jorge will win the race than it is that Sue will win.

(14c) Degree questions:

How likely is it that Jorge will win the race?

(14d) Explicit Degree Quantification:

It is 95% certain that Jorge will win the race.

This shows that these modals convey a gradable meaning: the likelihood or the probability of an event is relative to a numerical value. Three ways to deal with graded modality could be to: 1) modify Kratzer's theory; 2) use Kennedy and McNally's gradability theory; or 3) combine Kratzer's theory with Kennedy and McNally's. Katz et al. (2012) takes the first option, Lassiter (2015) the second and Klecha (2012) the third. Klecha's theory ends up being a very suitable basis upon which to account for gradable expressions that have intensional readings.

The problem with these examples is that the most suitable theory for modals cannot give an account of their gradability. According to Kratzer's theory (1981; 1991) modal expressions are taken to be a relationship between a proposition of type $\langle st \rangle$ and a modal base of type $\langle s, \langle st, t \rangle \rangle$. A proposition is a set of worlds and a modal base needs a world argument to return a set of propositions. A modal base is a conversational background that provides the contextual information in order to interpret whether a proposition is necessary or possible. Take (15), for example. The sentence states that it is necessary that Mary be home. According to Kratzer context provides the conversational background. Let us assume that it is an epistemic conversational background. The speaker has a conversational background which includes a proposition like the following "Mary told me she was going to be home at 5 pm". The speaker looks at his/her watch and, based on this conversational background, deduces (15). Based on the conversational background it is necessary that Mary be home. In contrast, if we have a speaker that

utters a proposition like in (16), then based on his/her knowledge s/he deduces that it is possible that Mary is home.

(15)   Mary should be home.

(16)   Mary may be home.

(17a) Necessary(p) iff $\lambda B_{\langle s,\langle st,t\rangle\rangle}. \lambda p_{\langle st\rangle}[\forall w' \in \cap B(w): p(w') = T]$
All worlds that are in the modal base B satisfy p.

(17b) Possibly(p) iff $\lambda B_{\langle s,\langle st,t\rangle\rangle}. \lambda p_{\langle st\rangle}[\exists w' \in \cap B(w): p(w') = T]$
Some worlds that are in the modal base satisfy p.

This is formalized in (17) which states that a proposition is necessary/possible if and only if every/at least one world that is in the modal base (the intersection of the conversational background, which is a set of p, the intersection gives you a set of worlds) is in the proposition p.

Extreme expressions with intensional readings in Puerto Rican Spanish

As noted in the last section, recent literature has looked at the relationship between gradability and modality; nevertheless, most of the literature has concentrated their energies on one direction of the problem: giving an account for gradable modals. This leaves the possibility of studying the other direction: how can gradable expressions be modal or intensional. That is, there is a difference between intensional operators that are gradable and gradable expressions that have an intentional reading. According to González-Rivera & Gutiérrez-Rexach (2011), *bien* has an evidential/commitment reading where the speaker has to have a high commitment to the truth of the expression following some direct or indirect evidence and this is shown by the following examples where *bien* can combine with expressions of certainty but cannot with uncertainty expressions.

(18a) Desde luego que está **bien** rico.
'Of course, it is very tasty.'

(18b) Por supuesto que es **bien** alto.
'Of course, he is very tall.'

(18c) *Tal vez esté **bien** bueno.
'It might be very tasty.'

(18d) *Quizás sea **bien** alto.
'It might be very tall.'

Its high level of commitment is also shown by its resistance to 'seem' or lack of knowledge expressions which carry a low commitment reading.

(19a) Me parece que la comida está muy buena.
'It seems that the food tastes very good.'

(19b) *Me parece que la comida está **bien** buena.

(20a) Dudo que la comida esté muy buena.
'I doubt that the food tastes very good.'

(20b) *Dudo que la comida esté **bien** buena.

(21a) No sé si Mario es muy recatado.

'I don't know if Mariana is honest.'

(21b) *No sé si Mario es **bien** recatado.

Nevertheless, the contrary happens when you combine these expressions to high commitment and knowledge expressions.

(22a) Estoy seguro de que la comida estará **bien** buena, conozco el restaurante.

'I am sure that the food will taste very good, I know the restaurant.'

(22b) Te prometo que la comida estará **bien** buena.

'I promise you that the food will taste very good.'

(22c) Sé que Mariana no es **bien** recatada.

'I know that Mariana is not very honest.'

González-Rivera & Gutiérrez-Rexach (2011) conclude that this is modal in nature and that it must analyzed following Kratzer's theory. However, as we have indicated, extreme expressions in Puerto Rican Spanish seem to also convey another intensional reading. These modifiers do carry the same reading as *bien* but can carry another reading: *beyond expected*. Instead of establishing the standard of comparison against what is provided by the norm or standard, it is relativized to what norm or standard the speaker expects. For example, *Maria es más alta* "Maria is extremely tall" would be true in a situation where the speaker expected Maria to be around 5'4" but turns out that she is 6 feet tall and, by going beyond the speaker's expectations, an extreme reading is conveyed. This is why a word that conveys an agreement with expectations, such as *razonable* 'reasonable' or *lo esperaba* 'it was expected', is not allowed in contexts where the degree exceeds the speaker's expectation. An example of this is the following degree exclamative.

(23a) ?? ¡Qué razonable es la cantidad de dinero que tiene ese hombre!

'How reasonable it is the amount of money that man has!'

(23b) ¡Qué alto es ese hombre! #Lo esperaba así.

'How tall that man is! As I expected.'

Likewise, expectation-agreement predicates are not allowed with *más, bien* or *un cojonal*. However, these modifiers are allowed when the predicate makes reference to an extreme degree like *increíble 'incredible'*. Notice that in the following examples the direct object pronoun *lo* refers to the degree that is associated to the verb.

(24a) ??Es razonable lo **más** que corrió.

'It is reasonable, the extreme distance he ran.'

(24b) ??Es razonable lo **más** alto que es.

'It is reasonable how extremely tall he is.'

(25a) Es increíble lo **más** que corrió.

'It is incredible the extreme distance he ran.'

(25b) Es increíble lo **más** alto que es.

'It is reasonable how extremely tall he is.'

In fact, stating that the degree is the one that the speaker expected derives an infelicitous expression:

(26) #Ella saltó **bien/más** alta, pero era lo que esperaba.

'She jumped too high but it was what I expected.'

Also, if we insert these expressions in a minimal pair context (Tonhauser & Matthewson, 2015) we get infelicity when the degree agrees with the speaker's expectation (27). Meanwhile we get a felicitous utterance when the degree does not agree with the speaker's expectation (28). Notice that the degree has to be positively more than the expectation, it cannot be less (29a), unless you specify with a negative adjective (29b).

Expectation agreement context: Suppose that James have seen his wife run 10 miles every day. Talking to a friend he says:

(27) #¡Mi esposa corrió **más/un cojonal** ayer!

My wife ran EXT yesterday

#'My wife ran an extreme lot yesterday!'

Expectation disagreement context: Suppose that James sees his wife run 1 mile every day and one day he saw her run 15 miles. The next day he says:

(28) ¡Mi esposa corrió **más** ayer!

My wife ran \EXT yesterday

'My wife ran an extreme lot yesterday!'

Expectation agreement context: Suppose that James have seen his wife run 10 miles every day and one day he sees her run 1 mile. Talking to a friend he says:

(29a) #¡Mi esposa corrió **más** ayer!

My wife ran EXT yesterday

'My wife ran an extreme lot yesterday!'

(29b) ¡Mi esposa corrió **bien** poco ayer!

My wife ran EXT little yesterday

'My wife ran extremely little yesterday!'

In Padilla-Reyes et al. (2016) we argued that the semantics of these modifiers are accounted for by the proposal that a sentence such as (39) conveys that 'x is d-run and d went beyond the speaker's considered scale'. Nevertheless, that characterization does not take into account the intensional reading of these expressions. The theory accounts for extremeness but not for the 'beyond expected' reading. Here we will remedy that and combine the semantics of gradability with that of intensionality.

Toward a degree intensional semantics

The semantics of expectation

There are various theories that deal with attitude verbs, but the principal theories are those of Hintikka (1962) and Kratzer (2006). Hintikka-style (1962) semantics treat these verbs as a universal quantification over possible worlds with a lexical restriction established by an accessibility relation (30a). An accessibility relation is a relation from an individual and a possible world w to a set of possible worlds that follow what the relation dictates. In the case of (30a), $Acc_{doxastic}(a,w)$ returns a set of worlds where all that the speaker belives is true. For now, we will assume that expectation has its own accessibility relation (30b). Nevertheless, there is evidence that suggests a more complex accessibility relation and ordering source.

(30a) $[[believe]] = \lambda p_{\langle st \rangle} . \lambda x . \forall w' \in Acc_{doxastic}(a,w) : [p(w') = 1]$

(30b) $[[expect/esperar]] = \lambda p_{\langle st \rangle} . \lambda x . \forall w' \in Acc_{doxastic}(a,w) : [p(w') = 1]$

(31) Ella corrió **más** de lo que esperaba.

(31) Shows the covert meaning of "Ella corrió más." Since the paraphrasing we are using in (31) is a comparative, we can try to keep the comparative meaning of *más* and see where it leads us. Following Heim (2000), a comparative is a comparison between two maximal degrees taken out of two sets of degrees based on a gradable adjective.

(32) $[[más]] = \lambda x . \lambda y . \lambda P . \max\{d \mid P(x) > d_S\} \geq \max\{d \mid P(y) > d_S\}$

The problem with the characterization that we have of attitude verbs and for comparatives in (32) is that they do not combine well. What we need is the attitude verb inside the lesser set in the comparative as in (33). However, with the current formulas we cannot do that. We would need an attitude and a proposition argument inside the lesser set. Unfortunately, this does not work syntactically or compositionally; we would need to change the meaning of attitude verbs in order for them to give us degrees. The basic problem with these two analyses is that the current theory of attitude verbs cannot deal with degrees, to the extent that it does not in any way give us expected degrees. And even if we could get expected degrees, the comparatives theory cannot deal with embedded attitude verbs.

(33a) $[[\text{Kim expected John to be taller}]] =$
        $\max\{d \mid tall(e)(j) > d_S\} \geq \max\{d \mid expect(tall(e)(j) > d_S)(k')\}$

(33b) $[[más]] = \lambda x . \lambda P . \lambda x . \max\{d \mid P(x) > d_S\} \geq \max\{d \mid Att(p) > d_S\}$

Another way we could do it is by using Kratzer's (2006) theory of attitude verbs. This theory takes an attitude verb as a relation between an event, the content of the attitude verb and a world. Her theory posits the possible world restriction on the logophoric complementizer and makes the content argument via the possessive *v* which states that *y* is the possessor of the event *e* in the world *w*.

(34a) $[[expect]] = \lambda x . \lambda e . \lambda w . expect (x) (e) (w)$

(34b) $[[that_L]] = \lambda p . \lambda x . \forall w' [compatible (x) (w') \rightarrow p(w')]$

(34c) $[[poss]] = \lambda y . \lambda e . \lambda w . possesor (y) (e) (w)$

Let's do an example derivation. The attitude verb combines with the logophoric complementizer with the poss via the Restrict application (Chung & Ladusaw 2004). Lastly, we bind the content and event argument by an application of Existential Closure. Here we will try to give an account of (35a). First, we combine 'expect' with the logophoric complementizer via Restrict ($\oplus$) (35b), then we combine via Restrict the possessive with (35b) in (35c). Lastly, in (35d) we apply the Existential Closure rule (EC).

(35a) John expected p

(35b) $[[expect]] \oplus [[(that_L) p]] =$
$\lambda x . \lambda e . \lambda w . expect (x) (e) (w) \& \forall w' [compatible (x) (w') \rightarrow p(w')$

(35c) $[[poss j]] \oplus [[expect (that_L) p]] =$
$\lambda x . \lambda e . \lambda w . expect (x) (e) (w) \& possesor (j) (e) (w) \&$
$\forall w' [compatible (x) (w') \rightarrow p(w')]$

(35d) $[[EC]](poss j expected (that_L) p) = [[John expected p]] =$
$\lambda w . \exists e . \exists x . expect (x) (e) (w) \& possesor (j) (e) (w) \&$
$\forall w'. compatible (x) (w) \rightarrow p (w')$

As can be seen, this is a complicated theory that establishes the accessibility relation dependent on the logophoric complementizer and the possessor. In terms of our current goals, how does this theory fare? This characterization fares better than the previous one if we try to make it work as a comparison between what the speaker expects and what the worlds are. The problem with this theory is that I do not see a clear way to enrich it with expected degrees and then express a comparison between the actual degrees and the expected degrees. If this were the only approach available, I think this could work, nevertheless, there are theories that are better suited to account for gradability and comparisons.

An intensional semantics for extreme expressions

A question that we have left unanswered until now is, what characterizes expectation? Undoubtedly it should be something like 'speaker x assumes that p will happen'. Nevertheless, what is the speaker's basis for assuming the world to be a certain way? I believe that the modal base for expectation can be epistemic, bouletic or circumstantial. Consider the following examples in (36). A speaker can expect p because of prior knowledge (36a), because that is the rule or law (36b) or because of the circumstances (36c).

(36a) I expected you home because I know you're always home at this time.

(36b) I expected to stop at red lights because that is the law.

(36c) I expected you to drop the course given the circumstances that you are in.

Nevertheless, according to Tonhauser (2011) 'expectation' can be formalized with an epistemic modal base and a stereotypical ordering source. Here, following the examples provided, I will leave the modal base to be decided by context and I am going to have the ordering source to be stereotypical. Following this, we have that p is expected iff p is true in a world that is in a contextually given modal base and is true in the stereotypical worlds.

(37) Expects(p)(a)(w) =
$\lambda o_{\langle s,\langle st,t\rangle\rangle} . \lambda m_{\langle s,\langle st,t\rangle\rangle} . \lambda p_{\langle st\rangle} . \lambda w . \forall w' \in (o(w)) (\cap m(w)) : [p(w') = 1]$
p is expected by a in w iff the worlds that follow everything the speaker a knows and follows the stereotypical flow of events also make p true.

The problem that we have now with this formalization and any other similar to it is that we have no way of accessing degrees out of worlds. We need some formal mechanism that can give us a set of expected degrees by the speaker. With expected degrees, we can establish that the degree goes beyond the maximal element in that set. We can do this by positing a new measure function or by using Klecha's (2012) schema of a categorical modal having a measure function from modal bases and propositions to degrees. We could have a measure function such as *likelihood* that returns a degree. However, that has a few problems. We need a set of all possible expected degrees of the speaker and need our *exp* function to have an ordering source too. Nevertheless, we again run into problems because the measure function that Klecha defines needs a proposition and states the likelihood of a proposition (38a). We need the degrees that are associated with the modal base and the ordering source. For that we will get rid of the proposition argument and state that *exp* is a measuring function from modal bases, ordering source and worlds to degrees such that it returns a set of degrees (38b).

(38a) $[[likely]] = \lambda p_{st} . \lambda m_{s,st} . \lambda w_s . lhood(m(w))(p)$

(38b) $expects(d)(a)(w) = \lambda o_{s,st} \lambda m_{s,st} . \lambda w_s . exp((o_{max}(w))(m(w))$
Measure function of type $<<s,st><<s,st><s,dt>>>$
A degree *d* is expected by *a* in *w* iff *d* is in the set of degrees *D* that are in the worlds that follow the stereotypical flow of events and everything the speaker *a* knows.

This measure function follows Klecha's function and the standard measure function schema ($\lambda x . tall(x) = d$) and posits a measure function based on an ordering source and a modal base. The formalization states 'give me a modal base, an ordering source, a world and I will return a set of degrees'. Our measure function is of type $<<s,st><<s,st><s,dt>>>$.

The expected degrees are the degrees that are associated with objects in $(sto_{max}(w))(m(w))$. In other words, we need a way to keep the association between a degree and its object. We will do this by assuming that gradable adjectives are of type $\langle s,\langle ed\rangle\rangle$

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(they take a world and an entity and return a degree) and that the set of expected degrees is composed of the degrees that are associated with the worlds of expectation.

Measure function on worlds:

(39a) $\exp((\text{sto}_{max}(w))(m(w)) = D$: set of degrees that that follows expectations in w.

(39b) $D = \{\, d : G(x)(w') = d\ \&\ w'$ is in expect(w)$\}$

D is the set of degrees such that all *d* in *D* are the product of a measure property G in *w'* applied to an entity *x* such that *w'* is in the expected worlds.

Since D gives us a set of degree, product of the expected worlds (expect(w)), we do not lose the connection between a unique degree and its object. Let's take for example Juan's tallness and suppose that a speaker a is going to a family reunion and he expects Juan to be a certain height *d*. According to what we have, *j's height = d* is supposed to be in D. Nevertheless, we still need to further restrict our set of expected degrees to the set of salient expected degrees (D^C). Let's suppose that Juan expects Mary to be tall (6 feet tall), and Pepe to be young (18 years old). Then our set of expected degrees would be {6, 80, 18} with their associated scales and objects. If Juan utters (40), our formulas so far have no way of singling out 6 in D = {6, 80, 18}. If we add a saliency and relevance superscript, then we have a way of contextually selecting the appropriate degree.

(40) I did not expect Mary to be that tall

Now we are in position to define what is beyond expected extremeness. In (41) we define it as a degree going beyond the maximal degree in the set of salient expected degrees.

Beyond expected extremeness:

(59a) $\lambda G_{s,ed} . \lambda x_e . \lambda m_{s,st} . \lambda w_s . \exp((\text{sto}_{max}(w))(m(w)) = D\ \&$
$G(x)(w) > \max(D^C)]$

The degree of G(x) in w is beyond expected iff the degree of G(x) in *w* is higher than the maximal degree found in the set of expected salient degrees.

(59b) $\lambda G_{s,ed} . \lambda x_e . \lambda m_{s,st} . \lambda w_s . G(x)(w) > \max(\exp((\text{sto}_{max}(w))(m(w)))^C$

Conclusion

In this article, we provided evidence that there are gradable expressions that are associated with a modal/intentional reading. This reading is better characterized as a degree going beyond expectation. This is a new kind of meaning that is not attested in the semantic literature, and provides us with a clear example of semantic innovation in Puerto Rican Spanish.

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ANALYSIS OF JAMAICAN AND TRINIDADIAN PRINT MEDIA DISCOURSE CONCERNING DEAFNESS

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Introduction

Analyzing the discourse surrounding disability in print media is of great importance for multiple reasons. Not only is the discourse presented in print media (i.e. newspapers) a reflection of society's discourse surrounding disability, but that very discourse also propagates its core message to the readers. These readers often include those exposed to disability solely through what is presented in media. Furthermore, disability discourse in print media simultaneously impacts the able-bodied readers as well as the disabled demographic. In this way disabled readers are perceived by others and, in part, by themselves through the media's lens. "Positive coverage [...] helps people with disabilities take a balanced approach toward their identity, whereas negative coverage makes them not able to envision themselves properly" (Zhang & Haller, 2013: 330).

The repercussions of the numerous negative media representations of people with disabilities is what leads activists to "engage in an effort to promote changes in the social discourse about disability portrayals because media have the power to shape what public knows about disability" (Zhang & Haller, 2013: 329). Of course, disability is a complex topic and, therefore, in-depth examination and discussion about disability risk focusing "on the precision and efficacy of models and terminology" (Grue, 2015: 27). Despite this risk, it is important to establish the theoretical framework prior to undertaking the research.

Theoretical framework and literature review

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is "analytical research that primarily studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (Van Dijk, 2015: 466). For this reason, CDA focuses on socio-political issues and examines how discourse structures validate or challenge power abuse in society (Van Dijk, 2015: 467). In order to do this, it uses multidisciplinary methodologies and both describe and explain discourse structures

(Van Dijk, 2015: 467). This makes CDA the ideal theoretical approach to utilize in a study exploring print media discourse on d/Deafness, because it explores the dynamics between the mainstream society and the Deaf communities (a minority).

Reflecting its interdisciplinary nature, CDA will be used in the present study alongside models of disability that stem from the field of disability studies. The three main models of disability discourse that will be used to discuss media coverage in this investigation are the medical model, the superscrip model, and the social-cultural model (also known as the social-pathology model). Due to the prestige of medicine, the medical model is often cited as having dominated the professional, media, and general public's view on disability in the past and, to a lesser extent, in the present (Power, 2005: 451). In the realm of Deaf studies, "The medical model may well be called a hearing world view of congenital deafness" (Power, 2005: 452). In it, the focus is the physical pathology of deafness and its negative side effects: a perceived inability to communicate via speech, the lack of hearing, the medical devices that aid d/Deaf individuals, and the dependence on the medical/hearing community (Power, 2005: 452; Zhang & Haller, 2013: 321).

The medical model, however, is considered controversial by the Deaf community (at the very least by the U.S. Deaf community). The controversy lies in the fact that "deafness is seen as a condition that needs to be 'cured' for the benefit of the individual and society" (Power, 2005: 451). After all, this model never defines disability "without reference to something else – usually normality, or normality thinly disguised as 'able-bodiedness'" (Grue, 2015: 14). This is the reasoning activists generally shun this model: they consider it discriminatory and often point to the fact that there is such a thing as a Deaf community in the United States.

On the other hand, the medical model is often used during discussions about technological assistance for d/Deaf individuals (e.g. hearing aids or cochlear implants). One can argue that this focus on a cure disregards the socio-historical component of the Deaf community in which Deafness is seen as the bond between a community of individuals that share a culture, a language, and a history. However, with increasing technology that can be beneficial for d/Deaf individuals it is not inherently negative for the media to take on a more pathological view of deafness (a medical model approach) when discussing these subjects. If the discourse does not explicitly or implicitly dismiss the concerns of the Deaf community (such is the case of the controversy surrounding cochlear implants), then it is not inherently bad media representation.

In the superscrip model "people with disabilities are represented as 'superhuman' because they achieve unexpected accomplishments or live a normal life just like people with no disabilities" (as cited by Zhang & Haller, 2013: 321). This is where stories of *overcoming* disability come in, but "The idea that someone can *overcome* a disability has not been generated within the community; it is a wish fulfillment generated from the outside" (Linton, 2006: 165). At times, this can be seen in stories that highlight the

achievements of an individual seemingly portraying even the most ordinary things as extraordinary, solely due to the individual's disadvantage (the disability).

The social-cultural model depicts people with disabilities as disadvantaged individuals who need to turn to society for support and who are sometimes depicted as taking advantage of their disability to gain unfair advantages (As cited by Zhang & Haller, 2013: 321). The main controversy generated by the social-cultural model is that it "assumes what it needs to prove: that disabled people are oppressed" (Shakespeare, 2013: 218). This is to say that discourse stemming from the social-cultural model often relies on the assumption that all d/Deaf individuals are inherently oppressed or automatically disadvantaged to the point of requiring aid from the hearing world.

While there are a number of examples of discourse analysis projects related to disability in mass media, few focus particularly on d/Deafness in print media. Beth Haller, for example, has published studies on disability in media (at times even focusing on print media) since the 1990s. Despite not focusing on d/Deafness in particular, Zhang & Haller's (2013) article on how the mass media impacts people with disabilities and their self-image seems especially pertinent to this study, because it demonstrates how disability representation in print media influences how both abled and disabled readers perceive disability. Unsurprisingly, Zhang & Haller found that, "consistent with the results from previous content analysis studies [...] people with disabilities believed that mass media, in general, frame people with disabilities as supercrips, disadvantaged, or ill victims" (2013: 329). As they point out, these people are left feeling "that a disabled person's life is inferior to, and less precious than, an able-bodied person's life and hence hold low self-esteem about their self-identity" (p. 330).

There are two studies about disability discourse in the print media focused on d/Deafness. Power (2006-2007: 517) searched the term *deaf* using Google Alerts and found that "it would appear that the lives of deaf people are fairly represented in the English-language press." In this study, Power (2006-2007: 517) found "Few of the old derogatory terms are used about the deaf, and most stories present them as doing "ordinary" things and leading "ordinary" lives, even if, in some cases, within the Deaf community." This meant that few instances of the superscrip model were found (Power, 2006-2007: 517). Power carried out a similar investigation in 2005, but the key term which was used for the search was *cochlear implants* instead of *deaf*. The notable finding of that study was that, when comparing the articles relating to adult implantation versus those relating to childhood implantation, the true controversy stemmed from childhood (and, more specifically, early childhood) implantation. Articles that focused on adults did not actually take any sides, while the medical model abounded in the articles that dealt with childhood implantation. As previously discussed, the predominance of the medical model in discourse surrounding cochlear implants (a technological and medical device) is not surprising given the nature of this model.

Methodology and results

This investigation surveys data from Caribbean newspapers written in English. Articles were retrieved from The Jamaican Observer (TJO) and the Trinidad and Tobago Guardian (TTG) via each newspaper's website. The term *deaf* was inputted into the website's search engine and the retrieved articles written between August 1, 2017 and November 15, 2017 were used for the study. This narrow, three-and-a-half-month time period was kept purposefully short, to facilitate a multifaceted, in-depth analysis. The exact dates were chosen due to the fact that those were the most recently available dates at the time of data collection.

The sum of all chosen articles was twenty-seven. For the purpose of analysis, the newspaper articles were divided into two categories. Articles in which the d/Deaf community was discussed to any degree (d/Deaf individuals, d/Deaf education, policies related to the community, etc.) constituted the first group, while those in which an instance of metaphorical deafness were found constituted the second. Metaphorical deafness (as in the articles in group two) refers to the use of the term *deaf* as a metaphor for something else, as is the case of idiomatic expressions such as *fall on deaf ears*. The amount of articles per category is listed in the following table.

Table 1 Amount of articles per category

Group	TJO	TTG	Total
Group one: d/Deaf community	15	1	16
Group two: metaphorical deafness	5	6	11
Total:	20	7	27

The analysis of the data was conducted in three steps. First, instances of the metaphorical use of the term deaf (the articles in group two) were listed and analyzed. Secondly, an analysis was conducted to categorize the content of the articles in group one (i.e. using the medical model, the socio-cultural model, or the superscrip model). Thirdly, any additional topics of interest found in articles of either group (i.e. the use of incorrect terminology, when the capital D for *Deaf* was used, etc.) were listed and analyzed.

Metaphorical Deafness

Regarding the Jamaican Observer, five out of twenty articles included an instance of metaphorical deafness. Out of these five articles, there was one instance of the expression *tone-deaf*, meaning insensitive to social conventions as opposed to an inability to hear differences in musical tones. In an article in which the negative consequences of recruiting for sports purposes by schools are discussed, the expression *see and blind, hear and deaf* was used as a way to emphasize a company's willingness to ignore its

own the bad practices (Graham, 2017). In Graham's article (2017), the company's actions are also described as them *turning a blind eye* to said practices (also meaning that the company willingly ignores the practices in question).

See and blind, hear and deaf and *turning a blind eye* are not the only instances of disability (deafness and blindness in these cases) used as a metaphor for an unwillingness to recognize what is happening. One instance of metaphorical deafness in the Jamaican Observers was found in an article which included the following sentence: "Too many of us Jamaicans have been blind, deaf, and dumb when it comes to murders happening in Jamaica" (Thomson, 2017). Here, the three terms (blind, deaf, and dumb) were being used to state that people were willingly ignoring the murders that were occurring as well as not having the critical thinking skills to fully understand the repercussions of the murder rate.

Yet another expression found in the articles that implied some form of ignorance was *fall on deaf ears*. This particular phrase appeared to be the most common, as five of six articles with the use of metaphorical deafness in the Trinidad and Tobago Guardian included an instance of the phrase *fall on deaf ears* (Alexander, 2017; *Intervene earlier to protect*, 2017; John-Lall, 2017; *Prisons officers seek asylum*, 2017; *Tour group lauds*, 2017). In the Jamaican Observer, there were two instances of this expression (*Why Sir Richard Branson*, 2017; *Zally appeals for unity*, 2017). There were a total of seven out of eleven articles in group two with this expression.

Furthermore, the article titled "Deafness destroys relationships" (2017) also used deafness as a metaphor for willful ignorance/defiance, but from a religious standpoint. It included many different metaphorical uses of deafness as one being closed off to God's message, as one being selfish (deaf to the needs of others, so to speak), and the consequences this has on a person's life. The following list includes all instances of metaphorical deafness in the article:

- "Deafness destroys relationships".
- "[…] Fr Carl Williams says there are people in society who are 'deaf to the dignity of all human beings when we show favoritism and make distinctions based upon appearance, wealth and status'".
- "Williams said, 'Hearing and deafness are not determined by our ears, but by what's in our heart; […]'".
- "He said he could not help but wonder if spiritual deafness isn't one of the primary causes of conflict in marriages and families, in relationships with one another, in the nation, and in the world" .
- "He said deafness destroys relationships".
- "He added, 'We are deaf when we become self-occupied and self-enclosed because of pride, anger, jealousy, or the refusal to forgive another. We are deaf to our spouse and children when we are too busy or too self-important.'"

- "He said regardless of how it comes about, the tragedy of spiritual deafness is that the connection is broken."
- "Spiritual deafness is ego-centered. When we are spiritually deaf we assume that ours is the only or the most important voice to hear" ("Deafness destroys relationships," 2017).

In this article, an explicit and clear distinction was made: deafness does not mean a physiological inability to hear, but rather a list of characteristics or actions that are detrimental to a person's spiritual and romantic well being.

Models of Deafness

The articles for which models of Deafness were identified belong to group one. Of the sixteen articles about d/Deaf individuals or programs that impact the d/Deaf community, two merely mentioned the foundation for the Deaf which the interviewee, Davina Bennett, co-founded (Cocktails with… Davina Bennett, 2017; Johnson, 2017). Because no more than the mere mention of the foundation was discussed and Bennett is a hearing woman, these two articles were discarded for the purpose of this analysis. There were also three other articles in which a d/Deaf individual was mentioned, but not enough was written about them in order to identify which of the three models was being invoked. These three articles were also discarded for the purpose of this analysis, leaving a total of eleven articles in which models of Deafness were identified.

Out of eleven, two articles could be classified as using the medical model, one could be classified as using the superscrip model, and seven as using the socio-cultural model. The remaining article could not easily be classified under a single model, as the first half of the article could be considered to fall under the superscrip model (in the portion in which a Deaf individual was described) but the majority of the article that follows fell under the socio-cultural model (in the portion in which a literacy program was described). For this reason, this article was considered to have invoked both models. Thus, an overwhelming majority of the articles could be categorized as invoking the socio-cultural model (eight in total) while a small number of articles could be categorized as falling under the medical and superscrip models (two per category).

Other topics

Among the additional items of interest found in the articles that are worth discussing are the two instances of the derogatory term *deaf and mute* (*Hearing, speech-impaired workers making*, 2017; *Universal Service Fund assists disabled community*, 2017) and the overwhelming use of the lower case d for the word *deaf*. In all twenty-seven articles, the only instances in which Deaf (with a capital D) was used was when the word was part of a proper name (i.e. the name of a school or an organization). No instances of the usage of the capital letter D in order to refer to the socio-cultural aspect of deafness, to

refer to an individual that belongs to the Deaf community, or to refer to a Deaf community as a whole, were found. In fact, throughout the twenty-seven articles there were five instances of the phrase *deaf community* and one instance of the phrase *deaf culture*, and both phrases were written with the lower case *d*. This is noteworthy as there is a trend in the United States and other parts of the world, to favor the use of the upper case D to describe the Deaf community or members of said community (as opposed an individual with an inability to hear).

Another interesting finding was the incorrect use of the term translator. One example was the sentence "Carol, who was translating Nicole's sign language, stated" ('No rain nah stop me,' 2017). In another article, a man was described as "deaf translator" (Hibbert, 2017). The main difference between a translator and an interpreter is that the former works with written material (such as books) while the latter works with real-time communication. In both cases, the author was referencing an individual who was, in real time, interpreting for the d/Deaf individual. The second instance is particularly problematic, as *deaf translator* can be understood to be an individual who is both d/Deaf and a translator. Instead, the term interpreter or sign language interpreter would have been more appropriate.

It is also important to highlight the use of the word *normal* to differentiate the hearing community and the Deaf community (and their ability to work). In "Hearing, speech-impaired workers making" (2017), three d/Deaf workers were described as not standing out "on first site because they appear quite normal on the job." After all, Boothe (one of the three d/Deaf employees) "is hearing and speech impaired, but you would never guess by just looking at her" ("Hearing, speech-impaired workers making," 2017). While Deaf individuals are by no means the majority of the population, they are certainly not abnormal nor is it abnormal for them to not immediately appear to be "disabled". Some may argue that this use of the term *normal* implies that it is abnormal to see d/Deaf people integrated into the rest of the community.

In "Universal Service Fund assists disabled community" (2017), on the other hand, d/Deaf individuals were referred to as normal *despite* being disabled. The Chief Executive Officer at the USF attested that "people who are born disabled" are "just as normal as everyone else, which is why the USF has decided to employ the summer worker who is able to function in a normal way" ("Universal Service Fund assists disabled community," 2017). This summer worker who could "function in a normal way" was furthered identified as a "deaf mute" ("Universal Service Fund assists disabled community," 2017).

The final piece of discourse to be highlighted could be found in the three articles from the Jamaican Observer in which a literacy program for d/Deaf students was discussed. Two of the main objectives of the literacy program that were discussed in all three articles were (a) improving reading comprehension skills (English) and (b) improving the Jamaican Sign Language (JSL) skills of teachers, parents and students. Two out of these

three articles mentioned English language reading comprehension skills first, while only one brought up JSL skills first. This was no accident. Furthermore, only one highlighted the JSL skills objectives more than the reading comprehension skills objectives. One article discussed both objectives to the same extent, while the last article primarily highlighted the importance of reading comprehension skills.

Discussion and conclusion

The prevalence of idiomatic expressions in everyday discourse as seen by its widespread existence in print media is proof of how powerful metaphorical language can be. This type of language allows one to draw connections between a usually more concrete semantic source field, such as D/deafness, in order to express the meaning of a usually more abstract semantic target field, such as ignorance. In metaphorical language, disability is used as a way to conceptualize non-physical limitations or other undesirable traits. This is particularly evident in the percentage of articles found in this study which solely contained a metaphorical use of deafness: 41%. The vast majority of the metaphors implied ignorance (oftentimes a deliberate ignorance or an unwillingness to acknowledge what is under the person's nose), many were used to convey selfishness (in the form of a *spiritual deafness*, defined as ignoring the needs and wants of others), and one instance was used to convey insensitivity (*tone-deaf*).

The frequency with which these expressions appear in newspapers is an example of how commonplace they have become. It is such a common practice that six out of the seven articles in the Trinidad and Tobago Guardian which contained the term *deaf* were not about the Deaf community. Instead, they merely contained one of these idiomatic expressions in which deafness is used to convey the meaning of something negative and undesirable. Another five articles from the Jamaica Observer contained instances of metaphorical deafness. This means that in a study in which the term deaf was searched in news websites, 41% of the total articles retrieved were not about the Deaf community in any capacity (and none of the uses of deaf associated any positive meaning to deafness).

It is important to state that idiomatic expressions and metaphorical uses of the word *deaf* to imply something negative are not the only case in which a language choice may be deemed inappropriate. For example, Hibbert's (2017) article about the struggle of the Jamaican Deaf community to obtain licenses is titled "Deaf need to hear why they can't get a general driver's licenses." While one meaning of the word *hear* is to gain or receive information, it is still associated with receiving said information by listening (i.e. by ear). It is clear that the use of *hear* in this title is inappropriate, as there are plenty of other terms that could have been used (i.e. know, learn, or understand) instead, without drawing attention to the fact that the community in question is Deaf. It seems to highlight the individual's lack of hearing, instead of highlighting their struggle to obtain driver's licenses (which was the main topic of the article).

Writing about the Deaf community without necessarily drawing too much attention to their inability to hear can be, understandably, difficult. The articles in the data sample that undoubtedly achieved this were those in which the general topic of the article was not the d/Deaf community in any capacity. In the article "Deaf student, doctor headline governor-general's IBI summer scholarship awards" (2017), the only two indications of the scholarship recipient's deafness were the remark in the title and the mention of her school (Lister Maisr Gilby High School for the Deaf). The fact that the only indication of her d/Deafness in the text of the article was the mention of her school (which implied d/Deafness instead of stating it outright) effectively made the point that there was no reason to highlight it in an article in which the primary topic was the granting of a scholarship.

This was also demonstrated to a lesser degree in Patterson's (2017) piece on social enterprises. While Patterson (2017) used the café Deaf Can as an example, not much emphasis was given to the Deaf employees there. Instead, no comment was made regarding any possible difficulty in training Deaf employees or regarding how great the Deaf employees were for working at the café (Patterson, 2017). It is also worth mentioning the two interviews with Davina Bennett (Cocktails with… Davina Bennett, 2017; Johnson, 2017); in both articles the focus was on the life of Bennett (a hearing individual) so no emphasis was placed on the Davina Bennett Foundation for the Deaf (which she mentioned but did not describe in both interviews). It is important to note, however, that these articles were discarded in relation to the categorization of articles according to the models of disability discourse.

Generally speaking, articles classified as invoking the medical, superscrip, or socio-cultural models all emphasized (and often over-emphasized) individuals' inability to hear, the impact that it has on their lives, or their consequent dependency on technology or social/educational programs in order to be on par with the rest of hearing society. When the majority of articles unnecessarily emphasize a lack of hearing and a dependence on the hearing community and 43% of the articles use deafness as a metaphor for undesirable traits, it is fair to state that a pattern of negative representation of deafness was evident in both Jamaican and Tribagonian print media.

Speaking of negative representations, it is important to highlight that only two articles were found to fall under the medical model, a model of disability discourse that is oftentimes described as the predominant one. Power's (2005) study on cochlear implant news coverage pointed to a tendency to use the medical model to a greater extent in coverage of deafness in childhood while more balanced coverage is used when discussing adults. This may correlate to why so few of these articles neatly fell into the medical model: the majority discussed d/Deaf adults. The exception, of course, being the coverage of the literacy program in the Jamaican Observer, and even then the discussion centered on the components of the educational program rather than on medical interventions.

It is fair to conclude that a more balanced representation of the Deaf experience in these islands is necessary despite some positive aspects found in current news coverage. For example, the fact that the Jamaican Observer (JO) mentioned the importance of sign language in the educational process in three different articles certainly informs the general public about this significant yet oftentimes ignored fact. While these same articles focused on the importance of learning sign language skills in order for parents, teachers, and d/Deaf students to communicate with one another, there was little to no emphasis on the sense of empowerment that a child might feel as a result, nor was there any mention of the many other linguistic or academic advantages that come from gaining fluency in the local sign language. A greater number of articles in which d/Deaf individuals are mentioned without overemphasizing their deafness or focusing on their lives specifically as d/Deaf individuals is necessary.

Other types of imbalance were also to be found in the sample, including an obvious discrepancy in the number of retrieved articles from Jamaica versus Trinidad and Tobago. The Jamaican Observer (JO) had a total of twenty articles which contained the term *deaf* in them while only seven articles in The Trinidad and Tobago Guardian (T&TG) contained the term. Moreover, the percentage of articles in each newspaper that actually referenced a d/Deaf individual, the community, or a program related to the community was also found to be vastly different. While fifteen of the twenty articles (75%) from the JO were in some capacity related to the d/Deaf community, only one of the seven articles from the T&TG was about a Deaf individual. While further research must be conducted pertaining to the reasons for this discrepancy in coverage, the difference in the number of inhabitants of each island state (and, consequently, the probable differences in size between their Deaf communities) probably plays some role here. The sample size for the present study was kept intentionally small given the fact that it was a preliminary study. I would therefore suggest that future studies include articles written over a longer period of time. Furthermore, the sample size of articles written in the Trinidad and Tobago Guardian was quite small and a larger sample must certainly be obtained for better generalizability of the results. A study in which news coverage about the Deaf community by a number of press outlets on this island alone would yield a better understanding as to whether or not the coverage is truly as low as it was found to be in the present study. Finally, it is important to also conduct studies in which members of the Deaf community themselves are asked about their representation in news discourse.

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NOT MY HAITI: WESTERN MEDIA FRAMING AND IMMIGRANT RENARRATING OF HAITI

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"Whenever I get the chance I will use my platforms to shout out Haiti or use Haiti"
        -# Haitian American Pride

Introduction

The nearly constant barrage over the past two centuries of negative discourse about Haiti in the U.S. media, and presently in the discourse of U.S. president Donald Trump himself, usually completely erases the sources of the problems facing the Haitian people today. These problems can for the most part be traced back directly to the systematic economic plunder of the country by Europe and the U.S., as well as to their deeply racist demonization of the first African descended people in the Americas to permanently defeat a European colonial regime. While it is true that Haiti is highly susceptible to natural disasters such as earthquakes and hurricanes, it is the human disaster of European and U.S. racism and economic exploitation that has played the leading role in laying waste to the lives of the Haitian population.

When the people of Haiti rebelled, overturned the plantocracy and gained their independence from France in 1804, Haiti was forced to pay a huge debt of $23 billion (in today's currency values) to France for the plantation owners' loss of 'property', which included compensation for the 'value' of their chattel slaves. After World War II in 1945, Haiti was still paying interest on this same debt, which was designed by the European powers to drain the country of the capital needed to meet the needs of its citizens (Célestin et al., 2015; Brown, 2016). Through constant political and military intervention, the Europeans and the U.S. have also been instrumental in eliminating or neutralizing any political force in the country that emerges to serve the interests of the Haitian people, while at the same time promoting and protecting a series of brutal and corrupt regimes whose purpose is to serve the interests of the big foreign banks and the big foreign corporations. These corrupt governments have saddled the country with new

debts, which must be paid back with interest to the international banks, in a never-ending cycle of debt slavery. As it has done throughout the Americas over the past century, the U.S. has created and armed gangs who have both terrorized the population and infected Haitian society with violence and insecurity, leaving many with no choice but to risk their lives trying to emigrate (Kevers, 2016; Brown 2016).

The resilience of the people of Haiti in the face of what the Europeans, the U.S., the earthquakes and the hurricanes have done to them and their nation often goes unacknowledged in the U.S. media. This diseased discourse is infectious, and even some authors of Haitian descent consciously or subconsciously frame Haiti in such a way as to reignite negative memory (Leak, 2013), presenting the country and its people as somehow doomed and permanently condemned to suffering. Despite these dominant discourses, Haitians today are using every available platform and space to tell their stories and create avenues to articulate alternative narratives that highlight their agency and their successes in creating and re-creating happy, fulfilling lives, no matter how greatly and unjustly the odds have been stacked against them. In this article, I present some interesting excerpts from three interviews that I conducted with Haitian Americans in order to explore how they maintain and adapt their perceptions, cultures and identities in the U.S., especially in relation to the dominant discourses adopted by the media that more often than not portray Haiti in a negative light. The names of interviewees have been changed to protect anonymity.

Home, school, media and transmission of Haitian cultures and identities in the U.S.
Haitian immigrants in United States have consistently kept their cultures alive by passing cultural knowledge down to their offspring. For "Jean", who came to the United States after his wife emigrated there, raising his American-born children with strict Haitian cultural values has been a major priority:

> I make sure they are raised as Haitian and Christian culture. I show and teach them fear of God and society, respect and obedience to parents, respect to elderly, good citizenship, helping the needy, loving everyone equally, and value family and education. We whip our children to correct them. We have started so early that it becomes part of their overall culture with no big reaction.

Consistent with Jean's story, "Fritz", a 19-year old journalism major and freshman at Georgia State University, states that his father, a former journalist, historian and educator in Haiti, was deliberate in instilling Haitian history, cultural and moral values in his children through activities designed to keep the memory of Haiti alive within their home:

> As a child he taught us a lot about Haiti and its history. I know Haiti is the first black republic…amm, ever, but most importantly in the Western hemisphere after colonization from Europe. Every year, May 18, we have a flag day. On the

1ˢᵗ of January every year our family drinks to celebrate the revolution and the independence of Haiti, along with many other things and church I think is the strongest point. Church and my spiritual background…I think me being Haitian is really why I'm really close with God. And our parents, as a child, they teach us to love God, Haitians everywhere…even the Haitians who do badly would tell you to keep God first. Growing up in church, being encouraged by other Haitians to speak creole, I give them a couple of sermons in creole before amm…it's all…that's what keeps me grounded. It's my religion, the food and…amm, also the celebration of national holidays.

Like Fritz, "Paul" is proud of his Haitian culture that he learned from his Haitian father within a Haitian-American marriage:

I would learn about Haiti through my father, obviously and he would just talk about Haitian people are strong people, Haitian people are very prideful and it's because of our history, you know, the first black nation to liberate themselves in a time where, you know, a lot of amm…you know, whites were, you know, still enslaving and…and captivating African slaves and just black…just black people as a whole. That was just one thing that he kept reinforcing throughout my years in school just to make sure that I was never intimidated, I would always look people in the eye when I talk.

Learning aspects of his father's native language was also part of Paul's upbringing, and this has proved to be an advantage to him in affirming his Haitian identity as well as in learning French:

My father would speak to me…amm…because he has a very sharp accent. He would speak to me in English, integrate some creole in there but it was never like fluent conversations. In high school my teacher was just like…it's almost as if I was a natural because it's one thing to learn French and to know how to say things but he would always distinctly mention my articulation and different things and how it seemed almost as if it was a part of me. That's when I would tell him I'm Haitian.

Among the traditions that Paul's father insisted on modelling and transmitting was absolute respect for elders:

Whenever I'm meeting a Haitian aunt or a Haitian elder amm…we call them the 'granmoun'. Basically you go up to them, give them a kiss on the cheek, you know, just different things, different…you know…things like that amm...kind of set aside the American side from the Haitian side so just ammm…instilling those respect levels was just ways we used to talk about amm…just differences in the culture even though we're all black, you know, there's little small things that separate us."

The history of Haiti that Paul received from his father conflicted somewhat with the history that he was taught in his U.S. primary school classroom, where mention of Haiti seemed to constantly connected to poverty. Paul now sees this as an example of how dominant discourses and media narratives are propagated in American education:

> they would talk about how we were the first blacks to gain independence but I would notice that sometimes…not sometimes, I would notice a theme that would regularly come up was the fact that, amm…was Haiti's poverty, and I remember knowing that poverty was an issue in Haiti but I don't…I didn't…how can I say it…it was more so of that being the main focus and that kind of threw me off. In the books I would see Haiti, amm…dirt roads and children playing with rocks in their shorts and things like that. I believe 7th grade for me was after the earthquake so they were really looking like confused, you know. Well, you're not a dark as the Haitians we see. You're not as skinny as the Haitians we see. Just the stereotypes and the depictions that the school system allowed them.

Paul was perplexed by his difficulties in reconciling these differences between what he was taught by his father and what he was taught in school. He therefore set forth on a journey of personal enquiry:

> I remember talking to my dad and he did explain to me that yes, you know, we do have those people but just from knowing family that does live in Haiti, they're such a happy people. There's…it's just crazy how, you know, they try to depict this picture of…of poverty and sadness and not knowing where the next meal comes from. And that was something that I kind of had to take a step back and think wow is what I'm being taught at home different from what I'm being taught in the school system so that was that they wanted to know that Haiti is the #1, ahh…in the western hemisphere. And I just remember learning like are you serious.

Fritz also noticed major discrepancies between U.S. media representation and his personal memories of Haiti. He was troubled by the U.S. media coverage of the 2010 earthquake, noting that it often presented Haiti as being in a state of total devastation when in fact many of the country's regions remained intact:

> I've gone twice before the earthquake. I was young but I still remember it…not only was it just amazing from tales my father would give as a child but it was also, you know… physically going there, seeing beauty, seeing the culture, seeing everything, knowing that the food there tastes ten times better than the food made by Haitians here. The natural stuff just makes everything…its unexplainable but it's…it's…I would say it's almost poorly represented. Every time I would see Haiti on television it's on voodoo, poor, poor, and earthquake. And they never showed the tourist site. They only focus on Port au Prince and the devastation of the earthquake. They made it seem as if the whole island had been destroyed by this earthquake when in reality it was only one part and I called my

family after the earthquake and they said all they felt was a little shaking and it was done. The only thing that they kind of do in Georgia, I would never forget when I was in 8th grade I was kind of proud when they mentioned how Haiti helped American received its independence in Savannah Georgia.

Haitian pride and finding common ground
Unlike Fritz, Paul had never travelled to Haiti, but his knowledge of his father's land has become a source and symbol of pride for him, just as have his name and a necklace which represents the map of Haiti:

> I had this necklace I had since middle school, I wore it all the way in high school as well and it was a Haitian necklace. It didn't have the whole country of His-paniola, it was literally just the country of Haiti so it excluded Dominican Re-public. I used to wear that with such pride and I remember just talking to my friends and I would always say…'cause I never been to Haiti but my entire fam-ily has.

Despite stories of racial profiling resulting from a police officer's reaction to the neck-lace, Paul continues to wear it today:

> It was a white officer and I remember my mother emailed the principle, emailed the amm…the entire campus police of the academy…even went to the superin-tendent, the entire board…it was a very big thing and amm…I ended up, you know, receiving an apology. But I, that…that was one thing that stood out to me. Not the fact that…excuse me, the fact that he could just look at a necklace that shared some, you know, our colors…red and blue…and instantly just put me in a gang, you know, just go ahead and say I can expel you and just letting me know all of these things and that was…I believe 10th grade in high school. And I re-member feeling as if I had to tread lightly after that. It almost discouraged me but it was…it was that pride that kept me to wearing my necklace and it kept me to keep saying OK I'm Haitian and that's why…after that…that day did nothing. That day tripled…almost multiplied times 10 how much I have to represent my culture, how much I have to represent amm…where I come from and my up-bringing.

In his interactions with peers and workmates, Fritz boasts about his Haitian background, and uses every available opportunity to share his culture: He stated, "

> Me and my friend – J'Pierre – we make a lot of jokes during staff meetings and amm…different functions at which we'll only shout out Haiti or speak with…speak about Haiti with a certain amount of pride. There was a moment in time at which Haiti was so amm…disrespected, you know, and I remember as a kid, you were almost made fun of for being Haitian but all of a sudden, in the past year or two it's just been this rise of Haitian pride where, you know, every-body even outside of Haitian culture…who're not Haitian, are beginning to be

attracted to Haiti and Haitian people because of the celebrities that are coming out that are Haitian.

Fritz's Haitian heritage serves as a sense of pride both on campus and within community organizations:

> 99% of my friends know I'm of Haitian descent because I love being Haitian. I love telling them about my Haitian lineage. And I even teach them creole. From time to time I'll speak straight creole to them without them understanding, and give context clues to kind of make them understand. And some of them…most of them like it. Some others think its arrogance but I think it's pride for my ancestry and where I'm from.

Paul has come to realize that Haitian immigrants' efforts to transmit their cultures and identities to their children are in many ways similar to those of other Caribbean immigrants to the U.S.:

> I actually moved out here with my American mother, so coming here to Georgia State University and integrating…just interacting rather with the Caribbean Students Association here on campus opened up big windows to leading people …Haitians in particular, but of course people from all over the Caribbean and just laughing about different things, different similarities that our parents have, the way that we were raised, amm…just different day to day things that you could only see as a Haitian household. We find time to…even little things that we do, we always find some way to joke and…and just kind of laugh at our upbringing more so and joke about it that wow we are all from different places, we grew up different, we didn't know each other until college but yet we still have similarities in our upbringing.

Not every American born to Haitian parents feels as comfortable as does Fritz to openly express their pride about being Haitian, and some even seem to seek to hide or reject their Haitian heritage:

> I know full blooded Haitians and even Haitians who were born in Haiti who almost regret…or shame amm…they kind of laugh or (sigh) this guy again. They know how I express my Haitian culture with such pride and strong manner. They'll kind of look, you know, unappreciative of the culture. They'll look kind of amm…ashamed at times even to speak creole.

The tendency to conceal one's nationality is not uncommon among Haitian-born youth, particularly given the fact that the in U.S. media portray such things as abject poverty as being permanent characteristics of Haiti and its citizens, but, in **Jean's** experience, it is the exception rather than the norm:

> I would say probably 1 out of 10 would, you know, kind of try to hide their identity. But most of them are very prideful. They don't want to, you know, they want to hide their accents.

Haitian Americans' perceptions of and responses to dominant discourses on Haiti

Re-narrating Haiti has become especially challenging for Haitian immigrants and Haitian Americans in light of the increasingly more overtly racist dominant discourse in U.S. politics and media. For example, U.S. President Trump's classification of Haiti and African countries as "shithole" countries cast the spotlight on the enduring burden that Haitian immigrants carry in resisting such perceptions. While Fritz charitably attributes President Trump's outburst regarding Haiti at least in part to the influence of media discourse, he also observes that general lack of knowledge perpetuates such stereotypes:

> [I was surprised, but]...then again not so surprised but the fact that he referred to Haiti specifically along with a few other countries and Africa and such, was just like 'Yo, why was the President, you know.' I'll start off by saying that I've already forgiven the President for saying such and I know at the end of the day it is ignorance and would say, I would also blame the media and he's so strongly into the media. As much as he hates the media, he watches it obviously a lot and he pays attention a lot because that's where he gets all his facts…and those facts are distorted but I still wish as the President of the United States you would take the time to amm...actually understand and do some research or study or do something before you would, you know, go that far.

Jean's response to President Trump's pronouncement about Haiti contrasts with Fritz's, because he more directly attributes it to the racist discourse that has a long and ugly history in the U.S. and which is increasingly being legitimized and perpetuated by core power structures of society including the political party currently in power, the education system and the media:

> I wasn't necessarily shocked and it's simply because of amm…the disrespect that I've experienced about Haiti from people who are from the same race of him and…and just being black in America. When I did my…my…my speech on white privilege being subliminally introduced in amm…our school systems here in America, I did that thinking about a time where…where I didn't know this.

Despite the negativity that pervades dominant discourses and perceptions about Haiti in the U.S., both Jean and Fritz are actively engaged in re-narrating Haiti as Haitian Americans. As a musician, Fritz spends much of his time creating and sharing Haitian aspirations and talent through his music:

> *When I'm not doing those things in student leadership I'm a musician, I'm an artist, I write and make music. Haitian music is a big base for what I do and it's crazy because Haitians are so musically inclined .... Whenever I get the chance I will use my platforms to shout out Haiti or use Haiti. .... I was Student Vice-President, ironically my brother was President and we would try to put together like cultural nights, Caribbean events. I remember when my brother went to DC*

for a PAGE program, amm… our parents were so grateful that the school helped…amm…helped him that she made Haitian food for the entire staff and amm…we always try to find ways to keep that culture that our parents instilled in us.

Paul is also trying to move the focus of discourse about Haiti away from narratives of perpetual poverty. In the process, he has encountered stereotypes based on media representations that have been instrumental in creating general misconceptions about Haiti and its citizens. His attempts at challenging such misrepresentations of Haiti, seem in many cases to have succeeded in gradually shifting people's perceptions:

As far as changing that narrative that we are the poorest, just daily interactions I believe with my friends. …. So my sister, she loves going back and forth. She travelled back to Haiti very often and I would always show them pictures. 'Hey guys, look at this…look at my sister here, you know, doing this' and they would be so surprised. "Oh, that's not Haiti. She's not in Haiti' and question…'I didn't know the water is this beautiful' It was just quite interesting to…to be, amm…to be allowed that chance to kind of show them that Haiti is not just what you see in the books. Haiti is not just what they depict in the media. Haiti is not just amm…you know, this…this horrible place that has been deprived of everything beautiful. Haiti is not that at all. So I…I actually loved doing that. I loved pulling out my phone very quickly.

For Fritz, the responsibility for reframing and re-narrating Haiti resides with the people of Haiti and Haitian Americans:

I think it's up to the Haitian people. We have to change the narrative. I am a firm believer in being the change you want to see. It's up to the Haitian people to step up …. keep the culture going [by assuring that our children] will speak Haitian creole. …. They're going to know a bit of French. They're going to understand our culture. It's not going to die with me and I'm going to make sure that with my platform as a journalist, as an artist, as a musician and even as one day if the Lord calls me to…political leadership, Haiti will always be a part. I love being American, I don't wanna get that misconstrued that I love my American lineage as well…that I'm beginning as the first-generation Haitian in my country. My goal is to make sure Haiti is rightfully represented all throughout the world, all throughout America…respected as any other country.

Jean also believes that the responsibility for re-narrating Haiti resides with Haitian people themselves, but notes that this is often not an easy task:

Few brave journalists are trying again to reshape Haiti's image in the international community, but they still have to face internal persecution. Haiti's problem is so complex, too many enemies to fight at the time, but media is still trying to inspire social change, in spite of all. …. I miss the beautiful land of Haiti, its rivers, lakes, and beaches like Labadie, one of the world's best beaches…the

country side with its romantic and paradise nature, it's delicious food, fruits, and culture.

Conclusion

In this article, I have begun a process of documenting and demonstrating how Haitian Americans are deconstructing some of the dominant narratives concerning Haiti in U.S. political, educational and media discourse. The interviews showcased in this study, however, indicate that Haitian Americans are not only deconstructing the discourses which have marginalized and othered them for the past 200 years, but instead that they are also reconstructing narratives that re-center them as proud, creative, resourceful and resilient historical agents.

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AN ARCHEOLOGY OF PATRIARCHAL OBJECTIFICATION IN STRIP CLUB PUBLICITY IN PUERTO RICO, UTILIZING A CRITIQUE OF THE DOMINANT DISCOURSES ON SEXUALITY

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Abstract

This article has as its goal the empowerment of Puerto Rican women and the undermining of the exploitative elite that oppresses them. In it, I study the dominant discourses of patriarchy as articulated through strip club publicity in Puerto Rico and I use critical discourse analysis as a lens for deconstructing four images which typify this type of advertising as second order semiological signs.

Introduction

The normative and binary construction of gender as a discursive system of domination is routinely used by the dominant classes and their spokespeople among the symbolic elites for the hegemonic control of society (Faraclas, 2017). In the case of patriarchal objectification, this transcendental construction of gender involves both the exploited and objectified human body as well as the exploitative user of the sexual object. The binary notion of gender as [+male] vs. [-male] traces its roots to Western metaphysics, which routinely deploys such mutually exclusive and conjunctively exhaustive oppositions in order to operationalize hegemonic control over how people think, talk and act in the world. (Faraclas, 2017)

When we adopt a critical stance toward the mental models that are created by such patriarchal notions, we begin to move beyond narrow binaries to embrace a broader range of possibilities for sex and gender identities that are clearly different from the only two options allowed in Western metaphysics, which pretends that its exclusive versions of logic and truth are eternal, universal, unchangeable, good and normal. Through colonization, first by Spain and then by the U.S., Western metaphysics has been instrumental in shaping the mental models, social representations and ideologies

that are shared by a large proportion of the Puerto Rican public. In the present work, I attempt to demonstrate how Western patriarchal epistemologies of sex and gender are articulated through strip club publicity in Puerto Rico today and how the binary relations of power that are established and propagated by such epistemologies are manifested in the world of strip clubs.

Before beginning, a note of clarification is in order concerning sexual freedom and puritanical patriarchal morality. It is my opinion that sexuality must be free, therefore in this work, I am not trying to demonize the different genders and subversive sexualities that can and do emerge from such marginalized and criminalized spaces as strip clubs. Instead, my purpose is to identify, critique and deconstruct the mechanisms of patriarchal, ethnocentric and capitalistic control that dominate the strip club scene in Puerto Rico. Because of the nature of patriarchal discourse, these strip clubs tend to exclusively hire women who were born biologically female. With that in mind, in the publicity that I analyze we find cis-gender[1] women, who were probably born biologically female, but we should not automatically assume this to be true. Against this background, the perspectives that I use to discuss these matters are inclusive, so that the trans woman is considered a woman, the trans man is considered a man, and intersex people are respected for their attempts to open up subversive spaces for the non-patriarchal celebration of gender and sex.

Heteronormativity defines heterosexuality as the norm, while everything that deviates in any way from it is condemned as abnormal. The Puerto Rican strip club is a heteronormative space, in which trans women are not considered women. This normativity by which only certain types of women are hired, is yet another example of how the trans community is routinely discriminated against, in favor of the cis-community.[2] (Santiago, n.d.). Discrimination against the trans community is rooted in heteronormativity, and the discourse surrounding strip clubs in Puerto Rico is permeated with colonial heteronormative ideology that typifies patriarchal notions of gender and sexuality in Puerto Rico.

Theoretical considerations

The task that concerns me here lies in deconstructing the dominant discourses related to sexuality that are articulated in the public sphere. As such, while I concentrate on analyzing patriarchy as a discourse of domination, I also mention other hegemonic discourses, such as ethnocentrism (racism) and economic exploitation (capitalism), in relation to how they work with patriarchy to oppress Puerto Rican women. To achieve these goals, I draw on frameworks proposed within the field of linguistics that study

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[1] The term cis-gender (as opposed to the term trans-gender) refers to the people who identify with the gender that was assigned to them when born.
[2] Personal communication with Akiria Santiago Ortiz, a psychologist at Centro Universitario de Servicios y Estudios Psicológicos (CUSEP) at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras.

power abuse, such as that of critical discourse studies, one of whose chief proponents is Teun Van Dijk (2008).

In their groundbreaking and influential analysis of economic exploitation, Marx and Engels make an unfortunate distinction between productive labor and reproductive (or natural) labor (Marx, 2018). While this distinction can be used as a tool to unmask the mechanisms by which capitalism extracts profit from the paid labor traditionally performed by European descended men, it ignores how capitalism also extracts profit from the unpaid labor traditionally performed by non-European descended people and women in both colonizing and colonized societies, that is, it largely ignores the patriarchal and ethnocentric foundations upon which capitalism was built and upon which capital accumulation still depends. This privileging of economic exploitation over ethnocentrism and patriarchy has proved to be a major problem for Marxian theory as well as for Marxist social movements.

Thus, I believe that whenever attempts are made to understand domination or to address the problems that arise from domination, we must, in the final analysis, give prominence to the discourses of economic exploitation, ethnocentrism, and patriarchy, because each of these discourses is inextricably intertwined with both of the others. In relation to this approach to discourses of domination, I rely on the work of Bennholdt-Thomsen, Faraclas and Von Werlhof (2001) titled, *There is an alternative: subsistence and worldwide resistance to corporate globalization*. and the work of Mies, Bennholdt- Thomsen and Von Werlhof (1988) titled, *Women: the last colony,* where the traditional concept of the colonized is expanded from peoples of non-European descent to both nature and women My analysis of patriarchy is based on the above works, and that of Claudia Von Werlhof (2001) titled, "Losing faith in progress: capitalist patriarchy as an alchemical system", where patriarchy is conceptualized as an alchemical system that destroys women and attempts to co-opt their capacity to produce life. My analyses of economic exploitation are based on the work of Vandana Shiva (2001) titled, "Globalization and poverty" and that of Gustavo Esteva (1995) titled, "Development" where the binary construct [+developed] vs. [-developed] is discussed in a way that parallels my discussion of the binary [+male] vs. [-male] above. My analysis of ethnocentrism relies on the work of Frantz Fanon (2000, [1952]) and Edward Brathwaite (2000, [1984]). Finally, in this study I dedicate myself to creating spaces free from patriarchal, ethnocentric and economically exploitative domination.

Methodology and description of the images

In this article, my focus is on the study of strip club publicity as part of a process of the colonization of women's bodies. I carry out this study using the discourse analysis tools provided Van Dijk (2008), whose framework consists of four fundamentals elements: 1) Description; 2) Analysis; 3) Critique; and 4) Commitment. In the present work, I will include the first three elements and, because of time constraints, leave the fourth for

future research related activities. I also use the semiological tools provided by Roland Barthes (2000, [1957]), in his work titled, "Myth today", where he talks about the construction of myth as a second order semiological system. In our description of the four images under study, we consider what Barthes calls the first-order semiological signification of each image, which involves the simple pairing of an image (the first order signifier, in this case a visual image) with the meaning directly conveyed by its component parts (the first order signified, or 'literal' meaning conveyed by the image). In our critical analysis of the same images, we consider what Barthes calls the second-order semiological signification of each image, which involves the pairing of the first order sign (the product of the first order signifier and the first order signified) with a new meaning, not directly conveyed by its component parts (the second order signified, or 'mythical' meaning assigned to the first order sign). The product of the pairing of the first order sign with the second order signified is the second order sign, or what Barthes calls 'myth'. I consider strip club publicity as part of the process of the construction of myths that foster the patriarchal, ethnocentric and capitalistic exploitation of women in present day Puerto Rican society. In the pages that follow, I will describe and critically analyze four images taken from strip club publicity in Puerto Rico. These images were selected because they constitute a fairly representative sample of the range of images that appear in public places to advertise strip clubs on the island.

In the description of the images below, we considered what Barthes calls the first-order semiological signification of each image, which involves the simple pairing of an image (the first order signifier, in this case a visual image) with the meaning directly depicted by its component parts (the first order signified, or 'literal' meaning conveyed by the image).

The first advertisement consists of several elements:
1) the text, which is distributed along the left and bottom sides of the ad, where you find the name of the strip club, service hours, mention of the sale of alcohol, contact information and the location;
2) an image an idealized woman's body that is positioned to the right side of the ad. She is a woman with light skin, large breasts, big hips, a lean body, voluptuous lips, lank hair, and silky skin without any type of blemish or wrinkle. This image does not include the full face of the woman, and begins at the lips and ends at the middle of the thigh.
3) a background of slightly opaque colors, straight lines that cross each other and one triangle and a panoramic view of an urban area which is located at the bottom of the ad, while at the top we see the sky, which continues up to the inside of the woman's arm.

The second advertisement consists of the following elements:
1) A logo at the upper left, which includes the name of the strip club "The Doll House Gentlemen Club" and mentions that the club offers a drinking lounge

and dining. Alongside the text at the left is a logo figure of the idealized body of a woman with lean body, big buttocks, and lank hair who is wearing high heels.

2) Text at the bottom mentioning the opening hours of the club and more text that reads "Champagne Room" in large letters.

3) A background consisting of the faceless, headless body of a woman. She has light skin, a lean hairless body, large breasts and in general she has the ideal female body, according to Western patriarchal norms. The woman is holding up a champagne bottle with her legs, with the pressurized white foamy contents of the bottle spewing out over her belly.

The third image can be divided into two areas:

1) The left-hand side which includes an idealized female body, which in this instance includes her face, in distinction to the first two images, which corresponds to Western patriarchal norms of beauty and is looking downward. This woman has a slightly darker skin tone than those depicted in the first two images, large breasts, wavy hair, voluptuous lips, and a lean body.

2) The cluttered background, which includes images of what looks to be a Casino, at the left a segment of a word, "…king,"; and at the upper right extracts of words "sam boy" and "frem…", which could suggest expressions such as *Uncle Sam*, *Good Ol' Boys*, and *Free Money*.

3) The name of the strip club "Lips - Gentlemen club," along with some service and contact information and one hundred dollar bills around the name and at the bottom.

The fourth image is a video (Torres, 2012) in which the following can be observed:

1) Over the entire course of the video the name of the strip club, **"Deja Vu"** appears. Among all the logo forms with which the name of the club is presented, one of the most notable is the one that shows a woman dancing on a pole.

2) Throughout the video, we see service and contact information dispersed all over the screen.

3) In the video we observe women of different skin tones and all of the women have different bodily characteristics, nonetheless, all of them correspond to patriarchal norms of female beauty and desirability, such as: large breasts, a lean body, ample hips and a small waist.

4) Within the video there are several embedded video clips, which include short segments from inside the strip club, with scenes of lesbians in erotic interaction, pole dancing, and bachelor or 'stag' parties.

Critical analysis of the images

In the critical analysis of the images described above, we consider what Barthes calls the second-order semiological signification of each image, which involves the pairing of the first order sign (the product of the first order signifier and the first order signified) with a new meaning, not directly conveyed by its component parts (the second order signified, or 'mythical' meaning assigned to the first order sign). The product of the pairing of the first order sign with the second order signified is the second order sign, or what Barthes calls 'myth'.

In the first image, we encounter a light-skinned woman whose face Claudia von Werlhof (2000) would say has been alchemized, in the sense that it has been broken down into component parts, only to be re-assembled according to patriarchal norms. As in many other strip club ads, her face begins and ends at the lips, leaving behind all personal identity and agency. Her voluptuous lips, which are made even larger by pink lipstick, become the only relevant characteristic of her otherwise erased face. Here we are witness to the results of a patriarchal process whereby women and nature are 'burned' or broken down into their 'essential' elements, and then reconstituted as commodities to be sold and consumed for and at the pleasure of men.

The light skin, large breasts and lean body of the person depicted in this advertisement correspond in many ways to the Platonic norm of female beauty, which is the image which has been elevated above all others as the goal which all women in Western societies should dedicate their lives to achieving. The fact that this particular person has some of the bodily features that correspond to this norm, however, does not make her exempt from sexual and economic exploitation. Even her light skin does not deliver her from this fate. This underscores the nature of Platonic norms as completely artificial and by design unattainable, so that we spend our whole lives trying to be who the mythmakers who serve the ruling classes say we should be, rather than being and becoming who we want to be. It also exposes the emptiness of the promises of happiness, wellbeing and fulfillment awaiting all of those who might come close to possessing such normative characteristics.

The name of the strip club associated with this image is "D'Girls". Patriarchal norms classify certain types of female bodies and bodily features as more desirable, and therefore more marketable, than others, and the images studied here correspond to such optimally desirable and marketable bodies. So, these images and the women who work in the establishments associated with them are not just ANY women. In the first place, as the strip club name suggests, they are "THE girls," not to be confused with normal or average women, but the special group of women designated not only as most desirable, but also most vulnerable and subject to sexual and economic exploitation. This desirability, vulnerability and lack of independent agency is further conveyed by calling them GIRLS, rather than WOMEN, because younger women are deemed more attractive than

older women under the Western patriarchal gaze, and because the younger a female is, the more complete her subjugation and dependence is on the Western patriarchal order and the more control male figures can exercise over her and her body.

The name of the club advertised in the second image is "The Doll House – Gentlemen Club". This club is a heteronormative strip club where the women are working, for the most part, to satisfy the desires of heterosexual men. The word "doll" refers to an inanimate object utilized by children at play. A doll is typically a "girl toy" modeled after the Barbie-like norms of female beauty in patriarchal Western culture, where we are advised that "girls play with dolls and boys play with cars". In the strip club, the woman is made available to the male clients as a dead object, who, extending the metaphor of child's play, in this case have permission to play with the doll. The idealized doll represents the ideal woman, in as far as she is under complete control. Of course, the only way to definitively control a human being is to kill it, and this is effectively what the alchemical patriarchal project must do to exert control over women. A doll is without will, without identity, does not cry, does not fight, demands nothing, and is completely at the service of the whims of men. You dress her, you undress her, you pet her, you disturb her, you move her, you violate her, you throw her on the floor and she remains silent because she has no life, she is dead.

The next component of the strip club's name is "House." In Western patriarchal thinking, especially in Puerto Rico, the idealized woman is condemned to stay put inside the house, caring for the children, cooking, cleaning, getting dressed for her man. If she leaves home, she is condemned to do so in high heels, high enough to accentuate her availability to men, but not so high as to put her above men. The club is depicted as another child's toy, the dollhouse, where a man can pretend to arrive home, commanding the doll to serve him a meal and then take him to the "champagne room," where his sexual desire, symbolized by the champagne squirting over the doll's body, can be brought to a climax.

The name states that this is not a "Men's club" but instead a "Gentlemen [sic] Club." While the first part of the name suggests that the female workers are dolls, this last part of the name suggests that the male clients are GENTLEMEN, rather than ordinary MEN. In the patriarchal, ethnocentric and capitalist order in Western societies, a binary distinction is made between [+male], [+white] and [+rich] 'gentlemen' versus [+male], [-white] and [-rich] 'men'. While a non-European descended and/or poor man is labeled a 'brute' when he mistreats a woman, a European descended wealthy gentleman is essentially above the law, and he can mistreat women without social condemnation, as has become shockingly evident in the scandals surrounding such 'gentlemen' as Donald Trump. Picking back up on the child's play metaphor, what happens in the strip club is just play, just a game, not to be taken seriously. At a strip club, even a non-European descended and/or poor man can be 'King for a day' and, for a few hours at least, get

away with what a European descended rich man routinely gets away with. This means that if women are abused in a strip club, it is all 'just in fun'.

The words "Lounge & Dining" are featured in the logo. This indicates that inside the strip club men can relax and even eat, but in the advertisement there are no images of food or drink. Instead there is the image of a woman, who is being marketed as both the consumable object (food) and also the relaxing drug (alcoholic drink) at the service of the man. The woman who works in the strip club is thus converted into a sexual meal and drug for her heterosexual cis-gender client. In addition, the word "dining" as opposed to "eating" is suggestive of a "finer" more exclusive type of lifestyle, associated with "gentlemen". The purpose here is to lure the client into the most expensive area of the strip club, the "Champagne Room," where white foam explodes in blissful abundance on women's bellies.

The champagne bottle between the woman´s legs appears like an erect penis that has just had an orgasm. In patriarchal pornography, the penis and the sperm of the man are the cause and the finality of all sexuality while the libido and the orgasm of the woman is portrayed as secondary or is ignored and silenced altogether. This image mirrors the depiction of the male orgasm in patriarchal pornography. This type of pornography is based on a transcendental idea of sexual control, which emphasizes and places a priority on the pleasure of the man through the exploitation of the idealized objectified woman. When a potential client looks at this image, he associates "The Doll House" with a possible means to fulfill the impossible fantasies portrayed in patriarchal pornography.

The third image contains an advertisement is for a strip club named "Lips", and here we see once again the sexualization of parts of the female body, in this case, the lips. The word lips not only refers to the lips of the face but also to vaginal lips. Rented, sold, the lips of the woman are commodified. You pay and you will have access to the consumable object. In this image the woman has darker skin than the women in the first two images. It could be said that in this case, the Caribbean woman is presented as an exotic commodity, and, although darker skin does not correspond to the Eurocentric norm, in this case "the Other" is positioned as an unusual and attractive plaything for the "gentleman". Thus she can be marketed as something rare, forbidden and prohibited[3] and access to her body might cost even more than access to the bodies of other women in the strip club.

This advertisement reflects the connection that exists between capitalism and addiction, such as addiction to gambling and sex. In the preceding advertisements we observed links to other types of addiction like alcohol. Within the patriarchal system there is no

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[3] Trans-gender or trans-sexual women are even more prohibited as objects, to the extent that men who are attracted to trans-women tend to hide their attraction for them, especially if they happen to be non-European descended and/or poor.

love, there is no affection, there is no fulfillment for anybody, since truly fulfilling living experiences and relationships are replaced by dead objects that have been alchemized and converted into consumable products designed to create and maintain addictions. From its outset, the capitalist system has depended for its growth on the financing, production, and marketing of addictive substances from sugar in the 17th century to cell phones in the 21st century.

Heteronormativity condemns any type of sexuality that does not conform to its artificial and purposefully unattainable norms and transforms sex into a dualistic and addictive act of consumption that consists of the man dominating the woman, removing any true and mutual affection between a woman and a man. Heteronormative relations convert people into possessable, consumable products, the marketing of which has generated considerable wealth for the owners of strip club chains.

The man who goes to the strip club in search of satisfaction finds momentary gratification, but no lasting fulfillment, because the commodified objects that he consumes there are essentially dead, and thus incapable of truly satisfying any fundamental human need. The "gentleman" who is lured into strip club is made to feel "comfortable" in his privileged position within the patriarchal system, but the reality is that the system consumes him too, and ultimately deprives him of his humanity and fulfillment, so that he will soon have to return to the strip club to get his next sexual 'fix'. That said, the position of the women who work in the strip clubs is even worse, because there the system consumes her, alchemizes her and converts her in to a slave, whose submission is signaled in this advertisement by the downward, lost gaze of the woman depicted therein. Finally, in the world of the strip club, the illusion is maintained that people with non-heteronormative sexualities and genders don't even exist, and thus they are completely erased.

The fourth advertisement considered here consists of a video which propagates the same patriarchal norms and misogynist messages found in the other three advertisements. Some of the elements included in this video, however, are not found in the images considered above, including heteroerotic lesbianism, pole dancing and bachelor parties. Sexuality can be defined as a matrix of possibilities[4] that by its diverse nature challenges Western systems of domination, so that these systems find themselves obliged at times to co-opt non-heteronormative sexualities in order to alchemize and commodify them as exotic adjuncts to the heteronormative order.

At one juncture in this video two women with darker skin tones are depicted erotically interacting with each other inside the strip club. Lesbianism is part of the spectrum of sexuality that usually contradicts heteronormativity, and directly and effectively defies patriarchy. But this particular lesbian image in this advertisement for the Deja Vu strip

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[4] A matrix is an epistemic device that allows multiple causality, in distinction to the monocausal linear approach normally adopted in patriarchal Western science.

club does not convey any message about empowering women or lesbianism. Instead, it alchemizes a specific instance of a woman having sex with another woman, not for their own pleasure, but for the pleasure of the male observer. Thus, this scene could be interpreted as a virtual orgy between a man and two bisexual women. In the pole dance scenes, the pole is a representation of the male penis, which the woman finds herself obliged to dance on and depend on to earn money. This dance can be considered from different perspectives, but within the ideological universe that prevails in strip clubs, it is very difficult to think of the pole dance in any other way than as a glorification of the erect phallus.

The bachelor party or 'stag' party scenes in the video depict a ritualistic gathering of male friends of a man who is soon to be married (Collins Dictionary, n.d.). The bachelor party is the type of social event that typically occurs in a strip club. The husband to be, before sealing an "unwavering commitment to the woman of his life" must ritually consume other women, ostensibly of lower quality than his prospective wife, that is, the women in the strip club. Only heteronormative men who were born biologically male are allowed to partake. The trans-gender or trans-sexual man is excluded. You must have a penis, you must have the essential organ and identification that identify you as the "gentleman king" of the strip club.

Conclusions and further research

This critical analysis of the discourse that pervades advertisements for strip clubs in Puerto Rico reveals how patriarchy, ethnocentrism and economic exploitation have provided a legally and socially tolerated space for maximal commodification of women's bodies that often borders on slavery, prostitution and human trafficking.

The final element of Van Dijk's (2008) framework for critical discourse analysis is 'Commitment', that is making one's research useful for the community under study. Because of the time constraints involved in doing the research reported on in this essay, I was not able to do justice to this component of critical discourse analysis, one that differentiates Van Dijk's approach from other academic approaches to the study of discourse. I therefore intend to expand my strip club research in the future to include initiatives in support of strip club workers. The first step in this direction will be not only to expose the discursive abuses of power that saturate the strip club world as I have in the preceding pages, but also to expose the coercive violence inflicted against the women who whose labor is exploited by strip club owners and clients.

For example, in her news article titled, "Sex trade workers organize", Rebeca Kavoussi (1998) reveals the slavery-like economic abuse that one of the strip clubs analyzed in this article and others like it have committed against their female workers. She observes that the women who work in such strip clubs are forced to accept the slave-like terms of an independent contract that makes them more vulnerable as workers than those hired elsewhere as employees. While such contracts are touted by strip club owners as giving

the women who work for them greater control over the conditions under which they labor, the opposite is actually the case. Such contracts, for example, explicitly forbid these workers to form unions, which might negotiate a set of rules that would forbid them to be told to work without clothes, to limit the number of hours that they are obliged to work, etc. Women who work as a strippers in Puerto Rican strip clubs labor under such contracts, allowing the owners maximum leeway in determining what these women do in the workplace, without the benefit of any of the protections provided by labor laws. In the future, I therefore intend to extend my research into the interface between strip club work and slavery.

It is evident that the men who own and operate the strip clubs in Puerto Rico and the rest of the world include a community of ghosts who have mastered the art of being legally invisible. The official page of The Doll House Gentleman Club indicates that the founder of this franchise was Antonino Gurgone, who is deceased (DollHouse web page, n.d.). Beyond that, there are no names of any Puerto Rican strip club owners that are easily found. I did, however, locate what appears to be the sole administrator of the Facebook accounts of the clubs LIPS, D'Girls, The Doll House Gentlemen Club and Lolly Pop. Although I was unable to establish a transparent relationship between "The Doll House" in Puerto Rico and Michael J. Peter's "Thee Doll House" in the U.S., the shady world of strip club franchises is typified by such ruses as slight changes in names to avoid compliance with the law. In future research, I hope to explore the possible connections between international criminal businesses and the strip clubs of Puerto Rico, with a particular focus on areas such as kidnapping and human trafficking.

In Puerto Rico itself, there have been raids of strip clubs where ample evidence of criminal activity has been uncovered. Several media sources on the island reported on a series of such raids that were carried out on the 16th of September 2016 on a number of strip clubs, including Deja Vu, D'Girls, Frenchys, el diplomatico and Chicote. In this operation, the police "confiscated" fire arms, drugs, hard cash and arrested 38 persons". According to one article in *Primera Hora* (2016):

> Lieutenant Coronel José Juan García, Director of the commission on drugs reported that the arrests were related to prostitution businesses. Additionally, of the 38 arrests made, 32 of them were for prostitution.[5]

One wonders if the majority of the persons arrested were the female strip club workers themselves, rather than the male strip club owners who have forced them into prostitution. Another area that I would like to explore in my future research would be the very problematic connections between strip club work and prostitution.

In any case, I do not want to position myself through this research as taking a monolithic stance against prostitution. Although it is difficult for me to see how prostitution could

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[5] In the references section of this paper, links are provided to other news reports about cases of prostitution in strip clubs in Puerto Rico: El Nuevo Dia, Tu video PR.

be anything but a form of slavery and human trafficking under the patriarchal, ethno-centric and economically exploitative conditions that currently prevail in Puerto Rico, anthropologists have identified cases of indigenous and other cultures where prostitution is work that can be empowering to women and other sex workers. As Margaret Randall (1980) recounts in her book titled, *Todas estamos despiertas: testimonios de la mujer nicaragüense hoy* [We are all awake: Testimonies of Nicaraguan women today]:

> *la prostitución en Nicaragua era considerado un trabajo respetable como cualquier otro… su actividad se verificaba en un lugar especial del mercado -, los sostenía en caso de necesidad.*
>
> [prostitution in Nicaragua was considered respectable work just as any other… its activity would be validated through a special place in the market-, it would sustain them [sex workers] in case of need.]

It is hard to imagine a site in Puerto Rico where the power abuse, violence, contradictions and hypocrisy that typify the dominant discourses of Western patriarchy, ethnocentrism and economic exploitation are more in evidence than in the strip club. It is my hope that this critical analysis of only a few examples of just one of the discursive articulations of strip clubs in the public sphere will encourage others to further explore how those who own and operate these businesses navigate the treacherous waters of sexism, racism and capitalism to turn a handsome profit on the backs of their workers and clients.

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REPRESENTACIÓN DE LA VÍCTIMA DE VIOLENCIA DE GÉNERO SOBRE LA MUJER EN CASOS DE ASESINATOS EN LA PRENSA DE PUERTO RICO

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Introducción

La sociedad puertorriqueña es un ejemplo de una comunidad discursiva en la cual la hegemonía logra la exclusión e inclusión de los grupos sociales a través del discurso. Por esta razón, los discursos mediáticos son producto de negociación social que consiste en ideas preconcebidas que se toman por sentadas y, que son parte del trasfondo que subyace en el discurso periodístico. La prensa escrita representa los discursos sobre las tensiones contemporáneas en las relaciones de poder y la visión de patrones de prejuicio que Puerto Rico tiene sobre la mujer. Las mismas rigen la producción y el consumo de representaciones sociales organizadas dentro de la prensa puertorriqueña.

El marco de análisis empleado en este estudio es el análisis microestructural semántico con el propósito de identificar cómo la prensa perfila o representa a la mujer como víctima de violencia de género y cómo los asesinatos de las víctimas quedan normalizados (legitimados), como resultado de una expresión de la fuerza socio-patriarcal como una manera de manifestar el discurso sexual y la ritualización de la dominación masculina. Por lo tanto, la sexualidad y el género son categorías discursivas que se han empleado de manera violenta, al igual que otras categorías como la discapacidad, la raza, la homosexualidad y la vejez, entre otras. Dichas categorías acerca de las víctimas de violencia de género sobre la mujer activan unos discursos científicos y religiosos en los que éstas se ven representadas como obedientes, dóciles, inferiores, deshonradas, etcétera. Del mismo modo que la prensa está atada a ambos discursos, ésta no los rechaza, sino más bien, los reproduce con sus gradaciones según sea la víctima.

Para identificar y estudiar las representaciones de las víctimas empleamos el modelo del análisis del discurso sobre las microestructuras semánticas, cuyo fin es saber y conocer la estructura e identificar qué es lo que implica o se simula dentro de un discurso de poder y, en segundo lugar, constituir un conjunto de palabras o unidades significantes

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que conforman relaciones paradigmáticas gracias a que comparten un núcleo de significación o rasgos semánticos. Este análisis está enmarcado en la perspectiva teórica del Análisis Crítico del Discurso cuya finalidad, con este trabajo, es identificar las categorías discursivas que se manifiestan a través de los discursos sociales de la prensa puertorriqueña acerca de las víctimas de violencia de género sobre la mujer.

El tema de la víctima, desde el panorama del análisis del discurso, no ha promovido suficiente debate teórico, pero se destacan otras perspectivas o áreas relacionadas a dicho término, como la violencia institucional, la violencia social generalizada y la violencia de género, entre otros, desde una óptica del agresor. La problematización con el fenómeno sobre cómo se representa a la víctima, ha motivado a la realización de investigaciones que permiten entender más a fondo el tema. Para llevar a cabo la revisión de la literatura se orientó la misma en dos vertientes: primeramente, presentar varias investigaciones que trabajan la violencia como temática que, de alguna manera, promueven un análisis general sobre lo que se expone de dicho asunto, y luego, hacer destacar un aspecto relacionado, sucintamente, sobre la prensa y cómo la misma puede ser alternada por un proceso denominado "recontextualización".

La violencia puede ser un acto de poder que implica la dominación hacia el agredido. En Yubero, Larrañaga y Martínez (2004), *Representaciones sociales de la violencia y expectativas de intervención*, se realizó un análisis sobre las representaciones sociales que se tiene de una persona violenta a partir de las visiones pertenecientes a diversas carreras universitarias. La investigación se centró en la imagen social de los estudiantes, cuyo propósito es observar qué palabras, como "delincuente, enfermo e infeliz", entre otros, permiten constituir paradigmas para clasificar a una persona violenta. Se determinó que el elemento sociocultural, en el que están inserto los estudiantes, es un aspecto importarte para catalogar al victimario.

Abbott (2016) en su estudio titulado *Representaciones de violencia contra la mujer: estudio de casos de los medios de comunicación de siete países de América Latina y el Caribe*, recoge datos sobre las formas en las que la prensa mediática identifica o perfila a la violencia contra la mujer. El aspecto que se trabaja en este estudio es a partir del foco de la violencia generalizada y no de la víctima. El estudio destacó varias vertientes. Primero, los medios de información nacional en los países estudiados identifican un conjunto de representaciones de la violencia contra la mujer y las vinculan a las estructuras sociales patriarcales. Segundo, la cobertura de los medios informativos varía entre la banalización y la sensacionalización de la violencia y, como consecuencia, fracasan al momento de humanizar el tema. Tercero, los medios informativos dejan invisible el rol de los agresores, traspasando la responsabilidad a la víctima. Y, por último, la exclusión del hombre como sujeto en las discusiones orientadas a encontrar soluciones al problema de la violencia contra la mujer. Según el estudio, se podría decir que los medios de comunicación producen ideologías que provocan, muchas veces, cambios en la

identidad del imaginario colectivo, y, pese a nuestra diversidad de pensamiento, se construyen identidades compartidas.

Un estudio llamado *La violencia urbana en Puerto Rico y las experiencias de la víctim*a de Yassel Ambert (2015), señaló que la víctima se define a partir de la experiencia del atacante. La investigación tuvo como propósito describir el impacto de la experiencia y la relación con los estados de ánimo, el trastorno de ansiedad generalizada, el trastorno de estrés postraumático y la capacidad de adaptación de las víctimas de violencia urbana. Se destacó que los participantes, que habían vivido una experiencia de violencia urbana en Puerto Rico, reflejaron sintomatología asociada a la depresión y la ansiedad. Reiss y Roth (1994) determinan que toda violencia tiene conductas violentas con todo tipo de individuo que intenta o amenaza con hacer daño físico o de cualquier otro tipo, mientras que Allen (1996), afirma que toda violencia es constituida como conducta de una persona en contrariedad de otra persona, cuando intencionalmente amenaza para causar daño. Ambos analistas proponen un término aclaratorio sobre toda practica social (violencia), que conjuntamente incita un dinamismo intrínseco dentro de cada actante social (asediador-violador).

Ravazzola (1997), en cambio, sostiene que cada escena violenta es definida desde la víctima. Al igual forma, Greer describe a la "víctima ideal", utilizando a Nils Christie ('The ideal victim', 1986) para sustentar su planteamiento. Esta la describe como una persona o categoría de individuo que es atacado por el crimen, dándoles el estado completo y legítimo de ser víctima. Añade Greer (2007):

> […] those who are seen to represent the interest of offenders occupy an uncomfortable and, at times, deeply unpopular place within public hearts and minds. In stark contrast, those who speak for victims are seen to speak for us all. Yet the victim voices that find resonance in the media represent only a small fraction of those who experience criminal victimization. (p. 22)

En resumen, los medios de comunicación, como la prensa, representan las construcciones e ideologías que preponderan las diferentes visiones de mundo sobre la violencia de género contra la mujer. Los discursos, por ejemplo: el científico y el religioso, se enmarcan en la prensa a través de la recontextualización. Según Van Leeuwen (1993), la prensa toma las prácticas (asesinato-violencia) y sus actores sociales y los recontextualiza o constituye su contexto, insertándolos dentro del contexto noticioso.

Marco referencial

Para las representaciones de las víctimas, Greer (2007) indicó que los medios influyen en las cuestiones de la delincuencia y la victimización, las cuales construyen el imaginario de identidad de las víctimas, o sea, se identifican como una cosificación que recrea unos ambientes legítimos y normalizados. Así que a través de las formas o estrategias de asesinatos utilizadas por el victimario, se pueden evidenciar dichas representaciones.

Foucault (2002) considera que el discurso está determinado por un conjunto de restricciones o reglas que ordenan, regularizan y jerarquizan el orden y el valor de los discursos en la sociedad. Estas restricciones están moldeadas por las relaciones de poder de las instituciones y la colectividad en general. La jerarquía de los discursos, a su vez, tiene efectos sobre la estructura social y ayuda a mantener el estado de las cosas, o bien contribuye al cambio social (Fairclough, 2001). Foucault (1997) sugiere que la construcción discursiva del sujeto, ya sea como individuo o miembro de grupo, es una construcción que materializa el poder. También, señala que es una construcción marcada por los discursos de poder como el religioso, el científico y el mediático. Entonces, a través de las marcas discursivas utilizadas en la prensa puertorriqueña, se configuran representaciones como la cosificación y la animalización de las víctimas por su forma de muerte violenta.

Ejercer y mantener el poder es una forma de activar el conocimiento históricamente constituido por el discurso religioso y científico. Como plantea Foucault (2009), las instituciones ejercen el poder sobre los individuos a través del 'biopoder'; por un lado, la anatomopolítica examina a los individuos a través de sus comportamientos con el fin de crear cuerpos fragmentados y obedientes, y por el otro, la biopolítica rige a los actores sociales como colectivo a través de los procesos y las leyes biológicas, cuyo interés es controlar lo que se desee, ya que éstas constituyen a los individuos y sus prácticas. De ahí que el discurso mediático sea parte de un sistema de poder que conforma ideas ya preconcebidas para legitimar los discursos en contra de los que no poseen el poder.

Asimismo, González (2002) señaló que el proceso de construcción de identidad se articula a partir de diversos elementos sociales y culturales. El proceso se torna más complejo cuando los modelos mentales (ideas) del patriarcado propuestos por el entorno sociocognitivo y sociocultural no coinciden con los perfiles y representaciones del individuo. Como resultado, Fowler (1991) expone que la construcción del discrimen, la exclusión y la subyugación se producen mediante la ideología del consenso en la que se puede identificar el discurso legal y de la opinión pública, dentro del cual la desobediencia y las ideas de la mujer se sancionan y se consideran fuera del consenso. En otras palabras, los medios construyen el arquetipo o percepción de la mujer como por ejemplo, desobediente, por no acatarse a las reglas compuestas por el orden socio-patriarcal o la cognición social que el discurso religioso le otorga al hombre (su mandato y deseo). Así pues, al crearse el imaginario sobre la mujer en la prensa escrita, se conforma una construcción de esta por parte de la sociedad, por lo que el discurso es una forma de estructurar las áreas de conocimiento y, es ante todo, una práctica social.

Esto significa que el discurso de la prensa es una forma de conocimiento o interpretación particular de los acontecimientos (Foucault, 2002). El discurso no sólo refleja o representa las identidades y las relaciones sociales, sino que las construye o las constituye. A esta idea se suma lo que Blain (2005), también, señaló como las identidades que se construyen y se constituyen, pero que se articulan mediante las marcas discursivas y

lingüísticas. Es por esto que los grupos del poder sirven para incluir o excluir, legitimar o deslegitimar actores sociales, prácticas sociales, entidades y estilos de vida. Asimismo, Van Dijk (2004) identificó las prácticas sociales que se generan en el discurso para representar a las minorías, como la exclusión, la diferenciación y estereotipación, entre otras, por medio de la generalización, como herramientas que reproducen violencia o discrimen. De igual manera, Van Dijk (1992) desarrolla y propone el análisis crítico del discurso como un marco cuyo fin es estudiar a fondo, las prácticas discursivas presentes en el corpus de noticias.

La identidad y la práctica social de las víctimas se han visto representadas como fenómenos psicosociales, por lo que ciertos contextos sociales, como el hogar y el trabajo, se han convertido en ambientes de miedo y terror. A través del término *sexo* categorizamos biológicamente la capacidad de reproducción. Al ser una categoría relacionada con la biología, se tiene la tendencia de pensar que el sexo es una categoría intrínseca del sujeto, puesto que los discursos hegemónicos de dominación tienden a imponer una conceptualización binaria de la realidad. Por ejemplo, una categoría que admite solamente dos divisiones opuestas: la norma o lo que está fuera de ella. Es así que desde la perspectiva social, cometer un crimen es horrendo y realizarlo, es antihumano, antivida. Tal como indicó Esteva (1992), la injusticia institucionalizada es igual a justicia, por lo que la violencia institucionalizada es igual a la paz, la opresión institucionalizada es igual a la libertad y la contaminación institucionalizada es igual a la pureza, entre otros ejemplos. Globalmente, nuestra cultura es un sistema de contraposiciones, entiéndase como bueno-malo, negro-blanco y rico-pobre, etcétera. Por ejemplo, dentro del discurso de patriarcal de la dominación, el hombre tiene que ser fuerte, agresivo, invulnerable y, sobre todo, tener poder. Es por esto que a la mujer que se marcha de un hombre violento, la acusan de ser mala mujer y madre como si se fuera de la casa "destruyendo la familia" (Ferreira, 1991). Cuando se comete un delito en contra una mujer por parte de un hombre, la sociedad lo ve como si la mujer lo mereciera, porque es una forma normalizada de violencia institucionalizada. Por lo tanto, en un evento periodístico se representan las construcciones e ideologías que preponderan las diferentes visiones de mundo sobre los actos de violencia contra la mujer.

Para analizar o, mejor aún, construir un discurso, dependeríamos de los significados y de la referencia de una oración. El significado de una expresión compleja (oración o proposición) se interpreta a partir de los significados de sus partes constituyentes y de las relaciones que existen entre ellas, por lo que son las microestructuras las que comprenden el significado local. Las microestructuras describen la organización de los significados de las oraciones y las relaciones de correspondencia y coherencia entre ellas (Calsamiglia & Tusón, 2007; Renkema, 1999; Van Dijk, 1980), de modo que los principios en los que se basa la construcción del sentido de un texto son la relación y la coherencia entre sus proposiciones tanto a nivel local como global. En la microestructura, el principio de relación implica que una proposición está influida o determinada

por una serie de proposiciones que aparecen de forma previa en el texto. Por su parte, el principio de la coherencia es lo que permite que un texto tenga sentido. Si no hay coherencia entre las proposiciones y los hechos que denotan un referente, es imposible comprender o producir los significados de los textos o los discursos.

Dentro de la microestructura se encuentran las relaciones léxico-semánticas del texto. Por consiguiente, los campos léxico-semánticos constituyen un conjunto de palabras que atienden relaciones paradigmáticas, ya que estos comparten un núcleo de significación. Los mismos son herramientas sociocognitivas que permiten constituir paradigmas en los que clasifican a los objetos. Están sujetos a lo contextual y lo extralingüístico (social, cultural, histórico…). Las relaciones semánticas establecen paralelismos, correlaciones y disyuntivas, es decir, es lo que existe entre dos elementos similares o contrarios hasta crear campos léxicos o semánticos. El nivel léxico-semántico examina el sistema de signos que constituye la lengua. Más aún, es un grupo de lexemas que están ligados entre sí por tener rasgos significativos y relaciones comunes. Weisgerber (1962) afirmó que en términos de campos semánticos se hace la distinción entre lo léxico y lo sintáctico. En cambio, Coseriu (1981) sostuvo que un campo léxico es un conjunto de lexemas que están unidos por un valor de campo, o sea, son lexemas que se oponen entre sí mediante rasgos distintivos de contenido.

Otro elemento que se encuentra dentro de las microestructuras es la deixis; ésta está ligada a las relaciones semánticas sobre la referencia de un elemento del texto. La deixis es un componente principal dentro de los estudios del discurso, porque contiene una carga semántico-referencial (Trillos, 1995). Toda lengua posee un carácter determinante y capacitado para gramaticalizar varios de los elementos contextuales, como la deixis. De esta manera, la palabra ejecuta el significado de un texto y esta es concebida como una unidad semántica. La deixis conecta la lengua con el enunciado y se puede encontrar en diversas clases, como en los pronombres personales, los determinantes (posesivos y demostrativos), los verbos y los adverbios. Sin embargo, la deixis crea su propio lugar, ya sea físico, mental, sociocultural o textual. Esta es capaz de establecer tiempo y espacio, y situar a los hablantes y otros elementos del discurso.

Algunos de los elementos deícticos son los personales, los espaciales, los temporales y los sociales. De entrada, la deixis *personal* se define como el señalamiento de las personas dentro del discurso, las presentes en el momento de la enunciación y las ausentes en relación a ésas. En segundo lugar, la deixis *espacial* organiza el lugar en el que se desarrollará el evento comunicativo o acto de habla. Ésta marca los elementos de lugar y ambiente, pero marcados o elegidos por la persona que enuncia. Tercero, la deixis *temporal* muestra elementos temporales, tomando como referencia el 'ahora' que marca quién habla como centro de la enunciación. En último término, la deixis *social* indica cuál es el aspecto de la oración que refleja o establece la realidad de ciertas prácticas sociales en las que se produce un discurso o acto de habla (Fillmore, 1971). No se puede

dudar que las unidades lingüísticas, cuyo funcionamiento es semántico-referencial in-cluyen elementos pragmáticos-discursivos. La identificación de la información social, según Vicente (1994), aparece en el título del destinatario, en la elección del deíctico de primera plural y segunda singular, en el afijo que indica respeto o deferencia y la elección de vocabulario (como los adjetivos y los sustantivos). Por tanto, el deíctico social concierne la competencia cultural del hablante o, en el caso de la prensa, a quien redacta el discurso escrito (noticia).

Así pues, el análisis estructural que se hará del fenómeno en cuestión, será desde el marco del Análisis Crítico del Discurso (ACD). La misma es una disciplina que reúne las aportaciones de todas las disciplinas que se preocupan por los usos del lenguaje, se trata más bien de una perspectiva distinta, un modo diferente de acercarse al discurso, una nueva mirada crítica aplicada a todas las disciplinas del estudio del discurso (se-mántica, la pragmática, la etnografía…) (Van Dijk, 1990). Se trata de dar cuenta de qué situaciones sobre las relaciones de poder moldean los contenidos discursivos sobre de-terminados acontecimientos. Como consecuencia, el ACD se interesa por el análisis de lo opaco y lo transparente en las relaciones de poder que se manifiestan a través del lenguaje, de manera que investiga la desigualdad social y la discriminación que se cons-tituye y se legitima a través del discurso. Ese análisis requiere de una teorización que vincule elementos cognitivos y sociales, con las relaciones sociales (estructuras de po-der) y explique cómo a partir de ellos los individuos crean los significados e interaccio-nan con los textos.

Metodología, análisis y hallazgos

Se revisó la cobertura noticiosa de cuatro periódicos puertorriqueños en lengua española desde el 1 de enero hasta el 31 de diciembre de 2012: *El Nuevo Día, Noticel, Primera Hora* y *El Vocero*. Para la selección de los mismos, los criterios fueron de circulación nacional y disponibilidad en línea y en papel. Se estudió un total de 20 noticias relacio-nado a la violencia de género contra la mujer. Seleccionamos varias noticias de cada periódico: Wanda Camacho en Ceiba; Josefa Santiago en Cabo Rojo; Rose A. Rodrí-guez en Rincón; Talía Dávila en Vega Baja; Dayaneris Delgado en Comerío; Olga Me-dinaen en Aguada; Agar Márquez en Bayamón; Yesenia Martínez en Vega Baja; Bea-triz Torres en Yauco; Gloribel Ramírez en San Lorenzo y Rosa Cruz en Bayamón. Nos centramos en examinar los acontecimientos que generaron mayor producción noticiosa por implicar conocimiento público.

En el análisis microestructural de las noticias observamos que en la representación del victimario, al igual que la de la víctima, si bien existen variaciones aparentes en las representaciones, la tendencia es a legitimar la acción del victimario y responsabilizar a la víctima. Encontramos tres mecanismos que recontextualizan un evento noticioso utilizado por la prensa puertorriqueña a través de las marcas léxicas destacadas: el ma-nejo de los deícticos sociales como modo de identificar a los actores o participantes
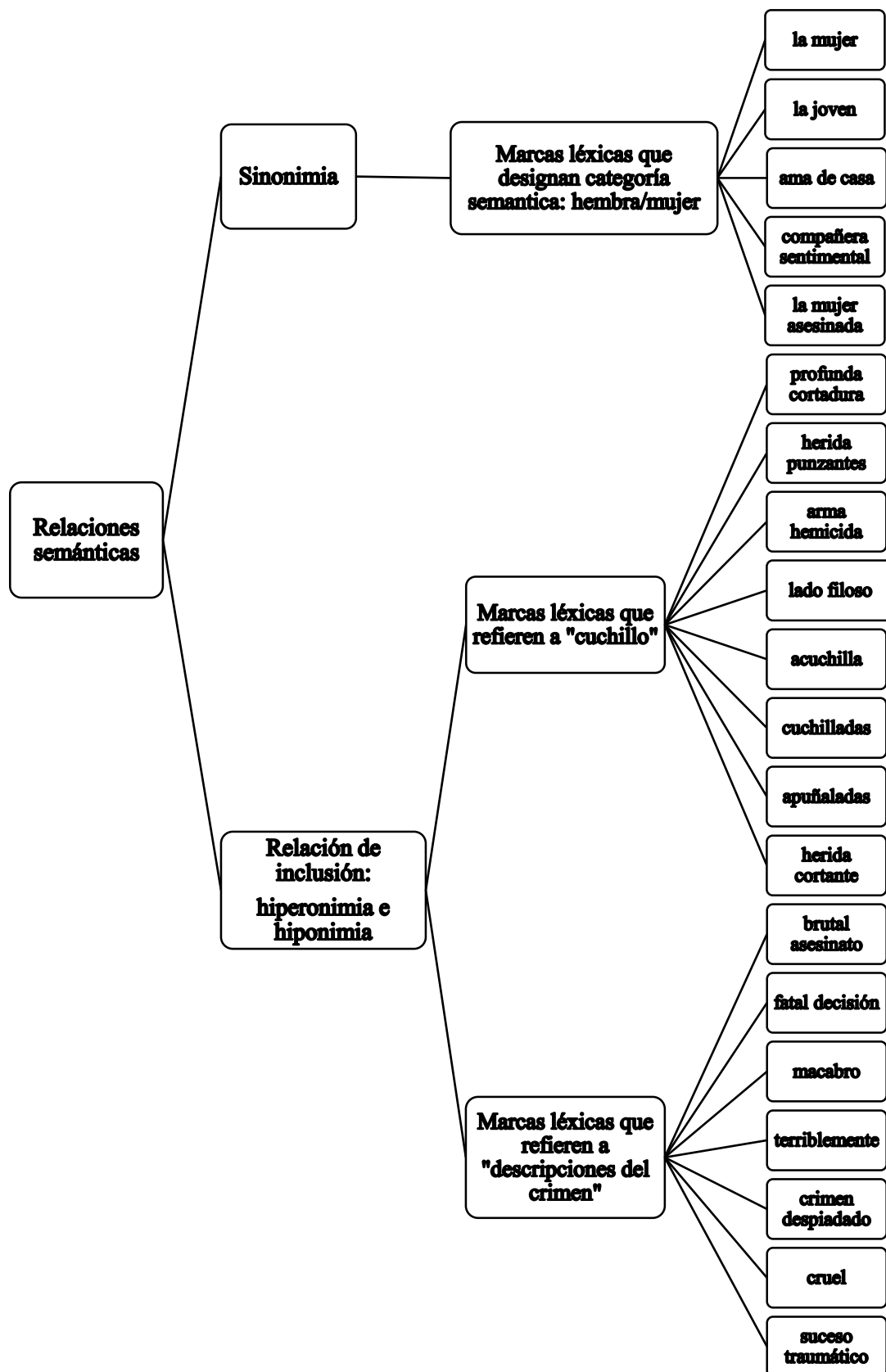
Figura 1 Las relaciones semánticas empleadas por la prensa puertorriqueña en su cobertura de la violencia de género contra la mujer

sociales, el uso de léxicos empleados para determinar la estrategia de asesinato y la utilización de epítetos que permiten las descripciones del crimen con el propósito de emplear un determinando discurso sobre los eventos.

Los contenidos de las relaciones semánticas apuntan a que haya relaciones dispares entre la relación de independencia (sinonimia) y la relación de inclusión (hiperonimia e hiponimia). Es decir, ambas relaciones se estructuran de manera individual al momento de perfilar o definir a una víctima. En este sentido es evidente que serán las microestructuras mencionadas en Figura 1 las que marquen los textos examinados.

Del contenido de las noticias se desprende que la identidad de las víctimas funciona como un prototipo particular (mujer/cuerpo social) dado por la entidad dominadora (hombre/discurso social). También, vemos cómo la prensa utiliza los diferentes deícticos sociales para relacionar la referencialidad de la entidad afectada (víctima). Según Pavel (1997), el 'marco convencional' está moldeado por mecanismos que proyectan a los individuos y a los eventos con ciertas perspectivas. Este marco consiste en trasladar o mover a los hablantes y eventos a una realidad a un nivel culturalmente mediado, como en los ejemplos siguientes:

> «Los lamentables hechos ocurrieron ayer en la residencia de **la mujer** en el barrio Rubias de Yauco mientras **la mujer** compartía con su nueva pareja» (*Primera Hora*, 2012, 22 de junio).
>
> «[…] las heridas contribuyeron al deceso de **la joven** cuyo cadáver […]» (*Primera Hora*, 2012, 4 de diciembre).
>
> «[…] Reillo Soto tenía su **compañera sentimental** pero sostenía una relación […]» (Primera Hora, 2012, 26 de febrero).
>
> «**La mujer**, de 49 años y **ama de casa**, recibió […]» (*Nuevo Día,* 2012, 7 dejunio).
>
> «Este acuerdo también evitó que las hijas menores de **la mujer asesinada** […]»(*Primera Hora*, 2012, 27 de agosto).

La prensa marca varios usos discursivos, los cuales responden a las estrategias del asesinato. En esta parte, vemos cómo las marcas léxicas (hiperonimia e hiponimia) se articulan al describir las muertes animalizadas por parte de los victimarios. Es decir, el texto provee unas descripciones sobre los asesinatos de tal forma que se podría relacionar la acción como algo merecido. El discurso periodístico representa tales construcciones y pensamientos preconcebidos, como es el caso de los victimarios quienes son descritos como cazadores (representado en la noticia como el 'matón') que caza animales (representado en la noticia como la víctima). Es ineludible que la prensa recrea una imagen de esta forma sobre la víctima, ya que mediante el destaque del cadáver, se cosifica el individuo (víctima) y se ritualiza el evento. Es aquí que se describe la tortura

de las víctimas como sentido de dominio y posesión o sacrificio en el que el victimario se recrea.

> «[…] **una profunda cortadura en el área del cuello** en su residencia ubicada en las parcelas del barrio Espinal del mencionado municipio» (*Nuevo Día,* 2012, 7 de junio).
>
> «[…] quien falleció el miércoles a causa de las **heridas punzantes que recibió en su cuerpo** durante […]» (*Primera Hora*, 2012, 22 de junio).
>
> «[…] la patóloga concluyó que **el arma homicida** fue un objeto con un solo **lado filoso**, como pudiera ser un cuchillo o una navaja» (*Primera Hora*, 2012, 4 de diciembre).
>
> «[…] acusado de **acuchillar** en presencia de testigos a Camacho […]» (*Nuevo Día*, 2012, 13 de julio).
>
> «[…] la agredía **a cuchilladas**, pero no se hizo nada con la denuncia» (*Nuevo Día*, 2012, 13 de julio).
>
> «El abogado de Reillo Soto apelará el fallo por la muerte **a puñaladas** de la joven» (*Nuevo Día*, 2012, 5 de diciembre).
>
> «[…] donde llegó sin vida, presentando una **herida cortante** en el área del cuello» (*Noticel*, 2012, 6 de julio).
>
> «[…] se armó **de un machete** y comenzó a herirla en la parte posterior de la cabeza y cuello» (*Nuevo Día,* 2012, 24 de febrero).
>
> «El esposo de la mujer le llegó a propinar al menos **tres puñaladas**» (*Nuevo Día*, 2012, 24 de febrero).

Obtuvimos varios léxicos representativos sobre las descripciones del crimen. Se presenta la linealidad de adjetivos para destacar el resultado del crimen. La misma interpela a que los medios instiguen a la violencia de género y, como resultado, develando sujetos desmoralizados a través de la estrategia de la crueldad. También, se destaca la utilización de una metonimia para representar la acción de asesinar por la de un animal. Es decir, marca el resultado de la animalidad de la víctima por parte del victimario, cuyo propósito es implicar violencia doméstica. Asimismo, a través de las descripciones del crimen se puede representar y criminalizar los cuerpos de las víctimas con el fin de exhibir públicamente la agresión de la víctima y, al mismo tiempo, afirmar que el sujeto (matador) golpea y mata mujeres.

> «[…] figura como principal sospechoso en el **brutal asesinato**» (*Primera Hora*, 2012, 22 de junio).
>
> «[…] quien toma la **fatal decisión** de entrar a la residencia» (*Primera Hora*, 2012, 22 de junio).
>
> «[…] **dramático de por sí**, podría tener un elementos adicional más que **macabro** […]» (*Primera Hora*, 2012, 22 de junio).

> «[…] quien catalogó el suceso como un "**crimen despiadado, cruel**" […]» (*Primera Hora*, 2012, 26 de febrero).
>
> «[…] el **suceso traumático**, explicó la fiscal Ramírez» (*Primera Hora,* 2012, 27 de agosto).

Hemos seleccionado el siguiente fragmento para ejemplificar e identificar cómo se "performa" a la víctima para crear una identidad. Vemos cómo se demuestra la utilización del deíctico social que atribuye a los honoríficos con el uso de apelativos de afecto al catalogarse la víctima como: *cinnamon.*

> «Agar, de 32 años de edad, quien también se hacía llamar '**Cinnamon'**, en algunas de las redes sociales en las que compartía detalles de su vida con **amigos cibernautas**, había mantenido hasta hace alrededor **de un mes una relación de amistad con otro joven** […]» (*El Vocero*, 2012, 25 de junio).

Este tipo de marcador articula pragmáticamente una insinuación sexual. Metafóricamente *canela* es provocación y sensación al paladar, por lo que la víctima se caracteriza como objeto sexual. La misma utiliza su apelativo de manera irónica para atraer a hombres de las redes sociales, cosa que la llevó a la muerte por su victimario. Por otro lado, la marca léxica '*amigos cibernautas'* alude al patrocinio de favores sexuales por parte de sus amigos. En cuanto al término *amigo*, este incide a un colectivo, visto como los amantes de la víctima. También, hay que destacar que se articula implícitamente una visión de libertinaje sexual por parte de la víctima, es decir, su promiscuidad (emblema de los amantes, aventuras). Esto es distintivo de la tipología del perfil de la víctima. La hegemonía y los sistemas de dominación se manifiestan, sobre todo, a través del contexto interior, o sea, los modelos mentales que determinan cómo conceptualizamos el mundo. Cuando un modelo mental se comparte (el caso de la noticia) por todo un grupo social, este se convierte en una actitud; cuando un conjunto de actitudes se adopta por toda una sociedad, este se convierte en una ideología (Van Dijk, 1998).

Por otra parte, la construcción del imaginario y la idea que se tiene de la víctima, son necesarios para la reconstrucción de elementos discursivos. Dichos elementos destacan estrategias de representación o ideologización sobre la víctima. Varias de estas son la violencia de género vista como violencia social, la cuantificación de las víctimas y la legitimación de la invisibilización de la mujer. Es por esto que al recoger la información más precisa e importante del texto (noticia), se convierte en lo más sustancial para la sociedad. Al asesinar a la víctima, la prensa, en el caso de asesinato de la mujer, marca ese aspecto determinado que la criminaliza, ya que la prensa interesa solo legitimar y salvaguardar la 'neutralidad' y 'objetividad' discursiva.

Foucault (1997) señaló que no hay pensamiento ni conocimiento que no represente una posición social. Quiere decir, que todo discurso o interpretación de la realidad es subjetiva y saturada con perspectivas e intereses que corresponden al género, clase social y etnicidad del individuo que los articula con las ideologías hegemónicas internalizadas.

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La prensa legitima ciertas muertes de grupos sociales e invisibiliza a otros, cuantificando víctima por víctima. Este tipo de estrategia discursiva desvirtúa a la víctima. La misma es representada como número. El acto de cuantificar podría destacar la criminalización de los asesinatos de manera abierta, puesto que responsabiliza a la víctima.

> «De igual forma, indicó que para el año 2008, se reportaron a la Policía de Puerto Rico un total de 20,304 de incidentes de **violencia machista**; 19,502 en el 2009, en el 2010 16,960, en el 2011 15,078. Durante el año en curso llevamos unos 5 mil casos» (*El Vocero*, 2012, 8 de julio).

> «En lo transcurrido **del año siete mujeres han sido asesinadas**, la mitad de la cifra para la misma fecha en el 2011, y se han investigado alrededor **de tres mil querellas**. El 2011 terminó con más de **16 mil querellas**» (*El Vocero*, 2012, 6 de mayo).

> «De las casi **30.000 mujeres** que acudieron al tribunal el año pasado para pedir una orden de protección contra su pareja, casi **10.000 salieron** con las manos vacías» (*El Vocero*, 2012, 8 de abril).

Por último, el discurso periodístico ha creado una imagen monopolizadora sobre el comportamiento y actitud de la mujer, los cuales responden e indican que el hombre es hombre, ya que su comportamiento es biológico y legitimado. Como nos señalan Román et al. (2010):

> La ideología patriarcal nos hace creer que el conflicto y la dominación son parte del orden natural y que la territorialidad y la guerra son hechos característicos de la experiencia humana. […] los hombres utilizan la violencia como medio de controlar a sus parejas como una forma de ejercer su autoridad patriarcal. (p. 193)

Este tipo de idea está internalizado y se justifica su comportamiento. Toda víctima de violencia de género toma un papel subversivo por parte de la prensa, es decir, una forma legitimada e institucionalizada de muerte implícitamente.

Conclusión

Los medios de comunicación, como la prensa, provocan cambios y procesos en las construcciones discursivas de la violencia de género contra la mujer . La representación periodística puede legitimar ciertas conductas como merecedora de dicha violencia. El victimario utiliza la masculinidad como herramienta mediadora que obliga a entrenarse para volverse masculino y atacar. Atacar o matar son actos de materializar o, más bien, cosificar a la víctima. En otro sentido, el discurso sobre la masculinidad (victimario-hombre) está asociado a lo que es el orden social, y el victimario es un reflejo hasta cierto punto de ese orden social. Así pues, asesinar una mujer es una concepción perceptual o realidad social, ya que lo que percibimos e intentamos interpretar, que está moldeado por pluralidad de discursos constituidos de manera social e histórica.

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TEACHING MARGINALIZED POPULATIONS WITH GRAPHIC LITERATURE: FOLDING THE EDGES TOWARD THE CENTER

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> The time is always right to do what is right
> Martin Luther King, Jr. *Letter from Birmingham Jail*

Teaching literature in a university where traditions can sometimes weigh like a boulder around the professor's neck, it is at times necessary to release the weight of expectation and try a new approach to include those who are usually excluded from literary conversations. By choosing to employ an inclusive pedagogy while teaching incarcerated students from the University of Puerto Rico, I have relieved myself of some of this weight by using graphic autobiographical literature to engage, validate, and deepen understanding in frequently marginalized incarcerated students.

Marginalized students can feel afraid that their behavior and actions might confirm a professor's preformed judgments of them; consequently, they may disengage from classroom discussion and avoid communication. In order to counter this tendency, the use of graphic literature can reshape the expected academic context and thereby make it more accessible. Similar to multi-genre strategies proposed by Tom Romano, which engage ideas through multiple media, graphic autobiographical literature can tackle difficult issues by disarming readers and their expectations of academic class content. It can validate them as it develops concentration and improves academic performance in comprehension, assignments, and exams.

I have taught three courses to a group of fifteen women at the Women's Correction and Rehabilitation Center in Bayamon, Puerto Rico through the University of Puerto Rico's Higher Education in Prison Project. This experience has offered me the opportunity to employ graphic autobiographical literature in a variety of ways to improve academic skills such as the basic literacy skills, collaborative reflection and text production, literary analysis, close reading and critical thinking. My goal is to bring literature into an authentic relationship with these incarcerated students and to address issues related to

the marginalization that these students feel as they begin to identify as university students rather than as prisoners.

Selection of reading material is key to this population's success. In the case of these female incarcerated students, material that addresses a range of ages from young to mature adult is necessary. To introduce gender role complexity, Art Spiegelman's "Nature vs. Nurture" a short eight-paneled comic is a good beginning. In it, the author wants to teach his three or four-year-old daughter that she can play with non-gender specific toys, such as a fire truck. After she finishes playing with a doll, he introduces the truck, then she wraps it in a blanket and rocks it as if it is a baby. The father walks away sighing in defeat. This comic helps the learner to understand that gender is not simple and cannot be easily shaped by parents' intentions. Incarcerated women are often eager to engage in discussions about their children; consequently, this material offers an opportunity to break down communication barriers and discuss real-life issues. Using the Spiegelman comic as a springboard, I organized students into groups so that they could collaborate on creating their own graphically illustrated stories following a traditional story structure i.e., setting, character, rising plot action, climax, falling action, and resolution. To deepen relevance, it proved useful to bring in thematic elements that are both personal and that lead to other relevant reading topics.

Tabatha Rowley's graphic autobiography, titled "A life recalled in hairstyles" in *Couldn't keep it to myself* (Lamb, 2004) provides another example of material that I found to be relatable to my students. Here, the author, who was also incarcerated, reflects (graphically) on how her hairstyles connected to an idea of herself at particular stages of her life. In her most recent image, she has accepted her natural hair texture and embraces all aspects of her life transformations. The chronology of hairstyle and its personal meaning helped students in making a meaningful story from their individual lives, creating spaces for follow-up activities, such as sharing similar graphic stories, and writing autobiographic essays that deepen comprehension while enriching vocabulary, as they attempted to clearly explain each stage of their own identity development. After having worked with Spiegelman's and Rowley's comics, I introduced more complex graphic literature such as Marjane Satrapi's *Persepolis* and *Persepolis 2*, which complicates the idea of gender with religion, and Art Spiegelman's where the Jewish experience during WWII is engaged as Spiegelman writes his life with his father in exile.

The strategy of using autobiography to integrate external with internal through graphic memoir also proved effective in resonating with students, when I switched my role as professor to that of participant by sharing my own stories. These included "Sugar shack", which is a story that I wrote about the unsolicited sexual advances of a truck driver when I was an adolescent. The young girl in is dancing to jukebox music with her co-workers after hours. She mistakenly believes that a man who has also stayed after hours is a regular customer. He offers her a ride home, she accepts and he tries to

take advantage of her. She escapes and runs through the dark night alone, hiding in the weeds along the road until she finally arrives home. She realizes that she is not a mature adult, after all.

Reading and discussing autobiographical stories provides models to the students as to how they can create stories from their lives as well. Creating graphics from these stories aids in distilling the core meaning of an experience. After relating the Sugar Shack story, I asked the students to collaborate in creating an eight-paneled comic about the girl's experience, which they then shared with the class. Another activity involved students to writing a story about a similar true or imagined incident in their lives.

An often overlooked aspect of graphic literature is its capacity to develop critical thinking. Consider that each drawn expression requires a before and after connection. A close reading of the often sparsely drawn images by necessity evokes other imagined pieces of the visual narrative in the reader's mind in order to be successful; consequently, context cues must be carefully deciphered. Often what seems like a quick reading assignment turns into a debate about what is depicted in the graphic: What is actually there on the page and what is in the reader's mind? In his classic book *Understanding comics*, author Scott McCloud subtitles his work, *The invisible art* because so much of real meaning is supplied by the mind of the attentive reader. The reader must carefully consider cues such as facial expressions, while reconstructing the sequence of events in the preceding and following panels in order to comprehend the what is being depicted in any given panel.

In rebuttal to those academics who criticize graphics as too simple, I point out that graphics have a specialized language. As McCloud states: "Simplifying characters and images toward a purpose can be an effective tool for storytelling in any medium. Cartooning isn't just a way of drawing. It's a way of seeing" (p.31). In many ways, the 'simpler' the speaker or writer makes their task in terms of what they say or write, the more complex the task of the listener or reader becomes in comprehending and processing the message. Thus, it can be argued that graphic texts demand more of readers than traditional written texts, where messages tend to be presented by the writer as more of a complete, finished product.

When students were given the opportunity to collaborate on creating their own eight-paneled story from a selected text or a shared personal story, multiple benefits were in evidence. For example, through negotiated choice-making, they learned to distill an image to its principal purpose while developing a brief but precise language for the accompanying narrative text. A further benefit with particular value in the confinement setting was that learners had the chance to work together in a safe space to produce a final product, helping them to build confidence and social skills, and to overcome some of the negative effects of feeling marginalized, which include feelings of withdrawal, avoidance and low self-esteem.

Graphic literature links naturally to topics such as identity, since one of the main pleasures of literature is the sense that it instills of knowing and identifying with a character. With graphics, a reader is free to fill in the missing pieces of a story with their own experiences or to understand a character through their own identity.

> Our identities belong permanently to the conceptual world. They can't be seen, heard, smelled, or touched or tasted. They're merely ideas. And everything else – at the start – belongs to the sensual world, the world outside of us.
> (McCloud: 40).

Traditional narrative fills in such sensory details, which can keep the student in a passive relationship with the text. However, the more incomplete concepts of graphic texts can mobilize students to take on a more active role in embracing, rejecting or modifying the authors' messages.

Graphic texts are especially effective in stimulating discussion about identity and identification. Identity develops over time and McCloud suggests that early engagement with comics appeals to children because they see themselves in broadly drawn (incomplete) comic characters. Disney's Mickey Mouse is an example that continues to have appeal to most young children, and McCloud would say that the simplicity of this character allows for easy identification. This nexus between identity and representation can assist students in integrating knowledge and developing more in-depth questions about human experience.

Not all comics, however, are simple in text or illustration and more complex graphic texts can also be effectively used to deepen reflection about identity and other issues. For example, in the graphic novel written as a memoir J.M. DeMatteis, titled "Brooklyn Dreams" begins with an older character sitting in a chair facing the reader. The background is completely featureless and black and he informs the reader that he is writing a story about his last year of high school. Then he makes an assertion, counters it and explains the resulting paradox as follows:

> Now everything I'm about to tell you is true, I swear it. But the problem is – I don't really believe that there's any such thing as a "true story". Perception is limited. Memory is faulty. I think that moment the words come out of our mouths we create something wholly different from the truth we're trying to communicate. A shadow-show of reality. A waking dream, if you will (p. 4).

Introducing truth and the ethics of truth-telling appeals to incarcerated students, and yields a rich discussion about the possibilities and ethics of truth in literature.

Perhaps because *Brooklyn Dreams* is a graphic novel that is written by one person (J.M. DeMatteis) and illustrated by another (Glenn Barr), it provides more detail in both its written text and its images than do many other pieces of graphic literature. Nevertheless, it serves to draw in a reader interested in conflicted family relationships and other issues such as the criminal justice system and drug use, all of which problematize notions or versions of truth.

In her article comparing *Persepolis* with *Brooklyn Dreams,* Tasha Robinson draws conclusions based on truth-confusion: "French illustrator Marjane Satrapi isn't nearly as experimental with the art in her graphic novel Persepolis, the story of her coming of age in Iran during the '70s and '80s, but her story is as concrete and informative as DeMatteis' is internal and self-important." She places Satrapi's memoir in the fiction category and criticizes DeMatteis for "navel-gazing", which is a frequent criticism leveled against memoir – not fiction. Confusion such as this is helpful to bring into our discussions of graphic literature.

Another strategy that I have deployed for using graphics in my literature classroom is to present a simple drawing or painting, for example Edward Hopper's "Nighthawks" (1942), which employs simple lines and muted color with sharp contrast. In this painting, three people who seem lost in their own thoughts stare ahead while seated in a diner. There is no interaction between these late-night customers. The image communicates isolation in a public place. Students were first asked to describe all of the features of the image without indicating any emotion, then they were asked to begin to attribute meaning to the individuals portrayed within the scene. After further discussion, they collaborated in creating a backstory on the characters and what brings them out so late at night. Then the groups presented their insights to the class while explaining the reasons for their conclusions. This activity was extended into the creation of short poems that highlighted both the mood and features of the stark painting. This kind of activity offered students the opportunity to connect to emotions through art, thereby creating an environment of trust in the classroom.

Though graphic literature may be thought of as too simple to use in the university literature classroom, it is not. It can challenge learners to question and sort through ideas and empower them to trust their own understanding of literature. In fact, its analysis, through discussion and collaborative projects, can enhance critical thinking and re-center those students who feel marginalized in the traditional university classroom. I urge those who are concerned about inclusive teaching to incorporate graphic literature into their university courses.

> Courage is the most important of all the virtues, because without courage you can't practice any other virtue consistently. You can practice any virtue erratically, but nothing consistently without courage.
> Maya Angelou

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UNSETTLING RESONANCES
IN THE LITERATURES OF THE
GREATER CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND

IMAGINING BARBADOS: CONSTRUCTING A BARBADIAN IDENTITY THROUGH FICTION

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An approach to national identity

Even as we move further way from the spectre of colonialism in the Caribbean, we nonetheless remain confronted with concerns about identity and our relationship to the spaces that we inhabit. Notions of identity and location are for this region, as elsewhere, tied into conceptualisations about national identity. Nation-states, like the borders and flags that are used to define them, may signal a material reality but are nonetheless drawn up by the human imagination. It is this interplay between the imagination and identity as belonging/ownership that I wish to explore in my effort to examine 'Barbadian-ness' as conveyed through literary texts. Specifically, my interest is in how literary texts suggest belonging to as well as possession of a space imaginatively constructed as Barbados.

My attempt to articulate 'Barbadian-ness' is motivated by two sharply contrasting points of view, both of which are widely held in Barbados; first that Barbados is a nation with no culture and second, that it is a nation that is losing its culture. The prevalence of both these points of view has long been observed by cultural scholars and social commentators. In 1972 for example (a mere six years after Barbados's claim to nationhood in the form of political independence), Richard Allsopp poses the question: "Is there, in fact, a distinct Barbadian culture?" with the immediate reply being: "there is not really so much one can **readily** identify. For a national culture, not really so much" (p. 8). More recently, in *The Barbadian cultural renaissance* (2016), Ralph Jemmott discusses several publications in which the view of a "Barbadian cultural aridity" has been supported. Both Allsopp and Jemmott work their way around to the opposing position, where Allsopp points to "an erasure of national personality" due to "varying degrees of anglicisation" while Jemmott observes "an increasingly high level of cultural transference from supposedly external 'modernizing' forces" (Allsopp: 8; Jemmott: 349).

Curwen Best in his discussion of Barbadian aesthetics sums it up this way: "there is a common perception about Barbados, that: 'it doan got no culture'. And in more recent times, when the North American influence is seen to have supplanted the British, this 'no culture' conceptualization still has some footing" (Best: 5). These opposing views point to the same fundamental conviction: that as a nation, Barbados is bereft of a recognisably idiosyncratic cultural presence. This discussion therefore looks toward the literary tropes, produced against the backdrop of this tension, that are used to convey being Barbadian.

(Literary) canonicity and cultural identity

In order to refer to American novels, Canadian literature, or African fiction, for example, some collective understanding about which texts belong to (or can be claimed by) which part of the world has to be in operation. I begin with the premise that cultural identity is associated firstly with a location – a physical space; secondly, with that space over time, since time is essential to forming traditions; and thirdly, with a collective of people. It is difficult, therefore, not to think of Hippolyte Taine who, in his *History of English literature*, presents three elements that have become conventional in the establishment of literary canonicity: the intrinsic qualities of a people, the influence of place, and the habits and practices acquired over time (which he refers to as race, surroundings and epoch). Notwithstanding the racialized nature of his discussion, Taine's project "to write a literary history" is informed by his belief in a 'complete' national identity (even as his discussion highlights the porous nature of that concept) (Taine: 619). In his efforts, he directly links the literary narrative to the articulation of cultural nationalism.

More recently, Benedict Anderson's *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* conceptualises the origin and practice of the nation as an imagined community, where he looks to the elements of prose fiction, in particular the novel, to help explain the workings of nationhood. For example, he points to how the effect of a 'sociological organism' – a solid community – moving steadily through time is also realised in the workings of realist prose fiction, specifically, the effect of the novel in confirming to the individual reader that the imagined world of the text is 'visibly rooted in everyday life' (Anderson: 35). This effect allows the individual to recognise himself/herself and his/her experiences as part of a larger group that shares in these experiences thereby forging an anonymous camaraderie. Anderson returns repeatedly to the concept of an imagined kinship for which territorialisation and filial ties are paramount. In other words, our realisation of nation has to be collectively claimed (as our territory) and recognised by the members of a community (as held together with shared roots). In turn, in order to be considered a member of that 'imagined community' one is claimed and recognised within that community by using primarily cultural markers. Anderson's discussion, though focused on Europe during the cultural and social upheaval of the Enlightenment, turns its attention to the question of nationalism in the

New World: "why was it precisely creole communities that developed so early conceptions of their nation-ness – well before most of Europe? Why did such colonial provinces, usually containing large, oppressed, … populations produce creoles who consciously redefined these populations as fellow-nationals?" (Anderson: 50). For us in the Caribbean, it is a foregone conclusion that the two developments across the ocean are linked. It is unsurprising that the discourse and ideology of the Enlightenment came to be refined in the industrial-plantation sites of the New World. Even less so, that same ideology would find fertile ground among those in the Americas who were not allowed to claim membership among the imagined communities that were being built from the very local resources they were compelled to provide.

The decision to make a territorial claim on the local space by the creole population is the familiar narrative behind the construction of a national identity in the Americas and this narrative is not specific to the Caribbean nor to the period of political independence in the region during the 60s and 70s. For example, Richard Chase in the canon formation text *The American novel and its tradition* articulates the desire to carve out a literature that can be recognised as idiosyncratically American. The source of that desire is the haunting presence of that country's colonial legacy, felt keenly in the prioritising of British literature and in the derivative nature of early American fiction in a country struggling for self-determination through self-expression (Chase: 20). The struggle for self-determination through self-expression is considered a defining characteristic of literature from the Caribbean. Often it is this struggle, required for the construction of regional/national identities, that has informed the ways in which literature from this region has been read and discussed.

Even though this struggle may be perceived as peculiarly Caribbean it is far from being a quality unique to the region, albeit with its unique social circumstances. Scholarly discussion concerning the rise of the novel has tied the prevalence of the then experimental form to a manoeuvre toward cultural nationalism on behalf of English authors positioned antagonistically in relation to the rest of Europe. For example, Mary Helen McMurran remarks on the reception of French novels by "the English, who believed themselves to be under some quasi-imperial influence of the French and their prose fiction" and the subsequent response in the form of a canon-forming text by Anna Barbauld in 1810, for which the aim was to "initiate a national novel for Britain" (p. 63; p. 54). The similarity, for example, between the strategies to plot a national literary tradition for both England and the United States highlights a parallel between narrative elements and conceptualisations of nation-ness. It is this parallel which is also at work in the formation of Anglophone Caribbean literary traditions and which I intend to apply in my discussion of a specifically Barbadian literary tradition.

Lloyd Brown argues for the 'national consciousness' of West Indian literature, where he notes the paradox of assigning "the corporate identity of a single national literature – 'West Indian literature' – to writings from territories … which have become separate

and sovereign nations since 1962" (p. 411). Invariably, the demand for national images and narratives functions as a guiding principle in the development of a literary canon. For Barbados, as Carl Wade points out, this demand informed the aesthetic and ideological approach of the country's small literary journals that came to be at the forefront of the establishment of canonical West Indian fiction (p. 63). Wade's discussion primarily addresses the contribution of *Bim*'s predecessor, *The Forum Quarterly*, with its encouragement to not only produce localised narratives but to cultivate a readership for such work. In particular, *The Forum Quarterly* focused its attention on short prose fiction and it is this approach, as outlined by Wade's discussion, that I intend to take as my starting point for the construction of Barbadian-ness in imaginative literature.

Reading cultural kinship in Barbadian short stories

Wade observes that "Of all the literary arts, the short story was the genre through which the journal exerted most effort to develop West Indian consciousness through new directions in literary expression, and to promote excellence in craftsmanship" (p. 66). As part of the *Quarterly*'s mandate to cultivate regional literature, the editorial committee indicated what they believed should identify the idiosyncratic character of its fiction. According to Wade, localised setting, representation of the folk and social consciousness were prioritised. However, these features were often demonstrated in a manner that was considered "inimical to the assertion of national identities' (Wade: 67). Wade uses the example of a Barbadian short story submitted by Cyril D. Gittens – "Double victory" (1932) – that failed to evoke a recognisably Barbadian sensibility in its treatment of setting even though it contained local place names (Wade: 67). The story was able to make a territorial claim on the local space without making it familiar/familial by creating a sense of belonging. The motivation behind my attention to the following selection of narratives, therefore, is to explore a matrix of features that both territorialise and familiarise 'Barbadian-ness' within what is considered the founding genre of West Indian literature (Simpson: 829).

I have rationalised the selection of the following writers according to recognisable critical categories: a sample of stories from W.S. Arthur, A.N. Forde and Karl Sealy who speak to the pre-independence period; those of Monica Skeete and Paule Marshall for the transition period from colonialism to independence; finally, a few stories from June Henfrey, Cherie Jones and Robert Edison Sandiford who are within the post-independence period. I have also observed a gender split in my groupings. Though this is not deliberate, it does confirm the narrative of canon development: origins based on the work produced by men, followed by the rise of women writers and then attention to writing that does not rely on imposing gender divisions. For the purposes of my discussion, however, the selection of writers is according to their relationship to Barbados.

These writers claim several ties to Barbados – through place of birth, familial connection, repeated residence or as home. With the exception of one, all of the stories chosen are set in Barbados and that one, "The promised land" by Cherie Jones, is deliberately included to illustrate the dynamic possibilities available under the rubric of local writing.

The subjects of these stories are diverse. Arthur's "Robust man" and "Hope springs eternal" feature respectively a young woman's struggle to outwit a home invader and a farmer who secretly saves to purchase an automobile as his way out of farming. Forde's "Coachman and the cab" presents a boyhood memory surrounding the lure of the horse-drawn coach and "Women of Breadfruit Alley", an older man's recount of his experience with the neighbourhood women after he becomes a widower. Sealy's "The fields are high" centers on an encounter with an escaped convict and a young girl in a canefield while his "Dream of gold" focuses on a young woman awaiting news of her husband after he departs for Panama. Monica Skeete in "The return" looks at the reaction of a Bajan Yankee on her return to Barbados to spend a holiday with her island-bound relatives and Paule Marshall's "Barbados" and often anthologised "To Dah-duh, in memoriam" treats to a similar theme as Skeete's story: the effect of encountering Barbados when you have made your home elsewhere. It is a neat coincidence that the stories by Skeete and Marshall, which engage journeying and re-visioning, fall in the middle to act as the transition from the stories by those living and writing in a colonial Barbados to those who can opt to have a frame alternative to colonialism for their narratives. In June Henfrey's "Cane cutter", the protagonist is a plantation laborer who is haunted both by the death of his son and the vision of a slave from the same plantation; "Love trouble" follows a young village woman who becomes the mistress of a married estate owner. The feature story, "The burning bush women" from Cherie Jones's collection and "The promised land" focus on women who face difficult choices: in the first story it is whether to sacrifice family for love; in the latter, it is whether or not to become a middle-aged mother. Sandiford's "Reckoning" follows one night in a drunken man's life through a confrontation that yields an unexpected memory.

For all of these stories, the conventional expectations for realist fiction (which overlap with those for West Indian writing) are met in the characters drawn from the working class (with nothing to suggest that the main characters are not of African descent); that the setting is local (for the most part) and the events garnered are from likely, even familiar, occurrences (which is an important feature of realism). For this treatment to be considered specific to Barbados there have to be experiences and elements communally recognisable that act to reinforce a cultural kinship. My intention is to highlight the features across these narratives that articulate and/or acknowledge this kinship. In so doing, I hope to identify a matrix of representations that are used to construct a Barbadian sensibility.

Language, landscape and women in Barbadian narratives

The pattern that I observed across these stories begins with noticing the most ostensible feature of Caribbean writing – the language. The now very familiar discussion about the evolution of the use of 'dialect' or Creole from the expression of caricature to that of sophisticated self-expression is one that I will not recapitulate here. Instead I would like to offer a sample of the local voice from a few stories to illustrate an observation about the way in which it is used. The first: "As I realise what happening, boy, I take one bound through the door and hit my ankle bone against an old hard rocking chair" (Forde, "Women of Breadfruit Alley": 236); secondly: "Be-Jese, I wouldn't bet on a Bajan horse tomorrow if Christ heself was to give me the tip. Those bitches might look good but they's nothing 'pon a track" (Marshall, "Barbados": 57); lastly: "I mean, it ain't that he don't love me. Don't get me wrong or nothing – alotta things may be wrong with Arlen, depending on who you listen to, but there ain't no doubt in my mind that he do love me" (Jones, "The promised land": 139). I believe it would be a challenge to attempt to determine from the speaking voice of these characters the political period in which the texts are written or even set. It would seem that it was possible for writers within the colonial period to use the local variety with the kind of flexibility and verisimilitude demonstrated by writers during the post-colonial period. For these selected writers, the rendering of the local variety is consistent in its rhythm, emphases and most importantly, as the primary mode of expression for the *main* characters of the story regardless of the socio-political environment. In other words, the local variety achieves primacy – not as comic relief or supporting contrast for a privileged standard register – to locate the characters in and of Barbados. Therefore, a significantly shared feature of these writers who claim membership within a Barbadian community is the effort to capture the idiosyncratic sounds of this local voice.

Nonetheless, there is something to be said about the use, or more precisely the absence, of Creole for the narrative voice in these stories. In the seminal work, *The West Indian novel and its background*, Kenneth Ramchand points to the versatility demonstrated by select West Indian authors in making use of Creole particularly in conveying the complex psychic development of the characters. Nonetheless, he indicates that the primacy of Standard English for the narrative voice in West Indian prose fiction is the result of colonial practice that was aimed at devaluing other varieties of linguistic expression. This positioning of standardized English is observable in all of these stories, save "The promised land", where the narrative voice is in Bajan. It might be tempting to support the notion that this linguistic divide in these short stories continues to promote British cultural hegemony. However, it is possible to read this pattern of two registers as a gesture of cultural belonging significant to Barbadian practice. Specifically, the pattern suggests a complementary relationship between the two registers – both are 'voicing'

Barbados: "Rather, the affirmation of the oral signals a valid practice of literary *creolization,* in which the oral culture of the folk and European scribal traditions are equally acknowledged, among the complex of cultures that make up West Indian experience, as literary parents/influences for the modern West Indian writer" (Simpson: 831).

The important distinction I noticed across the narrative voice in the three periods I outlined for these stories has more to do with narrative distance than with register. To illustrate, here are two excerpts from Arthur's "The robust man":

> The man looked at the girl decisively. "Let's end dese interruptions. Where de money?"
>
> "Money? Whey uh gwine get money from?"
>
> The man slapped the girl's face hard, leaving a brown weal. "That will help yuh memory. Talk quick!"
>
> …………………………………………………………………………
>
> The man pitched the paper aside in disgust and eyed the girl with a calculating look of appraisal. As if satisfied, a cold smile played about his lips. The smile, sadistic and animal, was chilling in the extreme to the girl.

The tone of formal, detached observation maintained by the narrative voice is in stark contrast to the idiomatic cadence of the dialogue. Even though the narrative perspective is sympathetic to the young woman, it is clear that the narrative position assumes an elevated tone with its word choice and syntax that clearly distances itself from the social setting that it creates.

The next example comes from Sealy's "The fields are high":

> Every morning Esther took the two pints of milk in the blue jelly Jar up to the Whites. This was a concession; for Belle, Esther's mother, brooked no nonsense of sending milk to her customers. "Leh who wan' milk come fo' all gone," she used to tell them when they came late and complained because she had no more to sell. But then, Mrs. White, Mrs. White was a lady, and Mr. White was foreman at the newspaper office in the city, and Hedie, their little brown-skinned girl, used to cycle by fast to school, holding the skirt of her smart blue uniform down on her legs with one hand, her two black plaits bowed with red ribbon long down in her back. Yes, Mrs. White *was* a lady, and Belle didn't mind sending milk to a lady who never went to town without her gloves and veil (p. 61).

Once again, the distinction between narrative and character voice is indicated by linguistic register with the similar effect of a spectator's distance. Nonetheless, there is more of an effort at creating a conversational intimacy.

The next example is taken from June Henfrey's "The cane cutter":

> The crop season was trying for Reuben. He hated having to cut down the plants which were his companions for the rest of the year. He only did so by reminding

> himself that they came back, like the duppy-spirts of the dead, thrusting up again on the very spot where they had been felled, armed with this knowledge, he would slash furiously along his row, intoning under his breath all the while: "You all does come back! You all does come back!" (p. 65)

I would suggest that there is a discernible lessening of distance between the narrative voice and the character with each example: the formal diction, syntax and tone in the first example has the effect of positioning the working-class character and experience as an object for observation, not a member of the story-teller's cultural kin. With the second example, there is more of an effort to create/ acknowledge a community across the narrator, the reader and the object with the use of less formal syntax, as in 'cycle by fast' instead of 'cycle quickly' and the use of repetition and exclamation for punctuation – 'But then Mrs. White. Mrs. White was a lady' and 'Yes, Mrs. White was a lady'. With Henfrey's story, even though the narrative voice is in Standard English, it is speaking at a level of intimacy with the character's consciousness that wants the reader to identify with him. This continuum of intimacy highlights the degree to which the writers wish the reader to claim familiarity with the main character. The function of this familiarity goes beyond simply ensuring reader engagement.

At the other end of the continuum from Arthur's "Robust man" is Sandiford's "Reckoning":

> Colin was drunk, true, but not so drunk. He sucked his teeth hard. He was disgusted at their presumption, at their sense of entitlement. Young men and women their age thought the world owed them whatever they asked for, no matter how they asked for it …. From whom did they take their cues if not the society before them? *Both parent and child alike needed to have he ass cut, thought Colin.* (emphasis mine) (p. 21)

The observer position, created by the third person narrative perspective in this story, makes use of standardized English as well as Bajan to convey the character's thoughts. The seamless movement between the two registers, demonstrated particularly in the last sentence of the excerpt, suggests a complementary relationship. In this relationship, the shared voicing signals that the narrator and character are members of the same community. In claiming the character as a familiar member of their community and the character's story as a recognisable experience, the narrative produces a sense of cultural kinship. It is this effort to cultivate a familiarity with/ intimate recognition of a Barbadian voice that produces a sense of belonging crucial to cultural identity. Both ends of the continuum, indicated by Arthur's and Sandiford's stories, aim for this familiarity with varying degrees of success.

Another feature within the matrix of belonging presented across these stories is of the landscape, beginning with claiming the specificity of location. Forde, for example, in "Coachman and the cab" makes use of place names such as Tweedside Road and My Lord's Hill to root the narrative in a local space. Wade (2004) observes, however, that

to use place names is not enough to create a local sensibility. Of more significance is the incorporation of vegetation and the physical landscape as in "Barbados". This story opens with a sensory description of fishing boats on the water, tall canes surrounding the village and the wind among cabbage palms and casuarina trees. Then, there is the village setting as in Henfrey's "Love trouble" – the characters are drawn from the plantation tenantry, a fishing village and a 'red legs' community. Outside of the usual reading of local landscape as an acknowledgment/ affirmation of an indigenous environment, I return to the question of what can make this rendering specific to Barbados. In answer to this are two images which appear consistently across the stories: cultivated/ controlled landscape and the working class rural village. Both of these images seem to have been positioned as fundamental touchstones for those who identify as Barbadian and to identify *what* is Barbadian.

Regarding the landscape, I refer to a claim made by George Lamming in *The pleasures of exile*: "To a Barbadian every square inch of land should be planted up. It is a criminal waste to let land just lie there, doing nothing. Agriculture is his glory. With a small plot of an acre the Barbadian will boast six crops although the whole acre is already covered with sugar cane. You wonder what he is talking about if you are a stranger; but he will invite you to see" (p. 215). Now consider an observation made by Martin Fido in his discussion about the presence of flora in Barbadian literature: "And so culturally, plants do not mean the idle, mountain-wandering Wordsworth's uplifting (and, admittedly, very beautiful, if over-exposed) daffodils. Plants in Barbados mean deliberate, horticulturally nursed decoration, or work, or food" (p. 9). The point of interest is not the differing attitudes to the landscape articulated by these two perspectives – Lamming as idealised, Fido as pragmatic – as much as it is that both perspectives underscore the cultivated and thereby controllable nature of the land and that the Barbadian recognises it as such ("You wonder what he is talking about *if you are a stranger*").

Even when the narrative attempts to highlight a threat or sense of disorder in the landscape, it is soon resolved and the landscape returns to being non-threatening and controllable which is the case illustrated by this excerpt from "To Dah-duh, in memoriam":

> It was a violent place, the tangled foliage fighting each other for a chance at the sunlight, the branches of the trees locked in what seemed an immemorial struggle, one both necessary and inevitable. But despite the violence, it was pleasant, almost peaceful in the gully, and beneath the thick undergrowth the earth smelled like spring. (Marshall: 163)

The narrator reads the flora as threatening yet that threat remains contained by the equally strong sense of peace produced among the natural 'wildness'.

This connection to the land, to a landscape willing to be cultivated, is also represented in another significant feature that recurs across most of these stories: the presence of sugar cane. Fido tellingly observes: "Centrally, in literature as in Barbadian life, plants mean cane" (p. 9). Across these stories, cane fields or cane figure to various degrees of

significance. In Arthur's story, it is the setting used to characterise the dangerous nature of the 'robust man', for "Hope Springs Eternal", it is the crop that dominates the characters' farm-land, representative of the life that the central character aims to leave behind. For the narrator in "To Dah-duh, in memoriam", cane is symbolic of a violent legacy; in the "The Cane cutter", it informs the imagery for the main character's trauma while it merely serves as backdrop for the conflict in "Love trouble". Even though the degrees of significance vary, the main function of cane seems to be to signal simultaneously threat and refuge: for example, in "The Burning bush women" it is where a child is found, protected, but also where her mother presumably loses her mind; with "The fields are high", they contain the threat of violence in the spectre of the man in the canes but serve as refuge for the man who is an escaped prisoner.

For most of these stories, cane is a ubiquitous feature not just of the landscape, but also of character and narrative consciousness. It is the attitude towards sugar cane, not merely its presence in the narrative, that indicates a cultural familiarity or kinship that can be characterised as Barbadian. As with the use of the local Barbadian variety, the treatment of cane moves along a continuum. For example, in Sealy's "Dream of gold" the cane-fields are integral to the narrative focus on the central character's suffering. Cane is associated with hope as well as despair; sustenance as well as starvation; the preservation as well as the loss of dignity. Its constant, familiar presence provides recognisable material for figurative expression. As such, cane is used for simple comparisons – "He lay abed now, his hands – as cracked and calloused as a cane cutter's" (Marshall "Barbados": 52) – as well as a site symbolic of trauma/ conflict: "He saw her lost amid the carousings in the village, despoiled; he imagined someone like Mr. Goodman clasping her lewdly or tumbling her in the cane-brake" (Marshall, "Barbados": 64). Consequently, the treatment of cane fields/ cane become one of the elements that can be deployed as a touchstone within the construction of a Barbadian kinship.

For the other touchstone – the village – I once again turn to George Lamming, this time to his discussion of the significance of *The castle of my skin* thirty years after its publication. He notes that: "… it is the collective human substance of the Village, you might say, which is the central character" (Lamming: 47). Lamming presents the notion of 'the Village' as an embodied presence, recognisable due to its own distinctive characteristics. Specifically, the character of the village is laboring class and rural, temporally rooted in an immediately post-plantation period and peripherally located or resistant to a metropolitan, urbanized space. This treatment of the village recurs, for example, in "The return", "Dream of gold" and "Barbados".

In "The return" the character representative of rural Barbadian living, Dovey, is viewed with bemusement and distress by the protagonist during their airport reunion. Of note is the character's response to Dovey's hat, which she views as incongruous and alien, as well as the woman wearing it, until the protagonist recognises that it is a hat she bought, styled and sent specifically for her relative, Dovey. Dovey's embodiment of

rural living effectively removes/ resists what the hat represented in America for the protagonist – a commercialised, resource-rich lifestyle. For the rest of the narrative, the protagonist struggles to reconcile her nostalgic framing of the village with her attitude toward its subsistence living that, for her, remains untouched by the world beyond it. "Barbados" has a returnee as the main character who similarly has a less than flattering perspective of village life. In this narrative, once again, the village is presented as rural, made up of the laboring class and at a distance from the material success of the protagonist, who lives near to but apart from the village:

> The wind, smarting of the sea, threaded a wet skein through Mr. Watford's five hundred dwarf coconut trees and around his house at the edge of the grove. The house, Colonial American in design, seemed created by the mist – as if out of the dawn's formlessness had come, magically, the solid stone walls, …. When the mist cleared, the house remained – pure, proud, a pristine white – disdaining the crude wooden houses in the village outside its gate. (Marshall "Barbados": 52)

Mr. Watford as representative of a metropolitan (as well as colonial) space is ostensibly placed outside of/ on the margin of the village where his physical location is also indicative of his attitude toward that community and its way of being. Unlike "The return" however, village life is positioned as redemptive. Nonetheless, Mr. Watford remains shut out, even though he grows to desire this redemption, – his outsider status fully cemented by his age, his fear and his materialism.

In "Dream of gold" the representation of the village also highlights a distance between regular village life and the material trappings/ nature of metropolitan living. The narrative perspective, sympathetic to the central character, observes how the money received from Panama from those working on the Canal becomes a spectacle:

> On her way she saw Urmilia, who concerned the butcher, decked out in new, gaudy garments like a macaw, hoisting her fortune like an ensign, and Janis knew that she had got golden tidings from her man Bud who had been in the boat with Carless …. Eddie Bright, from the door of his shoe-maker shop, left the gob of saliva on the sole he was tanning and stared long after her, and Janis knew he was wondering what she had done with Carless' gold, why she looked drab, drab as his wretched little hovel of a shop. (Sealy: 17)

The spectacle of wealth in the story, though used to underscore Janis's deprivation, also highlights the general poverty of the village.

This spectacle brings into view another feature of the 'collective human substance of the village' observable across these narratives, which is resilience. Each of the stories has a character representative of the village sensibility: for "The return", it is Dovey; for "Barbados", it is Mr. Watford's young female house-servant and for "Dream of gold," Janis. Each woman demonstrates a moment of resilience and/or resourcefulness informed by their village upbringing and each moment takes the form of a rejection of

material value in favour of their sense of self. This notion of the village – as rural and resilient - figures in imaginative attempts to render a peculiarly Barbadian society, whether the actual physical village still exists and operates in this way. So that even if the orientation toward the village is not nostalgic (like for the protagonist in "Barbados") the rejection of its matrix of relations and associations nonetheless shows that the individual recognises those elements.

The focus on the village, specifically the female characters of the village, brings me to the last shared feature across these narratives which has to do with the characterisation of women. A great deal has already been said about the cultural and political significance of the literary focus on the black, working class or 'folk character' and within that group on the matriarchal figure or the silent, marginalized woman. The conventional expectation would be to read the female characters of these narratives in that way. However, the startling pattern revealed across these stories is that they categorically resist that reading. A sample of female characters presents interesting points of similarity: the character that successfully opposes the belligerent protagonist in "Barbados" is the young female servant; the character that braves the cane-field and its secrets in "The fields are high" is a young girl; the character who offers the central consciousness that weighs the complexities of keeping or aborting a child in "The promised land" is a woman; the main character in "Robust man" who confronts and outwits a violent assailant is a young mother; the character that faces and survives the death of a son in "The Cane cutter" is the protagonist's wife. Like local speech varieties, cultivated landscape and rural village, the recurring image of women as assertive, confident, decisive and self-aware appears as a staple feature of these narratives. Taken together, these features figure prominently in determining what is peculiarly Barbadian in short prose produced by writers from Barbados and/ or influenced by Barbadian society.

This particular attention to female characters is exhibited across these narratives whether authored by male or female writers. The continuum of treatment can be better illustrated with an example taken from "Coachman and the cab" and "The promised land". The focus of Forde's story are the escapades of school boys involving the neighbourhood coachman. The crisis of the narrative occurs when one of the boys is injured as result of their reckless behaviour and then must be taken home to have his friends explain to his mother what has happened. Forde devotes considerable attention to the description of the mother. He begins with detailing the "cold knife-point of a voice" followed by her attitude and physical presence: "'He fall?' Disbelief, not inquiry. She was towering over us now like some dark queen of the forests" (Forde: 233). She is the one able to reduce her son, "the initiator of every boyish crime" to a "mere clod before her, devoid of identity" while the unfortunate coachman "had to use every rhetorical gift to defend himself from [her] bitter onslaught" (Forde: 235). The narrative tone of awe and fear signals this female presence as significant in the character's reminiscence which informs his sense of home and belonging.

This vocal, strong, no-nonsense maternal figure is given another dimension in "The promised land". The central character is female and it is her consciousness which provides the narrative perspective. Faced with the difficult decision to become a mother again with the prospect of her retirement near and impact of the new addition on life with her husband and adult children to consider, the story follows this character's rationale for her choice: "Nowhere in there did we plan baby .... When you been spending some days thinking of ways to save the little energy for things you still have to do in the years that you have left, it just don't seem possible to save some for a baby" (Jones: 147). This is a position that she does not come to easily – she begins and ends the story with the reassurance that she loves her husband and their life. The narrative tone of pragmatism is deftly counterbalanced by the character's naïve vocabulary for her genitals - she refers to them throughout the story as 'the promised land'. Jones is able to marry hardness with vulnerability in order to give a complex portrayal of this female character. In neither of these treatments is the female character passive or marginalized. This imaginative response to the Barbadian female presence is supported by the socio-historical position of women, particularly Afro-descendant women, from the 17th century onward. According to Lia Tara Bascomb's research: "Barbadian women have always had a very public presence in society despite the colonial ideal of private femininity" (p. 59). This public presence is attributed to the "economic construction of society [which] necessitated that women work, making a degree of independence, autonomy, and assertiveness an integral part of Barbadian femininity" (Bascomb: 67). Edward Baugh, for example, observes that Tom Austin Clarke, a significant Barbadian writer, "gives a complex, subtle portrayal of women, more particularly West Indian women, in their personal relationships with men and with other women. In this regard he has been something of a pacesetter for a trend among some male West Indian writers" (pp. 65-66). Women as significant, nuanced figures capable of self-awareness and in possession of a voice is repeatedly claimed as recognizable within the Barbadian imagination.

The shared practice of Barbadian-ness in the narrative approach to language, landscape and women depends on the ways these elements are constantly re-visioned and how lived realities respond to their absence or transformation. For example, will the notion of cultivated landscape be predominantly expressed in colourful murals of the vegetation around concrete homes or will character development trend towards the public/private personality of the professional woman instead of the female nut vendor? My final point returns to Benedict Anderson and his discussion about membership in an imagined community. In order to create that community – in this case, the cultural nation- membership requires a process of both recognition and possession: recognition of a specific image/ sound/ cultural practice/ social response and then a claim for the validity of that specific element. A part of this process will also function as thick and thin ties amongst those members – for example, some will have a deep sense of familiarity with rural living, while others will only have a superficial awareness of it or only possess it as

transgenerational knowledge. At the core, nonetheless, is the capacity for a narrative to produce that community of shared awareness, though at varying levels. So in a very real way, the activity of story-telling – the imaginative narrative – can be used to construct and realise a national cultural community.

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PSYCHOSOCIAL CYCLONES: A DYSTOPIC AND ALTRUISTIC READING OF GISÈLE PINEAU'S *MACADAM DREAMS*

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In a contributory essay to the volume titled *The angry earth: disaster in anthropological perspective* (1999), Oliver-Smith asserts the following:

> In case after case in crisis situations, a form of solidarity emerges that temporarily enables people to put aside self-interest and come together in common effort. [. . .] In effect in periods of immediate postimpacts and isolation . . . social relations [are] characterized by numerous acts of altruism and considerable social solidarity and cooperation. (pp. 156-158)

This thinking is echoed by Rebecca Solnit's claim in *A paradise built in hell* that the image of the selfish "regressively savage human being in times of disaster" is not a completely accurate portrayal. On the contrary, she explains that during disaster people behave altruistically in their care for each other (p. 2). Likewise, Hannigan (2012), in *Disasters without borders*, attributes post-disaster altruistic behavior to those who suffer catastrophe:

> the period immediately following the impact of a flood, tornado, hurricane, or other natural disaster as a time of community consensus and solidarity where partisan conflict and political dealing are temporarily suspended. . . . This is sometimes described as a post-disaster utopia, wherein . . . formal rules and regulations are set aside . . . and people feel an unselfish concern for the welfare of others (p. 8).

The recognition that such so-called altruism in immediate post-disaster periods is temporary forms the basis for the first part of my discussion of Gisèle Pineau's *Macadam dreams* (2003) as a narrative of post-disaster dystopia. In this article, I argue that following the presumed initial fragile period of altruism described by disaster theorists, people often return to their individual "intense expressions of self-interest" (Oliver-Smith, 1999: 156). As Solnit indicates, "often the worse behavior in the wake of a calamity is on the part of those who believe that others will behave savagely and they

themselves are taking defensive measures against barbarism" (2009: 2). Consequently, I propose that *Macadam dreams* showcases how disaster often releases the worse in human behavior. I also contend that Pineau's notion of disaster in *Macadam dreams* includes not just the cyclical cyclonic disasters that hit Guadeloupe in the form of hurricanes and volcanic eruptions, but more specifically, the generational socio-historical, psychosomatic, sexual, and cultural cycles of violence that traumatize both individual characters such as Hermancia and her daughter Glawdys, and the rest of the community in Savane Mulet. I address the evil aftereffects of multiple and constant abuse and violence that generate psychosocial cyclones and turn individuals against each other, ultimately creating a post-hurricane dystopia in Savane Mulet.

Next, by engaging the theory of solidarity I return to the original notion of altruism in post-disaster settings to discuss how the novel details changes in individual and/or group responses to victims of social and sexual cyclones. I analyze the significant new relationship between Eliette and Angela, her friend Rosette's daughter, whose experience of sexual trauma is parallel to that of Eliette. I detail the various transformational changes by individuals that move them toward building a new community based on residual "networks of affinity and affection" in which the "freestanding individual", as represented by Eliette, Hermancia, and Glawdys "stands as an outcast or exile" (Solnit: 2009: 3).

The violent life of Savane Mulet, Guadeloupe, is encapsulated by the image of the 1928 cyclone (hurricane) Felipe, alias Okeechobee, that flattened Guadeloupe. Eliette describes the post-hurricane landscape of Savane Mulet as follows: "No, nothing had changed since the first blacks from Africa had been unloaded in this land that breeds nothing but cyclones, this violent land where so much malediction weighs upon the men and women of all nations" (Pineau, 2003: 172). The collective historical trauma of enslavement on the sugar plantations, with its lingering psychic and social scars and unhealed wounds, continue to haunt the Afro-Guadeloupean community in Savane Mulet. As Solnit (2009) asserts, "In each disaster, there is suffering . . . that will be felt most when the emergency is over" (pp. 15-16). These collective traumas generated by the history of slavery, natural disasters and poverty provide fertile ground for inter-personal cruelty among the people of Savane Mulet.

Pineau indicates how recurring cyclones create a landscape of chaos and bring out the worst in the people of the village, which facilitates the emergence of her post-disaster dystopia. This community is characterized by a "violence every bit as devastating, and seemingly inescapable, as the perpetually returning cyclone" (2003: Back cover). Eliette, from whose perspective we see events in the story, describes the numerous violent altercations in Savane Mulet: child abuse, sex/gender violence, neglect, and murder.

She describes the haunting presences of these evils in the landscape, which often re-sembles the anticipated presence of a cyclone lurking in the background, waiting to make its entrance whether physically or in the memory of the individuals.

> So much suffering all around . . . , Blood splattered in the grass on the path. A blue tongue sticking out from the flowers of the mango tree. Gray eyes tied at the end of rope. A small mangled body under Néfles Bridge. Hortense hacked to pieces with the cutlass. And those children who'd gone off into the mountains and never come back. And how many other painful recollections. . . (p. 2)

Eliette's description of the violent acts in her community converge with the natural ca-lamities that befall the people.

This challenges theories which impute that altruistic human behavior in post-disaster situations is motivated by calculated forms of solidarity to offset individual and collec-tive helplessness instigated by "intense emotions – anxiety, fear, terror, loss, grief, grat-itude, anger, frustration, relief, and resignation – in all their shadings and intensities" (Oliver-Smith, 1999: 162-163). It also undermines romanticized and monolithic notions concerning non-Western societies. As Mark D. Anderson (2011) stipulates, "culture is never monolithic but rather a flexible system of interrelations between multiple actors, cultural responses to disaster are [hence] as varied as those affected by it." (p. 2)

Following this line of reasoning, it is essential to consider both the cultural and psycho-logical causes that undermine social and individual harmony in Savane Mulet in *Mac-adam dreams* even in the absence of immediate natural disaster. The unhealed histori-cal, cultural, economic, racial, political, and natural events that traumatize the commu-nity has created permanent post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which manifests as "a partial or complete amnesia or a shutting down in terms of numbing, dissociation and disconnectedness" (Morgan & Youssef, 2006: 8). Judith Herman articulates this further: "traumatized people feel utterly abandoned, utterly alone… a sense of alienation, of disconnection, pervades every relationship, from the most intimate familial bonds to the most abstract affiliations of community and religion" (1997: 77). In *Macadam dreams*, this disconnection is reflected at both community and individual levels. The community of Savane Mulet constitutes a "circle of those who saw and heard what went on but didn't get mixed up in the neighbor's business" (Pineau, 2003: 43). Their willing igno-rance about the physical and psychological harm committed against other members of their community is exposed in the novel as collusion with the perpetrators of evil. At-tacked constantly by psychosocial cyclones, they are unable to move past their traumas in order to create the type of altruistic community imagined by disaster theorists.

Oliver-Smith asserts that because, "Disasters are emphatic and all-absorbing occur-rences . . . their effect upon the thoughts and actions of those disrupted is manifold"

(1999: 7). Eliette exemplifies this, because she suffers from an alienation crisis generated by an agoraphobia developed from her experience with the hurricane. She justifies her lack of involvement in the community as self-preservation. Her alienation is part of the unhealed and unrecognized trauma that haunts her after she was raped by her father when she was 8 years old. What sets her apart from the rest is that she wants to help others whose suffering reminds her of her own history of suffering, yet she is described as lacking "the necessary strength and courage" to take action (Pineau, 2003: 43). Her inability to recover and move past the trauma of both her incestuous rape by her father at the age of 8 years on the eve of Hurricane Okeechobee, and the physical slashing of her abdomen by a flying zinc sheet during the Hurricane, leaves her emotionally and psychological paralyzed with fear and unable to connect with her community. She "stands as an outcast or exile" (Solnit: 2009: 3) in Savane Mulet:

> Up until then, the only thing on this earth that Eliette sought after was the peace of her cabin. Not get her life mixed up in the turmoil of Savane. Not let her mind color the sounds, build cathedrals of pain in her heart. Eyes and ears shut, she struggled to keep the sorrow of others at bay. Life outside was a clatter of hard luck. . . . (Pineau, 2003: 2)

Eliette's fear of reaching out to help others in the tumultuous and fractured life of the community are mirrored in the community's response to and treatment of Hermancia and Glawdys.

Hermancia first appears in Savane Mulet after Hurricane Okeechobee. She arrives pregnant, having earlier been gang raped by seven butchers, who subsequently were butchered by her enraged father. Her constant lament in song about this trauma have considerable and contradictory effects on the community. Solnit (2009) postulates that, "Disaster requires an ability to embrace contradiction in both the minds of those undergoing it and those trying to understand it from afar" (15). Thus, for some members of the Savane Mulet community, Hermancia's singing makes them feel hopeful; yet for others, the songs invoke ghosts of traumatic memories threatening to re-traumatize them. What they refuse to recognize is that Hermancia's singing is her coping mechanism for the trauma of multiple gang rapes and her father's murderous response to her pregnancy from the rapes:

> Everyone understood that Hermancia with her swollen belly was simple-minded. A poor deranged soul, taken advantage of by a group of plotting dirty dogs, native of Sainte-Angéle. The story of her life unfurled in a droning chant from the shelter of her cabin, ran over the corrugated roofing, and bounded up the steps of Savane land two at a time. [. . .] And it was pitiful to think of the disposed creature that embodied it. (Pineau, 2003: 35-36)

Ironically, Eliette's descriptions of the people's perceptions make it seem as if Hermancia is responsible for the sexual assault: "The innocent child smiled at them with eyes.

And her whole body bore the same smile that said, 'Take me! Take me!' Hidden under her skirt was a little raspberry mouth that smiled, too. . . " (Pineau, 2003: 38). Invariable, their comments echo the phallocentric posture that blames women for their rape by men. Undoubtedly, Hermancia's melancholic voice and words of sorrow for her father had some positive effect on the community: reconciliation between enemies, self-forgiveness, and some hint of hope.

Nevertheless, though the community knows Hermancia's story, they offer no support: "she lived on . . . the charity of the people from Savane Mulet who were no more charitable than a dog in the manger" (Pineau, 2003: 36). This metaphor is used to critique those who spitefully prevent others from having something they no longer need. The statement that they can provide the help Hermancia needs, but prefer to not do so, is evidence that post-disaster communities can and do become uncharitable societies. The memory of this draws from Eliette a shudder of guilt and pain of regret for how the community had not come to Hermancia's aid, but had shunned and abandoned her like one whose presence was a blight to individuals in the community with "those songs of no tomorrows" (Pineau, 2003: 39).

Hermancia's inability to distinguish between good and evil makes her live in a permanently disassociated state. Similarly, the community of Savane Mulet itself lives trapped in the liminal and slippery spaces of their multiple traumas that they fail to recognize. Thus, their act of shutting out Hermancia stems from their sense that her life constantly reminds them of themselves. They become indifferent to or offended by her songs of tragedy. Hermancia's songs of her motherless childhood hit cords in the lives of people. Those who suffer trauma often unconsciously or consciously do things that traumatize others. For example, mothers who have been traumatized may end up traumatizing their children in turn.

Thus, Hermancia who suffers the trauma of maternal abandonment, in turn traumatizes her daughter Glawdys, when she abandons her on the church porch. On the other hand, abandoning Glawdys can also be seen as an act of mercy. Understanding her inability to properly care for her daughter, Hermancia leaves her child at the church—often viewed as a place of good will—, in hopes that it will somehow enable her to live a better life. In any case, this does not change the fact that Glawdys' cyclonic story begins with her conception from the gang rape of her mother. This is exacerbated by the cruelty of Eloise, the woman who takes the child and raises her without protecting her from misery, poverty, and social rejection by the people of Savane Mulet.

Hermancia's abandonment of Glawdys could be seen to stem from intimacy or attachment phobias as a result of her own unhealed traumas of growing up motherless. According to trauma theory, intimacy or attachment phobias occur:

> in cases of abandonment . . . and any state which creates loss of intimacy. Intimacy traumas are most intense if they occur in infancy, when the child has not

created the other value-processing systems which are necessary for healthy maturation…[and] can shatter the individual's self-worth and ability to connect and can lead to relationship and personality disorders. (Morgan & Youssef 2006: 130)

In Hermancia's case, she never receives any intimacy from her mother during her childhood. This causes her to recommence the same cycle of maternal abandonment with her daughter. Furthermore, it is reasonable to read her actions as an expression of revulsion toward Glawdys, who is the physical reminder and product of what the seven rapists did to her (Morgan & Youssef, 2006: 216). Glawdys is described as taking "the best parts" of each of the men that raped her mother (Pineau, 2003: 40). Hermancia's response to the trauma of growing up motherless and a victim of rape is to abandon her daughter. She feels it is better to discard Glawdys than to continue to be reminded of her traumatic experiences, which would make it impossible for her to be a good mother to Glawdys.

Hypocritically, the community now wants to assume the responsibility of raising Glawdys without considering how they failed her mother. Eventually, she is taken in by the village ogre, Eloise, and the community does nothing to stop her even though they know Eloise is not a suitable mother figure. Glawdys is treated like an animal, often tied to a pole with a "rope around her waist, leaving only three yards of slack for her to move around" and rarely allowed to leave the house (Pineau, 2003: 42). Eloise imprisons her to "keep the child from going adrift like all the other children she'd so cherished" (Pineau, 2003: 42). None of her biological children have amounted to anything, probably because of her inhumane mothering practices. Glawdys' trauma is exacerbated by the fact that the community knows about the inhumane conditions in which she is being raised, and yet no one comes to her aid. Mysteriously, when Glawdys turns six years old, she is taken by Child Welfare, and the community erases her from its collective consciousness: "no one sought to dig up her memory" (Pineau, 2003: 44).

Ten years later, Glawdys returns, a physically transformed person. There is a general paranoia that grips the community when Glawdys walks back into Savane Mulet. They fear that she may be plotting against them for their silence toward her abuse. As a way to repent, they buy her christophines (also known as *chayote*) which she cultivates in her mother's lot until the end of the season when she leaves again. They feel that buying the fruits from her absolves them of the past neglect. Two to three years later, Glawdys returns with a baby boy and raises the price of her christophines. This time, no one is interested in buying her fruits as further repentance, because they feel that she is taking advantage of them. No one considers that she is not there for them, and that the rise in price could be due to the fact that she now has a son to feed. They recognize that "hunger was twisting his insides" (Pineau, 2003: 57), and yet no-one is willing to break the unspoken sanction against Glawdys. They refuse to empathize with her determination to support herself and her son.

Fortunately, a secret angel, presumably Eliette, leaves her 10 francs every morning, for forty days. Yet, leaving a monetary donation without providing kindness or guidance, considering Savane Mulet is perhaps the only place she knows as home, just adds to her traumatized state. As a result, Glawdys throws her son down the Nèfles Bridge which kills him. Devoid of any feelings for this baby, almost replicating her abandonment by Hermancia,

> Glawdys hadn't flinched when she dropped her live baby. She was in her right mind. Her gray eyes were dry. No, there were no crazed thoughts darting about under that smooth brow. The thoughts in her mind lined up patiently not crowding each other, or else they just sat waiting for their turn, like at a doctor's office. She must have thought it all out beforehand, weighed, gauged, measured the pointlessness of keeping him alive. She'd passed her judgement and thrown the baby over. (Pineau, 2003: 49)

The community judges Glawdys and wish for her physical suffering without considering their complicity in her act of violence.

The narrator perceptively compares Glawdys to "the black women on the first boats who killed their newborn babies so they wouldn't be born into slavery, wouldn't fall into the hands of slave traders" (Pineau, 2003: 173). As hinted above, generational trauma (Doucet & Rovers, 2010: 94) is manifested here. Not only Glawdys, but the whole community still suffers from the trauma of the violence of enslavement, racism, colonialism, sex/gender oppression, and extreme poverty, and thus they continue to repeat the same patterns of violence. In this case, Glawdys' filicide recalls the acts of enslaved women who did not want their children to suffer slavery and killed them instead. Giving the child away was not an option for Glawdys, considering her horrific upbringing, where not even leaving a child at a place of worship and supposed goodness is enough to ensure its safety. Glawdys makes her violent choices based on her feelings of rejection and silent condemnation by the community, knowing the future that would await her son the moment she might leave him in their hands.

However, the community does not stay in this self-centered mindset permanently. Glawdys and Hermancia's stories are recollections of their past behavior, and their reaction to Angela's account hints towards a move to a change in individual or collective attitudes and behaviors toward the traumatized in the community. On the eve of Hurricane Hugo in 1989, Angela, a teenage girl, reports her father's constant acts of rape during her childhood. Her act is not one of revenge, but a move to prevent her father from doing the same thing to her younger sister. Her mother, Rosette, who is blind to her husband's incestuous acts under her very roof, cannot believe her daughter's story, first due to her denial and guilt concerning the neglect of her child, and second, due to her refusal to accept that the man around whom she has built her dreams could do such

a thing. Rosette's response to her daughter's confession of her rape is violent. She almost beats Angela to death in a murderous rage, and in sharp contrast to Séraphine's attack on Eliette's father when she discovered him raping Eliette on the eve of Hurricane Okeechobee, Rosette's throws her daughter out of the house. The natural world outside at this moment is unsettling; Hurricane Hugo is approaching, and Angela's safety is uncertain.

Eliette witnesses this event, and it forces her to ask herself if she is capable of helping Angela. It leads her to the recollection of Hermancia and Glawdys' histories of trauma and how she had failed to offer any real help to both of them. The root of her inability to offer assistance is immediately linked in her mind to the similar rape she suffered as a child at the hand of her father. Contrary to Angela's experience, Eliette receives support from her mother in the immediate aftermath of the event, and subsequently from Joab who arrives like an angel to their rescue. Séraphine cannot forgive herself for not having been able to protect her daughter from her beast of a father. Hence, she transfers Eliette's trauma onto herself in order to protect her, just as Hermancia's father suffers the ignominy of his daughter's rape and pregnancy and takes revenge against the men who raped his daughter.

As Eliette states, "I didn't see my crazy mama anymore, sitting on her little bench, reliving Cyclone '28, which she called the Beast" (Pineau, 2003: 10). Under her mother's influence, the memory of the cyclone covers over her memory of the rape, masking the emotional impact of that trauma as it continues to impact her life. Regine Michelle Jean-Charles (2009) explains that the novel "addresses the complexities of gendered violence through a description of natural violence by exploring the toll that natural catastrophe can take on the land and draws a parallel to the effects of sexual violence on the female body" (30). The repression of her memory of rape is effortless, because the trauma engendered by one disaster can produce traumas similar to those engendered by the other disaster. In this case, it becomes a question of which disaster is worse to remember.

The tumultuous atmosphere generated by a hurricane is symbolic of Eliette's emotional turbulence caused by her father's sexual assault on her. In both circumstances, there are multiple traumatic experiences: psychoemotional and environmental. As Eliette witnesses Angela's precarious situation, she impulsively identifies with Angela's predicament and re-visits and re-experiences her wounded psyche and body due to similar catastrophes that have paralyzed her relationally, emotionally, and psycho-socially. She sees Angela as her double, and without prevarication, she opens her home to the now homeless young woman. She sees this act as repentance and reparation for her sins of inaction in the face of the suffering of Glawdys and of other victims of Savane Mulet such as Hortense, Marius and Hermancia:

I didn't want to get mixed up in all that.

> Only open my door to Angela, poor girl.
>
> Just make up for the wrong I'd done to Glawdys.
>
> Just stop the wretched thoughts that, no matter how hard I tried to blot them out, always brought back the memory of the men and women of Savane who'd been murdered.
>
> I thought especially of Glawdys, whom –by being to reasonable – I'd missed the chance to take her in… it was her heart that was too big, three times bigger than mine. Life had not given her a chance to show it. (Pineau, 2003: 162)

In this case, Eliette acknowledges the wrongs and consequences of her previous inaction. She understands now the negative effects of her selfishness and unwillingness to act to ameliorate the suffering of others and decides to compensate for her past lapses by giving Angela the help and nurture that Eliette had denied others. Her interactions with Angela make a different impact than the indirect and self-congratulatory help she gave to Glawdys. Instead of giving monetary handouts through anonymous channels as she did with Glawdys, she provides Angela with unconditional physical and emotional support.

Eliette's decision to help Angela signals a positive move on the part of the community toward altruism in time of disaster. Eliette's new, selfless, and purposeful role is rooted in a turn in her thinking about her place in the community: to be a benefactor to the traumatized, marginalized, and abandoned. Eliette is no longer the person who early on in the story did not desire to "take on anyone's sorrow. Just pass what was left of my life far from the world's knocks and bumps" (2003: 5). Yet, the benefits of her embrace of Angela are manifested later in the shelter where they go to escape the hurricane in La Pointe, where her godmother resides. There, she discovers that she is Angela's biological aunt. Eliette shares the same father with Rosan, Angela's father. Angela thus becomes the beautiful black daughter promised to Eliette by a Haitian woman earlier in her life. Not knowing beforehand gives her actions further significance since she decides to help before discovering their relationship. While Eliette is only one member of the community, the possibility of a societal change is highlighted through her recognition of and confrontation with her traumatic past and her selfish lack of interest in helping anyone. The new Eliette puts herself in a position to help her community and becomes an example for the community to emulate if it wants to progress out of and beyond living in the paralysis of painful memories.

The backdrop of the hurricane provides a congruity among events to create a psychoemotional and social clearing in which she manages to reconfront her trauma, allow herself to cry, and begin a process of healing through unconditional love for others. For Angela, however, Eliette's unconditional acceptance of her provides her the emotional space to pray for healing and restoration of innocence: ". . . Angela made a wish and prayed that the Cyclone would thoroughly cleanse her body, put it all back together

again just like before, back in the days of innocence" (Pineau, 2003: 203). What happens at La Pointe with Eliette, Angela, godmother Anoncia, and Hermine points to a potential new female-led altruistic healing community in Savane Mulet, which emerges from multiple cyclones, both natural and human.

Gisèle Pineau's Savane Mulet, and by extension, the whole Caribbean region lives a dystopian existence as a consequence of human disasters including enslavement, cultural genocide, racism, classism, sexism, poverty, and exploitation by colonial and neo-colonial powers, alongside constant natural disasters such as hurricanes, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. Our collective failure to organize in solidarity in order to design and effect change that might mitigate those traumas leads to a profound sense of helplessness. But there is hope. As Solnit articulates, "Horrible in itself, disaster is sometimes a door back into paradise, the paradise at least in which we are who we hope to be, do the work we desire, and are each our sister's and brother's keeper" (2009: 3). Any real change, however, will require us to finally gather the courage, as Eliette eventually does, to confront our fears, regrets, and other demons and act against those who would continue to terrorize the innocent, band together to fight natural calamities, and embrace one another's pain.

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LOVELACE'S EARLY STAND AGAINST NAIPAUL: YARD LITERATURE ABOUT CRAZY IDEALISM, CORRUPTION, DUMB LUCK, AND HOPE AGAINST ALL ODDS[1]

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Introduction

Both the work and personality of V.S. Naipaul (b. Trinidad, 1932 – d. London, UK, 2018) have been severely criticized for unreasonably roughing up Caribbean people and their history. By the time he was granted the Nobel Prize for Literature in 2001, a general dissatisfaction was slowly changing into a more appreciative critical approach to his work. The intimate biography of Naipaul by French (2008) was not meant to change the resistance against the laureate himself and did not do so. Criticism had been aimed at his work from the very beginning and would find a diversity of means to chastise the author, or worse. Earl Lovelace (b. Trinidad, 1935) deployed one of the more sophisticated strategies for criticizing Naipaul, namely the use of intertextuality in prose fiction, which he willfully directed at Naipaul, especially in his representation of the vicissitudes of Caribbean life in the past as well as in the present, and of the potential to change. Both authors agree on quite a number of issues but they differ where 'resistance' and 'hope' are concerned. Lovelace's tender defense of the capacity and proven track record of Caribbean peoples in these areas has made him and his work more acceptable in the region than Naipaul and his oeuvre.

V.S. Naipaul

Quite a number of anglophone Caribbean novels and stories take the reader to the world of the socially and economically deprived. Alfred H. Mendes' *Black fauns*, which appeared in 1934, was the first novel in a burgeoning genre of so-called *barrack yard literature* that blossomed throughout the twentieth century. Literary interest in the lowest classes of Caribbean society, in particular those who lived in barrack yards, was

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[1] Based on Broek, 2000: 37-58; translated from the Dutch by Scott Rolins.

first intensively manifested in the publication of two magazines in Trinidad, *Trinidad* and *The Beacon*. Two issues of *Trinidad* saw the light of day, at Christmas 1929 and at Easter 1930. *The Beacon* enjoyed a longer life, from 1931 through 1933 twenty-eight issues were published, with one more seeing the light of day in 1939.

The editorial comments in both magazines clearly set the parameters for the tasks that faced Alfred H. Mendes, C. L. R. James, Percival C. Maynard, C. A. Thomasos, Ralph de Boissière, Albert Gomes and others. The editors declared their preference for texts whose settings, characters, use of language, problems and themes were derived from Caribbean social reality, which had to be portrayed in all its facets and in no uncertain terms, and rather than reflecting the reality of a small privileged group, Caribbean literature was instead to focus on the considerably less comfortable reality of the majority of the population: the barrack yard dwellers. The substantial number of short stories and novels that ensued offered visions of the possibilities for and constraints on change in the harsh lives of those living in barrack yards (for details see Sander, 1973; 1979; 1988; Sander and Ayers, 1978; *The Beacon*, 1978).

After World War II, the barrack yard literature of *Beacon* writers became the foundation for a considerable expansion in prose writing, including the first novel that V.S. Naipaul wrote, *Miguel Street,* which was published in 1959, after *The mystic masseur* (1957) and *The suffrage of Elvira* (1958). In *Miguel Street*, Naipaul depicted through the eyes of a young narrator, the inhabitants of an average street bordering on several barrack yards, somewhere in Port of Spain. With Naipaul the balance clearly tips towards the description of the ludicrous situations in which people find themselves and especially the ironic depiction of seriously intended actions. Separate chapters are dedicated to each of more than a dozen characters, with a new character who is the subject of the next chapter cropping up at the end of the previous one. This results in a threading together of 'separate' stories. These stories share as common elements the narrator, the street, and more importantly, the individual attempts of the characters to escape the life of Miguel Street in one way or another, the failure of those attempts and the disillusion that ensues.

We are introduced to Bogart, whose real name no one knows and who assumes the name of the leading man in the movie *Casablanca* (released in 1942) along with the ambitious American airs that go with it. However, a lawbreaker turns out to be lurking behind Bogart's mask: a bigamist. The police collar him and his dreams come to an abrupt end. Popo, 'who calls himself a carpenter', is also striving to get ahead. His artistic aspirations have been preoccupying him for years, and his ideal had once been to construct the Thing with No Name. Popo also gets to see the inside of a prison cell when it turns out that he had stolen a significant quantity of timber. His illusions are shattered and in the end he stops being a carpenter. Things turn out worse for George. His attempt at enriching himself by setting up a bordello for American soldiers leaves him so poor

that 'the street' has to collect money to pay for his burial. His son Elias' ambitions are more respectable, he wants to be a physician, but neither the tutoring and the many hours of extra studying nor encouragements help him to pass the necessary examinations or get a scholarship. In the end, Elias manages to become a garbage collector.

Man-man has set his sights higher, toward the realm of the divine; Trinidad supposedly has the need for a new Messiah. Man-man feels called upon to heed the call by allowing himself to be crucified. When he is finally hanging on the cross and, moreover, shows his willingness to allow himself to be stoned, those standing around him – in the eyes of Man-man that is – do not adhere to the rules of the game. The people start throwing large stones at Man-man, aimed at his head and chest.

> We heard Man-man's shout, clear and loud. "Cut this stupidness. Cut it out, I tell you. I finish with this arseness, you hear." And then he began cursing so loudly and coarsely that the people stopped in surprise.
> The police took away Man-man.
> The authorities kept him for observation. Then for good. (Naipaul, 1974 [1959]: 38)

Even though the list of characters who constitute this series of portraits of idealists who fail is practically three times as long as presented above, *Miguel Street* is never monotonous, because of the great variety of grotesque ideals and ludicrous failures, because of the narrator's distant, ironic tone of voice and because of Naipaul's many more or less subtle sideswipes at Trinidadian habits and customs. The disappointing inalterability of this situation – the tragedy for all those living in Miguel Street, except for the narrator, of course! – is handled with a broad grin and sometimes a grimace. This is in fact the only way to survive; and at times, even this is not sufficient.

The only one who succeeds in escaping from Miguel Street is the narrator who at the end of the novel is a liberated young adult male whose view of the future is, in fact, no more optimistic than that of his fellow street neighbors. Having a mother who has been able to set aside a tidy sum of money, is the stroke of fortune he needs. The fact that a 'friendly' government official could be bribed with this sum of money is the act of corruption that is indispensable to get a scholarship to study abroad. The narrator is able to escape from Miguel Street but in fact has not been able to do so through his own efforts, perseverance, intelligence or anything of that nature. The last sentence of the novel subtly demonstrates that the narrator is also aware of this. "I left them all and walked briskly towards the aeroplane, not looking back, looking only at my shadow before me, a dancing dwarf on the tarmac" (*ibid.*: 172). The image of the 'dancing dwarf on the tarmac' completes the picture that Naipaul paints of Trinidad – in fact of the entire Caribbean region and its inhabitants: crazy idealism, failure, and dumb luck.

Naipaul would continue to reiterate this in a variety of ways in the many Caribbean novels, articles and travel sketches that followed *Miguel Street*. He rankly admitted, for that matter, that he himself had been born and raised in one of these inert, corrupt and corrupting Caribbean communities. As he told Rowe-Evans in a 1971 interview:

> […] coming from a place which is not real, a place which is imperfectly made, and a place where people are, really, quite inferior, because they demand so little of themselves. They are colonials, in a type of perpetual colonial situation. Coming from such a society, I didn't really have views of my own; I didn't know what I thought about anything, because the world was out of my hands. (Rowe-Evans, 1997 [1971]: 25)

Nevertheless with equal verve Naipaul let it be known that – through his own efforts and with the Western world as his most important intellectual point of reference – he had been able to wrest himself away from Trinidad (see e.g. Naipaul, 1991; 2003 [1999]; 2003 [2001]; Tewarie, 2008). In his own eyes Naipaul had become, if not a world citizen, certainly one from the United Kingdom.

In the region of his birth, Naipaul was not appreciated for such views. On the contrary, throughout the final decades of the twentieth century his vision was attacked, often in ways as heartless as Naipaul's critics claimed his own voice to be; e.g. Cudjoe, 1988. "[Naipaul] just annoys me *so* much", Jamaica Kincaid lets her interviewer Winokur (1997: 121) know, "all my thoughts are intemperate and violent. I think probably the only people who'll say good things about him are Western people, right wing people". In her eyes Naipaul is a man of color trying to pass for white, such as a character from his novel *The mimic men* (1967), who tries to replicate the white man's arrogance. A certain degree of *jalousie de métier* is probably not lacking in many of the statements that attempt to downgrade Naipaul to the status of some third-rate writer, but the renown he achieved outside the region would be difficult to match.

Earl Lovelace

Criticism of Naipaul has also been expressed in anglophone Caribbean novels, for instance in *The dragon can't dance* (1979) by Earl Lovelace. In this novel, Lovelace enters into a discussion with Naipaul. Lovelace distances himself from the vision expressed in *Miguel Street*, to ultimately come up with a different view of the possibilities Caribbean society has to offer. Just like Naipaul's *Miguel Street* Lovelace's *The dragon can't dance* situates itself within the literary tradition of the *Beacon* period, with the setting, characters, use of language, problems and events for the most part belonging to a barrack yard on Alice Street on Calvary Hill in Port of Spain. The novel opens with an important paragraph:

> This was the hill tall above the city where Taffy, a man who say he is Christ, put himself up on a cross one burning midday and say to his followers: "Crucify me! Let me die for my people. Stone me with stones, as you stone Jesus, I will love

you still." And when they start to stone him in truth, he get vex and start to cuss: "Get me down! Get me down!" he say. "Let every sinner man bear his own blasted burden; who is I to die for people who ain't have sense enough to know that they can't pelt a man with big stones when so much little pebbles lying on the ground." (Lovelace, 1986 [1979]: 9)

Not only does Lovelace begin this work with a scene right out of Naipaul's *Miguel Street*, he also closely echoes Naipaul's ironic tone of voice therein. In the first paragraph we also encounter a reference to the thematic gist of Lovelace's novel: ultimately responsibility must be borne by every one of us for her- or himself.

In each of the first five chapters of *The dragon can't dance*, Lovelace also borrows a key narrative technique from Naipaul's *Miguel Street*. Thus, the first chapter is about Miss Cleothide, whose chapter ends at the moment her daughter Sylvia is introduced, with Sylvia becoming the focus of the next chapter. In this way, the following three chapters each tell the story of three more characters: Aldrick, Fisheye and Pariag. In extravagant, poetic sentences – some of which go on for twenty to thirty lines, the narrator portrays his characters, their habits, problems, greed, dreams, pleasures, pride, cares, and their striving for change and improvement. The set-up of the book's first five chapters is the same as that found in *Miguel Street*. In short, Lovelace expects his novel to be read after having read Naipaul's book.

Carnival and the manner in which the characters become involved with it make up a significant part of *The dragon can't dance*. Lovelace makes use of the trajectory of carnival as an institution in the nineteen fifties and sixties as a tangible metaphor for the way in which Trinidadian society changed during that period. From a means for the lowest social classes to express their creativity and feelings of rebelliousness and self-assertion, during that period, carnival was transmogrified into a commercialized, touristic event which corrupts its participants, sanitizes steel bands and masquerades and swallows up any form of resistance. It is this change that has a paralyzing effect on Aldrick – who plays the dragon in the carnival masquerades. Prior to the publication of *The dragon can't dance*, carnival had never before featured in such an extensive, symbolic role in a Caribbean novel. However, in order to underscore the deterioration of carnival, Lovelace had to resort to idealizing its 'original' musical expressions and other manifestations, which he depicts as static, whereas carnival and calypso had already been in flux for more than a century and a half.

Based on such sources as Brereton, 1975; Gray, 2015; Hill, 1972; Van Koningsbruggen, 1997; Liverpool, 2001; Warner, 1982; and Quevedo, 1983, it could be argued instead that from the early sixties onward carnival and calypso expanded impressively as respected expressions of culture, but that this success brought with it inevitable, if not always desirable changes. The acceptance of carnival by the middle class has predictably been linked to the suppression, not only of aggressiveness and obscenity,

but also of expressions of rebellion. This has also led to an increasing degree of regulation and institutionalization of carnival activities, resulting in the middle class increasingly regarding carnival as their own national form of expression, as a pillar and colorful symbol of their own identity.

That said, considering what carnival once was in the decades after the abolition of slavery, late twentieth century carnival can hardly be regarded as anything more than a vague memory. The degree of counterbalance, dissent, protest, rebellion, and symbolic struggle for power has become more limited in today's carnival, so as to become manageable and to hardly pose any threat. These changes are cited as the reason why 'the dragon can't dance' but there are other influences that have had a paralyzing effect. The corrupting influences of society on people is tangibly fleshed out by the character of Sylvia, whom Aldrick cherishes with abiding love and affection. Although Aldrick tries to keep Sylvia from bringing about an 'improvement' in her living conditions through prostitution, he does so in vain, because for her the temptations of modern society are too great, just as they are for most of the young men who make up Fisheye's steel band gang.

Fisheye's struggle against surrendering to the established order and its demands of 'propriety' runs parallel to that of Aldrick. Fisheye is faced with the same dilemma and necessary choices as the men around him: "The people wanted to move on, to make peace with their condition, to surrender that rebellion they had lived for generations; […]." Both Aldrick and Fisheye refuse to give in to the demands of modern society. Their 'revolutionary' act – the stealing of a police jeep – symbolizes their final attempt to bring about collective resistance against the abuses that continue to occur in contemporary society. That which remains – after five years in prison – is the certainty about what had begun as an uneasy feeling. "We people with the responsibility for we own self. Each man had the responsibility for his own living, […] and to claim himself and to grow and to grow and to grow." Indeed, the novel confirms the possibility of standing up for one's own rights, to swim against the current, to live in accordance with personal integrity: Sylvia returns to Aldrick in the end, leaving her rather well-to-do lover for the incorruptible Aldrick, who for months has been unable to pay his rent on his hovel and is on the verge of being evicted.

The conflict with which Lovelace confronts his characters and the ultimate choice they are expected to take, is a regularly occurring theme in post-World War II Caribbean literature: personal integrity as opposed to perverted society (see also Broek, 2014; 2017). Even though both Naipaul and Lovelace consider Caribbean society to be rotten, for Naipaul the chance of escaping from its clutches is virtually zero, while for Lovelace it is in fact quite substantial. In the eyes of Lovelace, everyone is capable of being an 'Aldrick', of leading an honest, conscientious life. Over and against the 'corruption' and 'dumb luck' of Naipaul, Lovelace places the 'dragon' who decides to no longer

dance along. The 'dragon' as counterpart to the status quo, in accordance to the role it traditionally played in the Trinidadian *jamette* carnival.

This unshakeable optimism expressed in *The Dragon Can't Dance* is something Lovelace also displays in interviews. Included here are some of the remarks made by the Trinidadian author when asked about socio-political development in the Caribbean region:

> […] generally, I think people function largely as humans responding to each other, and increasingly so … When you're dealing with people of the Caribbean, you're talking about a people who have learnt to live under oppression and maintain a sense of self. […] People who can live under oppression and have developed a way of surviving under oppression and are not going to buck a system frontally, and there is a certain wisdom in that … (in *Caribbean Contact*, January 1985; also see Lovelace, 2003)

This is exactly what Lovelace has been impressing upon his readers, right from his very first publication *While gods are falling* (1964). The title of the novel, which is set in the mid-1950s, is a direct reference to the book's theme and reoccurs several times in the thoughts expressed by the main character Walter Castle: in this society of ours the gods are falling and there is nothing decent and valuable to hold on to. Walter Castle sees himself confronted with the problem that neither for himself nor other members of his socio-economically subaltern group is it any longer possible to subscribe to the norms and values of previous decades or of other social groups. In this way, politicians and other leading citizens on Trinidad are issued a serious warning.

> It is not only unemployment and shanty-towns and over-crowded houses, not so much crimes of violence and sex; it is there is nothing decent and valuable to hold on to. Out of the land has come asphalt and oil: from the bosom of the peasant the bongo and the limbo have come, and a wealth of song: from the tesses the calypso and the steel band. But out of the others, the leading citizens, the good and the rich and the educated folk, what has come? (Lovelace, 1984 [1965]: 227)

The novel illustrates the consequences of life without direction, of the empty hands of the socio-economic elite, and elaborates in detail Castle's search for an alternative. The alternative is precisely that which Lovelace advances in the aforementioned interview published twenty years later: the honorable Castle learns that a sincere interest in and concern for others opens the way to make social connections and offers new alternative values.

The foundations of this 'message' and Walter's integrity are undermined over the course of the three days in which the actual story unfolds, because Walter has been passed over for promotion on improper grounds for the umpteenth time at his government job, and because of a false accusation of murder leveled at Ruben, a young

boy from the street. The fact that Ruben cannot afford to pay a good lawyer is a reason for Walter to turn against the gods who have fallen from their pedestals. Despite all the unwillingness, ignorance and apathy exhibited by neighborhood residents, Walter still succeeds in arousing their interest in the case, to demonstrate their mutual dependence on one another and to increase their communal involvement. This communal effort is the main reason why Ruben is not unjustly found guilty, and the novel ends on this optimistic tone.

Actually, Lovelace's alternative of mutual commitment as a solution to social problems and as a replacement for the lack of anything for an individual to hold onto, appears to be unable to stand the test of being applied or achieved in practical terms. Lovelace's next novels, *The schoolmaster* (1968), *The dragon can't dance* (1979) and *The wine of astonishment* (1982) are similarly fictionalized test cases. These novels depict an accumulation of frustrations, as far as the application of the ideal put forward in *While gods are falling* is concerned. What we are left with in these novels are individuals who try to lead a life with as much personal integrity as possible, having given up on the hope of collective integrity and communal solidarity. Besides, every now and then even these individuals end up with the short end of the stick, such as the protagonist in *The wine of astonishment*.

The novel, which is set in the 1940s, opens with a glint of hope for the oppressed, criminalized Spiritual Baptist community. Ivan Morton, the son of one from their midst, is elected to the town council shortly after the end of World War II. The joy however is short-lived: "six months now Ivan Morton in the Council and he ain't do nothing to make the church free. Six months!" (Lovelace, 1983 [1982]: 2). Ivan Morton is the embodiment of one of the book's most important themes, that of being alienated from one's own Caribbean culture, and adhering to new, predominately North American cultural patterns. Morton moves into the house of a former plantation family, without taking his own furnishings, takes a trip to England, drives around in a big American car, and fails to help anyone who helped him get elected to the council. Besides, more importantly to the Baptists, they are still subjected to unexpected police harassment during their services. In short, Morton's norm has become, in his own words: "We can't be white, but we can act white." (*ibid.*: 13)

Morton is a typical example of a member of the middle classes on numerous Caribbean islands, as depicted by C.L.R. James (in words befitting V.S. Naipaul).

> Their own struggle for posts and pay, their ceaseless promising of jobs, their sole idea of a national development as one where everybody can aim at getting something more, the gross and vulgar materialism, the absence of any ideas or elementary originality of thought; the tiresome repetition of commonplaces aimed chiefly at impressing the British, this is the outstanding characteristic of the West Indian middle class. (James, 1973: 84)

Caught between an ambivalent attitude towards respect for the white elite (unattainable) and a just as ambivalent aversion to their own black working class (their origins), many members of the middle class have developed authoritarian personality structures. This has manifested itself in an overly subservient manner towards superiors and an often despotic attitude towards subordinates. Morton is an example of this. Nevertheless, one cannot expect Lovelace to have described such characters with as much ruthlessness as Naipaul did in his novels *A house for Mr. Biswas* (1961) and *The mimic men* (1967) or the non-fiction narrative *The middle passage* (1962).

The struggle waged by the Baptist community in *The wine of astonishment* is twofold. On the one hand there is the struggle to have their church recognized: "church is the root for us to grow out from, the church is Africa in us, black in us […]." (Lovelace, 1983 [1982]: 133) This fight is especially embodied by the character Bee, Eva's husband. On the other hand, is the struggle against the western influence that overruns everything and which was reinforced by the American military presence on Trinidad in World War II. Bee's battle takes on an extra dimension through Eva's description of him as a father, who ought to set an example for his children. In her words: "How to let a boy-child know as soon as his eyes open to the world that we ain't have no power. No I can't do that to my own child. I can't cripple him before he start to walk. I have to let him see his father as warrior." (Lovelace, 1983 [1982]: 129) Lovelace's aim appears to be that of depicting the older generation as warriors, so that the younger generation can build upon this warrior tradition.

On their way home, following the service where the spirit wouldn't come, Bee and Eva walk past a music tent where a steel band is playing.

> […]; I listening to the music, for the music that those boys playing on the steel band have in it the same Spirit that we miss in our church: the same Spirit; and listening to them, my heart swell and it is like resurrection morning. (Lovelace , 1983 [1982]: 146)

On the last page of *The wine of astonishment* we find this passage, and thus become witness to the birth of the tradition of steel band players as fighters, as *warriors*. But this is also the actual beginning of *The dragon can't dance*, the novel that depicts the downfall of these same warriors!

Lovelace may by no means have given up hope, but his novels depict the failure of a tradition of resistance that has come to an end. Unintentionally, this brings him perilously close to Naipaul. In *While gods are falling*, a choice is made by the characters in no uncertain terms for a joining together of individual forces to actually achieve desired personal and social changes for the better. In their struggle for collective effort and resistance in *The dragon can't dance,* Lovelace has his warriors meet their end. To them the ideal put forward was that of the individual who acted conscientiously and with integrity. However, *The wine of astonishment* makes clear that a clean conscience

is a virtually an unattainable ideal, which denies one unavoidable fact: each person is one among many others, and these others can thwart the best intentions of their fellow human beings, intentionally or otherwise. In the end, the hero as man of integrity is either doomed to failure or succumbs to corruption.

What still distinguishes Lovelace from Naipaul is the former's emphasis on traditions of heroism and resistance in the Caribbean and the latter's emphasis on the failure of heroism and resistance as such. As for Lovelace, history suggests that there is some hope left. This hope constitutes a thin line of distinction between the two writers' work, a line which is not given much more definition or body in Lovelace's later novels *Salt* (1997) and *Is just a movie* (2012). However frail this distinction may be, it has bestowed on Lovelace the status of a much beloved author in the Caribbean region from the final quarter of the last century to the present.

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HOODOO AND ORAL TRADITION IN ERNA BRODBER'S *LOUISIANA*

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Erna Brodber's novel *Louisiana* (1997) takes place in the United States; however, the Caribbean exerts a presence in the work, through the practice of hoodoo and the use of oral tradition. *Louisiana* tells the story of Ella Townsend, a scholar from New York who is chosen by her university to transcribe and collect the history of the African descended peoples of Louisiana, who finds herself equipped with a tape recorder to gather information to complete her task. Two weeks after Ella begins her project, her interviewee and a practitioner of hoodoo, Mrs. Anna, who the town called Mammy, dies. It is here where Ella's story starts to unfold and one sees how important hoodoo and the practice of oral tradition are to her and the people of Louisiana. It is through hoodoo and the use of oral tradition that Ella, the main character finds her Caribbean identity, becomes a spiritual healer and gives a voice to Caribbean women in the twentieth century.

In the prologue, the editor of Ella's manuscript specifies that Ella "was to retrieve the history of the Blacks of South West Louisiana to collect oral stories" (Brodber: 3). It was her duty to record folktales and oral stories from elders so that the university could have a better understanding of the African descended community. The notion of orature is very important in the African Diaspora. In Jeremie Kroubo Dagnini's "Traditional folklore and the question of history in Erna Brodber's *Louisiana*" oral tradition is explained as both a historical and social phenomenon:

> First of all, in African societies, oral tradition has been the primary means of conveying culture – history, stories, folktales and religious beliefs – for thousands of years. No people value oral tradition more than Africans and nobody is more valued within an African tribal group than the griot, the storyteller also known as the "living archives." (p. 28)

During slavery, oral tradition – whether it was through story or song – was the one of the only means available to the enslaved to learn about their past. They did not have access to print literacy in order to read and write history, but they nonetheless under-

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stood that their past was a valuable treasure whose memory was worth preserving. As the enslaved listened to the voices of the storytellers who assumed the role of griot on the plantations, they learned about lands that those of them born in the Americas had never seen, giving them strength to reconfigure their identities as well as to survive the adversities they were facing.

Even though Ella accepts the task of recording the community's stories, she is conflicted about her positioning as an operative of the Eurocentric Western academic establishment and about her place as an African descended woman in Louisiana. Despite all of the contradictions involved in the project, Ella understands that if she chooses not to transcribe the elders' stories, it is very likely that these oral narratives would disappear once the elders died, further erasing history of the African descended community. At the beginning of her interview with Mammy, Ella has difficulty getting her to tell her stories into the microphone of the recorder. When one side of the tape is finally recorded, Ella begins to wonder if it will be possible to gather the information that the university wants her to record:

> ...and nothing to give to the white people. How would it look? This woman they say has important data to give; is important data; she has seen things; had done things; her story is crucial to the history of the struggle of the lower class Negro that they want to write. I was chosen to do her. It was an honor. Because of my color, I could get her to talk. Because of my color, she treats me like a daughter to whom she gives orders. Because of my color, I have nothing from her but orders on this reel. What can I tell them? How is this going to look? (Brodber: 21)

As an African descended scholar, Ella is aware that those who sent her to Louisiana are European descended people from Colombia University, creating a historical and identity gap between Mammy and Ella. This is the reason why there is an oral struggle during the first part of the novel between Ella, who at that moment represents the interests of Eurocentric academia, and Mammy who represents her African descended community in Louisiana.

Mammy resists the urge to relate her stories to Ella because she refuses to give any viable information to those who have enslaved, colonized, and marginalized her community. Ella understands that one of the only reasons why she was given this important task was because of the color of her skin, and she feels compelled to do a good job in the eyes of her European descended colleagues for the sake of her academic future, "Anna, who is known as Mammy in her community, sighed another sigh that leaked from our history and the girl made a note to be sure to find some way of transposing those sighs and those laughs and other non-verbal expressions of emotions into the transcript she would submit to her masters" (p.14). It is interesting how Ella thinks of the people who work at the university as "her masters". Even though Ella is aware

of who she is taking orders from, she obeys them and is only interested in satisfying them.

At the beginning of the novel, oral history is not something that Ella thinks can help her to understand her cultural background better, but instead it is just something that she wants to record in order to fulfil her superior's wishes. Brodber explains that in the Caribbean, the learned class sees "book learning" as "the ultimate truth" in terms of understanding and knowing one's self and one's place in history; in contrast, the "unlettered" rely on "oral tradition" for their sense of self and place. As the novel progresses, Ella's conflation of these two traditions, story and history, empowers the community to participate in their own identity making (qtd in Gourdine: 147). As Ella listens to her recordings and meets the people of the community, she slowly starts to veer away from the Eurocentric path of academia, and gains an understanding that through oral tradition she can uncover truths about her past, and thus begin a process of healing herself and others.

History, especially the history of resistance, is one of the most important aspects in Caribbean and African-American literature. Through oral history, Ella discovers and learns more about her ancestors, particularly her grandmother, and the displacement of African-American and Afro-Caribbean peoples. It is important to note that in order for Ella to understand her history, instead of reading it in books, she must learn it through oral tradition, just as her enslaved ancestors did. This is when Ella begins to discover a new world, a new past, and a new identity. Dagnini writes:

> African slaves were forcibly brought to the island [Jamaica] by slave traders from the early 16th century to the first part of the 19th century. Eventually, once slavery was abolished, many Jamaicans were transported by white settlers or fled by themselves to the USA ... among other places, to work as temporary laborers. Then, from the early 20th century up to now, Jamaicans have kept migrating to the USA ... so as to find a better life. (p. 33)

Even though Ella was born in Jamaica, her parents moved to the USA without her in search of a better future. Ella was not reunited with them until her grandmother died. Mammy, also from Jamaica, moved to Chicago and then to Louisiana because of her political beliefs. As many people of African descent migrated to the USA, they were also persecuted due to their beliefs and the color of their skin. Despite promises of a better life, they encountered new forms of enslavement and segregation in the USA.

Afro-Caribbean people have a long history of displacement due to the middle passage, enslavement, usurpation of lands, and forced migration. David P. Lichtenstein writes in "A suffering savior: the trials of Ella in Brodber's *Louisiana*" that "Throughout the book she [Ella] takes on the role of the healer, of the bridge between the past and present, between one place and another for those who suffer the confusion of displacement" (1999). Many of the key characters in this novel have been displaced because of the color of their skin, their resistance to oppression or because they want a better

future. Mammy represents those who have migrated from their ancestral homes to another place and have lost much of their sense of history because of it. It is Mammy's intention, even though this was initially not clear to Ella, that this young scholar was going to take on the task of assuring the survival and propagation of the oral traditions and unknown histories that Mammy carries in her mind and heart.

After Mammy dies, Ella discovers recordings that were not previously made on her tape recorder, which provide her with the information she needed to give to her 'masters' "...and with the backtracking to find the right place, listening, back-tracking, writing, revising, I was drained, but tall" (Brodber: 52). Ella could not stop transcribing and listening to the recordings. She was learning about Mammy and her best friend Lowly's past and by extension, Ella was learning about her own grandmother and her own past. Even though Ella was writing down everything, it was thanks to this oral tradition that Ella was coming closer to her Caribbean roots. "I had broken through that membrane and was in, ready and willing to be and see something else. Transform, change focus, transform, change. I was a woman among women. This is my report upon reflection and upon guided reflection through the years" (Brodber: 52).

As Ella slowly starts to gain a better understanding of Mammy's past, she becomes more attached to the community she inhabits in Louisiana. Ella moves in with Madame Marie, following orders written in a note to her by Mammy before she died.

Madame Marie owns a small bar, which also serves as a conduit for people to connect with their fallen ancestors. Ella becomes Madame Marie's apprentice, and because of Madame Marie's knowledge and appreciation of oral traditions and spirituality, Ella attains a better understanding of why oral tradition is important to the community she is part of, and of how such understanding can become a healing agent for both herself and others as well. Many of Madame Marie's clientele come from the West Indies. They go to Madame Marie's bar to have a good time, to feel connected to their roots, and to find understanding in their lives.

For example, at one point in the novel, one of Madame Marie's customers tells an Anancy story. Anancy and similar trickster figures are deeply imbedded in African oral tradition, where among other thing, they represent Africans' struggles for survival and resistance against enslavement and colonization. In Pascale De Souza's work "Creolizing Anancy: signifyin(g) processes in New World spider tales", the author traces the passage of Anancy from Africa to the Americas, where Anancy is still alive thanks to Afro-Atlantic oral traditions and folklore. De Souza comments, "The folktale is a form of expression not only shaped, but deshaped and reshaped by cultural influences whose every occurrence is a new creation. As such, this manifestation of creolization processes at play in the New World provides a fitting place for Anancy to spin his web of trickery" (p. 340).

Depending on Anancy's situation, he changes his appearance and language to achieve his ultimate goal, just as the enslaved, the colonized and the neo-colonized have done since their forced departure from Africa. Many of the enslaved were sent to plantation colonies such as the Southern part of the USA and the English-speaking Caribbean Islands. De Souza comments, "When they came to the New World, African slaves were submitted to a process of acculturation what was aimed at erasing the African languages and cultures to replace them with the language and culture of the plantation" (p. 343). Even though the enslaved were ordered to not speak their languages, they used their traditional African signifyin(g) skills to create new languages that were only in part understood by the slaveholders. Signifyin(g) became a survival mode for the slaves. Just as Anancy uses language to deceive, escape and survive, the enslaved used their new languages to trick their slaveholders by creating a plurality of meanings to confuse them. After enjoying the Anancy story in Madame Marie's bar, Ella thought, "...knowing Madam by now, that there was a message somewhere in it for us. What magic thing did we know?" (Brodber: 79). In the telling of Anancy stories, African descended people have found not only entertainment, but also important memories of their past and greater understanding of the present.

Besides being sources of knowledge and understanding, oral traditions are also excellent resources of healing. Lichtenstein comments that "She [Ella] functions as a comfort for many displaced souls, using her powers as a psychic medium to aid the community" (1999). Ben, a West Indian visitor to Louisiana, comes to Madame Marie and Ella with members of his crew. During the visit, the crew tells traditional stories and sings songs from their native land, and they and Madame Marie attempt to figure out whether the origin of these stories and songs is Africa or the West Indies. In the end, they all agree that these oral traditions belong to everyone; therefore they are from everywhere. The welcoming of these West Indian men into the African-American South serves a purpose beyond immediate hospitality, for Ella's larger mission has become the unification of the two formerly disparate communities (Lichtenstein, 1999). Oral traditions have the power to welcome and unite, and that power has helped to ensure their survival in spite of the fact that they are not written on paper or in a computer file.

Oral tradition evokes memories, whether they are good or bad. While the crew shares personal memories, Emma notes "Ben, the conjuror of these journeys into the past has said nothing. His memory was so deep and painful that he didn't talk … I sense, he wanted to be rid of that memory. Ben was going to be in my corner. We would help each other. I would help him through that memory and he would help me find some memories..." (Brodber: 87). As Ella predicts, Ben comes back and finally tells his story. Ben had fallen in love with a student and she became pregnant, and because of ethical dilemmas he decided to abandon her. As Ella comes to understand Ben's story, he "...was studying me [Ella]. Watching me steal his thunder. It must have been some-

thing for him. He came to me wanting to talk and who was talking?" (Brodber: 104)
Even though Ben goes to Ella to get some understanding and piece of mind, he is still
not convinced of the power of oral tradition. The young girl with whom he had a rela-
tionship died and this haunts him, "As Ben drew to an end, we looked at each other
and retired from his presence by mutual unspoken consent. My job was to help him re-
live his painful past. He had to take it from there." (Brodber: 105)

It is not until Ella's oral intervention that Ben can fight his inner demons, heal his
wounds and save himself. Ben begins to appreciate life when he realizes that the pain
he is going through is in part due to the fact that he had not shared his story with any-
one and could therefore not begin the healing process. Ella, who has become the heal-
er of the community, accepts him like a brother and cleanses his wounds with words.
She comes to understand how important she is to the community as she finally accepts
her role as healer and succeeded in saving many souls through her acceptance and un-
derstanding oral tradition and her acceptance and understanding of hoodoo.

According to Catherine Yronwode in "Hoodoo, conjure, and rootwork: African Amer-
ican folk magic", hoodoo is

> ...an American term, originating in the 19th century. Hoodoo consists of a large
> body of African folkloric practices and beliefs with a considerable admixture of
> American Indian botanical knowledge and European folklore. The word "hoo-
> doo" appears everywhere in the black community, but it primarily appears in
> the state of Louisiana, where it was brought by Haitian immigrants in the early
> 19th century. (Yronwode, 2012)

Hoodoo plays an important role in the African American communities of Louisiana.
At the beginning of the novel, Ella is so indoctrinated with the Western academic
worldview that she cannot even see that hoodoo surrounds her from the moment she
meets Mammy. There is an oral power play at the beginning of the novel, in which
Mammy is already sure that Ella will become her successor in the community. While
Ella is trying to interview and study Mammy, Mammy is interviewing and studying
Ella as well. At the end of the fruitless interview (for Ella) Mammy is having a con-
versation with her dead best friend, Lowly, "Yes. Feisty enough. High spirited yet
humble." "Yes. She will do" (Brodber: 23). Mammy was decided that Ella will be
possessed by them through hoodoo to carry on their work in the community.

Ella's academic blinders and strict Episcopalian upbringing initially compel her to rel-
egate hoodoo to the realm of superstition. After Mammy dies, Ella hears her voice and
cannot explain it, "The child knows they are not her words for they are nowhere in her
head but she is quite sure that she has heard them and that your lips haven't moved.
With so many years of formal schooling, she cannot think 'ghost'" (Brodber: 28). Due
to Ella's formal education there is a mental barrier between her and her Afro-Atlantic
culture. It is not until Ella's possession that she begins to acknowledge and value the
important part that hoodoo plays in Louisiana.

Ella's possession of Mammy's spirit is one of the most powerful and important moments in the novel, "I myself have no doubt at all that I did shout out, and I mean shout in the church, *'Ah who sey Sammy dead'*. Reuben said I kicked, fought, foamed, stared, had to be taken from the church and given water. I knew nothing of that" (Ibid: 35). As Ella is unknowingly undergoing the possession, she envisions Mammy "climb[ing] the ladder over the horizon and across the sky" (Ibid: 35). As Ella talks about her experience to her boyfriend, Reuben, she gains insight about what had happened and receives more information about the possession

> It was with great reverence and seriousness, he said, that people were asking after me. They had no problems he said with the shouting and with my violence and my unusual strength. They had seen it all before or had heard of it: it was quite consistent with the transfer of souls. I was being taken on a journey into knowing and was resisting as first timers do. They hoped my travel was fruitful. (Brodber: 38)

The community accepts Ella as one of their own. During the possession they understand that it was Mammy's choice to transfer her soul into Ella's body so she could continue being a healing agent to the community.

Raffaella A. Meriwether comments that "Through her depiction of Ella Townsend/Louisiana's possession ... Brodber shows how the voices that possess her protagonist bring Ella/Lousisana to a new understanding of self as a communal being, which, in turn, brings her to a new comprehension of agency created through community" (p. 94). Even though Ella and Mammy clash at the beginning of the novel, Ella starts to slowly understand that through the acceptance and practice of hoodoo, not only will she understand what was happening to her, but she will also gain a full comprehension about what it is to be Afro-Caribbean in an Afro-American community.

The reader slowly sees Ella's transformation as she starts transcribing the recordings and accepts that she is hearing Mammy's and Lowly's voice in her. Ella starts to learn Mammy's story, how she fell in love and got married, how she became best friends with Lowly and how they were political activists. Ella understands that it is her job now to tell the story of them so it can never be forgotten. Through the practice of hoodoo, Ella starts to talk to Mammy's spirit, "I would write down all that I had said. I would note the points at which I entered; I would write out all that was said about me..." (Brodber: 64). Furthermore, as Ella starts to spiritually change due to her possession, she physically starts to change as well.

> [She] ... no longer press[es] her hair. I don't know if this represents a spiritual or intellectual movement or just plain convenience but there it is: my hair is natural and untouched. And I wrap it. And I no longer wear slacks. With my headdress and my long dress, I know I present a dignity rather like hers and an aura which turns heads (Brodber: 99).

Ella does not even use the recorder anymore and uses a pendant instead as a conduit for communicating with Mammy and keeps writing both Mammy's and her own stories.

The final transformation in which Ella fully embraces the practice of hoodoo and the fact that Mammy and Lowly are already a part of her is when she changes her name from Ella to Louisiana

> I am the link between the shores washed by the Caribbean Sea, a hole, yet I am what joins your left hand to your right. I join the world of the living and the world of the spirits. I join the past with the present. In me Louise and Sue Ann are joined. Do you here Louisiana there? I was called in Louisiana, a state in the USA. Sue Ann lived in St Mary, Louisiana and Louise in St Mary, Jamaica. Ben is from there too. I am Louisiana. I give people their story. (Brodber: 125)

Through this passage one sees that Ella is connected to the Caribbean, the United States, Mammy and Lowly, and to the community of Louisiana. She realizes that she is a voice and a source of healing to women in both the Caribbean and the United States. Ella understands that it is through her communication with the spirits of Mammy and Lowly that their voices and stories will finally be heard even if it is after their physical deaths. Ella is Louisiana because she represents what Louisiana is: the conglomeration of the Caribbean and Africa. Without the intervention of hoodoo, Ella would have remained imprisoned and blinded by her colonialist academic ideas and remain a slave to her 'masters' at Columbia University.

Through her ability to write, Ella gives a voice to women who, "though they worked tirelessly as activists, had no means to spread their word to others ... Ella ... has helped these women move from the oral world to the literate world, has finally represented their voice in the medium of print (Lichtenstein, 1999). When Ella starts to listen seriously to oral tradition, she learns of slave rebellions, labor strikes, and other acts of resistance against Eurocentric domination which have been largely erased from the dominant narratives of official history (Meriwether: 101). Through her new knowledge of these subaltern histories, Ella develops a stronger sense of self and identity. From being a powerless woman, Ella, now known as Louisiana, is transformed into a strong, powerful woman who is admired and respected in the community. She has finally found her Caribbean roots and understood how powerful oral tradition and hoodoo are. Ella's place is now with Mammy and Lowly's community in Louisiana. When Ella passes away, her husband thinks about taking her body to Jamaica, but "She belongs here [in Louisiana]. She should have a real New Orleans funeral" (Brodber: 165) as an icon for the Louisiana community in a historical and spiritual sense.

In *Louisiana*, Brodber suggests that among the many ways that African descended peoples have devised to resist domination, we should not only include those that are normally mentioned in Eurocentric history, such as armed rebellion and *marronage*,

but that we also need to include those forms of resistance that have been rendered invisible by Western history, such as oral tradition and spirituality, both of which have helped those torn from Africa by enslavement to reconnect with and embrace their past. Once traumatized societies are aware of their histories, it becomes easier to begin a healing process aimed at reconnecting and re-integrating fragmented identities.

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EMBODYING AND UNDERSTANDING TRAUMA IN FRED D'AGUIAR'S *THE LONGEST MEMORY*

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Memory and trauma are prominent themes in Caribbean literature, manifesting themselves in many ways, sometimes through narratives about a family legacy or a particular ancestor as in Edgar Mittelholzer's *Children of Kaywana* (1952), at other times through narratives about places of origin, as in Orlando Patterson's *Die the long day* (1972), and at other times through narratives about traditions and beliefs as in Nalo Hopkinson's *The salt roads* (2003). One of the reasons that memory is used so frequently in literature is because it helps people to understand the fact that the past is never really behind us but instead is a part of us that we cannot and should not deny or ignore. Sometimes these memories can be painful and even traumatic, in which case healing becomes a necessity and can sometimes be achieved simply by being able to narrate an account of traumatic past events in order to find understanding and comfort from those willing to listen. Fred D'Aguiar is aware of this and in his novel, *The longest memory* (1994), he chooses the characters of Whitechapel and his son Whitechapel Jr. (also referred to as Chapel), not show so much how memory heals, but rather the dangers of silencing it.

In the novel, there is resistance to talking about the past and as a result we see the tension between wanting to forget particular events, the impossibility of actually being able to do so, and the danger of being silenced. The story is about Whitechapel, a very old, obedient slave, in the eighteenth century, who is too set in his ways and unintentionally causes the death of his only son, Chapel, when he reveals his son's location to the plantation owner after he has run away. We also learn that Chapel was actually the offspring of a rape by the plantation overseer, Sander Sr. The key traumatic memories in question are therefore Chapel's conception and his death. These two memories serve very different purposes: the first contributes to the development of Chapel's identity and to intergenerational understanding, while the second underscores the urgent need for healing. Nevertheless, neither traumatic memory is ever brought to light or even spoken of. As a result, the characters become defined and distorted by death

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and grief, demonstrating the necessity of, as well as the complexities involved in, sharing memories in order to heal and create understanding.

The longest memory is composed of the memories, reflections and/or confessions of 10 different characters. Whereas many fictional slave narratives tend to focus on the life of one particular slave, in his text D'Aguiar articulates the intimate thoughts and opinions of slaves, plantation owners, family and society in general, which demonstrates how a multiplicity of minds and voices can constitute a memory. Moreover, the accounts of past recollected by each of the various characters in the novel reveal how diverse perspectives attribute different types of logic and causality to the events that led up to Chapel's murder. Bénédicte Ledent, in "Remembering slavery: history as roots in the fiction of Caryl Phillips and Fred D'Aguiar", remarks that:

> [B]y foregrounding plurivocal relativity rather than reassuring binary or even monological certitude … One of their messages seems to be that although one cannot forget who the victims of slavery were nor what degradation and suffering they endured, there is not a single truth… but several co-existing ones. (Ledent: 278)

These co-existing truths vary not only in terms of each character's interpretation of a particular set of events, but also in terms of each the characters' ideals and worldview, and how these relate or do not relate to the various social groups to which each belongs or is assigned. For example, differences in perspective among generations result in a perceived need for secrecy and omission by members of older generations, such as the plantation owner, Whitechapel Sr. (the slave) and Sander Sr. (the plantation overseer) in their relation of past events to members of younger generations such as Chapel, in the hope of avoiding the shame and embarrassment of having everyone know that Cook (Chapel's mother) was raped. Differences in social status have the same effect, with those such as the plantation owner and the overseer using secrecy and omission in their relation of past events to prevent the enslaved from rising up in rebellion.

In the novel, a major problem engendered by denial and concealment of a traumatic past is the unbridgeable chasm created between Whitechapel Sr. and Chapel. Chapel never really felt completely like the other slaves growing up, and he differed on many issues with Whitechapel Sr. This could have been the result of the fact that he was treated differently from the other slave children because the plantation owner wanted to continue maintaining Chapel's mother's rape a secret. As a result, the owner allowed Whitechapel Sr. and Cook extra liberties around the plantation, which extended to their child. However, Whitechapel Sr. felt that this divide was also the result of blood. When thinking of Chapel, he says, "You were born half a slave, half the master of your own destiny. You shake your head at me because you can only see part of my argument. The rest takes you from me… What I say can never be enough for you" (135). Here he implies that since Chapel's biological father was in fact not himself,

this was what divided them and not the fact that their perspectives on slavery were simply different. Acknowledging the truth after Chapel's death that he was not his son demonstrates the frustration that Whitechapel Sr. felt and the distance he created by trying to subdue what he believed was the younger man's rebellious nature as a result of his mixed blood.

Another perspective on reality would assess this in a very different way, positing that the divide between father and son is actually rooted in the unacknowledged and deeply concealed trauma that Whitechapel Sr. has always unconsciously suffered as a slave. Whitechapel Sr.'s denial of the social, patriarchal, and racial injustices of the past leads to an equally deep denial of the injustices of the present, leading Whitechapel Sr. to think that slavery is the best thing for Chapel. Whitechapel Sr. has been unwittingly oppressed, manipulated and convinced by the system to want nothing more than to be a slave, a belief which he tries to impart to Chapel to no avail. Whitechapel Sr. sees freedom and escape from enslavement as being the same as death, and so in Whitechapel Sr.'s mind, he must do all that he can to prevent Chapel from going against what the plantocracy has taught him is correct, so that Chapel might become a happy submissive slave. Whitechapel Sr. therefore constantly tells Chapel to keep his head down and be content with life. And yet his plan backfires, because Chapel sees through these multiple layers of Whitechapel Sr.'s denial and deception, and this is what ultimately compels Chapel to run away and meet his untimely death.

Cook's rape is of the utmost importance in the novel because it lays at the center of Whitechapel Sr.'s traumatic denial and suppression of memory. This is especially true because, of all of those who were sworn to secrecy about the rape of Cook, he is the only person that still remains alive, and thus he is the sole link between the traumatic events of the past and the present. Even though everyone else who knew has already passed away, Whitechapel Sr. continues to hold his silence because, according to him, "Memory is pain trying to resurrect itself" (p. 138) and he wants to avoid any possible repercussions that might ensue. At another level, however, he also wants to deny that they ever took place, so that he could continue living the lie that he so much wanted to be true, that his wife and child were his and his alone. Whitechapel Sr. embodies the dangers of denial and suppression, as he is unaware of the damage that he is causing both to himself and to Chapel by keeping this secret from the person who needs to hear it the most, his 'son'.

Moreover, by keeping the rape of Chapel's mother a secret, Chapel is denied the right to make a choice. In *The act of remembering: toward an understanding of how we recall the past*, Mace states that there are three separate purposes for human memory: 1) a directive purpose which helps to guide future behavior; 2) a social purpose, which enhances cohesion among individuals; and 3) a self-function, which helps to facilitate and maintain conceptualizations of one's self (referenced from Baddeley, 1988). When all three functions are deployed, they help to us to navigate life by allowing us

to adhere to our surroundings and adapt to different social situations. By keeping Chapel in the dark about his real past, not only is Whitechapel Sr. prohibiting him from acknowledging and knowing an important part of himself but he is also denying Chapel the right to decide what and who he wants to be. Had he known the truth about his conception, various scenarios could have played out. Whatever the outcome of those scenarios, however, the difference would have been that Chapel would have made his choices based on more complete understanding of who he was and how he came to be.

The second traumatic memory is that of Chapel's death by 200 lashes. This painful event becomes embodied and silenced within Whitechapel Sr. because he is unable to express himself or share this experience with anyone else. Although we do not see it much, we are told in the novel that Whitechapel Sr. was a 'happy' man before the death of Chapel, and most importantly, he was admired and accepted by both his fellow slaves and the plantation owner. However, on the night that Chapel is killed, we see how his voice is taken away from him first, when he goes to speak with Sander Jr. and he is silenced by a blow to the face, so that he is unable to tell him that Chapel is actually his brother, and secondly, when the rest of the slaves ostracize him because they see him as a traitor since by confiding in the plantation he caused Chapel's death, which silences him even further.

As a result of his silence, Whitechapel Sr. is forced to internalize his guilt and his body becomes a prison that reflects his feelings of pain. In her article, "Caryl Phillips, David Dabydeen and Fred D'Aguiar: representations of slavery," Abigail Ward also notes this transformation when she says, "Whitechapel [Sr] is largely excluded from the history of slavery and…is also denied the means of writing his own past or story. Without more usual means of narrating, his counter-remembrance is imprinted onto his body" (Ward: 147-148). Although, Whitechapel Sr. does want to tell his side of the story to anyone who would listen and insist that everything he did was for Chapel's benefit, the fact is that with the trauma of his son's death, he realizes, just as everyone else has, that his actions were actually selfish in nature, thus adding another weight onto his conscience.

Furthermore, his face betrays him since the resulting contortions of his eyes and mouth work as a sort of branding so that all can see his shame: "They telegraph my past, my present and my future. Sourface; dead eyes… Eyes that have seen all, mouth that has said nothing but kept silence" (p. 10). By the end of the novel, Whitechapel Sr. is barely a shell of the man he once was. His guilt has eaten away at him and his silence has marred his body. Unable and denied the ability to speak truth, he is eventually cast aside and dies alone with no one to hear him. A man whose voice was once respected and sought after for advice has been silenced as a result of his repressed memories.

Whitechapel Sr.'s denial and concealment of the two traumatic memories of his wife's rape and his son's death graphically illustrate the dangers of trying to repress the past. As a result of his inability to acknowledge and process past events, Whitechapel Sr.'s voice is taken from him and his repressed memories possess him both psychically and emotionally. This possession is clearly etched on his body for all to see and for him to feel, as Whitechapel Sr. says, "I don't want to remember. Memory hurts. Like crying. But still and deep. Memory rises to the skin then I can't be touched. I hurt all over, my bones ache, my teeth loosen in their gums, my nose bleeds. Don't make me remember." (p. 2). Regardless of how painful remembering may be, the fact is that memories cannot be completely suppressed, and they will eventually find a way to the surface whether we want them to or not. If we attempt to deny and conceal them, however, the outcome can be dangerous and cause great harm to ourselves and the loved ones who we might think that we are protecting by not engaging the in healing process of remembering.

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UNSETTLING RESONANCES
IN LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION IN
THE GREATER CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF REFORMS IN GUYANESE ENGLISH LANGUAGE CLASSROOMS: LESSONS FOR THE FUTURE

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Abstract

In 2016, the Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC) introduced a revised English Language syllabus with new areas for implementation across secondary schools. The successful implementation of this revised syllabus depends to a large extent on how teachers manage the new changes. This study investigated 51 teachers' challenges with implementing the revised English Language syllabus. It used quantitative and qualitative methods to identify factors that are inhibiting and facilitative of this implementation process. Findings from the study revealed that a majority of the teacher participants lacked adequate knowledge of a new area on the syllabus, the School-Based Assessment (SBA) component, and were generally challenged with key areas of implementation, including the lack of adequate support from stakeholders. Implications for the successful implementation of future reforms in English Language classrooms are addressed.

Introduction

Over the past decades, educators have recognised that the needs of English Language Learners (ELLs) are constantly evolving, and responses to these needs require continual investments in curriculum innovations and reforms (Dickins & Germaine, 2013). To keep abreast with current developments and to prepare students to function effectively within their ever-changing environment, examination bodies constantly make changes to the syllabi which are used to prepare students for their examinations.

However, in many instances, the reforms take centre stage, and the process of implementing the reforms is often overshadowed the nature of the reforms themselves (Fullan & Stiegelbauer, 1991). The successful implementation of these reforms depends to a large extent on the often-overlooked difficulties and complications encountered by key stakeholders. One example is the revised English syllabus which was recently intro-

duced by the Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC) within individual Caribbean territories. Education Ministries were expected to implement this syllabus following stipulated guidelines from CXC, adapting it to their particular situation. The study which constitutes the basis for this article focuses on teachers' ability to deal with and manage the changes in the revised English Language Syllabus.

In the Caribbean, the regional examining body, Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC) assumes responsibility for the drafting of curricula to be used in schools registered with the council. In 2016, CXC introduced a Revised English Language Syllabus for Caribbean Secondary Education Certificate (CSEC) exam which was designed to resonate with the Caribbean identities of the students. According to CXC, this syllabus is aimed at enabling students to appreciate and effectively utilize the varieties of Caribbean Standard English being taught as a second language in most territories. This new more Caribbean focussed syllabus includes the assessment of oral communication, listening skills and data collection pertinent to Caribbean social issues (CXC, 2016).

The previous syllabus did not cater for oral competency as a skill to be examined, and it did not contain a School Based Assessment (SBA). This SBA component requires research on issues in the Caribbean and the identification of different forms of literature which address these issues. Genres of literature such as films, documentaries, songs, and publications, not included in the previous examination, are now compulsory aspects of the SBA to be used as reference points for critiquing Caribbean social issues. Further, oral presentations are now to be assessed for the SBA. According to CXC (2016), these areas ensure that students are widely read on issues in the Caribbean and are able to analyse, evaluate and critique different sources and utilise academic tools of data collection and analysis. CXC indicated that the SBA also provides scope for developing confident and competent speakers of Caribbean Standard English since it provides opportunities for public speaking.

In this article, we present a study which investigated the implementation of this revised English Language syllabus. The revised syllabus with the new SBA component was to be examined in May of 2018, and anecdotes from English language teachers across Guyana, more specifically in the Berbice region, suggested that they were unclear about the changes and how to manage them. The study focused specifically on teachers' knowledge and understanding of the syllabus and their challenges, using the following research questions:

1. What knowledge of the revised English Language syllabus did English Language teachers have?
2. What challenges did teachers of English Language have with implementing the revised English syllabus?
3. How did teachers of English Language believe these challenges could be addressed?

The study applied Fullan & Stiegelbauer's (1991) Model of Education Change and Fullan's (1993) model of how change agents operate when changes are implemented. These models provide insights into the effective implementation of change across fields of education, as can be seen in the figure below:

INITIATION ⟷ IMPLEMENTATION ⟷ CONTINUATION ⟷ OUTCOME

Figure 1. Fullan and Stiegelbauer (1991) Model of the Educational Change Process

Two areas critical to this study are local and external factors in the implementation of change. According to Fullan and Stiegelbauer (1991), local factors include the school, community, principal and teachers impacted by the change process, while external factors include government agencies and other stakeholders (Fullan & Stiegelbauer: 1). Studies such as Borg (2003), Goh et al. (2005), Odey & Opoh (2015), and Makunja (2016) have shown that a number of factors play an important role in the successful implementation of new syllabi, including teachers' knowledge of the changes involved, teachers' beliefs, teachers' training and stakeholders' support. Studies done in the area of curriculum change have found that teachers' knowledge of a given syllabus is critical to its successful implementation (Borg, 2003; Goh et al., 2005). According to Borg (2003), teachers need training and exposure to meaningful interactions with a curriculum in order to effectively translate it into quality performance in the classroom. In Goh et al.'s study (2005) of the implementation of a new English syllabus in Singapore, they discovered that teachers were challenged primarily by the examinations for the syllabus, learners' attitudes and abilities, and time constraints. Her findings highlighted the need for establishing links between teachers' knowledge and teachers' confidence levels in implementing the new syllabus. Goh et al.'s data indicated that teachers' lack of training had affected the implementation of the syllabus to the extent that student performance had declined, due to the fact that the teachers either ignored the features of the syllabus with which they were unfamiliar in their teaching or just taught whatever and however they wanted to, usually falling back on what they knew best. English Language departments' failure to share and disseminate information about the new syllabus was highlighted as the main contributing factor towards teachers' problems with implementation.

Odey and Opoh's (2015) study provides insight into the importance of teacher education in syllabus implementation. Their study of teachers' perceptions of how a new curriculum was implemented in Cross River State, Nigeria identified challenges that included lack of time, funding, training, knowledge and interest in the curriculum to be implemented. The study also identified the non-involvement of teachers in curriculum devel-

opment as one significant challenge. Based on these findings, they pointed out that devotion and competency on the teachers' part is crucial to meaningful progress in syllabus implementation. In examining challenges pre-school teachers faced in implementing a new curriculum, Ntumi (2016) showed that teachers were uncomfortable with implementing the syllabus because no in-service training was provided to help them to do so, and because teachers simply did not understand the new curriculum. Makunja (2016) obtained similar results in her study, which found that lack of training for teachers had negatively impacted the implementation of a Competence-Based Curriculum in Tanzania, where teachers felt unprepared to deliver a curriculum with which they were unfamiliar (Makunja, 2016).

Ten Brummelhuis (1995) highlights the role of the government in implementing policy. His study of computer use in classrooms in in Dutch speaking countries found that not all localities received similar equipment and resources, and that even in the schools which received adequate resources, teachers were often not adequately utilizing them. These findings suggest that all stakeholders must be committed to ensuring that change occurs in the most effective ways possible. Ntumi's study (2016) mentioned above also found that inadequate facilities, lack of support from administration and large class sizes hampered effective implementation of new curricula (Ntumi, 2016).

Dzimiri et al (2015) investigated challenges teachers and students had with a new localized Advanced Geography Syllabus. Their results showed that the absence of external inputs posed a threat to the performance of the students and the level at which teachers were implementing the syllabus. Without the direct aid of the government and other agencies, teachers were unable to engage students in the fieldwork required under the new syllabus, due to lacks in the areas of funding, technologically appropriate aids to deliver certain concepts, internet access, textbooks, instructional media and support from education departments. These findings suggest that governments and local agencies have an important role to play in implementing curriculum changes, and if they fail to play that role, innovation does not achieve its goals.

Thus, local factors, external factors and the interaction of local and external factors are all critical to the effective implementation of educational change. Fullan (1993) contends that these factors are in a symbiotic relationship, and should work in tandem so that a process is created and effectively managed whereby each of the factors is playing its part. While there are numerous studies on curriculum implementation in other subject areas and in other contexts (Makunja, 2016; Odey & Opoh, 2015; Ntumi, 2016), studies on the implementation of new English Language syllabi in in secondary schools in the Caribbean are relatively rare.

Methodology, data collection and analysis

The study on which this article is based used a mixed-methods concurrent-triangulation design, whereby14 the qualitative and quantitative data are analysed separately and then

compared or combined to confirm, cross-validate or corroborate findings (Creswell, 2014). A purposive sample of two groups of teachers from Grade 10 participated in this study; thirty-seven (37) English Language teachers and fourteen (14) Heads of English Departments, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Participants in the study

Partici-pants	0 to 3 yrs. experience	4 to 8 yrs. experience	9 to 15 yrs. experience	16+ yrs. experience
N=14 Heads of Departments	0	1	7	6
N=37 English Language Teachers	3	14	9	11
Total=51	3(5.8%)	15 (29.6%)	16 (31.3%)	17(33.3%)

Permission was sought from the Chief Education Officer, Ministry of Education to enter schools in Region 6 to conduct interviews with Heads of English Language Departments and administer questionnaires to English Language teachers of Grade Ten. A pilot study was first conducted with teachers of English Language at Grade 10 who were implementing the revised English Syllabus in Region 5, which is adjacent to Region. After the structure and content of the questionnaire were revised based on the pilot study, data was collected using fourteen semi-structured interviews with Heads of Departments and thirty-seven questionnaires administered to teachers of English who were not Heads of Departments. Interviews lasted for 10-15 minutes. Questionnaire administration and interviews were conducted over the same time period. The Cronbach Alpha reliability test was used to establish the reliability of the instrument during the pilot study. This test yielded 0.6 reliability. For the qualitative data, reliability checks were made by transcribing the data gathered by interviews and allowing the respondents to confirm the accuracy of what they said. Also, the researchers independently analysed the responses provided by participants and compared the common themes or issues emerging from responses.

Findings and discussion

Research Question 1 was answered in three sections: 1) knowledge of general changes to the syllabus (Table 2); 2) specific areas (Table 3); and 3) training to implement the syllabus (Tables 4 and 5) with quantitative data used for the first two sections and qualitative data for the final section. Research question 2 was answered with quantitative

data (Tables 6, 7 and 8), and Research Question 3 was answered with both quantitative and qualitative data (Table 9).

Research Question 1: What knowledge do teachers have of the revised English Language syllabus?

Table 2 Participants' knowledge of the general changes in the syllabus

Participants	Knowledge of the changes	No knowledge of the changes
Heads of Departments (N=14)	14 (100%)	--
Grade Ten Teachers (N=37)	33 (89%)	4 (10%)

The responses in Table 2 show that a majority of the participants reported being aware of the general changes to the syllabus while a minority claimed they were unaware of these changes. All Heads of Departments and more than three quarters (89%) of the Grade Ten teachers of English Language indicated that they were aware of the changes, with just less than a quarter of the teachers (10%) indicating the opposite.

Table 3 Participants' lack of knowledge about specific areas of the syllabus

Areas of the Syllabus	%
Portfolio	17 (33%)
Selection of Topic	12 (24%)
Plan of Investigation	10 (20%)
Reflections	28 (55%)
Written Report	10 (20%)
Oral Presentation	09 (18%)
Scoring Rubrics for SBA	26 (51%)

The responses tabulated in Table 3 show that participants had least knowledge about the Reflections and Scoring Rubrics aspects of the SBA Component. More than half of the participants claimed they were unfamiliar with the Reflections aspect (55%) and the Scoring Rubrics for the SBA (51%). One third of the participants (33%) indicated that they were unfamiliar with the Portfolio while almost a quarter (24%) reported that they were unfamiliar with the Selection of Topic aspect.

Table 4 Participants' view of the training received to implement the syllabus

Training received	Frequency (N=51)
Sufficient	11 (22%)
Insufficient	40 (78%)

The findings in Table 4 reveal that a majority of the participants were not comfortable with the level of training they received to implement the syllabus. More than three quarters of the participants (78%) reported receiving insufficient training while just little less than a quarter (22%) reported receiving adequate training. In the interviews, 17 participants indicated how they viewed the training which they received to implement the syllabus.

Table 5 Summary of key responses regarding training received

What do you think of the training which you received?			
Negative	39 (76%)	Positive	12 (24%)
EXCERPTS: - *"Not really helpful since facilitators too needed more guidance"* - *"Confusion",* - *"Inadequate and confusing"* - *"Poor organization, communication issues between facilitators"* - *"Complicated"* - *"Sell SBA instead of offering guidance"* - *"Inadequate training and inaccurate information"* - *"Not informative"*		*EXCERPTS:* - *"It was informative"* - *"Informative"* - *"Very informative"*	

As seen in Table 5, more than three quarters (76%) of the teachers assessed the training negatively, indicating that the kinds of training they received were unhelpful.

Generally, the findings revealed that while most of the teachers and their Heads of Departments were aware of the changes in the revised English Language syllabus, there were critical areas of the syllabus where they lacked knowledge, especially the Reflections aspect and the Scoring Rubrics for the SBA. This may be attributed to the fact that the SBA Component is being introduced for the first time and, studies (Odey & Opoh, 2015; Makunja 2016) have shown that teachers' lack of knowledge of curriculum changes includes unfamiliarity of the basic requirements of the new curriculum. Borg (2003) indicates that apart from knowledge, hands-on experience and training, professional coursework and contextual adaptations are also important.

In addition, the demographic data suggests that while the majority of teachers participating in this study had adequate experience and training as teachers of English Language, they indicated that the training which they received was insufficient for them to implement the new syllabus effectively. Borg (2003) identified the updating of existing knowledge among teachers as a critical component to their professional growth. According to the participants, they clearly did not receive the kind of training required to implement the revised syllabus, and this lack of training limited their knowledge of the new areas in the syllabus. In Goh et al.'s study (2005), she underscored the importance of knowledge as a contributing factor to teachers' confidence. The findings in this study suggests that teachers could therefore be lacking confidence in the implementation of a syllabus which had new areas that they did not fully understand.

Research Question 2: What challenges did teachers have with implementing the revised English syllabus?

Table 6 Challenges at the school level

Challenges at the school level	Frequency (n=51)
Time constraints	31 (61%)
Insufficient motivation from administrators	12 (24%)
Shortage of qualified teachers	12 (24%)
Lack of resources	29 (57%)
Lack of positive attitude from students	29 (57%)
Students' inability to cope with workload	37 (73%)

Table 6 lists data gathered from both the interviews and the questionnaires which indicates that a substantial majority (73%) identified students' inability to cope with the workload as a major challenge to the implementation of the syllabus, and that more than half identified access to resources, time constraints and students' attitudes as challenges as well (57%, 61% and 57%, respectively). Students' attitudes were investigated further to ascertain the kinds of attitudes that participants felt students had towards the revised syllabus.

In Table 7, participants who had introduced the syllabus indicated that there were mixed reactions from students to the changes in the syllabus. Just under half of the participants (42%) reported negative reactions from their students, 37% neutral reactions, and less than a quarter (21%) reported that students were positive toward the changes in the syllabus.

Table 7 Participants' views on challenges involving students' attitudes

Response	Frequency N=43	Examples of responses
Positive	9 (21%)	Fair, Excited
Neutral	16 (37%)	Partially eager/lackadaisical, partially anxious, some do not care. Attitudes depend on teacher's knowledge.
Negative	18 (42%)	Challenging
		Too much work
		Additional workload
		Confused
		Irrelevant
		Frustrated
		Uninterested

The Heads of Departments reported in the interviews that teachers' negative attitude to the syllabus was a major challenge. Less than half of the Heads of Departments (30%)

Table 8 Challenges with the Ministry of Education

Comments	Heads of Departments	%	Teachers	%
Negative	Not responding to teachers' needs	15	Untimely feedback and follow-up	10
	No workshops/guidance	23	Shows no interest	23
	More criticisms against teachers rather than guidance	8	Not prioritizing syllabus at workshop	7
	Ineffective efforts	15	Ignorant of key facts	10
	Passive	8	Insufficient guidance	17
	No follow up	8	Left teachers unaware of changes	3
	Insufficient assistance	15	Blaming teachers for shortcomings	3
			Inadequate training	7
			Concerned with	10
			Completion of SBA Tasks only	
			No engagement with relevant teachers	7
Positive	Helpful and conducts regular visits	8		8

reported that teachers were "positive about the syllabus". 21% stated that "Teachers are limited since they are working with what they have" and that "Teachers are refusing to teach SBA Classes". Under a quarter of the Heads of Department (14%) indicated that "Teachers are negative of additional workload" (14%) and "Teachers are frustrated".

Table 8 reveals that a majority of respondents (90%) were of the view that the Ministry had not done enough with teachers to implement the syllabus. The table shows the comments made by Heads of Department and teachers and the frequencies at which each type of comment was made.

Generally, these findings suggest that teachers were negative toward the changes and dissatisfied with the level responsibility assumed by policy makers in the implementation of the new syllabus. Fullan's (1993) description of personal change operating against system change may explain some of the teachers' responses, with the teachers implementing the syllabus seeing the changes as additional burdens to their existing heavy workloads. Teachers have been issued a syllabus with additional demands that they have not been fully trained to implement. Findings also show that teachers were faced with challenges from their students, most of whom were either non-responsive or negative towards the changes in the revised syllabus. One important statement made by a participant is that students' attitudes are linked to the teachers' knowledge; if the teacher is well informed then he/she is more positive, which then motivates the students to be more positive.

Another challenge is evident in the fact that a majority of the teachers identified time constraints as a challenge at their school, while others did not. The revised syllabus has a recommended time allocation, but not all schools may be equipped to adhere to this stipulation because of their particular administrative policies. Other challenges, such as the lack of resources, insufficient motivation from administrators etc. have implications for how teachers implement the changes. Fullan and Stiegelbauer (1991) posit that local and external factors should be addressed before change is introduced. Finally, if teachers had been given the chance to provide input in the planning process, many of the obstacles to successful implementation might have been avoided, and teachers' ownership of the process would have increased. Odey and Opoh (2015) observed that the non-involvement of teachers in curriculum development affects their interest and motivation in delivering that curriculum.

This study also found that support from the external players was perceived to be inadequate. Ntumi (2016) and Makunja (2016) both demonstrate that the failure of curriculum development agencies to adequately support teachers contributes to ineffective implementation innovation.

Research Question 3: How do teachers of English Language believe these challenges can be addressed?

Table 9 Participants' recommendations for dealing with challenges

Suggestions for CXC		Suggestions for the Ministry of Education		Suggestions for schools	
Comment	**Freq./%**	**Comment**	**Freq./%**	**Comment**	**Freq./%**
Resources should be made available in the form of CDs, Video clips, documentaries etc.	6 (12 %)	Content and monitoring visits should be scheduled at least twice per term for all schools.	15 (29%)	More awareness of changes including other subject teachers so that Language teaching can be integrated	12 (24%)
SBA Component should be reviewed for relevance, validity and reliability of assessing students	4 (8%)	Department should use SBA Reports to offer guidance to schools and not just penalize them for not completing tasks on time	40 (78%)	Workload of SBA teachers should be reduced at the school	19 (37%)
Remove SBA Component until teachers are fully aware of what needs to be done	31 (59%)			Networking with other resource personnel should be encouraged	31 (60%)
Teachers should be consulted before changes are made	47 (92%)				

The interviews (Table 9) reveal that nearly all of the participants (92%) believed that the teachers should have been consulted before implementing the new syllabus. Teachers indicated that they needed to be part of the decision-making process so that they would be aware of the expectations for implementation. A number of participants suggested that more master trainers should have been trained by CXC and assigned to work with teachers in small groups so that there would have been opportunity for teachers to freely ask questions.

Conclusions and recommendations

Some of the limitations of this study included teachers' desire to appear more knowledgeable about the reforms than they actually were as well as the absence of teachers during the data collection process. Further research should address in more detail the challenges faced by students with the new syllabus and the actual significance of the SBA Component in terms of students' performance on CSEC.

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The great majority of the participants felt that teachers should be consulted before any new syllabus is introduced. Although it is too late to do so with the revised English Language syllabus, it might be useful at this stage for a panel from CXC to meet with stakeholders in Guyana, especially English Language teachers, to attempt to resolve issues relating to the new English Language syllabus. On the basis of those meetings, an ongoing and proactive training program should be put into place to equip teachers to implement the revised syllabus, since teachers report that they are not fully knowledge-able of the changes to the syllabus.

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TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF A LITERACY HOUR PROGRAM IN GUYANA

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Abstract

Literacy is a valuable skill in society, and it is therefore not surprising that many interventions are being made to assist struggling learners to reach required level of literacy in schools. The purpose of the study that forms the basis for this article is to investigate teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of, and challenges with, a literacy hour program in primary schools in Guyana. A survey and a series of interviews which were conducted with 24 primary school teachers in 7 schools revealed that the teachers perceived the programme to be a positive initiative that was effective in their classrooms. The challenges that they identified were associated with administrative issues and not the program itself.

Introduction and literature review

Acquiring and improving literacy skills have been a major focus in education systems worldwide. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has been at the forefront of global literacy efforts since 1946, advancing the vision of a literate world for all (UNESCO, 2015). Because all students do not experience the same rate of success in attaining the desired levels of literacy, teachers in both primary and secondary schools are continuously challenged by the arduous task of ensuring that students achieve those levels. In Guyana, the Ministry of Education, in collaboration with other organizations, has taken the initiative to strengthen the literacy skills of students by introducing a literacy program – The Literacy Hour Program – in all primary schools. The present study was designed to investigate how this program is perceived by teachers so as to shed light on the effectiveness of the programme and the possible challenges teachers may be faced with in the delivery of the program.

Research suggests that literacy development begins early, is ongoing and should be encouraged to continue throughout life (Saracho, 2017). However, individual differences among children make it difficult to provide literacy instruction to meet all needs. The Guyana Improving Teacher Education Project (GITEP) revealed in their final analysis of the National Assessments that a significant number of students fail to attain acceptable levels of literacy (2013). According to the Mid-Year report presented by the Minister of Finance, Winston Jordan, to the National Assembly, 64.7% of each cohort between 2013 and 2017 failed to reach an acceptable standard in the subjects examined in the National Assessments administered in Grades 2, 4, 6 and 9 (Kaieteur News, 2017). The cause identified for this high percentage of failure was attributed to "half of all students lacking the basic foundation needed" (Jordan, 2017), in other words, they lacked basic literacy skills.

The Ministry of Education introduced the Literacy Hour Program in Grades 1 and 2 to begin to address this issue. The programme, fully implemented in 2006 by the Inter-American Development Bank/Government of Guyana – Basic Education Access Management Support (IDB/GOG - BEAMS) Initiative, has targeted all aspects of literacy – listening, speaking, reading, writing and critical thinking – through an integrated approach using the principle of multiple intelligences. Although the Literacy Hour Program has been added to most primary schools' curriculum, students continue to perform poorly in literacy-related areas.

The Literacy Hour is a special period timetabled for the day, specifically designed for teaching literacy. Teachers use strategies, activities and diversified methods to cater for individual differences, building on students' strengths to create highly competent readers, writers, speakers and listeners. It is designed to promote skills such as gathering information, thinking critically and communicating effectively.

The programme places focus on five major areas in reading:

1. Phonemic Awareness, which teaches children to notice, think about and work with sounds in spoken language. This activity helps pupils to understand that words are made up of speech sounds.
2. Phonics, which is a method of teaching reading by associating letters and speech sounds. It involves being able to read, pronounce and write words by associating letters and sounds.
3. Fluent reading, which is reading effortlessly, with speed, accuracy and proper expression. Fluency helps readers gain meaning from what is read. Fluent readers recognize words and comprehend them at the same time.
4. Vocabulary, which refers to the words that children know so that they can communicate through speech or recognize words when listening or reading.
5. Comprehension, which ensures that pupils understand from what they hear and what they read.

Although, the Literacy Hour was created to build literacy skills and produce stronger readers at the primary level, anecdotal evidence from teachers in secondary schools suggested that there were a large number of students leaving the primary schools and entering secondary level without fully acquiring basic literacy skills. Despite the Literacy Hour being present in the primary schools, students still struggled to possess the requisite literacy skills corresponding to their level of cognitive development. This study sought to investigate the views of the teachers directly involved in the program to determine their perception of its effectiveness.

While the study of literacy and the implementation of literacy programs has been approached from several perspectives, Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory (1980) provides a particularly robust foundation for the present study because it highlights how cultural beliefs and attitudes impact how instruction and learning take place. His theory provides a framework for how children learn, how literacy can be developed and the steps to consider when a programs are implemented. Language and literacy emerge early in life and continue to develop for an extended period of time (Sanderson, 2016). According to Bretz (2013), Vygotsky believed that social interaction is the basis of learning and development because learning occurs in a cultural context and children develop literacy skills through the experiences gained in their social settings. Learning then is a process of apprenticeship and internalization in which skills and knowledge are transformed from the social to the cognitive plane (Shabani, 2016). The community plays a central role in the process of children making meaning. McLeod (2014) stated that through interaction within the sociocultural environment, children's elementary mental functions develop into more sophisticated functions such as attention, sensation, perception and memory, all of which are vital aspects to learning.

The sociocultural setting for literacy learning in Guyana cannot be considered apart from the attitudes and perceptions of teachers which are the focus of the present study. Hardré and Sullivan (2009) suggest that because teachers' perceptions of literacy programs/interventions directly influence their actions and behaviors in the classroom, those perceptions have an impact on implementation. Gibson's (2009) study measured teachers' perceptions of strategy-based reading instruction in relation to reading comprehension through an online questionnaire. Nine teachers in kindergarten through Grade 8 were surveyed on their perceptions of strategy-based reading instruction's effectiveness for improving reading comprehension. The results suggested that the participants had a favorable perception of this mode of reading instruction with 67% of the participants indicating that the intervention allowed all of their students to be engaged in the activities regardless of their individual differences. The participants favoured the intervention because it highly engaged students and positively impacted the results of reading comprehension in the classroom.

Moodie-Reid (2016) investigated teachers' perceptions of the impact of the Jolly Phonics Program on students' literacy and found that factors such as strategies, teachers'

pedagogical delivery and learning activities all had a significant impact on effectiveness, with teachers' pedagogical delivery the most important factor. Hartley's (2015) found that teachers' perceptions of the strategies that they were using was the major factor that determined the effectiveness of their interventions. He noted in his findings that teachers who perceived that the interventions focused on higher order thinking skills and vocabulary strategies for students saw the intervention to be more useful in increasing reading comprehension skills – a critical aspect in literacy. Houston (2009) investigated teachers' perceptions of the implementation of the Reading First program and found that the challenges faced by teachers with regard to implementation included being overwhelmed with new tasks and meeting the benchmarks of the programme. Gaunt (2008) found that one of the main challenges highlighted by teachers involved in literacy interventions is that of the pressure to perform.

It appears that favorable perceptions are connected to the impact of a given program on students' performance in reading. Teachers who had a favourable perception of programs had garnered positive results from students while those teachers who had a negative outlook saw little to no improvement in their students. While studies have been done on literacy interventions in other contexts, to the best of our knowledge, the Literacy Hour Program in Guyana appears not to have been investigated thus far, and this fact motivated the study on which this article is based.

Research questions and methodology

The following research questions guided this study:

1. What are teachers' perceptions of the Literacy Hour Program?
2. How do teachers rate the effectiveness of the Literacy Hour Program?
3. What challenges do the teachers perceive in the Literacy Hour Program?

Following Denzin and Lincoln (2000), and Matthews & Ross (2010), a mixed quantitative/qualitative approach using questionnaires and interviews was determined to be most appropriate to conduct the investigation. The target population were the teachers of the seven primary schools located in the Central Corentyne District, a total of ninety-three (93) teachers. The sample comprised twenty-four (24) teachers from Grades 1 and 2 in the seven primary schools. These participants were selected through the use of purposeful sampling, a sampling technique that involves identifying and selecting individuals or groups of individuals that are especially knowledgeable about or experienced with the phenomenon of interest (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). A pilot test was done in three Primary Schools in another district involving fourteen Grade One and Two teachers to test the accuracy of the instruments used. The data gathered from the pilot test was evaluated using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and yielded a satisfactory Cronbach Alpha value of .734, confirming the internal consistency and accuracy of the instrument.

Questionnaires and interviews were used to collect data in this study. The questionnaire was adapted from Hartley (2015) who conducted a study on teacher's attitudes concerning the effectiveness of strategies used to enhance reading comprehension. The questionnaire contained three (3) sections: Section One contained questions on the demographics of the participants. Section Two used a modified Likert Scale with four ratings (Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Agree and Strongly Agree) to measure teachers' perceptions of the Literacy Hour Program. Section Three used the same modified Likert Scale to measure how teachers rated the effectiveness of the Literacy Hour Program. The questionnaires were distributed to the 24 teachers. Answers provided in this section were quantifiable, and thus relatively easy to analyze. One reason for selecting this relatively anonymous instrument was to ensure the responses of the participants were as candid as possible. Once the survey was completed, interviews were conducted with the 24 teachers. The questions were focused on identifying the challenges teachers perceived in relation to the Literacy Hour Program. The structured interview was based on 3 questions asked of each teacher and each interview lasted approximately 7 minutes. The data from the questionnaire was analyzed using SPSS software, while the qualitative data was analyzed using content analysis and frequency counts.

Results

Research Question 1: What are Teachers' Perceptions of the Literacy Hour Programme?

Table 1 displays the data related to teachers' perceptions of the Literacy Hour Program.

Table 1 Teachers' perceptions of the Literacy Hour Program (LHP)

Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
	4	3	2	1
I understand how to use the LHP.	-	41.7%	58.3%	-
The LHP provides adequate opportunities to help me understand the literacy goals and plans for my school.	-	50.0%	50.0%	-
The LHP facilitates the development of my students' reading fluency.	-	-	41.7%	58.3%
The LHP motivates my students to read.	-	-	33.3%	66.7%
The LHP aids my students in comprehending what they read in their text.	-	-	50%	50%

	Strongly Disagree 4	Disagree 3	Agree 2	Strongly Agree 1
The LHP imparts sufficient vocabulary knowledge to help my students develop their literacy skills.	-	-	66.7%	33.3%
All language skills are targeted in the LHP.	-	-	33.3%	66.7%
My students enjoy the LHP.	-	-	83.3%	16.7%
My students are excited for the LHP.	-	-	8.3%	91.7%
The LHP is helpful to my students.	-	-	79.2%	20.8%

The data listed in Table 1 reveals that most teachers perceived the Literacy Hour Programme be a good programme. For all but two of these positive statements about the program, none of the respondents signaled any level of disagreement, with the remaining two statements *I understand how to use the Literacy Hour Program* and *The Literacy Hour Program provides adequate opportunities to help me understand the literacy goals and plans for my school* being fairly equally divided between agreement and disagreement.

Research Question 2: How do teachers rate the effectiveness of the Literacy Hour Programme?

Table 2 displays the data related how teachers' rate the effectiveness of the Literacy Hour Program.

Table2 How teachers' rate the effectiveness of the Literacy Hour Program (LHP)

As a result of the LHP…	Strongly Disagree 4	Disagree 3	Agree 2	Strongly Agree 1
Vocabulary has improved.	-	-	66.7%	33.3%
Word Study (word parts, phonics and phonemic awareness) has improved.	-	12.5%	62.5%	25%
Reading fluency skills have improved.	16.7%	20.8%	33.3%	29.2%
Critical thinking skills have improved.	12.5%	37.5%	41.7%	8.3%%

The results in Table 2 reveal that a majority of the teachers that were surveyed rated the Literacy Hour Programme as effective. For three of the four of these positive statements about the program, a considerable majority expressed agreement, with the one remaining statement *As a result of the Literacy Hour Program, critical thinking skills have improved* being equally divided between agreement and disagreement.

Research Question 3: What challenges do the teachers have with the Literacy Hour Programme?

When asked if they had any problems with implementing the program, all of the participants openly admitted to experiencing challenges with implementing the components of the program in the given time frame provided to do so:

> The time table needs to be restructured. You should be given the one hour for strictly phonics and reading so the other days you can actually cater for you to put in the comprehension and composition because to do the merging is very challenging. You can't cover all five components every single day.

Regardless of this challenge being mentioned by all of the participants interviewed, all indicated as well that the program had yielded improvements in the reading performance of the majority of their students, especially the slower learners. They stated that students were finding it easier to pronounce difficult words by using syllabication techniques learnt from the program; fluency and comprehension had improved and overall the students had become better readers:

> I like that the program helps the slow learners identify letter sounds, words, make the letter sounds and so forth. Word cards are also used. I make the programme cater for all my students regardless of their abilities. I make exercises for the high flyers, those in the middle and the low achievers. It's all about how the teacher delivers the program.

When asked about which aspects of the programme could use some improvement, the majority of the participants felt that the programme would be more effective if were to be continued in the remaining grades at the primary level. Half of the participants believed that better results would be attained if the work done in Grades 1 and 2 were reinforced in the latter grades:

> Some students over in the grade 3 have not grasped the concept of the phonemic skills or awareness or the phonic part. It is not being reinforced as it is supposed to be. The programme is supposed to be something consistent in all the grades. If they do it in all the grades I think they will get better results.

A third of the participants indicated that better quality audio and video would yield major improvements in the programme:

> Audio and video with one general sound would be nice to have because it will make it easier for teachers. A transition should be made to the other grades because not every child will grasp all the concepts so that reinforcement can take place.

Some respondents thought that the programme should be implemented from the Nursery level as it would lay a stronger foundation for students entering the Primary levels:

> Implementation of the programme can begin at the nursey level. Do a little more in the form of literacy so that the children can be a little more equipped when

they enter primary school. It would be nice if they have it transition to all the different grades.

Discussion and conclusions

The main limitation of the study upon which this article is based, is that it involved a small sample from a particular district, making it difficult for results to be generalized to Guyana as a whole. A more extensive study with a larger sample from throughout the country is therefore recommended. That said, in the present study it was found found that generally, teachers were very enthusiastic about the Literacy Hour Program, reporting that it helped their students to improve their literacy skills. This finding is consistent with the literature (Gibson, 2009: Hartley, 2015) where teachers have been found to perceive the programs favorably if they are able to see gains in students' literacy skills. The main challenge identified by the teachers had to do with the time allotted for the delivery of the program, rather than with the program itself, which is consistent with Moodie-Reid (2016) who found that factors having to do with teachers' pedagogical delivery had the most significant impact on the effectiveness of literacy interventions. Possible reasons for teachers' identification of this particular challenge could be related to the amount of content to be covered within the one hour allotted and class size. If classes are too large and teachers have to provide individual attention to students, one hour might not be adequate to cover the content required within the time frame. Houston (2009) noted that though programs are generic in terms of content and methodology, teachers in large classes who must cater for every student regardless of their ability, will find implementation challenging, especially in meeting the benchmarks of the program set by non-educators or those who are unfamiliar with day-to-day classroom conditions. It would be of interest to find out how many teachers are able to meet the benchmarks set out for each Literacy Hour session in light of the fact that half of them were not sure about the content, objectives, literacy goals and plans of their schools. Almost half of the teachers felt that they had not received adequate training to carry out all of the required tasks.

Another general finding from this study took the form of a recommendation from the teachers that the program should continue beyond Grade 2. Limiting the program to Grades 1 and 2 might be a major factor contributing to the poor literacy skills attested in the secondary schools. Teachers suggested that the absence of the program in the remaining grades of primary school might have resulted in the loss of skills attained under the program as teachers in the higher grades fail to reinforce what was taught.

Based on the findings of this study, the number of minutes per day allotted to interventions such as the Literacy Hour Program should be determined in careful consultation with the teachers who will be tasked with implementation. To ensure that such interventions are implemented properly, teachers should be actively involved in program

planning, design, improvement and revision. Moreover, those responsible for the program need to provide more training opportunities for teachers. Finally, the Literacy Hour Program should be integrated into the curricula of the remaining grades of primary school. By doing so, the possibility exists that the high percentage of students lacking basic literacy skills in secondary schools might be reduced.

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TEACHERS' PRACTICES AND LEARNERS' PREFERENCES IN WRITING CLASSES IN GUYANA

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Abstract

Educators in Guyana are concerned that many language learners do not develop the competence in writing which is needed for school and the workplace. In an effort to determine how learners are prepared for writing in their classrooms, this study employed a survey design using questionnaires to investigate nineteen (19) teachers' writing instruction practices and one hundred and sixty (160) learners' preferences at the ninth-grade level in four secondary schools in Guyana. The study also analyzed how teachers' instructional practices correlate with principles which are recommended for teaching writing in Caribbean Creole-speaking contexts. Results in this study revealed divergence between teachers' instructional practices and learners' preferences and inconsistency between teachers' instructional practices and the principles which are recommended for teaching writing in Caribbean Creole-speaking contexts.

Key terms: writing instruction, preferences, principles for teaching writing, Creole-speaking

Introduction and literature review

Writing is critical to educational success in Guyana, an English lexifier Creole-speaking country. To qualify for jobs or admission to the University of Guyana, students require passing grades (1–3) on the Caribbean Secondary Education Certificate (CSEC) English Language (English 'A') examination. On this examination, writing accounts for sixty percent of the total score, and consecutive CSEC reports over the last five years (2014–2018) indicate that students' writing challenges result in poor examination performance. Although students' underperformance in writing continues to be of concern in Guyana, there is limited empirical research which seeks to address writing instruction in this

context (Bryan, 2010; Craig, 1999). Educators can better understand writing competency issues if they obtain information from the key stakeholders, teachers and students in the classroom.

In Creole-speaking contexts, many students fail to produce the standard written structures required in the school setting (Rose & Basturkmen, 2013). One reason for this is that Guyanese Creole and Standard English share some similar vocabulary and structural features, and these overlaps often create situations in which learners are under the illusion that they are very familiar with Standard English, while that is not necessarily the case (Craig, 2006). For example, both Creole and Standard English use the word *hand*, but Standard English users would use this word to refer to the body part from the wrist to the fingers, and Creole speakers would use this word to refer to the body part from the shoulder to the fingers (Nero, 2000). These overlaps often result in many learners being unable to make distinctions between Standard English and Creole structures and forms in both written and spoken modes (Ramsay, 2011; Carrington, 2001). Thus, it is possible that students' failure to produce written structures required in their school setting is linked to struggles with distinguishing Guyanese Creole from Standard English and with transforming oral structures into written structures, especially since Creole is principally an oral language. Novice writers usually draw on "talk knowledge" and, thus, their written work often reflects conventions of speech (Myhill, 2009, p.41). Therefore, as Craig (2006) and Abd- Kadir et al. (2003) rightly argue, in a Creole-speaking context, it is important for writing instruction to focus on both speech and writing. Craig's (1999) program, *Teaching English to Speakers of a Related Variety,* synthesized research on language acquisition and learning in English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) contexts and emphasized language awareness as particularly important for developing writing competency among Creole speakers. His program (1999, 2006) recommends that teachers contrast structures of Standard English and Creole and provide learners with opportunities to acquire language by engaging in productive and receptive activities. Bryan (2010) formulated a program titled *Teaching English in a Creole-speaking Environment* (TECSE) and formulated several principles for a context-sensitive language teaching approach, including: 1) planning for interaction; 2) integrating the four modes of language; 3) using oral work to support thinking, probing and problem-solving; 4) developing language awareness; 5) using the relationship between Standard and Creole in metalinguistic tasks that require learners to notice the codes in both of the languages; and 6) focusing on culture, making learners aware of how they are "socialised and acculturated to see themselves" through content relevant to "products, practices and ideas of the people" (Bryan, 2010: 82).

Empirical investigations of dialect interference in students' writing (Abd-Kadir et al., 2003) and students' use of written structures (Rose & Basturkmen, 2013) seemingly support some of the proposals of Craig (2006) and Bryan (2010). Abd-Kadir et al.

(2003) investigated impacts of Creole dialect forms on the writing of 9-11-year-old students in Dominica, and suggested that writing difficulties are not necessarily linked to dialect interference but instead to learners' difficulties with handling the complexities of written language structures in cases where these structures are different from speech patterns. Rose and Basturkmen (2013) analyzed reference in the narratives of seventh-grade students in Guyana and found that some reference difficulties could have been caused by students not recognizing differences between speech and writing. Therefore, the literature suggests that teachers need linguistic understanding of both Standard English and Creole and differences between oral and written structures to help students make distinctions between Creole and Standard English.

Instructional practices which engage different language skills, focus on macro as well as micro-surface features of writing and processes involved in inquiry and meaning making are required for learner success in writing (Graham & Perin, 2007). However, the literature suggests that instructional practices which teachers report that they use often do not correspond with what is actually practiced or should be used (Brindley & Schneider, 2002; Lee, 1998). Many teachers focus more on micro aspects of learners' writing, such as learners' ability to write grammatically correct English (Brindley & Schneider, 2002; Lee, 1998). For example, Lee (1998) investigated writing teachers' beliefs and practices in secondary schools in Hong Kong and found inconsistencies between teachers' beliefs and their actual classroom practices. Teachers reported that their instruction varied, and they believed that helping students to organize ideas logically and coherently was critical to writing instruction, but Lee's (1998) analysis of their responses to questionnaire items and interview questions revealed that teachers focused more on grammatical errors. She suggested that ineffective writing instruction can be linked to inadequate training and inadequate knowledge of the complexities involved in teaching and learning writing. Other critical factors include teachers' beliefs about the goal of writing instruction (Ivanič, 2004). Ivanič's framework for anlayzing writing instruction suggests that teachers who believe that the goal of writing instruction is to produce error free writing are likely to focus on grammatical features (2004). In addition, teachers' perceptions and personal beliefs about their own writing can impact their writing instruction (Brindley & Schneider, 2002). Teachers who are not confident about their own writing are likely to be apprehensive about teaching writing, especially providing constructive feedback to students (Thompson, 2011).

In other cases, contextual factors work against teachers in their efforts to apply knowledge to practice (Applebee & Langer, 2011; Brindley & Schneider, 2002; Leki, 2001). Contextual variables such as exam preparation influence teachers' approaches to instruction. For example, Brindley and Schneider (2002) survey of fourth grade teachers' perspectives on writing development and writing instruction in the United States found that, in many cases, teachers equated writing instruction with assigning activities

or topics and providing prompts for practice. Thus, if teachers are not adequately prepared to teach writing, students' difficulties with writing might not be effectively addressed.

Research on students' preferences in instruction indicates that often there is divergence between what teachers value and what students prefer (Nunan, 1988; Peacock, 1998; Samperio, 2017). Nunan's (1988) comparative study of teachers and students in an Australian English as Second Language (ESL) context revealed that except for practice in conversation which was valued highly by both teachers and students, students gave low ratings to self-discovery of errors and pair work while teachers gave high ratings to these areas. In another study, Barkhuizen (1998) investigated perceptions of Grades 8-11 students in a high school in South Africa and found that those students preferred more traditional, teacher-centered activities rather than learner-centered communicative activities. Further, Lavelle et al. (2002) analyzed the motives and strategies of third year secondary students by applying factor analysis their responses to items about writing beliefs and strategies. They found that students who had adopted surface approaches to writing consistently indicated a dislike for writing. Students did not perceive themselves as author-agents; they focused mainly on micro-level features and regarded external support as critical to their writing development. These findings might explain some students' preference for traditional, teacher-centered activities. Garrett & Shortall's (2002) study suggests that students' preference for teacher-centered instruction might be linked to their proficiency level. Their study of Brazilian EFL students at three different language proficiency levels found students at the beginner levels to prefer more teacher-centered activities, while those at the intermediate levels preferred student-centered activities. Therefore, it appears that as students reach more advanced levels, they become less dependent on teachers.

Some other critical factors include performance anxiety (Barkhuizen, 1998) that is induced in situations where students are required to produce structures that they have not yet acquired (Krashen, 1998). The lack of communicative competence and confidence in using another language to communicate (Horwitz, 2001) and the societal context related to attitudes and values toward the language (Schultz & Fecho, 2000) are additional factors. Socially grounded attitudes are likely to be important determinants of learners' motivation to participate in communicative activities (Crookes & Schmidt, 1991). Students' preferences in relation to feedback in writing instruction is a complex issue, and there is ongoing debate about which type of feedback is important in the writing classroom (Ellis, 2009). The literature suggests that students who associate good writing with error-free writing often prefer to have their teachers correct all errors in their written work (Lee, 2008a), and many students prefer one-on-one and personal feedback (Laryea, 2013). Even though students prefer to have their teachers correct all the errors in their written work, some students may feel intimidated by feedback that focuses on local issues such as grammar, especially when the feedback is provided on first drafts

and is mostly negative (Cumming, 1985). In any case, both policy makers and teachers need to understand writing instruction and its alignment with pedagogical approaches within their linguistic and social contexts to effectively respond to challenges that student have with developing writing competence.

Research questions and methodology

The main purpose of the study upon which this article is based was to examine writing instruction in a Creole-speaking context by investigating teachers' instructional practices and learners' preferences and teachers' instructional practices and principles that are recommended for teaching writing in Caribbean Creole-speaking contexts (Bryan, 2010; Craig, 2006). This study was designed to help guide writing teachers in improving their performance in the classroom, by answering the following research questions:

1. What types of writing instruction practices do teachers use in classrooms?
2. What types of writing instruction practices do learners prefer?
3. How do teachers' writing instruction practices compare with learners' preferences?
4. How do teachers' instructional practices in writing classrooms align with the principles recommended in the literature for teaching writing in Caribbean Creole-speaking contexts?

Writing instruction in this study refers to the different approaches which teachers use to help learners develop as competent writers (Craig, 2006; Bryan 2010). These approaches include: 1) reading, speaking, listening and writing activities; 2) grammar and vocabulary activities; 3) peer, group, individual and teacher-led activities; and 4) types of feedback. Preferences refer to learners' attitudes toward the approaches that their teachers use, along a scale defined by 4 values: like very much, like, dislike or dislike very much. A total of 450 ninth-grade students and 19 teachers from four secondary schools whose performance in CSEC English 'A' was notably poor (Region 6, CSEC results summary, 2017) comprised the population of this study. One hundred and sixty (160) ninth-grade students, 35% of the population, were randomly selected to participate in this study, and nineteen (19) teachers of English 'A', or 100% of the population were purposely selected to participate in this study.

Questionnaires adapted from Samperio (2017) were used to collect data in this study. The theoretical framework for teaching writing in Creole-speaking contexts (Craig, 2006: Bryan, 2010) provided the basis for many of the items on the questionnaires. On a 4-point Likert scale, respondents (teachers) indicated the frequency (seldom, occasionally, often and no experience) of using different types of writing instruction in their English 'A' classrooms, and learners indicated their preferences for instruction on a 5-point Likert scale (like very much like, dislike, dislike very much and no experience).

Permission and consent for teachers and students to participate in this study was accessed through the Ministry of Education and headteachers. The questionnaires were piloted with a group of ten teachers who taught English 'A' in schools that were not a part of the sample. Issues related to the clarity of the items were subsequently addressed. Teachers who were not teaching English 'A' in the participating schools administered the questionnaires to the English 'A' teachers. A total of 19 questionnaires from teachers and 160 from learners were analyzed. Statistical analysis was used to calculate frequencies of teachers' reported use of instructional practices and learners' preferences. The results were then examined against the principles which are recommended for teaching writing to Creole-speakers

Results

Research Question 1: What types of writing instruction practices do teachers use in classrooms?

The results related to this question are displayed in Tables 1, 2 and 3.

Table 1 Teachers' writing instruction in the classroom

	Instruction	No experience	Seldom 1-2 times per week	Occasionally 3-4 times per week	Often Over 4 times per week	Total
	Reading					
1	reading textbooks aloud in groups for information to write about a topic (group work)	1 (5%)	7(37%)	8 (42%)	3 (16%)	19
2	reading textbooks silently in class for information to write about a topic (individual work)	2 (11%)	6 (32%)	7 (37%)	4 (21%)	19
	Writing					
3	writing on a topic with a classmate (peer work)	0 (0%)	13 (68%)	4 (21%)	2 (11%)	19
4	writing on a topic with more than one classmate (group work)	0 (0%)	5 (26%)	10 (53%)	4 (21%)	19
5	writing on a topic by themselves (individual work)	0 (0%)	5 (26%)	6 (32%)	8 (42%)	19
	Speaking					
6	telling the entire class about their writing (individual work)	2 (11%)	10 (53%)	5 (26%)	2 (11%)	19
7	telling a classmate about their writing (peer work)	2 (11%)	12 (63%)	3 (16%)	2 (11%)	19
8	telling more than one classmate about their writing (group work)	3 (16%)	8 (42%)	5 (26%)	3 (16%)	19
	Listening					
9	listening to my instruction and explanations for writing	1 (5%)	3 (16%)	5 (26%)	(53%)	19
10	listening to their classmates' instruction and explanations for writing (group work)	4 (21%)	4 (21%)	7 (37%)	4 (21)	19

Table 1 shows that teachers report that their writing instruction often consisted primarily of oral instruction and explanations. Activities related to writing, such as reading and speaking were not as often used. More than fifty percent of the teachers (53%) reported often providing oral instruction and explanations for writing where students were required to listen. More than half the teachers reported seldom involve students in pair writing (68%) or speaking with peers (63%) or the class (53%) about their writing.

Table 2 Types of feedback used by teachers in the writing classroom

	Instruction	No experience	Seldom 1-2 times per week	Occasionally 3-4 times per week	Often Over 4 times per week	Total
	Feedback					
11	receiving oral comments from me about mistakes in their writing	1 (5%)	0 (0%)	9 (47%)	9 (47%)	19
12	reading my comments on the mistakes in their writing	2 (11%)	3 (16%)	10 (53%)	4 (21%)	19
13	receiving oral comments from their classmates about mistakes in their writing (group work)	4 (21%)	4 (21%)	6 (32%)	5 (26%)	19
14	receiving written comments from a classmate about mistakes in their writing (pair work)	7 (37%)	7 (37%)	4 (21%)	1 (5%)	19
15	finding mistakes in their own writing (individual work)	3 (16%)	5 (26%)	7 (37%)	4 (21%)	19

Table 2 reveals that teachers reported providing both oral and written feedback on students writing. Over half of the teachers (53%) reported occasionally providing written comments about mistakes or errors in students' writing, and just less than half (47%) reported often and occasionally providing oral comments. Peer feedback was not reported to be often used.

Table 3 Vocabulary and grammar activities used by teachers in the writing classroom

	Instruction	No experience	Seldom 1-2 times per week	Occasionally 3-4 times per week	Often Over 4 times per week	Total
	Vocabulary					
16	learning new words and discussing their meanings with me	2 (11%)	3 (16%)	11 (58%)	3 (16%)	19
17	learning new words and discussing their meanings with a classmate (peer work)	3 (16%)	5 (26%)	9 (47%)	2 (11%)	19
18	learning new words and trying to work out their meanings by themselves	3 (16%)	6 (32%)	7 (37%)	3 (16%)	19
19	discussing the use of new words with me	3 (16%)	5 (26%)	9 (47%)	2 (11%)	19
20	discussing the use of new words with their classmates (group work)	3 (16%)	6 (32%)	7 (37%)	3 (16%)	19

21	working out the use of new words by themselves	2 (11%)	7 (37%)	6 (32%)	4 (21%)	19	
Grammar							
22	doing Standard English grammar exercises	2(11%)	2 (11%)	9 (47%)	6 (32%)	19	
23	doing Creolese grammar exercises	8 (42%)	7 (37%)	4 (21%)	0 (0%)	19	
24	listening to me explaining rules about grammar	1 (5%)	2 (11%)	9 (47%)	7 (37%)	19	
25	working with their classmates to learn rules about grammar (group work)	2 (11%)	7(37%)	8 (42%)	2 (11%)	19	
26	learning grammatical rules by themselves (individual)	2 (11%)	10 (53%)	7 (37%)	0 (0%)	19	

Table 3 shows that vocabulary and grammar activities were not often used. Over half of the teachers (58%) reported doing vocabulary activity occasionally (teaching new words and discussing meanings with learners), and (53%) reported seldom requiring learners to learn grammatical rules independently. Creolese grammar exercises were not often done. Just under half of the teachers (42%) had no experience with doing Creolese grammar exercises, 37% seldom did and 21% occasionally did.

Research Question 2: What types of writing instruction practices do learners prefer?

The results related to this research question are displayed in Tables 4, 5 and 6.

Table 4 Types of activities preferred by learners in the writing classroom

	Instruction	Like very much	Like	Dislike	Dislike very much	No experience	Total
	Reading						
1	reading textbooks aloud in groups for information to write about a topic (group work)	2 (1%)	2 (2%)	15 (9%)	66 (41%)	75 (47%)	160
2	reading textbooks silently in class for information to write about a topic (individual work)	6 (4%)	10 (6%)	15 (9%)	67 (42%)	62 (39%)	160
	Writing						
3	writing on a topic with a classmate (peer work)	6 (4%)	8 (5%)	31 (19%)	64 (40%)	51 (32%)	160
4	writing on a topic with more than one classmate (group work)	5 (3%)	15 (9%)	37 (23%)	69 (43%)	34 (21%)	160
5	writing on a topic by myself (individual work)	3 (2%)	7 (4%)	25 (16%)	57 (36%)	68 (43%)	160
	Speaking						
6	telling the entire class about my writing (individual work)	12 (8%)	35 (22%)	48 (30%)	42 (26%)	23 (14%)	160
7	telling a classmate about my writing (peer work)	14 (9%)	16 (10%)	43 (27%)	63 (39%)	24 (15%)	160

		Like very much	Like	Dislike	Dislike very much	No experience	Total
8	telling more than one class-mate about my writing (group work)	12 (8%)	31 (19%)	46 (29%)	48 (30%)	23 (14%)	160
	Listening						
9	listening to my teacher giving instruction and explanations for writing	2 (1%)	8 (5%)	14 (9%)	41 (26%)	95 (59%)	160
10	listening to my classmates giving instruction and explanations for writing (group work)	12 (8%)	20 (13%)	43 (27%)	50 (31%)	35 (22%)	160

Table 4 shows that learners reported not receiving much instruction and explanation about writing and disliking almost all activities relative to reading, speaking and writing. Over half of the learners (59%) reported not having any experience with listening to their teachers giving instructions and explanations for writing. Negative responses, disliking very much and no experience when combined were reported for most of the other areas.

Table 5 Types of feedback preferred by learners in the writing classroom

		Like very much	Like	Dislike	Dislike very much	No experience	Total
	Feedback						
11	having my teacher tell me about mistakes or errors in my writing	7 (4%)	7 (4%)	27 (17%)	50 (31%)	69 (43%)	160
12	having my teacher write comments on the mistakes or errors in my writing	10 (6%)	25 (16%)	45 (28%)	59 (37%)	21 (13%)	160
13	having my classmates write comments on mistakes or errors in my writing (group work)	21 (13%)	41 (26%)	48 (30%)	38 (24%)	12 (8%)	160
14	having a classmate tell me about mistakes or errors in my writing (peer work)	8 (5%)	39 (24%)	56 (35%)	37 (23%)	20 (13%)	160
15	finding mistakes or errors in my own writing (individual work)	11 (7%)	11 (7%)	36 (23%)	53 (33%)	49 (31%)	160

In Table 5 shows that learners reported not having much experience with teachers' providing oral feedback on their writing and reported negative responses to teachers' written feedback. Just under half of the learners (43%) reported not having any experience with teachers telling them about mistakes or errors in their writing, and when dislike and dislike very much are combined for each item, over half of them responded negatively to written feedback from teachers, peers and self-discovery of mistakes or errors.

Table 6 Vocabulary and grammar activities preferred by learners in the writing classroom

		Like very much	Like	Dislike	Dislike very much	No experience	Total
	Vocabulary						
16	learning new words and discussing their meanings with my teacher	2 (1%)	5 (3%)	8 (5%)	50 (31%)	95 (59%)	160
17	learning new words and discussing their meanings with a classmate (peer work)	8 (5%)	9 (5.6%)	12 (8%)	71 (44%)	60 (38%)	160
18	learning new words and trying to work out their meanings by myself	5 (3%)	5 (3%)	17 (11%)	60 (38%)	73 (46%)	160
19	discussing the use of new words with my teacher	4 (3%)	4 (3%)	12 (8%)	66 (41%)	74 (46%)	160
20	discussing the use of new words with my classmates (group work)	17 (11%)	4 (3%)	31 (19%)	77 (48%)	31 (19%)	160
21	working out the use of new words by myself	11 (7%)	7 (4%)	17 (11%)	65 (41%)	60 (38%)	160
	Grammar						
22	doing Standard English grammar exercises	12 (8%)	17(11%)	15 (9%)	47 (29%)	69 (43%)	160
23	doing Creolese grammar exercises	56 (35%)	20 (13%)	23 (14%)	39 (24%)	22 (14%)	160
24	listening to my teacher explaining rules about grammar	7 (4%)	5 (3%)	15 (9%)	62 (39%)	71 (44%)	160
25	working with my classmates to learn rules about grammar (group work)	11 (7%)	13 (8%)	18 (11%)	76 (48%)	42 (26%)	160
26	learning grammatical rules by myself (individual)	11(7%)	6 (4%)	25 (16%)	62 (39%)	56 (35%)	160

Table 6 indicates that learners reported not having much exposure to vocabulary activities (59%), in particular, learning new words and discussing their meanings with their teachers, and when the scores for dislike and dislike very much are combined, more than half reported feeling negatively about discussing the use of new words with their classmates in groups or working independently. With respect to grammar activities, just under half of the students reported no experience with doing Standard English grammar exercises and listening to teachers explain rules. The combined scales of dislike and dislike very much reveal that more than half of the students reported feeling negatively about learning grammatical rules in groups or independently. The only item on Table 6 that attracted any significant numbers to the like very much and like columns (48% combined) was doing Creolese (Guyanese English lexifier Creole) grammar exercise.

Research Question 3: How do teachers' writing instruction practices compare with learners' preferences?

The results listed in Tables 1-6 make it obvious that there are vast discrepancies between teachers' reported practices and those that students report to have actually encountered in the classroom. Furthermore, these tables indicate that, even in the relatively few instances where students report having experienced these practices, their reactions to them have been overwhelmingly negative. Finally, doing Creolese grammar exercises, the only practice that students seem to like (48% 'like' and 'very much like' combined, or 55% 'like' and 'very much like' combined, if the 35% 'no experience' responses are excluded) is one of the areas that teachers most often report to never ('no experience' 42%) or 'seldom' (37%) use in their writing classrooms. This means that, while teachers report to be using instructional practices that are either so ineffective that the students don't even realize that the teachers are actually using them, or that are so distasteful to the students that in the relatively few instances that the students realize that teachers are using them, the students overwhelmingly report disliking them, the teachers seem to be strenuously avoiding (79% 'no experience' and ''seldom' combined, with the remaining 21% 'occasionally' and 0% 'often') the only practice that students seem to enjoy, in the rare instances where teachers actually include it in their writing classrooms.

Research Question 4: How do teachers' instructional practices in writing classrooms align with the principles recommended in the literature for teaching writing in Caribbean Creole-speaking contexts?

When the sample teachers' instructional practices were compared with the practices recommended in the literature on teaching writing to Creole speakers (Bryan, 2010: Craig, 2006), gaps were found in three areas. First, the literature emphasizes *planning* for interaction, integrating the four modes of language and engaging learners' in oral work to aid thinking, probing and problem-solving. In this study, more than half of the teachers reported positioning their learners most often in the passive role of listening to instructions and explanations provided by the teacher. Second, the literature emphasizes the importance of using oral, written, visual and aural inputs. While more than half of the teachers (53%) in this study reported using passive listening, most of the teachers (63%) reported seldom using activities to engage learners' in speaking. Finally, the literature recommends focusing on language awareness, especially the differences between Creole and Standard English. However, in this study, 79% of the teachers either never (42%) or seldom (37%) work with Creole grammar. The fact that working with Creole in the writing class is one of the only activities that students seem to enjoy on the relatively rare occasions when they are allowed to engage in it, attests to the soundness of the recommendation of inclusion of this practice in the literature on teaching writing to Creole speakers (Bryan, 2010, Craig, 1999).

Discussion and conclusions

The results of this study suggest that that writing instruction in Guyana generally remains in the more traditional teacher-centered and teacher-focused modes, stressing receptive language skills. A possible explanation is that teachers lack understanding of appropriate alternative approaches. In this connection, it might be worthwhile to further investigate teachers' beliefs about pedagogy in general and writing instruction in particular. Students were generally either oblivious to or repulsed by nearly all of the practices that were listed in the questionnaires, both the more teacher-centered and the more student-centered ones. This seems to be compatible in part with Lavelle et al. (2002) who found that some learners consistently indicated a dislike for writing. By providing more negative than positive responses to many areas of writing instruction, learners in this study could be suggesting a dislike for writing. A possible reason for disliking writing could be learners' perception of good writing being error free and because teachers occasionally provided written feedback on learners' work, learners might also not consider themselves capable of writing effectively (Lavelle et al., 2002). In the interest of providing more productive interventions, additional research is needed to investigate which areas of learners' writing teachers target in their written feedback, how learners regard that feedback, whether learners are encouraged to produce drafts and if negative and positive feedback is provided.

Further, students' negative responses to communicative activities involving pair and group work in this study is consistent with those found by Barkhuizen (1998). One explanation for learners' disliking communicative activities could be linked to sociolinguistic factors – the status of the variety which they speak (Carrington, 2001). For example, learners who speak a basilect variety which is more associated with low prestige may feel inhibited in communicative activities which require that they interact with other learners who speak the mesolect and acrolect which are accorded higher prestige levels. In addition, language anxiety (Hortwitz, 2001) could be responsible in part for learners' negative feelings towards communicative activities. It is possible that learners who are conscious of critical evaluations of their performance by their peers and their teachers could experience high levels of anxiety when they feel that weak language skills are likely to be exposed.

The results of this study indicate that while most learners reported having had minimal exposure from their teachers with most of the instructional practices on the questionnaire, teachers reported regularly using many of these practices If the learners' reports are accurate, then the results of this study mirror those of previous studies which show divergence between what teachers report and what they actually practice (Brindley & Schneider, 2002; Lee, 1998). Reasons for divergence between learners and teachers could be the result of learners and teachers interpreting classroom instruction from different perspectives, especially because learners use different systems to evaluate instruction (Barkhuizen, 1998; Kumaravadivelu, 1991). Possibly, the learners generally

did not see teachers' instructional practices as being beneficial to their writing, or they struggled with understanding and interpreting their teachers' practices. Also, as was found in Brindley and Schneider's study (2002), the teachers in this study could have equated assigning topics and discussing writing prompts to providing writing instruction. Further and more extensive research, especially involving classroom observation, is needed in this connection to offer conclusive explanations for divergence between teachers' reports and learners' reports. Findings from research which investigates how learners interpret teachers' instructional practices and how useful they find them could prove especially useful in helping teachers to provide more learner-centred instruction. The results presented in this article show that when teachers introduce Guyanese Creole in an explicit way in their teaching, the students' consistent pattern of generalized obliviousness and/or negativity toward virtually all of the instructional practices on the questionnaires was stunningly reversed. But teachers' avoidance of Guyanese Creole in the writing class, was one among a host of areas where their instructional practices did not incorporate the recommendations made in the research literature on teaching writing to Creole-speakers. The incongruence between teachers' instructional practice and the research literature may be explained by teachers' lack of adequate knowledge of the sociolinguistic factors associated with learning to write in a Creole-speaking context (Carrington, 2001; Myhill, 2009), especially a lack of understanding of the interplay between the sociolinguistic factors in their environment and the development of learners' writing competency (Craig, 2006). A lack of knowledge of complexities involved in teaching and learning writing might be another factor (Lee, 1998).

This study which was based on a combination of random and purposive sampling did not use a fine-grained analysis of teaching approaches; therefore, these results should be seen as suggestive. Other instructional practices which teachers use in the classroom might not have been included in this preliminary study which used a broad approach to define areas of writing instruction. For example, teachers might have used other activities which engaged speaking but were not confined to learners' speaking about their writing with the class or their peers. More quantitative and qualitative studies including observational studies and studies aimed revealing teachers' knowledge and beliefs about teaching writing and learners' reasons for liking or disliking specific instructional practices are needed to better understand the complexities of teaching and learning writing in Creole-speaking contexts. These studies may shed further light on how teachers can be helped to create optimal learning environments capable of developing learners' writing competence.

In order to develop learners' writing competence in Guyana, there is an urgent need, not only to identify the types of instructional practices used in writing classrooms but also to align those practices with those advocated in the literature for Creole-speaking contexts. Though the results of this study are not conclusive, they could prove useful for identifying issues which need to be considered by policy makers, professionals, and

other stakeholders to help Creole-speaking learners develop as competent writers. Teachers in particular should be made aware of cognitive, psychological and socio-cultural elements embedded in teaching and learning to write as well as specific strategies which are required to teach Creole speakers. If teachers are not given this awareness, instead of making learners' writing experiences more positive, they are likely to use instruction that make learners more negative, apprehensive and less confident about writing in the school's target language.

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"THE COMPANY IT KEEPS": THE COLLOCATIONAL COMPETENCE OF BARBADIAN UNIVERSITY LEVEL SECOND DIALECT (D2) ENGLISH LEARNERS

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Introduction

When two or more words occur together habitually, these words are said to collocate. Firth (1957: 181) explains that "collocations of a given word are statements of the habitual or customary places of that word". Collocation is not determined by logic or by the frequency of the component elements individually, and therefore is largely arbitrary and thus cannot be determined or learnt by any language rules. These word combinations have been given several different labels and categorized in several ways over the years: *restricted collocations* (Aisenstadt, 1979), *lexical phrases* (Schmitt, 2000), *multiword units* (Cowie, 1998), *fixed expressions* (Moon, 1998), *multi-formulaic language/sequences* (Wray, 2000), *word sequences* (Butler, 2003) and *composite units* (Howarth, 1998), among others. "Collocation" is used in this paper as general term to cover all such word combinations and "multi-word units" to refer to the specific collocation with which this study is concerned. A collocation is mainly a lexical relationship between words. Benson, Benson and Ilson (1986) posit that this lexical relationship is due more to arbitrariness arising from common usage than from rules.

Research has shown that the use of multi-word units is an integral part of language. Conklin and Schmitt (2008) in their review of the pervasive nature of formulaic sequences, point out that Erman and Warren (2000) calculated that formulaic sequences of various classes constituted 58.6 per cent of the spoken English discourse that they analysed and 52.3 per cent of the written discourse. Further to this, Conklin and Schmitt (2012: 2) report that Oppenheim (2000) counted the multiword stretches of talk that occurred identically in practice and final renderings of a short speech on the same topic and found between 48 per cent and 80 per cent consisted of identical strings, replicating the results earlier findings.

Howarth (1998: 76) explored a corpus of 238,000 words of academic writing and found that "31-40% was made up of collocations and idioms". In addition, Biber et al. (2004) found that three-and four-word lexical bundles made up 28 per cent of the conversation and 20 per cent of the academic prose they studied. Furthermore, Foster (2001) in assessing the use of formulaic language in transcripts of unplanned native speech reported that 32.3 % of the speech was made up of formulaic sequences. This research all supports the conclusion reached by Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992) that formulaic sequences make up a large part of any discourse, and more specifically, as Conklin and Schmitt (2012: 2) conclude, that formulaic sequences make up one-third to one-half of any discourse. Given that formulaic sequences are based on common usage and therefore have to be learned individually, it is imperative that English language teaching in the Caribbean pay greater attention to the study of collocations and their impact on language use.

Many linguists have shown that multi-word units are important, not only to native speakers, but to language learners as well. Lui & Shaw (2001:172) suggest that language teaching should not only focus on how many words the learners know, but that it also needs to examine how well they know the words that they know. If, therefore, the goal of language teaching is proficiency in the language, then language teachers must accept that, as Lui and Shaw point out, a key element in successful native-like performance is "mastery of lexical relations – collocations, lexical phrases, [and] fixed phrases".

Since collocations are important in helping language learners achieve native-like proficiency, they serve as a significant bench mark in language learning (Wu et al., 2010; Durrant & Schmitt, 2009; Shei & Pain, 2000; Howarth, 1998). Language learners in straightforward second language contexts experience difficulty acquiring collocational knowledge and need the guidance of language teachers in order to raise their level of awareness of collocations and encourage acquisition of these patterns (Myers & Chang, 2009; Howarth, 1998). This need is even greater in second dialect language learning contexts, like many in the Caribbean.

Increasingly, students' poor writing skills and lack of proficiency in English have been cited as causes of poor performance in university courses, in general, and at The University of the West Indies (The UWI), in particular. The researcher's informal observation over the years has revealed that most students who fail the entry level proficiency in English language (ELPT) test go on to struggle with writing in their courses. Research has also shown that second language university students have significant deficits in collocational knowledge (Pawley & Syder, 1983; Nattinger & DeCarrico, 1992; Nesselhauf, 2003). Consequently, there is a demonstrated need to explore the collocational knowledge of students at The UWI.

This article is based on a study that focused on those students who failed the language proficiency entrance test. The study examined their receptive and productive competence with particular noun-verb collocates in order to determine the extent to which students who fail the ELPT test also have poor collocational competence.

Collocations and their role in language teaching in Barbados
Howarth (1998: 26) proposed the division of word combinations presented in figure1 below. Categorizing collocations under composite units, he defines composite units as units that "have a syntactic function in the clause or sentence and are generally best seen as realizations of phrase structures such as prepositional phrases, noun phrases, etc.".
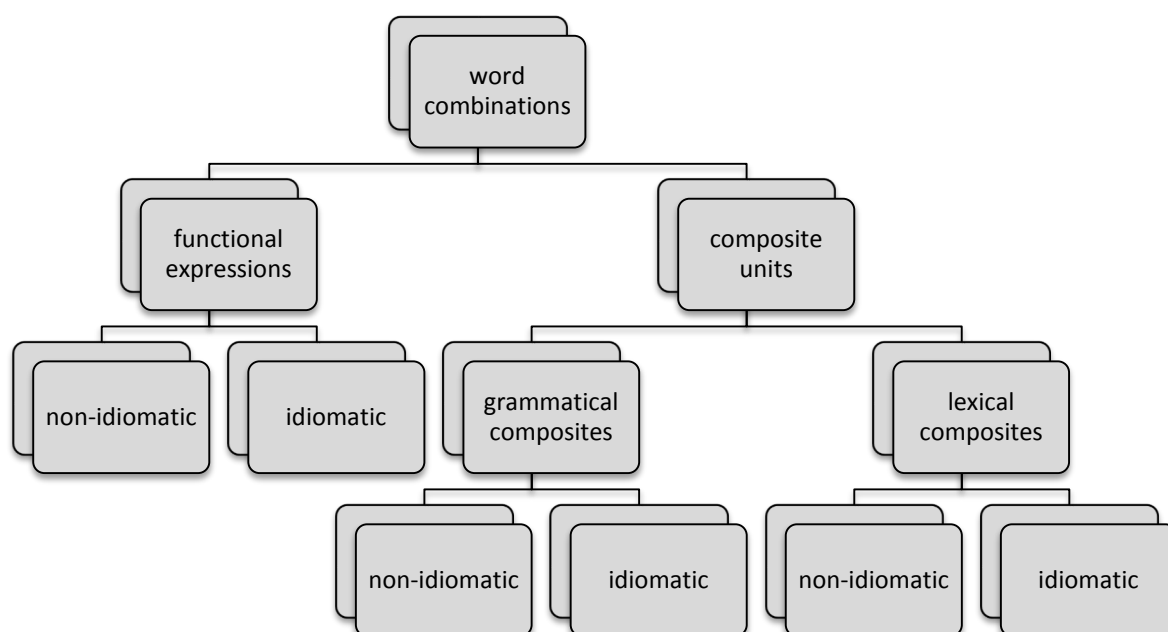
Figure 1 Phraseological Categories according to Howarth (1998: 27)

Benson, Benson & Ilson (1997) divide collocations into grammatical collocations and lexical collocations based on the word classes of their constituents. They define a grammatical collocation as "a phrase consisting of a dominant word (noun, adjective, verb) and a preposition or grammatical structure such as an infinitive or clause" (p. i). Lexical collocations do not include prepositions, infinitives or clauses; they typically consist of nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs in various combinations (p. xxx). Howarth (1998: 26-27) explains that lexical collocations consist of two open class words (verb + noun *(make a claim),* adjective + noun *(ulterior motive)* and so on, while collocations between one open and one closed class word are grammatical (preposition + noun *(in advance),* adjective + proposition *(fond of)*. This paper adopts Howarth's definition of lexical collocation

Howarth (1998: 30) concluded from a scan of foreign language textbooks that "teachers and materials writers were paying increasing attention to the necessity of learners to acquire knowledge of collocations and are aware that this component of competence should be addressed explicitly". However, in the Anglophone Caribbean there is still a widespread reluctance on the part of teachers to teach vocabulary explicitly, and certainly no sense of a need to address collocations as a part of vocabulary learning. The focus seems to much more on teaching the correct spelling of words than on teaching their meanings. Furthermore, those who do teach vocabulary use methods which are recommended for foreign and second language teaching which are not entirely suited for bidialectal language learning situations like Barbados'.

The language learning situation in Barbados is one in which the target language is Barbadian Standard English, which is also the official language; the first language spoken by the majority of Barbadians is a creolised variety of English which has been classified by linguists as a second dialect of English or a "related" vernacular (Roberts, 2007; Craig, 1999; Allsopp, 1996). Situations such as these, where there is a variety of English operating as the standard language and another variety of English spoken by the masses, are classified as second dialect or bidialectal language learning situations (Craig, 1983; 1999).

Barbados was under British control for over three hundred years before gaining its independence in 1966. This resulted in a population that possessed a level of familiarity with English, which mistakenly led educators to classify them as native speakers of English. As part of this legacy, teachers in Barbados have inherited the practice of teaching English as though it were the first language of their students. This is only true for a very small percentage of the population. "The English [language in Barbados] is neither a native language nor a foreign language" (Craig, 1969: 376). Craig labelled such contexts TESORV situations (teaching English to speakers of a related vernacular), rather than TESOL (teaching English to speakers of other languages) situations. Craig proposed that because of this, the language to be learned must be analysed into four strata: Class A: Patterns actively known; Class B: Patterns used only under stress; Class C: Patterns known passively; and Class D: Patterns not known.

Language learning situations such as these described by Craig present peculiar challenges to understanding language learners' knowledge of vocabulary and of assessing their competence in the target language. Many words which appear to be the same actually have several additional, and in some cases totally different, meanings in the local variety. Liu and Shaw (2001:172) examine the "quality of the learners' knowledge of the word" in investigating learners' vocabulary. They suggest that "knowing" a word is a rather complex process. Coady (1993: 13) proposes that when persons know a word, they know "the degree of probability of when and where to encounter a given word and the sorts of words to be found with it, the limitations imposed on it by register, its ap-

propriate syntactic behaviour, its underlying form and derivations, the network of associations it has, its semantic features, its extended or metaphorical meanings, and so on; in other words, they know "the company it keeps" (Firth, 1957: 11).

When language teachers in the Caribbean consider this, they must be concerned that many Caribbean students learning English may not actually "know" the words they encounter, or even use daily, in terms of the variety being taught in class. The situation is further complicated by fact that in situations like that of Barbados, where learners are learning a second dialect of English, most learners believe that they already know English. Learners and teachers alike, must realise that the task is much greater than simply learning/teaching literacy in English.

Study rationale, methodology and research questions

In collocation research, several classification systems have been developed. The taxonomy developed by Benson, Benson and Ilson may be one of the most commonly employed taxonomies to classify different types of collocations in empirical research. Benson, Benson, and Ilson (1986) drew a clear distinction between lexical and grammatical collocations. Lexical collocations refer to combinations of nouns, verbs, adjectives, or adverbs, resulting in seven different collocational structures like ''verb+ noun'' (*do the laundry*) and ''verb + adverb'' (*affect deeply*). Grammatical collocations, which are divided into nineteen different structures, usually comprise dominant word (noun, adjective, or verb) and complement structure (preposition, infinitive, or clause), such as ''adjective + preposition'' (*afraid of*). The classification developed by Benson, Benson, and Ilson is the framework used to classify lexical collocates in this paper.

Since the 1990s, collocation has become an increasingly important issue in second language vocabulary acquisition. Previous studies reveal the great difficulty that English as a foreign language (EFL) learners have in producing correct English collocations (Farghal & Obiedat, 1995). However, there have not been many studies focusing on second dialect learners or rather those whom Craig called speakers of related vernaculars (SORV), who make up the majority of the language learners in the Barbadian/West Indian context. Research on academic writing has shown that collocational use is common within the academic community and serves a very important discourse function. Howarth (1988) has posited that failure to use appropriate academic collocations may result in cumulative loss of precision. Howarth (1996) reported that whereas native speakers use collocations as an important part of their academic writing, learners do not make enough use of native-like collocations and tend to overuse atypical word combinations (Wu et al., 2010).

In a study conducted by Zhang (1993), in which a series of experiments were conducted to explore the relationship between knowledge of collocation and proficiency in writing, it was found that more proficient second language writers use significantly more collocations, more accurately and in more variety than less proficient learners. Kjellmer

(1991) believes that 'automation of collocations' helps native speakers to utter sentences more fluently. Language learners lack this automation and so must constantly create structures and are thus less fluent when speaking. Similarly, Aston (1995) notes that the use of a large amount of prefabricated items speeds language processing in comprehension and production alike, and thus creates the native-like fluency which students desire. Therefore, Wu (2015: 231) concludes that "collocation knowledge is fundamental for both receptive and productive use of the language to L2 learners, regardless of their language level."

Thus, EFL/ESL learners' knowledge of collocations (*collocational competence*) is an essential requirement for the overall mastery of L2. In order to speak a language the way its native speakers do, students should observe which words co-occur. This seems to hold true for people learning a second dialect as well. Therefore, collocational competence is perhaps one of the highest levels of linguistic proficiency that learners can attain.

The present researcher's interest in this topic was born out of the observation and examination of students' writing over the last fifteen years and the resulting recognition of the problems that D2 speakers have in matching appropriate nouns with verbs, appropriate verbs with nouns, the appropriate nouns with other nouns, and so on. Because collocations play an important role in the coherence and cohesion of language which leads to overall mastery of L2, there is a pressing need to look deeper into the problem of collocations in D2 learning.

Despite their important role in D2 learning, collocations have not received much attention to date. There has been little research on how collocations are used by D2 learners. This study aimed to explore the similarities in collocational competence between students learning English as a second language and those learning English as a second dialect, by exploring their receptive and productive competence with selected verb-noun collocates.

Research has shown that it is important for language learners to recognize and produce collocations since this is seen as a good indicator of proficiency in English. This study was therefore concerned with the students' ability to understand the meanings of the collocations by recognizing them, and also with their ability to produce them.

The study sought to answer the following questions:

- What is the productive knowledge of Caribbean D2 learners of English of the selected *verb + noun* collocations?
- What is the receptive knowledge of Caribbean D2 learners of English of the selected *verb + noun* collocations?
- What is the difference between the productive and receptive competence of EFL learners and Caribbean D2 learners of the selected *verb + noun* collocations?
- What similarities exist between the productive and receptive competence of EFL learners and Caribbean D2 learners of the selected *verb + noun* collocations?

In recent years, students' poor writing skills and lack of proficiency in the use of the language have increasingly been cited as causes of poor performance in university courses. Applicants to The UWI, Cave Hill Campus write a proficiency in English test (ELPT) as part of their entrance requirement unless they have been exempted because they attained Grade 1 in the Caribbean Examinations Council's Caribbean Secondary Education Certificate English A examination, or they already possess a Bachelor's degree. The results of this test are used to determine assignment of students to the Foundation Language courses. Students who fail the ELPT test are required to take a remedial English course. The participants in this study were 42 undergraduate students who were part of the remedial English course taken by students who fail the ELPT test. They were enrolled in three sections of the course. Only responses from Barbadian students were included in the sample.

Brashi (2009) studied the productive and receptive competence of Saudi Arabian university level students studying in English, who were EFL learners. Therefore, in order to determine whether students who spoke English as a second dialect would have similar problems producing native-like collocations, the researcher chose to use to use the same verb-noun collocations which Brashi (2009) used. This would allow the researcher to compare the performance of Caribbean D2 speakers with Saudi Arabian EFL learners.

Two tests were administered (see Appendices A and B). The first test was a "fill in the blank" test of English collocations. The Brashi (2009) test consisted of twenty items taken from the *Collins COBUILD English Collocations on CD-ROM* by Sinclair et al. Each item consisted of an English sentence with a *blank + a noun.* The participants were given instructions to fill in the blanks with "the verb that goes best with the *noun* (in *italics*)". This test was intended to measure students' productive knowledge of the selected English verb + noun collocates. Sentences were adapted to reflect the Caribbean cultural context, but the same *verb+noun* collocates were used. The second test was a multiple-choice test of twenty items. This test used the same items used in the first test, but this time students were given four options from which to choose. Students were instructed to choose the verb that goes best with the noun in italics. The purpose of this test was to gauge the students' receptive knowledge of the selected *verb + noun* collocates.

The first test was administered during the first week of classes. Students were given the test as an in-class exercise, administered by the instructor. They had 15 minutes to complete the test and were allowed to make changes to, or "correct," answers. The second test was administered one week later. Collocations were taken to be acceptable if they could be found in either the *BBI Combinatory Dictionary,* the *Oxford Collocations Dictionary for Students of English* (based on the British national Corpus) online and the

Collins COBUILD Dictionary. No response was taken as an inability to find an appropriate response and was coded as an incorrect response. Spelling mistakes were not counted as errors in coding correct responses.

Results and discussion

The first test was meant to assess students' ability to produce acceptable collocations. Students were able to produce an acceptable collocation 60 per cent of the time; however, 40 per cent of the collocations they produced were unacceptable. Though this may seem an acceptable level at first glance, it means that students are not actually close to native-like fluency. This result is similar to the results for the CXC CSEC English A examination, which has recorded passes of approximately 60 per cent over the past few years. However, consecutive Ministries of Education over the years have said that this is below par and have stated the need for improvement.

As shown in Table 1 below, students had difficulty completing collocations such as ____ *a (civil) war,* and _____ *(her) rage and humiliation*. Only 12 per cent of respondents produced an acceptable collocation for *She ____ her rage and humiliation that night, driving him home at the end of the evening*. A limited number of verbs collocate with *rage;* these include *control, master, vent, express, feel and suppress.* In this sentence the only appropriate answers are *controlled* and *suppressed.* Incorrect responses included **reached her rage; *showcased her rage; *revealed her rage.* Some erroneous responses to _____ *a civil war* were **create civil war; *conduct civil war, *start civil war, *make civil war.* Ninety-three per cent of the students were unable to select appropriate verbs to collocate with *caution.* They produced collocates like *maintain, have and be;* only 7% of them choose appropriate collocates.

Though many of the students were able to give acceptable verb collocations for nouns such as *mistake, pact,* and *deal*, they were largely uncreative in their choices. Most of them chose the verb *make* to produce, for example, *made a pact* and *made a mistake.* The noun *mistake* can collocate with *make, repeat, discover, realize, acknowledge, and admit to*; while *pact* collocates with *make, enter into, form, strike, conclude,* and *sign. Deal* collocates with a number of verbs besides *make* such as *sign, strike, clinch, secure, win, cut, negotiate, reach, seal,* and *close.*

Participants were least successful in choosing collocates for nouns that collocated with few verbs and or specific verbs. They depended largely on primary verbs *be* and *do* and the verb *make.* The noun *caution* collocates with *exercise, advise, counsel, urge* and *use.* In this context the only appropriate verbs were *use* and *exercise.* The noun *promise* in the sense used in sentence 2 collocated with a small number of verbs*: fulfil, honour, keep, break, renege, repudiate* and the phrasal verb, *go back on.* Only three verbs collocated with *law* in the sense in which it was used in sentence 11: *break, flout* and *violate.* In sentence 20, only two verbs collocated with company, *manage* and *run.*

Table 1 Students' Receptive and Productive Competence Compared

ITEM	Productive Competence		Receptive Competence	
1. _____ a pact	33/42	79%	42/42	100%
2. _____ a promise	22/42	52%	42/42	100%
3. _____ a horse	37/42	88%	42/42	100%
4. _____ his sword	22/42	52%	34/42	81%
5. _____ orders	34/42	81%	37/42	88%
6. _____ your secrets	38/42	88%	42/42	100%
7. _____ a deal	27/42	64%	38/42	90%
8. _____ a mistake	40/42	95%	42/42	100%
9. _____ a crime	33/42	79%	42/42	100%
10. _____ an effort	36/42	86%	42/42	100%
11. _____ the law	24/42	57%	17/42	40%
12. _____ an example	22/42	52%	38/42	90%
13. _____ a goal	28/42	67%	35/42	83%
14. _____ rage and humiliation	5/42	12%	33/42	79%
15. _____ a favour	28/42	67%	38/42	90%
16. _____ a civil war	7/42	17%	21/42	50%
17. _____ caution	3/42	7%	34/42	81%
18. _____ his decision	34/42	81%	34/42	81%
19. _____ a law	15/42	36%	40/42	95%
20. _____ the company	17/42	40%	20/42	48%

The second test was designed to test students' receptive collocational competence. As was expected, students scored considerably better on the test for receptive competence than they did on the first test. They were able to select suitable collocates 84% of the time. This was significantly higher than their productive competence which was 60%.

Though they performed much better on this test, they again had difficulty selecting appropriate collocates for *law* (sentence 11), *war* (sentence 16), and *company* (sentence 20).

Table 2 below demonstrates that the Saudi Arabian students studying English as a foreign language seemed to have difficulties with many of the same collocations as Barbadian speakers of English as a second dialect. When their performance is compared on the productive competence test, the results are interesting. Both groups had difficulty finding verb collocates for those nouns like *war*, *business* and *rage*, which collocate with a restricted set of verbs in the senses in which they are used in the tests. In the receptive tests, however, both groups were able to recognize more of the appropriate collocates, once they were presented.

Table 2 EFL Learners vs D2 Learners on Productive Competence Test

Sentence No. and noun collocate	EFL: Level of Success	D2: Level of Success
2. (promise)	60%	52%
4. (sword)	10%	52%
7. (deal)	15%	64%
11. (law)	45%	57%
14. (rage and humiliation)	15%	12%
16. (war)	35%	17%
17. (caution)	30%	7%
20. (business)	40%	40%

The errors which both EFL and D2 students made suggest that there is a need to teach all of the meanings associated with a particular word. In EFL situations, at least, teachers spend some of their time teaching words, however vocabulary teaching is not a significant part of D2 language curricula. Barbadian language teachers need to make a conscious effort to plan and teach words and word collocations. If knowing a word means knowing its syntactic and lexical behaviour, then many of our students do not know a vast number of the words they encounter on a daily basis, or at best, they know them in part. The rote learning of word associations that formed part of lessons in the past needs to be revisited to determine the usefulness of such methods in vocabulary learning. Students need to be provided with resources such as collocational dictionaries and concordances which they can use to discover word collocates. Greater emphasis must also be placed on teaching and supporting the use of dictionary skills. This research has shown that university students are not producing native-like expressions in English and this issue needs to be addressed urgently.

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Test 1: Blank-filling test of English collocations
Complete the following sentences by filling in the blank with the verb goes best with the noun in italics.

1. The couple_____ *a pact* not to talk about each other.
2. They are _____*the promise* they made before the election.
3. The last time I went anywhere near the Garrison Savannah, I believe I saw a girl_____ *a horse*.
4. Little John had_____ *his sword* and touched his spurs to his horse's flanks.
5. He doesn't like to tell people what to do or _____ *orders*.
6. In other words, if a woman asks you to _____ *your secrets*, she may really be asking you to tell her that you have no secrets.
7. Regional governments are under pressure from persons who fear that they will _____*a deal* with China.
8. Now, looking back on it, I don't know how we could have_____ *a mistake*.
9. In his mind, Robertson had_____ *a crime* which was unforgivable.
10. _____*an effort* to keep in touch with your friends, even if it's just a quick phone call.

11. Mr. Bush said the embassy must stay open and stressed that President Saddam was _____*the law* by attempting to force its closure.
12. I can_____ *an example*.
13. New Zealand's central bank looks well on track to_____ *its goal* of reducing inflation to

    0.2% by the end of 1993.
14. She_____ *her rage* and humiliation that night, driving him home at the end of the evening.
15. She said she thought she was_____ *a favour*.
16. The Resistance cannot_____ *a civil* war on the streets.
17. Until then you will have to_____ *caution* in all your financial dealings.
18. He wanted to think it out himself, and he didn't want to talk about it until he _____ *his decision*.
19. The Supreme Soviet_____ *a law* on May 20th.
20. Because if they agree with you, it would be very hard for me to_____ *the company*.

Test 2: The multiple-choice test of English collocations
Choose the verb that goes best with the *noun* (in *italics*) in the following sentences.

1. The couple_____ *a pact* not to talk about each other.
    A. performed B. gave   C. made   D. had
2. They are_____ *the promise* they made before the election.
    A. ruining   B. breaking   C. demeaning   D. corrupting
3. The last time I went anywhere near the Garrison Savannah, I believe I saw a girl_____ *a horse*.
    A. riding   B. driving   C. travelling   D. cruising
4. Little John had _____*his sword* and touched his spurs to his horse's flanks.
    A. hauled   B. dragged   C. towed   D. drawn
5. He doesn't like to tell people what to do or_____ *orders*.
    A. give   B. make   C. tell   D. say
6. In other words, if a woman asks you to _____ *your secrets*, she may really be asking you to tell her that you have no secrets.
    A. give   B. say   C. reveal   D. announce
7. Regional governments are under pressure from persons who fear that they will _____*a deal* with China.
    A. complete B. fix   C. have   D. make
8. Now, looking back on it, I don't know how we could have _____ *a mistake*.
    A. presented B. made   C. did   D. performed
9. In his mind, Robertson had _____ *a crime* which was unforgivable.
    A. committed   B. made   C. did   D. performed
10. _____*an effort* to keep in touch with your friends, even if it's just a quick phone call.
    A. Use   B. Exercise   C. Employ   D. Make
11. Mr. Bush said the embassy must stay open and stressed that President Saddam was _____*the law* by attempting to force its closure.
    A. ignoring   B. violating   C. disregarding   D. disrespecting
12. I can _____*an example*.
    A. supply   B. offer   C. give   D. issue
13. New Zealand's central bank looks well on track to *its goal* of reducing inflation to 0.2% by the end of 1993.
    A. get   B. obtain   C. acquire   D. achieve
14. She_____ *her rage* and humiliation that night, driving him home at the end of the evening.
    A. suppressed   B. covered   C. prevented   D. ceased

15. She said she thought she was _____ *a favour*.
      A. presenting   B. giving   C. doing   D. awarding

16. The Resistance cannot _____ *a civil* war on the streets.
      A. pursue   B. wage   C. make   D. practise

17. Until then you will have to _____ *caution* in all your financial dealings.
      A. practise   B. exercise   C. perform   D. act

18. He wanted to think it out himself, and he didn't want to talk about it until he _____ *his decision*.
      A. made   B. gave   C. supplied   D. provided

19. The Supreme Soviet _____ *a law* on May 20th.
      A. launched B. formed   C. created   D. passed

20. Because if they agree with you, it would be very hard for me to _____ *the company*.
      A. control   B. govern   C. run   D. rule

THE LACK OF CULTURALLY RELEVANT MATERIALS IN PUERTO RICAN CLASSROOMS

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Imagine this: you and your friends have a sleepover at your house. You have some *pampushky*, share some scary stories, and go to bed. At night, you hear some strange noises downstairs. Could it be a pochard? Or could it be the malicious *Kikimora*? Now imagine this other scenario: you and your friends have a sleepover at your house. You have some *tembleque*, share some scary stories, and go to bed. At night, you hear some strange noises downstairs. Could it be a *changa*? Or could it be the malicious *Llorona*? Although both stories are structurally the same, if you did not grow up in Ukraine, it's likely that you related better to the second story. This lack of Ukrainian cultural knowledge will most likely mean that most of the important story details will go over your head, thus preventing you from better understanding its cultural importance.

Culture is not only the words, the food, the music, history, or the illustrious heroes. It's a way of life. Each society develops its culture based on the experiences and needs of its people. In Puerto Rico, it's understanding that *coquito* can also mean the holidays. It's clapping when a plane lands even though others will see you as a buffoon. It's understanding that you're in danger when mom or dad says, "Deja que lleguemos a casa". It's running back home when grandma says you are going to catch *sereno*. It's dyeing your hair blonde so you can magically support your country's baseball team. It's letting yourself fall backwards in water on "La Noche de San Juan". It's going out at night to get some grass to fill a shoebox for the Kings' camels, the examples go on.

There is so much historical and cultural richness in many of our Puerto Rican traditions. Even more amazing is that there is so much we can connect to just by mentioning a couple of examples, and this from our culture alone. To mention a few content words about culture in a story is easy, but to understand the weight they carry, the context behind them, is a more difficult and complex task. To study other cultures in a classroom is indeed an enriching experience, and should be encouraged all the way to adulthood, but in a foreign language environment, like the Puerto Rican English classroom, it only makes sense to use what is familiar to the student, what they can relate to, while using

English as the medium. It will be easier to try to explain something in a different language if it is something that the students are already familiar with or have experienced in their lives. Culturally relevant material is an essential part not only of learning a new language, but also of exploring one's own cultural identity as well.

Brathwaite (1984) states that "in the Caribbean English-speaking countries students were forced to learn things which had no relevance to them. They knew more about English kings and queens than they knew about their own national society: people who helped to build and destroy their society to what it is today". The same happens in Puerto Rico, where people know more about New York monuments and food than what they know about the importance of our natural resources or national monuments. Puerto Ricans have heard more stories of snow or the changes of the seasons in the USA than of the hurricanes which have devastated the island. This type of exposure disconnects with their reality and environment, and may downplay the importance of their culture and society.

Truong Thi My Van (2009) in an analysis of six approaches to teaching literature in an EFL classroom, criticizes the use of literary works from what is the traditional cannon for second language learning. These literary classics often render readers' experience invisible and irrelevant, so it is very difficult for a student in Hanoi, for example, to connect the life of Huckleberry Finn on the Mississippi river to the daily life of young people in Vietnam. This lack of cultural relevance and familiarity leads to misinterpretations of texts and often makes students depend on the teacher's interpretation. Such dependence can greatly hamper the reading process, forcing the teacher to stop every so often to expand on story details that may be totally unknown to the student.

In many cases, teachers are torn between limiting the depth of students' comprehension by limiting the time devoted to contextualizing texts on the one hand, and limiting the breadth of students' exposure to texts by limiting the number of texts presented. Sometimes abridged explanations can only provide students with the main idea of the story, omitting many other interesting and equally important details. To limit a literary experience to the most relevant details for immediate purposes, such as writing a response paper or a test, also limits cultural exploration and discovery. This does not mean that we cannot enjoy a foreign cultural experience through a text, but sometimes because of the scope of students' experience base, they may not have the proper tools to interact with a text in a meaningful way.

James P. Lantolf (2000) states that Vygotsky claimed that people need symbolic tools in order to understand the world and themselves, because humans do not interact directly with the physical world. These symbolic tools include numbers, art, and most importantly, language. Though they may share some commonalities, these tools are not universal. Each symbolic system emerges from a set of specific historical/cultural conditions, thus, these tools carry the characteristics of the specific culture that created them. Over time, these are passed on through generations; and modified to fit the needs

of particular individuals and communities. What this means for students is that their perception of the world is as wide and deep as the tools that they have been equipped with by their society allow it to be. If a student has never heard of a certain concept because of lack of exposure, then they are unlikely to grasp it. Hence, when a teacher discusses different types of snow in a Puerto Rican classroom, the students are likely to disconnect, because the discussion cannot be linked to anything that they already know. Cultural relevance is fundamental to our English learning students. One important reason why so many of our students fail to learn English is that teachers are disobeying the first principle of education, which stipulates that teachers should always try to go from the known to the unknown, that is, they should use what the students already know in order to introduce them to something that they do not yet know. Unfortunately, most of us spend too much time working from the unknown to the unknown, expecting students to learn about foreign ideas via a foreign language. Even in such anti-pedagogical situations, however, a few gifted students manage to succeed, but the majority fail. But should our English classes be serving the needs of a small minority of our students, at the expense of the needs of the great majority? By providing our students with culturally relatable content in English, we can hope for better and more consistently effective classroom interaction to help more of them to succeed.

As English teachers working in a mostly Spanish speaking society, we often see a difference in how our students respond when they read and listen to culturally relevant stories or participate in learning activities that they can relate to. In some cases, after reading a story that is relevant to them, they feel sufficiently confident and knowledgeable to share other stories and ideas from their own lives, thus encouraging active participation and enthusiasm on their part. This kind of reaction is harder to achieve when the stories and activities are not relevant or pertinent to what they know. Cultural relevance promotes a sense of belonging, which motivates students to come to class and participate in their learning process.

The mission statement of the English Program of the Department of Education of Puerto Rico (DEPR) officially encourages culturally relevant materials in our classrooms: "*El Programa ofrecerá un currículo enriquecedor, integrado y restante que tome en consideración el trasfondo social, económico, cultural y personal de cada estudiante; incluyendo sus conocimientos y capacidades*". So, by providing our students with culturally relevant texts, we can also fulfil the mission of the English program. Unfortunately, this is not the case in most English classrooms on the island. The standards and expectations of the DEPR stipulate that our ESL students to be proficient in speaking, listening, reading, and writing English. Each of these is a fundamental pillar in the process of achieving native-level language skills. In order to achieve this, we need to have our students participate actively in the classroom setting. If our students do not have anything they can relate to, such active participation becomes impossible for most of them.

The idea of cultural relevance is not a new one in Puerto Rico. There have been several

attempts to make culturally relevant materials for Puerto Rican classrooms. Lewis C. Richardson, as cited by Pousada (2014), worked for the English Department of the College of Humanities of the University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras. He devised an English Institute to study problems related to teaching English in Puerto Rico and to produce a more effective curriculum. From 1943 to 1949, he created an English pilot program from 1st to 4th grade based on locally created materials and culturally relevant themes. These were stories that spoke about local things like farms, schools, sugarcane and bananas. Unfortunately, in 1949 Charles Fries was invited to Puerto Rico as an educational consultant and this led to his culturally inappropriate textbook, titled *Fries American English* being adopted instead as the official ESL text in Puerto Rico. Richardson's English Institute could not compete with Fries' commercial text, leading to the cancellation of the program and the rejection of the materials created under its auspices.

Dr. Anibal Muñoz Claudio, writer and professor, has written culturally relevant textbooks for our students in Puerto Rico. He uses the culture experiences of young people and simple, relevant stories enriched with Puerto Rican vocabulary and traditions. An example of one of his stories is "*Los Prepas*". This story is about a girl who becomes a "*prepa*" along with all of the other students who are attending their first week of high school. The story narrates her experience during *prepa* week. This is very relevant to our students, especially our freshmen, who worry about *prepa* every year. To a foreigner, *prepa* may not have much significance, but to our students, *prepa* means that they might be obliged to dance in front of most of the student body and possibly be soaked with water as a welcoming ritual. To a future freshman, this particular story will be very engaging, since they know that it deals with their lived experience.

To see any substantial increase in the relevance of the texts used in our English classrooms, we need more people to write more culturally relevant stories for our ESL students. We want our teachers, acquaintances, and our own students to bring their stories to our classrooms to stimulate inclusion and involvement. We want our students to share their family stories that have been passed on from generation to generation. We can also expand our reading selections including more stories from the rest of the Caribbean in our classrooms. There are writers from the English-speaking Caribbean islands neighboring Puerto Rico who could provide our students with a variety of texts in English with settings, characters, or experiences familiar to them. Puerto Rican students may be surprised to find that our neighbors have much more in common with them than they realize, thus creating links in our classes not only with our Caribbean identity, but also with our Caribbean neighbors. Cultural relevance in our class content will not only help our students learn English more effectively, but may also help our students gain pride in their country and their Caribbean roots.

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HOW AN EFL APPROACH COULD RESCUE ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN PUERTO RICO

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Language and culture play a big role in how English is accepted or rejected in non-English speaking scenarios. Research has proven that learners seem to acquire a language with ease if they connect positively with the culture with which they associate that language. The case of Puerto Rico and English as a Second Language (ESL) teaching is quite interesting because the use of an ESL approach would imply that Puerto Ricans share an unproblematic connection with the culture of their colonizing nation, which is not the case.

The North American conquest of the island in 1898 brought with it the forced use of English as the language of instruction in the schools of a Spanish-speaking country that was yet to recover from a previous conquest. Even though the colonial authorities were obliged to revoke this pedagogically absurd approach some fifty years later, the fallout from this disastrous educational policy is still evident among the negative attitudes toward English among the Puerto Rican population; a situation that is neatly summarized in Pousada's (1996) article *Puerto Rico: on the horns of a language planning dilemma,* "… the greatest impediment faced by the ESL teachers has been the public's resistance to learning English… virtually every combination of Spanish and English was tried in Puerto Rico" (p. 500). Their negative experiences with forced assimilation of North American culture and the English language has put the population in a reactive mode, leading to the widespread assertion that: "I am not a *gringo.*"

The current goal of the Department of Education (DE) in Puerto Rico is native-like pronunciation fluently communication competence in English. This goal, however, is neither reflected in the curriculum nor in the performance of the vast majority of students. The problem with the ESL structure on the island is that it expects students to already have a strong basis in the target language, assuming that because English is the official second language of the island, it is commonly used among different social groups. In the public school system, students largely reject North American culture, and feel absolutely no connection with the English language. The fact is that people in Puerto Rico can live their whole lives without having to speak English, mostly because

the language is not used beyond the restricted networks of people who are genuinely interested in acquiring it. The combination of these factors creates frustrated teachers who barely speak English in their classrooms, and students who pass their English classes without actually learning the language.

The curriculum is not structured to reflect the complicated reality that Puerto Ricans face, and teachers are expected to oversimplify or alter the lessons to such an extent as to render them unaccountable to their original objectives. I often hear the message, "The curriculum is politics. Modify what they ask for and do it your own way." Teachers are not provided with realistic content that actually targets their reluctant learners. This is part of the reason why students are not acquiring English successfully, or have completely rejected the idea of learning it. This could change, however if we adopt a different perspective. Perspective has everything to do with why Puerto Ricans are rejecting English in the first place, so it is no surprise that perspective could also play a role in fostering their acceptance of it. Why not meet the population on its own terms by transforming our understanding of the teaching of English, so that students are not forced to make it a part of their identity? Students should be allowed to see English from an international point of view, with the ultimate goal of encouraging them to adopt an intercultural repertoire of identities in which their colonizing language does not pose a threat to their sense of who they are.

Teaching English as a Foreign Language (EFL) instead of English as a Second Language could play a major role in promoting the acceptance of English in Puerto Rico. In essence, EFL is the teaching of English in a foreign context. There are many definitions of EFL, but for the purposes of this article, I use that proposed by Brown (2014) in *Principles of language learning and teaching*, "Learning EFL, or learning any L2 in an L1 culture [is appropriate for students] with few opportunities to use the language within the environment of that culture (for example, learning English in Japan)…" (p. 194). This certainly seems to apply to Puerto Rico.

Teaching EFL implies guiding learners with tasks that are culturally relevant to them. Currently, the texts provided by the DE are not culturally appropriate, and they are irrelevant to the present technologically oriented generation. It is not enough to include a conversational English section to the units. What is required is a complete restructuring of the curriculum into one where students play an active role in their learning, and where English is disentangled from the politics and culture of the United States.

Among students there is a very strong belief that English belongs to the "*gringos*". "*gringo*" is a word with negative and offensive connotations that is used to describe North Americans, and students routinely call anyone whom they hear speaking English "*gringo*". Exchanges such as: A: "You're such a gringo" B: "I am not a *gringo*" can be heard when a student attempts or is asked to use English. However, such negative perspective towards English could be changed if the concept behind the teaching of English in Puerto Rico were to be shifted from an ESL to an EFL framework. Students do not

want to feel identified with the North American culture and instead prefer to stick to their "roots". These "roots" themselves are already fragile, because they are located in 400 years of Spanish colonization and the present day ambiguous, semi-autonomous Commonwealth status of the island. All of this already promotes uncertainty and insecurity when defining a Puerto Rican nationality, even before adding an assimilative ESL approach to the teaching of English to the mix.

By teaching English as a foreign language, students will not feel forced to identify with North American culture, but can instead be encouraged to adopt aspects of it indirectly, as they are already doing to a certain extent through their exposure to the mass and social media. When the language is detached from the culture, some of the prevailing negative attitudes can be overcome. English language would then be able to be detached from US varieties in favor of less threatening varieties, such as those from Jamaica and the rest of the Anglophone Caribbean, with which the students would be more likely to positively identify.

Adopting an international EFL perspective for the teaching of English means that learners are not expected to abandon their own cultures in favor of an Anglophone culture, and instead they are invited to appreciate the diversity in their world. In *The question of culture: EFL teaching in non-English-speaking countries* Cem & Margaret Alptekin (1984) state, "Many of these learners tend to reject the norms and values of English-speaking cultures, but still acquire English…". This implies that an intercultural identity is linked to a native identity. "In Kuwait, EFL texts are being prepared with the Kuwaiti situation in mind." This goes back to the previous point that the current curriculum and teaching approach in Puerto Rico are culturally inappropriate. Puerto Ricans are not known for their habit of reading as a hobby or for their enjoyment of Shakespearian sonnets, neither of which is relevant to how Puerto Ricans live their lives on a daily basis. A dose of reality, whereby students are able to relate to English in ways that are non-threatening, relevant and meaningful, must be introduced into the English classroom to avoid rejection.

My understanding of foreign language methodologies has been impacted by two personal experiences: 1) taking a university-level French course where an EFL approach was adopted; and 2) experimenting with ESL vs. EFL methodologies to teach English to my eighth grade students. My French course gave me a glimpse on how Puerto Rican students are alienated by their ESL learning experiences. The course was taught using an EFL methodology, filled with dramatization, dialogues, and repetition, almost exclusively in French. The experience was challenging, but it taught me basic French in weeks. In contrast, many high school students do not know even simple concepts in English after having taken English as a required subject for 12 years.

After failing to teach my eight grade students a lesson on memoirs in English using the ESL approach normally adopted in the Puerto Rican classroom, in desperation I converted the memoir lesson into a dialogue and asked them to practice and perform it. For

the first time in my teaching career, I heard my 108 students speak English. Even the ones who refused to be a "*gringo*" complied with the assignment, gained a better understanding of what a memoir is, and used English for communicative purposes. An ESL approach did not provide me with the tools necessary to work with my students, and the DE curriculum was of no help. It was only when I changed the task from reading a text to a dialogue that my students engaged in the learning of English.

Teachers of English in Puerto Rico are generally frustrated. Continuing to teach ESL is to continue a never-ending battle between frustrated teachers and reluctant students who assert that: "I don't understand English" and "I am not a *gringo*, I am Puerto Rican. I do not need English." Wrongheaded educational policies have left damage in the classroom that will not be easily fixed, as summarized in the model below:

Table 1 Spanish (English) Class Model

Reluctant Student	► Frustrated English Teacher
Frustrated English Teacher	► Spanish 'Leakage' into Interactions
Spanish 'Leakage' into Interactions	► Spanish 'Patches' in the Lessons
Spanish 'Patches' in the Lessons	► An English Class Taught in Spanish

Source: Model by Kevin Méndez

Public school English teachers face an incredible challenge; of my 108 students, only 10 were fluent in English and only a dozen more understood most of what I was saying. Having to teach memoirs or any other unit using English with students who struggle with greeting you in the target language is no easy feat. This problem leads to teachers mostly using Spanish instead of English. The use of Spanish comes gradually, slowly evolving through frustration, leakage, and patches until it becomes a Spanish class with an English facade. According to Pousada (2018) in her article *Language education policy issues in Puerto Rico*, "Some of the teachers who stay behind on the island fall into the habit of teaching the English class in Spanish to accommodate the students' limited English skills. This furthers a common perception among students that English is a "Mickey Mouse" course that one can pass without really making an effort or learning the language" (p. 228). Frustration with the learning of English spreads from the students to the teachers. This alone should be an indicator that the current approach to teaching English in Puerto Rico is on a downward spiral that must be reversed.

The implementation of an EFL approach in Puerto Rico should not be undertaken in a reactive way, without careful research and analysis. ESL has not proved to be problematic in every single school in Puerto Rico, and not every single student expresses reluctance towards the target language. Those schools where such problems and reluctance are evident, however, should be targeted in order to implement EFL teaching principles.

High risk schools or schools categorized as *comprehensive* should be the first ones to experience this transformation. Perspective is the key concept for this shift. If students are able to detach their view of English from their view on the North American culture, they stand a better chance of widening their horizons through learning English. It is no longer enough to sell English as the key to accessing job opportunities, which has been the case up until now in Puerto Rico. English curriculums must promote the exploration of a wide variety of cultures which have accepted English into their linguistic repertoires, while connecting in a meaningful way with Puerto Rican linguistic, cultural and social realities.

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UNSETTLING RESONANCES
IN LITERATURE AND POLITICAL
MOBILIZATION IN THE GREATER
CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND

PERFORMING THE UNFINISHED HISTORY OF EMANCIPATION IN THE US VIRGIN ISLANDS WITH RICHARD A SCHRADER SR.'S *1878 QUEEN MARY AND DEM*

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> ". . . the future of West Indian militancy lies in its art"
> Derek Walcott (1998: 16}

Walcott's statement quoted above on struggles to create a West Indian theatrical culture in the 20th century provides an opening for a discussion of Richard A. Schrader Sr.'s play, *1878 Queen Mary and dem* (1998). The militancy that Walcott advocates is not controlled by the revenge poetics of a few, nor is it blinded by a preoccupation with a distant and imagined African past, nor is it a messianic representation of the down trodden, hungry, homeless, poverty stricken and mentally disturbed as heroes, nor is it guilt ridden forgiveness seeking. Instead it is a militancy defined by love that "reassembles our African and Asiatic fragments, the cracked heirlooms whose restoration shows its white scars. . . .. Antillean art is this restoration of our shattered histories . . ." (Walcott, 1998: 69). For Walcott, however, this militancy is defined through a problematic landscape devoid of any ruins of historical monuments.

Thus, for Walcott, any attempt at crafting a Caribbean history must recognize that that history is "fiction subject to a fitful muse, memory" (p. 17). Indeed, he problematically states that "because of the horrors of enslavement, the African Caribbean dramatist or poet surrenders to amnesia, and thus is capable only of what is imaginary and fictional, framed through spectacles of oversimplifications by "mediocre talents raising old totems and artificial histories" (pp. 43-44). Walcott's somehow elitist dismissal of early Caribbean writers' efforts to offer counter-histories against empire through the collated fragments of memory performed in oral narratives runs counter to Greg Dening's stance in *Mr. Bligh's bad language* that "history is not the past: it is a consciousness of the past used for present purposes" (1992: 170) Drawing from Hayden White's ideas about

European history developed in *Metahistory: the historical imagination in nineteenth-century Europe* (1975), Dening debunks Eurocentric definitions of history as objectively written records of scientifically factual events in which orality becomes suspect. Yet, what is thought as factual and objective is merely ideologically laden processes of representational and interpretational reviews of events. History, in contrast then to Walcott's position, is "not so much fact as performance" (Dening, 1992: 292). Therefore, in Caribbean anticolonial/post-colonial thought, history is a revisionary "reassessment of the past that facilitates a perception of the present and the future" (Gilbert & Tompkins, 2002: 106).

To describe Caribbean historical accounts as revisionary does not invalidate their efficacy. In this article, I add Richard Schrader Sr.'s *Queen Mary and dem* (1998) to a weighty list of works that deploy a strategy of revisioning, especially through theatrical reenactments of non-European Caribbean historical figures and their contribution to Caribbean and global events, such as Derek Walcott's *The Haitian trilogy:[Henri Christophe, Drums and colours, and The Haitian earth: plays]* (2002); Aimé Césaire's *The tragedy of King Christophe* (2002) and *A season in the Congo* (2010, [1966]); C.L R James' *The Black Jacobins* (1989, [1938]); Eintou Pearl Springer's *Canboulay* (2008); David Edgecombe's *Hubert Harrison* (2016) etc. I stress that Schrader Sr.'s *Queen Mary and dem* "provides the other side [of Crucian] history . . . to accommodate not only the key events [of 1878 in St. Croix] experienced by [the Crucian community] . . . but also the cultural contexts through which these events are interpreted and recorded" (Gilbert & Tompkins, 2002: 107). The play testifies in hindsight to the untenable situation emancipated Africans faced as their aspirations and hopes were subverted and erased within entrenched pre-emancipation economic, racial, gender, political and social hierarchies. I argue that *Queen Mary and dem* fulfils a dual role as both an anti-colonial and post-colonial text, even though St. Croix still reels under the colonial rule of the Unites States of America.

Stephen Slemon (1989) asserts in "Reading for resistance in post-colonial literatures", that "post-colonial texts [such as *Queen Mary and dem* are essential] in the sphere of cultural work and in the promulgation of anti-colonial resistance." These texts provide invaluable "material reference in social struggle" (1989: 103) aimed at changing community's economic and political statuses in relation to the ruling classes. Consequently, Slemon's position aligns itself with the argument that "A significant strategy of revisionist histories . . . has been the reclamation of subversive figures to make them into heroes [heroines]" (Gilbert & Tompkins, 2002: 116). Through revisionist history, playwrights create performance and narrative spaces to insert, reinstate, and validate submerged voices including women and other marginalized groups. In the process, writers such as Schrader Sr. engage in creative acts of dispersing the illusion of authority inherent in official Danish historiography, and challenge the fossilized records kept in Danish archives to which the majority of the people of St. Croix are denied access by

language barriers. Thus, through *Queen Mary and dem*, Schrader Sr. expresses the "paradoxes of the past out of the paradoxes of the present" and initiates self-examination among the readers/audience of their own paradoxes in relation to who they are and want to be (Dening, 1993: 86).

Woodville K. Marshall in "'We be wise to many more tings': blacks' hopes and expectations of emancipation" (1993: 12) has argued that for scholars to fully grasp the nature of the legislative promises of emancipation for enslaved Africans in the Caribbean, it is imperative to review "the extent to which blacks' expectations were matched by their realization" of those promises. He asserts that because of their historical dependence on free slave labor for their wealthy lifestyles, European descended plantation owners could not be expected to stand by and see their profits diminished by a legislative fiat. Thus, they engaged every trick in the book to undermine the emancipation act and its promises of fair wages and labor rights for the formerly enslaved. Furthermore, they engaged the legal system that favored them to delay and frustrate progress toward social, racial, cultural, and economic transformation.

Marshall observes how the "hopes of expectations [of African descended peoples] do not figure prominently in the literature. Often these are not made explicit and have to be deduced from discussion of the performance of wage labor systems and of the plantation based economy" (1993: 12-13). He discusses the deep silences on the betrayal of the promises of emancipation act in the Caribbean, silences which are occasionally broken by indirect references, and in most instances, focused on the "ex-slaves' attitudes to residence and regular wage labour on the plantation" (p. 13). Where such references were made overtly by writers such as Anthony Trollope, J. A. Froude, W. A. Green, Rawle Farby, and Bill Reviere, their roles as defenders of a racist empire, coupled with their own racism prevent them from seeing anything positive in African-Caribbean communities. Marshall's arguments provide the launch pad for my reading of Richard A. Schrader Sr.'s commemorative historical play, *1878 Queen Mary and Dem* (1998).

The play focuses on the demand for equitable wages for work done on plantations by emancipated slaves in St. Croix. Marshall writes that across the Caribbean, "Blacks had clear views about the desirable level of wages, and employers' refusal to meet their wishes as well as employers' attempts to effect unilateral wage reductions provoked intense and prolonged resistance" (Marshall, 1993: 17). The list of aspirational demands included housing issues, land and time to cultivate their own food crops, freedom on Sundays to perform their religious obligations, free access to the market, and more flexible work contracts to replace the Wakefieldian Apprenticeship system that denied workers any flexibility to renegotiate bad contracts, or even to break them and leave, and kept workers from squatting on plantation grounds (Michael Carton, 1993: 192-206). The amoral imposition of Apprenticeship by plantation owners, under the pretense that the emancipated were learning a trade in order to eventually stand on their own

feet, led to several uprisings across the Caribbean (see Swithin Wilmot, 1993; Douglas Hall, 1993; W.K. Marshall, 1993; Rosamunde Renard, 1993; O. Nigel Bolland, 1993).

In Part 1 of "Report on the Jamaica Blue Book for 1872", Sir J.P. Grant (1875) predicts civil strife drawing from growing discontent among the emancipated African laborers as a consequence of the 1849 Labour Act of the Danish West Indies:

> Forced labour, under whatever name disguised, apprenticeship or other, always odious, becomes doubly so, when applied to a special caste or race of men. Scarcely less odious or less foolish, are the laws by which the terms of agreement between workmen and their employers are fixed and limited before hand; above all where differences of blood and colour tend to inevitably to render irritating the very semblance of constraint and exaggerated every difficulty of class and position. And hence the injudicious interference of artificial regulations, however seemingly well-intentioned and, to use a cant phrase, `paternal' like those yet remaining, the remnants of a best forgotten past. . . . can only result . . . [in] ill-feeling, mistrust, and eventual resistance . . . (Grant, 1875: 68-69)

In "Emancipation without liberation: the struggle for land and citizenship rights in Dennis Scott's *An echo in the bone* and David Edgecombe's *Kirnon's kingdom*" (2017), I argue that the period after emancipation to the present has not seen any real progress towards true liberation for African Caribbean peoples in terms of land and wage labor rights. Thus, in the present era of neo-colonialism, the promises of 'development' are dangled before islands accompanied by misguided economic policies directed to encouraging Caribbean land sales for tourism and other businesses, further depriving the laboring masses of any hope of access to land and economic self-sufficiency. In that work, I examine the period immediately after emancipation in the Caribbean, when the former enslavers and still owners of plantations forced the ex-enslaved to work as apprentices for periods of six years on starvation wages and link it to the contemporary period characterized by similar labor issues, as lands are being lost to predatory estate developers from outside.

It is within this historical framework that I read Schrader Sr.'s *Queen Mary and dem*. I draw inspiration from a young Crucian poet, Anumaat Davis Kahina's poem "Fyahburn" (2016: pp. 12-15), and my own "Touriscope of St. Thomas" (2017: 62-64). Both poems, among others, give life to the 1878 event and act as props to Schrader Sr.'s monumental drama. My reading also is informed by other representational devices in portraits and statues created to memorialize the leaders of the 1878 uprising in St. Croix.

> Where I come from,
> I'm known as the gasoline to a lit match,
> a fire starter!
> I descended from a place where women

led a revolution in 1878
that resulted in burning down
half of the island of St. Croix
This radical act was the exclamation mark of this prolonged
struggle
against survivalism.
Instigating the implementation of the rights
for the working class
and a change in thought
about how human beings
and women were perceived. . .
the beginning of a radical restructuring

(Kahina, 2016: 12-13)

In this poem, Kahina makes a genealogical claim to the historical uprising against post-emancipation labor conditions in St. Croix in 1878. The revolt was well organized and led by three women: Mary Thomas called Queen Mary, Mathilda McBean called Queen Mathilda and Axelina Solomon called Queen Agnes. Apparently, there is a fourth queen, Susanna Abrahamson also called Bottom Belly, whose story is yet to be fully told.

Kahina captures the cultural, political, economic, and historical undertones that inform Schrader Sr. *Queen Mary and Dem* and provides a contemporary immediacy to their acts of defiance. Her daughterly reclamation of the mythical agency that her Crucian foremothers possessed legitimizes her own activist poetics. Her voice thus establishes her right to a revolutionary matrilineal inheritance through these women's herstories. By claiming her umbilical and uterine connection to these warrior women, Anumaat Davis Kahina brings their historical act to a present to remind her generation of the still urgent need to create the future of real liberation and freedom envisioned by these women. Only then can St. Croix realize the delayed promises of emancipation, which continue to be undermined by the defeatist ideology of "survivalism".

Her visual recall of how "sugar cane stalk" were used as "fuel for the fire" symbolizes the destruction of the tools of enslavement, and testifies to her own defiant spirit which upends the theologies and ideologies of mental enchainment. She agonizes over the mental nepantilism that prevents her people from "getting past the past, / nor getting ready for the future / of the new / "I control you" syndrome" (2016: p.13) even as her "soul [is] imploding"with the sense of a new apocalypse, a new revolution. But until the people overcome their "cognitive dissonance" no new revolutions will be achieved, and the essence of what Budhhoe in 1848, and Queen Mary and her *comadres* achieved

in 1878, would be ground into the ashes of despair. Kahina's "Fyahburn" is given graphic representation in Figures 1 and 2 and joins Schrader's play to memorialize and celebrate the past, consolidate the present and formulate a future based on love and empathy for others (2016: 14-15).
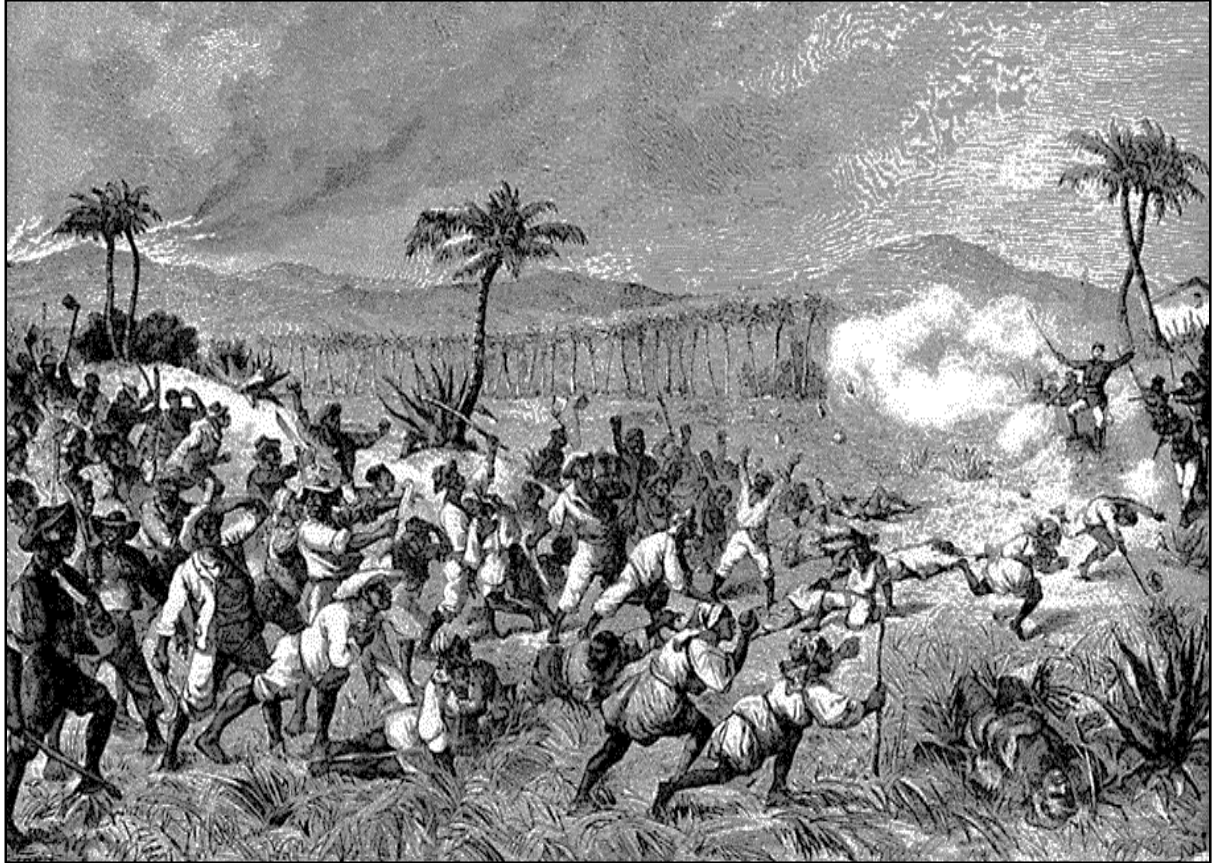
Figure 1 "From the Revolt on St. Croix". Illustration from *Illustreret Tidende*, Nov. 1878.
https://en.natmus.dk/historical-knowledge/historical-themes/danish-colonies/the-danish-west-indies/fireburn/ Accessed April 2019.

Figure 2 "Queen" Mary Thomas depicted wielding a torch and cane knife, in Charles E. Taylor's "Leaflets from the Danish West Indies" (1888). In Charles E. Taylor (1888). *Leaflets from the Danish West Indies: descriptive of the social, political, and commercial condition of these islands* (pp. 168). London: W Dorson& Sons. https://archive.org/details/leafletsfromdan00unkngoog/page/n11 Accessed April 2019.

If Anumaat Davis Kahina's "Fyahburn" is a daughterly reclamation of revolutionary matrilineage to foster a vision for the present and chart a path to a future of tolerance and love, Kuwabong's "Touristscope of St. Thomas" draws from evidence filtered through an outsider's grasp of how the history of Queen Mary and her followers have been appropriated, commodified, and sold to tourists on an island that played no part in this struggle for labor and Afro-Crucian human rights in 1878. The two poems validate each other and together, they recreate from different continental and geophysical locations, this story of a labor rights movement on a small Caribbean island.

"Touristscope of St. Thomas"
s t r e t c h ed
across bunker beds in damp Bunker Hill Hotel
wedged
between broken bricks and peeling walls that lime the rows of 103 steps
under numbered as 99
i pant up each one

          one at time
i count them all
      one at a time
careful not to misstep in this misty and thirsty heat

S U D D E N L Y
under the scattered shadow of Black Beard's invented castle
defiant Nannys of Santa Cruz rise to confront me
Queen Mary and dem: (Schrader 1998) Mary Mathilda Agnes Josephine
i remember them all: one by one by name alone
these had scorched a way to a second call to freedom:
here is Agnes with a yellow duku
leading a determined charge
torch in left hand, machete in her right
to her eastern flank strides Gertrude
on her graying head a purple duku
an oil lamp to inflame the breeze
to the south rises a Matilda
a Kano cloth as her duku
her flaming torch defies the watery winds
Matilda and Gertrude hitch-up aprons
free their wombs of deadly silence
to the north appears the queen of hearts
Mary with a smoking pipe between gritted teeth
chanting:
Gangan Mimi takes us over
makes our spirits restless
until her voice is heard
down the treacle road of Babylon
so we light up these canfields
so we smash up this un-freedom
for our slippery men snigger and retreat!
i mistake Black Beard's castle for Blue Beard's
erected to cast doubts over these up-risen women
conceal the betrayals of our liberties in pirates' coves
Mary's people under shadows of whips and irons
produced wealth for the distant queens and kings
and not dime to sweeten their bloody drudgery
their concrete statuettes now an unction plaza
to weave tourist yarns for a nickel and a half-penny
to us who would escape the cold blights of Santa Claus
for a blast in these sunbaked sands lining the quiet sea
sprouting water-locked rocks: St. Thomas; St. John; St. Croix
i wonder whose crosses are being born by the new natives

(Kuwabong, 2017: pp. 62-64)

While Kahina's poem dwells on the rage that fueled the burning of St. Croix in 1878 and gradually eases off into a call for a poetics of relations based on mental decolonization, mutual respect, forgiveness, and love among all Crucians, Kuwabong's poem combines multiple histories of Crucian and Thommian women. His celebration of the female dock workers in St. Thomas as they carry coal up slippery slopes during slavery and post-emancipation periods is linked to the hardships of the cane workers in St. Croix that ignited the fires of rebellion. But Kuwabong's imagination allows him to also draw from the almost erased histories of struggle by the indigenous peoples of the three islands shortly after European invaders landed on the shores of the islands, a point Kuwabong (2013: 50-51) captures in another poem, "Christiansted, St. Croix".

Queen Mary and dem opens with an ominous declaration by Mary that a day of reckoning will come upon the plantation owners for their continued treatment of their emancipated plantation workers as slaves. To this, Mathilda adds that the little bribes of flour and rum cannot replace their demand for fair wages in the form of an increase of 2 cents. A secondary, yet, perhaps more pernicious issue in this post-emancipation economy is the continuous practice on the part of the European descended plantation owners to prey on the legally emancipated but impoverished and overworked African descended women still yoked to the system of enslavement in the form of predatory contracts and unfair wages. Thus, predatory sexuality is tied to predatory economics. For these men, the black woman's body is meant for hard work to produce wealth for them, and the space between her legs, as Marlene Nourbese Philip asserts so rightly, is the thoroughfare for their pleasure (1997: 74-78), serving the dual purpose of breeding new slaves and keeping the male slaves calm. Philip's text, "Dis place – the space between" (1997: 74-112), dramatizes and theorizes the struggles of the black Caribbean woman against centuries of misogyny and predatory sexuality against them, and their constant battles to claim their place in the public spaces dominated by men. Thus, as Mary narrates in *Queen Mary and dem*, (Schrader Sr., 1998) even in her post-emancipation society, a lot of poor women keep quiet about their sexual abuse by former slave owners and all white males who still feel entitled to use the black woman's body to satisfy their sexual fantasies. The women are silent because they fear that if they complain, they might lose their pittance of flour and other food rations. This heightens the level of collective anger manifested in Mary's proverbial warning: "*Dem ah mash ants, and dem bound toh find ants guts*."(Schrader Sr., 1998: 7)

The drama moves from sharing of information and lamentation between the women in a market, to a near-tragic interlude concerning the communal care for a sick child, and then to a cane field, where men share their news about how things have deteriorated from bad to worse. Cutbert informs Anthon about the near lynching of Joe Lake that has left him hospitalized and unable to walk. To Cutbert, even slavery times were better: "*Long ahgoh, if one ahwe and de estate manjah had ah ringing out.* [. . .] *e coulda gi'e*

ahwe one or two lash . . . or pu' ahwe ina de dungeon ah de estate greathouse, under bread and water foh a day or two. Bu'de Crown 'top um. Deh she noh mo'ah dah deh, which in truth been good". (1998: 17) Regrettably, after emancipation from slavery proclaimed in 1848 after the slaves seized Fort Frederiksted under the leadership of Budhhoe, the lot of these formerly enslaved "*t'ing noh gone from just bad toh wuss. E gone from bad toh wussara*" (p. 17). Thus, instead of just receiving a limited beating and house imprisonment as during the times of slavery, any worker who now has a falling out with a plantation master is handed over to the organs of state terror, the gendarmes have replaced the plantation overseers to mete out more gruesome punishment and imprisonment. (pp. 17-18). Cutbert gives an example of how any imagined or real infringement of the laws governing employer /employee relationships attract the harshest punishments:

> *Now-ah-days if de manjah she yoh outa order, e ha' foh call de johndarm foh yoh. Wen deh come foh yoh, deh shacle yoh hand between two haus and tek yoh goh ah Fort, and po' yoh ha' foh keepup wid dem two haus. . . . Well, dem bring Joe Lake all de way from St. George's toh de Fort ah west End town. Now, 'pon top al dah punishment e get out deh 'pon de gravel road, e two foot blister and e toenail dem knock out. We e reach, de johndarm dem pu' such ah beating 'pon e. Den dem pu' e ina seawater foh soak e skin.* (1998: 17-18)

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What is most infuriating, Cutbert laments, is the fact that the punishers are no longer whites but Afro-Crucians who are related to the cane field workers, who it was hoped, would be more sympathetic to their own people. The behavior of the gendarmes is seen by him as a moral outrage, "*ah terrible "bomination*" (1998: 18). The regime of pigmentocracy, in which whites, even in a non-slave society continue to rule with their mulatto lackeys has become even more entrenched. To Cutbert, the "*Mulata ah fort*" (1998: 18) with the colors of the mongoose, sees himself as the upholder and defender of white privilege and power. The mental fracturing that generates the self-loathing of the "mongoose color man," is veiled in cowardly fashion as a job responsibility: "*e seh… e seh ah foh e job toh hold ah we down over de table when dem bring ah we ah fort.*" (1998: 18). He compares the pernicious role of these the enablers and enforcers of white male supremacy laws, neo-slavery and predatory sexuality towards African descended women as analogous to the cane-cutting job of the other blacks. "*E she just like how ahwe doh mek ahwe livin' ah cut cane, e mek foh e own by helping buckra cut ahwe bottom when ahwe geh outa de way*". (p. 18) Undoubtedly, he envisions himself superior to others in his black community, and transfers his racial self-hate onto them. He is Derek Walcott's Corporal Lestrade in *Dream on Monkey Mountain*, (1970: 207-250) but without the complexity that Walcott attributes to that character. Of course, his self-hate, translated into hatred of other blacks, becomes pathological and psychotic. He does not fit into the paradigm of the tragic-mulatto. At least in Walcott's play, Lestrade

swings between dual consciousness: a desire for whiteness and a desire for blackness, and he is caught in a tragic binary (1970: 207-230; 256-326). This *"mongoose color one, ah pleh johndarm"* (p.18) is slated as the first to be target when the uprising begins. They state that when the rebellion starts, *"people like ah dem soh, ahwe ha' foh tek care ah wen de war commence"* (Schrader Sr., 1998: 19).

As indicated above, a refusal by the white plantation owners and employers to grant any pay raise to offset the many deductions for rent, health, food, clothes, etc., from their already very low wages is the last straw that is needed to start the fire of the uprising. Florence Lewisohn has recorded that even in slavery days:

> the planters had always provided housing and provision grounds, clothing, extra rations and medical services. Now they would provide the same house and grounds and some of the medical costs, but ex-slaves' new salary would be absorbed by payments for extra rations, clothing, and half the medical costs. The treadmill was still turning for them" (1970: 323).

It is this treadmill of oppression that the rebellion sought to put an end to (Schrader Sr., 1998: 2-3; 11-14; 22-25). Marsh (1981: 337) similarly details other crude and humiliating laws used to further oppress the workers. While the new laws allowed children from seven years to enter into their own contracts with employers, their parents were nonetheless charged for the children's "misconduct, tardiness or absence from work" and all purchases by the workers were to be done at the plantation store (pp. 337). Marsh (1981: 342) asserts that on the eve of the uprising, rumor had it that passports were being suspended, thereby preventing people whose contracts had come to an end from leaving St. Croix, thus forcing them to choose between fines and/or imprisonment under a much hated vagrancy law or renewing their oppressive contract with their employer for another year (Schrader Sr. 1998: 34).

Fanon (1963) recognizes rebellion as necessary for change in predatory colonial systems:

> National liberation, national renaissance, the restoration of nationhood to the people, commonwealth: whatever may be the headings used of the formulas introduced, decolonization is always a violent phenomenon. . . . The extraordinary importance of this change is that it is willed, called for, demanded. The need for this change exists in its crude state, impetuous and compelling in the consciousness and in the lives of the men and women who are colonized. (pp. 35-36)

Fanon is quick to point out that just as the colonized are determined to overthrow the system of their oppression, the colonizers are equally unwilling to give in to any demands for change (p. 36) The cane cutters of St. Croix do no just want a raise, but they are also demanding other reforms in their work conditions such as flexible contracts, better rent rates, etc: *"De raise ... sure ahwe wan' dem toh raise ahwe pay. Bu' dah noh*

de only t'ing ah trouble ahwe …. Deh foh straighten out de contract business. E noh ah wuk right 'tall. Matter-ah-fact, e ah wuk against ahwe" (pp. 21-22). In detailing the fraudulent nature of the inflexible and unjust yearly contract, Mathilda hints at how it holds workers in a bondage from which they cannot easily extract themselves. These contracts amount to legal enslavement of these workers, albeit on a yearly basis. Mathilda argues:

> *E mean if ahwe ha' hell wid ah manjah 'pon de estate, ahwe ha' foh pu' up wid um from October toh October, one whole year, and dah noh right. E like ah man tyin' e hans toh a post. Every day e gi'e lil gran and lil water. Bu' e noh ah move e from the post. De po' haus ha' foh stay deh in dah mess foh one year 'til e massa get ready toh move e* (p. 22).

Agnes narrates how the contract system is designed to prevent workers, many from other Caribbean islands, from renegotiating, breaking or leaving at the end of the contract period. A couple from Antigua, she narrates, who arrived in St. Croix and signed a one year labor contract, are prevented from returning home at the end of their contract period. They are held prisoners by a system skewed to keep them in perpetual bondage and servitude. "*Deh masa dem wan' toh keep dem yah and wuk dem … wuk dem like ah how dem wuk haus, mule, and jachass*" (Schrader Sr. 1998: p. 22). In such an economy, structured on historical inequalities, labor exploitation, racism, etc. the now emancipated Afro-Crucians are still not free economically, socially, politically or as human beings. Prevented also from establishing their own economies or markets with the produce of their provision plots, they are consequently coerced to work for the former masters at starvation wages without any say concerning their labor conditions. Karl describes how those who refuse to sign the contracts lose their house, land and "*ebryt'ing 'pon de estate*" (p. 22).

The exploitative practices of the white cane field owners, still smarting from the end of slavery that denied them free chattel labor, are enhanced by an racist, sexist and class-based legal system that has always ruled in favor of rich white males (p.23). Just as it did under slavery, when the enslaved Africans had no legal recourse to their sub-human treatment by slave owners, emancipation does little to tip the scales of justice in favor of the impoverished blacks: "*Bu' de t'ing wha bother meh, dem kin tief from ahwe and goh free. Bu' if ahwe tief from dem, dem lock ahwe behind ina jail*" (p. 23). The issue of religious immorality enters the discourse and helps Agnes to redefine their present circumstance as sinful. Thus, the sinful and immoral acts of the plantocracy rise to high heaven and demand divine intervention and/or endorsement of the counter measures the cane cutters may adopt to ameliorate their situation. Reviewing their situation, Afro-Crucians in the 1870s concluded that slavery had not ended 30 years after the emancipation proclamation: "*Deh seh Buddo kill slavery, e dead. Bu' slavery noh dead, noh dead. E deh yah 'til now wid ahwe*" (p. 24).

Agnes' impassioned rejection of the current system as immoral and sinful, her accurate assessment that slavery is as alive as before emancipation provides the moral, social, economic, racial, philosophical, and political justifications for revolutionary action. This time, Agnes is not wringing her hands in the hope of a future of more false promises to address their aspirations and hopes. She raises her voice to initiate action now to end her people's suffering: "*Tis ahwe job foh kill slavery stone dead dis time. Bruk e back. Knock e out. Cut e throat. Cut out e 'tone. Dig out e eye. Cut off e foot. Cut off e hand. Beat e dead dead. . . . Dah ah de only how mana and dem ah goh respect ah we. Ah we ha' foh tu'n 'pon dem like ram-sheep 'pon pastureman*" (p.24). Agnes' declaration of war echoes and recalls the cruel and brutish measures used to punish recaptured run-away slaves. She calls for the same to be meted out to the evil system itself, and not necessarily the human embodiment of that system.

After they learn that the managers of the plantations have rejected their demands for a two cent wage increase, Mathilda and Mary begin the uprising. Mary: "*De same very engine whe' dem mistreat, misuse, abuse, overwork, and underpay foh years goin' burst up, ina dem face*" (p. 36). On the first day of October 1878, thirty years after the emancipation proclamation to free all enslaved Africans in the Danish Virgin Islands of St. Croix, St. Thomas and St. John, the plantation workers in St. Croix staged a fiery uprising that reduced 53 sugar cane plantations and 43 sugar works to ashes. The workers were driven by frustration, despair and anger at how, thirty years after the end of slavery, things were far worse than before. Thus, as the *St. Croix Avis* articulated, in its November 27, 1878 editorial, "Until the whole body of planters have learnt to feel more for and with the 'laborers'…, until they feel the laborers need something else besides being well fed and housed… the island… will not be what it ought to be" (38). This observation astutely reflects how the continuous oppressive and subhuman treatment of people by the planters has "burst the overheated engine" (*St. Croix Axis*).

Throughout *Queen Mary and dem*, this leadership role and articulatory powers of Queens Mary, Agnes and Mathilda are effectively dramatized through dialogue. They articulate the many issues over which the laborers feel disgruntled and seek redress from the planters. Ostensibly, the central debate in the play is the demand for a fair wage but issues of racism, a corrupt legal system, police brutality, disrespect, and above all, the neo-slavery under which the laborers are toiling become the rallying points for the revolt. Schrader Sr. captures the essence of the historical struggle of Crucians against what Lewisohn in 1970 calls the "power of the estate owners [now the multinational and multilateral corporations that run St. Croix] and managers to fine them for trifles and to determine their private [and public] lives" (p. 80).

Schrader Sr.'s use of Crucian English lexifier Creole in the play embodies his anti-colonial stance by linguistic means, as argued by Ashford, Griffiths, and Tiffin in *The empire writes back: theory and practice in post-colonial literatures* (2002: pp 37-76).

By selecting Crucian Creole over Standard American English or Danish, Schrader Sr. identifies, acknowledges and valorizes his target audience, deploying the Crucian people's own modes of naming, constructing and interpreting their own historical narrative and cultural identities. In the process, the author challenges and scatters the tyrannical control of imperial narratives (Gilbert & Tompkins, 2002: 169). Reading and listening to a stage performance of *Queen Mary and dem* in Crucian Creole authenticates and validates the history of continuous struggle that has taken place on the island.
Schrader Sr.'s brilliant stroke of ending the play with the start of the revolt signifies his ideological reading of the island's history of rebellion as unfinished business. The open-endedness of the play evokes the image of unfinished genesis created by Wilson Harris: ". . . There is no economic solution to the ills of the world until the arts of originality . . . open the partialities and biases of tradition in ways that address the very core of our pre-possessions. . . . This involves paradoxical orders of readership" (1999: p. 73). *Queen Mary and dem* (1998) is thus an unfinished genesis of revolutionary historical imagination to be continually reimagined and re-staged.

As a literary and performance text, *Queen Mary and dem* (1998), reminds the people of St. Croix and the rest of the world of the historic agency of the Afro-Caribbean peoples of what are today the U.S. Virgin Islands who inspired and carried out the rebellion of the enslaved on St John in 1733 led by Kong Juni (Hansen, 1967); the unsprings of the enslaved led by Buddhoe on St. Croix in 1848 that forced Governor Stephen von Scholten to declare emancipation; and especially the 1878 St. Croix Fireburn revolt led by Mary Thomas, Mathilda McBean, Axelina Solomon and Susanna Abrahamson, which was aimed at repealing the pernicious post-emancipation Labour Act of 1849. *Queen Mary and dem* is thus designed to nurture and energize the socio-political, linguistic and cultural matrices from which these historic acts of resistance emerged, so as to ensure that this process of rebellion will continue in the present and the future until real social, cultural, economic and political justice are achieved by and for the people of St. Croix, the people of rest of the U.S. Virgin Islands and the people of the greater Afro-Caribbean.

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'LATITUDES OF ANGUISH': THE POETRY OF MARTIN CARTER

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As a founding member of the People's Progressive Party (PPP), the poet Martin Carter *grounded* with working-class radicals and left-wing intellectuals to help promote political and social change in Guyana. After serving time in prison for spreading dissent, Carter worked briefly as an information officer for the British Council in Georgetown and then held similar posts with Booker, the sugar plantocracy, and as a cabinet member in the People's National Congress. Carter withdrew from politics after two academic stints to concentrate on his poetry which he believed could rally the support necessary to alleviate suffering in the country.

Just as Gustave Flaubert once said he simply *stayed home and wrote*, so Carter disappeared from the public eye. In doing so, he dedicated his artistic life to those trapped in the "latitudes of anguish" (Carter, 2006: 87). Even in the deadliest days of social unrest surrounding Guyana's independence in 1966, he trusted in his poetry to help people resist oppression at home and abroad. After encouraging rebellion in *Poems of resistance from British Guiana* (1956), Carter adumbrated a poetics of quiet defiance. His later collections ruminate not only on the silent art of poetry but also on the role of the poet. In these meditations, he repudiates the notion that poetry makes nothing happen and dismisses the idea that it is not consolatory to the living. By situating himself in each poem, Carter, like Walt Whitman in *Song of myself* (1855), becomes "the great Camerado" talking to and guiding his comrades forward (Whitman, 2006: 65).

Gemma Robinson notes that some have argued like Gordon Rohlehr that because Guyanese politicians had not "delivered the equitable future demanded by anti-colonialism", so a poet like Carter became one of "the true independents of the Caribbean" (Robinson, 2006: 36). Rupert Roopnaraine (2000: 48) has written that Carter embraced "the pure practice of poetry as the only available practice for a seeker of truth in an era of degradation." Kamau Brathwaite (2000: 203, 206), persuasively notes that while Carter's later books – *The when time* (1977), *Poems of affinity* (1980), and *Suite of five poems* (2000) – enter a "dreadseason" of "convalescence, of psychic fragility, shored

up against extremis", they nevertheless work out "how-to-say-it" so that "something new" is said. Eusi Kwayana (2000: 173) asserts: Carter chose to "work for the future of man". By keeping the expression accessible, the language of Carter's subtle poetry connects ingeniously with the socially potent *lingo* of Reggae and Dub.

Carter's early poetry concerns the abuses of Guyana's sugar and bauxite industries, the "groaning misery" of the slums and the shanty towns, the forgotten poor "hungering in a room without light", and colonialism's "loathsome spider's web". The anger is white hot as he invokes the spirit of Quamina, the leader of the Demerara Slave Rebellion in 1823, as a "deep red flame, the soul of slavery crouching like a tiger." Riding "a black horse of terror", Carter, in a reference to cane burning as a symbol of rebellion, declares: "Only men of fire will survive" (Carter: 64, 70, 71, 68, 78). In a poem entitled "Looking again", he writes:

> Looking again I see the old mad house
> All within are saner when they rave
> More human in their humanity
> More free and calm when bound like maniac.
>
> So has it been O sky dark as a yard!
> What looks like fire is no more than ice
> What looks like stone is sand blown up by air
> What looks like air is suffocating space.
>
> Looking again I glimpse the old mad house
> No doorway out - O many doorways in!
> And only burning in the constant ember
> Will heal this cripple of reality.   (Carter: 80)

Poems of resistance from British Guiana established Carter's reputation. Published by the communist-leaning publishing house of Lawrence & Wishart in London, the catalogue names Carter "the foremost poet of the Caribbean people" and "a true people's leader" (Carter: 250). The poems in the book are Carter's vituperative response to the PPP's electoral victory in 1956 and especially the state of emergency called by the colony's Governor, Patrick Rennison.

Many of the poems are masterpieces of Caribbean literature. "University of hunger" warns of "the dark ones, the half sunken in the land", the ones who "come treading in the hoof marks of the mule", who "*had* (my italics) no voice in the emptiness" (Carter: 84-85). "Death of a slave" speaks of "the shroud of slavery", warns that "the heart of the slave is red deep red / red with a life of its own", and that "the seeds of anger" have been planted (Carter: 88-89). Guyana is referred to as "a dark dark lane of rags", its

capital, Georgetown, is a "strangled city", but "inexorably and inevitably / a day will come" when things will change (Carter: 89, 91, 92).

Throughout the book, Carter develops an intimacy by repeatedly referring to himself as the companion and the comrade of the people and while "everywhere the faces of men are strained and anxious", the poet – an emanation of the folk – proclaims: "I clench my fist above my head; I sing my song of FREEDOM" (Carter: 98).

There are hints in the book, however, that Carter's exuberance may be short-lived. If all a poet can do is warn, then Carter seems momentarily overwhelmed by colonialism's policy of degrading people, of inflicting "the hurt of things", and announces: "I am no soldier hunting in the jungle" (Carter: 100, 86-87). In "The Nigger Yard", for example, "all the light is gone" but in a furious reworking of Percy Shelley's great sonnet "England in 1819", Carter writes:

> So was I born again stubborn and fierce
> screaming in a slum.
> it was a city and a coffin space for home
> a river running, prison, hospitals
> men drunk and dying, judges full of scorn
> priests and parsons fooling gods with words
> and me, like a dog tangled in rags
> spotted with sores powdered with dust
> screaming with hunger, angry with life and men.   (Carter: 102)

It is to "the world tomorrow" that Carter turns his strength:

> If I do not see that day
> My son will see it.
> If he does not see that day
> His son will see it.
> And it will come circling the world like fire
> It will come to this land and every land
> and when it comes I'll come alive again
> and laugh again and walk out of this prison.   (Carter: 92)

In a sequence, "Three Poems of Shape and Motion" (1955), Carter writes:

> I was wondering if I could shape this passion
> just as I wanted in solid fire.
> I was wondering if the strange combustion of my days
> the tension of the world in side of me
> and the strength of my heart were enough.

Juxtaposing the *passion* and the *strength* of his defiance against the menacing power of the British Empire, Carter writes in an essay entitled "The lesson of August" (1955):

> Driven back upon themselves by the bayonets of the imperialists who are
> direct inheritors of the traditions of slave traders, slave makers, and
> slave owners, the people of Guiana stand like trees at midday, rooted in
> their own shadows. Where the wretched slave lived in fear of the whip
> and the stocks, the people now live in expectancy of bullets. And the hand
> that wielded the whip, and the hand that now holds the gun is the very
> same hand - the hand of the British overlord, rank with cruelty.
>
> (Carter: 193)

Acknowledging the terror "the imperialist butchers keep in store for any people who dare to show that they want and intend to win freedom for themselves", Carter insisted that "the unity we have created among us, and the strength we sustain within us must always remain about us as we march against the crumbling ramparts of oppression, calumny and gloom". Despite the "crude abuse, personal slander and all the vile muck flung" (Carter: 195, 196), Carter determined to write guerilla poetry in a nuanced language that would be immediately understood by those for whom it was intended:

> In the premises of the tongue
> dwells the anarchy of the ear;
> in the chaos of the vision
> resolution of the purpose.
>
> And would shout it out differently
> if it could be sounded plain;
> But a mouth is always muzzled
> by the food it eats to live.
>
> Rain was the cause of roofs.
> Birth was the cause of beds.
> But life is the question asking
> what is the way to die.　　　　　(Carter: 124)

As a guerilla poet, Carter scarifies the ruling governments and politicians after Guyana's independence in 1966. Daring not to keep "too silent", he "utters words" against "The loud men who cry freedom" but "are so full of lies." In a "wilderness of silence", Carter "barked" words to "purify" the "disgust" he felt. Under the heel of Britain's neo-colonial lackeys, Guyana presented a "vision of cemeteries, slow funerals / broken tombs" (Carter: 109, 111, 110, 113) where death designed all. In "After one year", Carter laments:

. . . how shall I speak with you?
Those miseries I know you cultivate
are mine as well as yours, or do you think
the imperial bullock cares whose land is ploughed?

I know this city much as well as you do,
the ways leading to brothels and those dooms
dwelling in them, as in our lives they dwell.
So jail me quickly, clang the illiterate door
if freedom writes no happier alphabet.

Old hanging ground is still green playing field -
Smooth cemetery proud garden of tall flowers -
But in your secret gables real bats fly
mocking great dreams that give the soul no peace,
and everywhere wrong deeds are being done.

Rude citizen! think you I do not know
that love is stammered out, hate is shouted out
in every human city in this world?
Men murder men, as men must murder men,
to build their shining governments of the damned (Carter: 114)

In *The when time* (1977), Carter seems to write in code; the poetry is deliberately cryptic, its target audience ambiguous: to whom, one wonders, is he speaking? Is he experimenting with a new language like the poet Paul Celan who created an idiolectal German so as not to use the gutter lexicon of the Nazis? In "Proem", for example, Carter writes: "Inexhaustibly, / being at one time what was to be said / and at another time what has been said / the saying of you remains the living of you/ never to be said." In an "urgent mood" Carter admits that he "Would even have tried with a grammar/ for the language of the unspeakable." "Whatever we are", he writes, "we are dust on a voiceless pavement." For those able to decipher the poet's code, extrapolating the intended caveat would have been easy: "let us never forget to wrap / a tender hand upon the all-seeing brow of a child. The longer we take to do so, the longer will nature divide" (Carter: 117, 126, 127). In "If it were given", Carter writes:

I would have had a serious conversation
with the fertile dial of the clock of the sun.
But then, I admit, I would have had to change the language of the dead.

I would have had to haunt the cemetery where the living
believe they put away the varnished coffins
which mock them into making
wreaths for themselves and graveyards for their passions
and victories that mean nothing to them
though they win the trophy of life:
that cupped hand of anguish
open for love (but scattering pain
like seeds of padi) in the murdering drought.   (Carter: 128).

Despite writing of "the bafflement of speech" and lamenting "Where I wanted to talk I could not", Carter's poetry illuminates "the great dark of the bright connection of words" (Carter: 131, 132, 137).
Recognizing the *code* embedded in Carter's poetry, Brathwaite notes:

> *[The] hardest, harshest choice of all: if choice it was and is: standing liquid,*
> being there/not, transforming eyes into his disguise, *nam;* surrendering
> the personality into the submerged/ surreal; unto survival riddims; almost
> inanimate, non-imitating, inimical of former/formal models: *the*
> *psychological maroon.*   (Brathwaite, 2000: 208)

Carter's *nam* - the shrinking of the self to its bare essentials - is maintained throughout *Poems of affinity* (1978-1980). Given the danger of public dissent after the state-sponsored assassination of Walter Rodney, the political activist and Marxist historian, in 1980, Carter continues to write covert notes from the underground in which the message remains invisibly clear.

The book begins with a quotation from Martin Heidegger on Friedrich Hölderlin: "Language . . . is the most dangerous of possessions". In "Our time", the opening poem, Carter searches for "what is not anywhere, or certain". In "I still stare" he writes:

> . . . . Our hands have
> written. They will continue to write
> always the same. The title different.
> Signature equal. Both are reserved
> for the time beyond sundown, through
> which, once closed, now open, I will stare.   (Carter: 145, 147)

"Having betrayed / old gods in an old day" the poet assumes the dual role of comrade and companion seeking "now to betray new ones / in a new day". Carter's subtle technique of *hidden* communication does not get lost. In Guyana there was "an incredible want" for things to change, for the assassins of the voice to be silenced, for the "dead land" to receive rain. Unlike Brathwaite or Derek Walcott whose respective poetry often

borders on intellectual obscurity, *Poems of affinity* affect a clarity that is almost immediately transparent. In poems like "For César Vallejo", the "cockroaches have begun / to flee from some / of our very dirty houses" and in "Bastille Day – Georgetown" which remembers the murder of an activist priest, the sentiments ricochet off the other poems in the book and declare: "we shall fight." The poem "With that loan" concludes:

> All I could have
> and have done was to borrow
> its tongue. With that loan
> I have gained a mastery
> of the language of our negative yes.   (Carter: 158, 159, 150)

The poems in Carter's last book – *Suite of five poems* – were written in 1961 but were published posthumously in 2000. They are a fitting coda to a poetic *oeuvre* committed to the freeing of Guyana from its colonial and neo-colonial shackles. The poems are prefaced by a quotation from Rainer Maria Rilke's *The book of hours* (1905) which weaves its intricate language into Carter's poignant sequence:

> This is the marvel of the play of forces
> That they must sense, they move not otherwise
> They grow in roots and dwindle in the tree trunk
> And in the crown like resurrection rise!   (Carter: 170)

Written in "a magic language", the poems suggest that Carter has reached the apogee of his craft in much the same way that Brathwaite and Walcott reach the pinnacles of their respective poetry with *Barabajan poems* (1994) and *Omeros* (1990) despite continuing poetic careers. The admission – "My hand grows weary on a truthful page / and stops at last in total resignation" – might be taken as a negative; however, the word *resignation*, with its positive Keatsian undertones that echo the quiet acceptance of the seasons in "To autumn" (1819), hints that "those who navigate are full of hope" (Carter: 170). While Carter was forced to recede "into the flame of sunset by the rim of the sea" he continued to resonate "the speech of men" and whisper "dreams that change to ghosts and haunt a life." In the fourth poem, he writes:

> I will always be speaking with you. And if I falter,
> And if I stop, I will still be speaking with you, in
> Words that are not uttered, are never uttered, never
> Made into the green sky, the green earth, the green, green love . . .
> (Carter: 171)

The final poem continues in the Whitmanian vein of the *camerado* addressing his companion, the poet his lover:

> Wanting to write another poem for you

I searched the world for something beautiful
The green crown of a tree offered itself
Because its leaves were combed just like your hair.

The wind brushes and the light rains wash
And crystal jewels cling to every twig
While tender are the tears in lovers' eyes
Sleep all those tiny blossoms yet to bloom!

Outside my window, law unto itself
This tall green crown confirms an oath I swore
with mighty roots invisible in earth
and amongst seeds that war with God and die.   (Carter: 172)

Carter read widely in the poetry of the Romantics and the distinctive verse of Walt Whitman. In Byron's *Don Juan* (1818-24), for example, he read the following which gave him the necessary conviction to keep writing, even *in extremis*:

For I will teach, if possible, the stones
To rise against Earth's tyrants. Never let it
Be said that we still truckle unto thrones; -
But ye - our children's children! think how we
Showed *what things were* before the world was free! (Byron, 2008: 676)

In Whitman's *Song of Myself*, the poet-guide, having tramped "a perpetual journey", points to "landscapes of continents and the public road" and says "Not I, nor anyone else can travel that road for you, / You must travel it for yourself." America's poet writes:

If you tire, give me both burdens, and rest the chuff of your hand on my hip,
And in due time you shall repay the same service to me,
For after we start we never lie by again.   (Whitman, 2006: 65)

Byron and Whitman offered Carter the poetic opportunity to prepare the way for future generations to defend themselves against those committed to inhibit their freedom by any means necessary. Both poets instilled in Martin Carter the will to poetic power and a poetics dedicated to make things happen:

A world is fondled, when I fondle
you. From the tiptoe of shame
to the richness of the inside fondling
comb, I, having once touched
always the anywhere sculpture

of the freedom of a piece
of your sweet indecent hair.
As when, as out, and as when as
in, I walk decidingly about
disappear. Watch my language.   (Carter: 161).

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THE POETIC SELF IN AUTOBIOGRAPHY: A STYLISTICS STUDY OF *MY FIRST COUP D'ETAT* AND *DREAMS FROM MY FATHER*

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Abstract

This article is based on the premise that all forms of life writing (autobiography, memoir, travelogue, etc.) are a mixture of fact and fiction. Thus, there is usually a self-conscious effort on the part of autobiographers to include creative or artistic elements in the process of documenting their lives. This textual study of autobiographic works by two ex-presidents, *My first coup d'état* (2012) by John Mahama and *Dreams from my father* (2004) by Barack Obama, analyzes the art of autobiography in light of the artistic presentation of facts, bearing in mind Stephen A. Shapiro's (1965) study of the rhetorical resources of the art of autobiography. The findings provide a cogent understanding of the various literary dynamics of a genre whose border crossing between non-fiction and fiction has long been a subject of debate.

Key terms: autobiography, memoir, literary, stylistics, fiction

Introduction

Describing our lives starts from our minds and the narration does not involve mere sequence of events or actions. We do not see exclusively with our eyes what may have happened, but instead we 'see' primarily with our thoughts and imagination, and narrate our lives based on our perspective. Our past and present worlds are intertwined, thus describing them requires creativity or imagination (Weigand, 2013: 156). One obstacle hindering autobiographers from presenting 'accurate' and 'honest' accounts of their lives is the fact that they recount experiences from memory, which is ultimately unreliable because memory itself should not be conceived as a "library or a storehouse of information" but as a "continuous activity" of reconstructing (Schmidt: 48). Further-

more, memory is intertwined with cultural imperatives and norms, hence what we remember, and how we remember it is shaped by the socio-cultural milieu in which we live. Thus the nature of autobiography consists of a complex interweaving of dramatic presentation and reflection. This makes the task of putting one's life in focus without blurring narrative perspective the most crucial challenge to the autobiographer.

According to Stephen Shapiro (1965), to master the art of autobiography the writer must know when to dramatize and when to summarize (p. 439). To dramatize implies to magnify, exaggerate or heighten an experience to produce an effect on the reader, whereas to summarize suggests condensing experiences which span several years into one complete story. This is not to suggest that autobiography is full dramatization or completely fictitious, but autobiographers must weave the historical events into the fabric of art.

It is therefore useful to mention the admittedly very traditional and artificial distinctions made between literature and history in the dominant discourses of Western academia, to the extent that this might aid in our understanding of autobiography's relationship with history on one hand, and autobiography as having literary value on the other hand. In *Poetics*, Aristotle maintains that the historian is different from the poet, not because one writes in prose and the other writes in verse. The main distinction is that the historian relates what has actually happened and the poet relates what might happen according to the laws of probability and necessity. In other words, poetry expresses the universal, whereas history the particular. By universal, Aristotle argues that the 'universality' of human nature dictates the probability of what 'most of us' would do, and 'necessity', what 'we are forced' to do as humans. Furthermore, Aristotle proposes that therefore the poet should be a maker of plots rather than verses because the primary distinction between the poet and the historian exists in the plot and not the verse, and even if the poet (like the autobiographer) chooses to relate historical events, how this process unfolds should conform to the laws of probability and necessity.

Having established this, we can suggest then, that autobiography is history that has been thematically structured in order to generate correspondences with earlier and later experiences of both the autobiographer and the reader, and this is accomplished principally by weaving historical events into the fabric of art. Opoku-Agyemang (1989), reinforces the literary value of autobiography by suggesting that "…autobiography is not only history but can contain as well a value off the frontiers of history that can properly be described as literary and aesthetic (cited in Odoi, 2010). Similarly, Albert E. Stone, in *The American autobiography: a collection of critical essays* (1981), describes the genre as a "simultaneously historical record and literary artifact, psychological case history and spiritual confession, didactic essay and ideological testament" (qtd in Charles Berryman: 80). To him the genre involves a series of paradoxes: fact and fiction, private and communal, lessons and lies (Berryman: 80). Stone continues to outline some con-

ventions in autobiography in his analysis of the genre: namely, "narration with its characteristics of pace and momentum; metaphors of self through which verbal patterns and bridges are constructed from narrative details; description, reflection, argument, and meditation; and other common literary features, including characterization, dialogue, dramatic scenes, and synecdoche" (qtd in Gunzenhauser, 2001: 75). Paul Guajardo, in his work "Mapping the territory: Mexican American memoir" (2016), further emphasizes the literary dynamics of the genre by positing that exaggeration, embellishment and omission are concepts that recur as we consider the role of faulty memory, recreated dialogue, composite characters, and the compression of time (p. 90). The opinions expressed by these scholars affirm that autobiography stems from the creative abilities of the writer, and as such, equal attention must be paid to the fictional and the factual.

In "Elements of the autobiography in the West African novel" (2010), David Odoi identifies four types of autobiography and then proceeds to differentiate them on a scale from history to artistry, according to their levels of literariness. It is imperative to mention Odoi's typology here, as it is crucial to defining my parameters on which of these types of autobiographies this study focuses. The first type of autobiography he discusses is the *factual autobiography* that attempts to present factual accounts of the autobiographer without paying much attention to fictive elements. An example is Nelson Mandela's *Long walk to freedom* (1992) and Leticia Obeng's *A silent heritage* (2008). The second type is the *fictionalised autobiography*, which is relatively factual but contains fictive elements, or an autobiography with a creative or fictive intent. An example is Camara Laye's *The African child*. The third type is the *literary autobiography* which is written like a novel and hence has literary characteristics. For example, Wole Soyinka's *Ake: the years of childhood.* The last type of autobiography under which Odoi classifies Ayi Kwei Armah's *Fragments* is *autobiographical fiction*, which takes the form of a novel where many incidents and attributes can be traced to the author's person, though the characters have been fictionalized (pp. 3, 4). Odoi concludes that the factual autobiography is the least artistic whereas autobiographical fiction is the most artistic and least historical. Among Odoi's four different types of autobiography, this article focuses on two examples of factual autobiography*,* whose primary focus is to present factual accounts without paying much attention to fictive elements. These include *My first coup d'état* (2012) by John Mahama and *Dreams from my father* (2004) by Barack Obama. The aim of this article is to explore some self-conscious creative and artistic elements in these two factual autobiographies by ex-presidents, including metafiction, paratextual representations, structural metaphor and the art of imagination (Shapiro, 1965).

Metafiction, literary self-consciousness and paratext
Before I proceed with my analysis of the rhetorical resources of art utilized by the selected autobiographers, it should be noted that the different manifestations of literary

style that I discuss mirror the idiosyncratic nature of the genre, and as such the elements I point out may have several distinctive features that are unique only to the text under discussion.

In *My first coup d'état* (2012) Mahama's attempts to include quotations and symbols from other sources outside the text are deployed to display his artistic prowess and to set the mood of readers for the prose they are to encounter. Matthew Sutton (2014) affirms that in recent studies of autobiography, the paratextual elements of a book outside the narrative such as photographs, appendices, and jacket blurbs deserve attention as they may be used as a mode of interpretation (p. 209). In analyzing a popular musician's life writing, Sutton agrees that the paratext reinforces the subjects' professional achievements and cultural significance as well as their claims to authenticity (p. 209). These paratextual elements in Mahama's narrative explore such themes and also give readers a preview of Mahama's guiding notions and inspirations. Furthermore, the paratext links the main text of the autobiography to numerous other sources outside it, thereby giving it more life as a continuously open artifact rather than the sense of closure that a novel is often supposed to convey.

According to Gerard Genette's 1997study, *Paratexts: thresholds of interpretation*, the paratext comprises the peritext and the epitext. The peritext includes elements such as the title of the text, chapter titles, prefaces, notes, captions, epigraphs and so on, which can have major effects on the text's interpretation. On the other hand, the epitext consists of elements outside the text such as interviews, reviews, etc. Mahama's specific use of the peritext (epigraphs, notes and symbols) achieves a unifying effect by linking several aspects of the autobiography in terms of characters, themes, images and so forth. The epitaph below is taken from the initial pages of the text and it completely sums up the autobiography's main idea of dreams becoming reality:

> We plan our lives according to a dream that came to us in our childhood, and we find that life alters our plans. And yet, at the end, from a rare height, we also see that our dream was our fate. It's just that providence had other ideas as to how we would get there. Destiny plans a different route, or turns the dream around, as if it were a riddle, and fulfills the dream in ways we couldn't have expected

By adding a quote by the poet Ben Okri, Mahama includes the authoritative voice of a prominent poet in his narrative. Hence the text is not only made up of the voice of the narrator but also an external voice. This epigraph can be broken down into three ideas. Firstly, there is reference to a dream that occurred during childhood. Secondly, life's experiences and inevitable calamities alter this dream and makes it seem as though it had been dashed completely. Then destiny rescues this dream and fulfills it in unexpected ways. Mahama structures his narrative around these ideas that the epigraph encapsulates. It is evident that Mahama was raised on the political dreams of his father, although he confesses that he was randomly led into public service, and therefore didn't

become a politician by design. Destiny, however, fulfilled the political dreams he indirectly inherited from his father, as he himself observes: "A career in politics was not something I'd planned for myself…It came as even more of a surprise for me to find myself in the political arena because of my experience during that first coup d'etat and my father's resulting detention" (p. 37).

Additionally, Mahama never intended to pursue Communication Studies for his postgraduate degree, choosing instead History for his first degree. In the chapter titled 'Providence' (also taken from the Okri quote), Mahama informs readers of how his friend Jones mysteriously recommends Communication Studies to him. Although he initially resists this advice, he is eventually compelled to pursue it and later successfully goes through all admission procedures. He describes the trip from Tamale for the admission interview in Accra as being full of obstacles, yet destiny fulfills his dream of becoming an expert in communication. Mahama makes reference to another epigraph when narrating his initial impressions of the University of Ghana. Upon his entry into Commonwealth Hall (the premier hall of residence for male students on the campus), he notices that the hall's coat of arms is embossed with the inscription 'Truth Stands'. Having just arrived at Ghana's preeminent university, he feels "humbled and filled with purpose" as he reads the inscription (p. 201). He notes that the motto is adopted from John Donne's Satire III and confesses passionately that it has challenged him to uncover the 'truth' of his life. The Hall's motto instills a sense of courage in the autobiographer to stand for whatever is truthful. He also adds that in the end, he is no longer concerned about how his studies will translate into employment but is more excited about the 'truths' he stands for. It is not surprising that Mahama makes this motto the title of the entire chapter where he relates these experiences.

On the last page of the text, Mahama provides another peritext in the form of a note on the particular Ghanaian Adinkra symbol that he uses throughout his narrative to separate the scenes within the chapters:

> The Adinkra symbol *dwennimmen*, or ram's horns, signifies the coupling of strength with humility. Though the ram will fight fiercely against any adversary, it also has the wisdom to know how and when to submit, even for slaughter, when defeated. The symbol emphasizes that even the strong must know when to be humble

This peritext informs readers of Mahama's resilience in the midst of all the adversities that he encounters throughout his life. It also highlights humility as a catalyst to excelling in life and summarizes the autobiographer's varied experiences as detailed in the text. Consequently, the autobiographer uses this Adinkra symbol both as a form of self-image construction and as a vehicle for providing insight into his personality.

In the author's note to *My first coup d'état*, Mahama makes some critical confessesions that clearly justify his knowledge of the literariness of autobiography as a genre:

> This is a work of nonfiction. I have changed the names of some individuals and modified identifying features including physical descriptions and occupations, in order to preserve their anonymity. Occasionally, timelines have been compressed in order to further preserve privacy and to maintain narrative flow. The goal in all cases was to protect people's privacy without damaging the integrity of the story.

Firstly the autobiographer affirms that what readers are to encounter is nonfiction, that is, it corresponds to some verifiable truths concerning the author's life. In other words, it may be referred to as a historical document. In the next breath, however, he confesses that there have been some modifications or alterations: that some physical descriptions have been tampered with in order to achieve a certain intended purpose. With these confessions, we may ask: which features have been altered and which of them appear in their original state? Is there a deliberate attempt to suppress certain events while emphasising others? Is it the slipperiness of memory that forces Mahama to compress timelines?

The answers to these questions may be found if we consider Mahama's declarations in relation to metafiction or literary self-consciousness, and his deliberate attempts to include fiction in a nonfictional work. According to Patricia Waugh (1984), metafiction entails the creation of fiction on one hand, and then to make a statement about the creation of that fiction on the other hand (p. 2). In other words, metafiction is fiction which comments on itself or fiction which calls attention to its own fictional status. Thus with regard to Mahama, there seems to be a deliberate construction of the 'self' through the adoption of certain fictive, artistic and literary elements, which suggests that writing one's life itself is a staged performance and a form of literary art.

In *Dreams from my father* (2004) Obama's peritext at one point takes the form of a Bible passage which reads as follows:

> For we are strangers before you, and sojourners, as were all our fathers: our days on the earth are as a shadow (1 Chronicles 29: 15-16)

This Biblical quote implies that all true believers are strangers and sojourners upon the face of the earth. This passage delightfully represents Obama's "dreams" from his father and captures the themes of race and identity. To Obama, his father is a stranger, and he confesses that at the time of his father's death he remained a "myth" to him "more or less than a man" because he only heard about him from the stories that his grandparents told him. And yet the stories "said less about the man himself than about the changes that had taken place in the people around him (25)". Nonetheless, Obama sees himself as living in the shadows of this stranger of a father, with those shadows constituting an inseparable companion or an alter ego of himself. In a letter, the autobiographer's father expresses his wish that his son come back to Kenya to know the family he belongs to, so as to bond with them. This request leaves him lamenting and reassessing his identity as an African American. It then dawns on him that his father's request is a call in the

right direction. Obama therefore sees his travel to Kenya as a fulfillment of his father's request to know his roots, thereby making the old man's dreams come alive.

In an attempt to integrate his experiences into the fabric of art, Obama confesses to the challenges in putting one's life in focus without hindrance from blurred perspectives, due to memory lapses and many other causes:

> I learned long ago to distrust my childhood and the stories that shaped it. It was many years later…that I could circle back and evaluate these early stories for myself…trying to rewrite these stories, plugging up holes in the narrative, accommodating unwelcome details, projecting individual choices against the blind sweep of history, all in the hope of extracting some granite slab of truth upon which my unborn children can firmly stand. (*Dreams from my father*: xv, xvi)

In this extract, uncertainty is expressed by the author about the validity of the stories he narrates when he says that he 'distrusted' them until many years later when he tried to reevaluate them, suggesting a concerted effort on his part to create a particularly coherent story out of so many inconsistencies which would be 'universally' relevant to others, including his "unborn children." According to Aristotle, such relevance is best accomplished through the adoption of a poetic rather than a historical approach to writing.

Obama reaffirms his understanding of autobiography as a piece of imaginative literature by acknowledging the dangers he encounters by embarking on such a venture:

> …the temptation to color events in ways favorable to the writer, the tendency to overestimate the interest one's experiences hold for others, selective lapses of memory. Such hazards are only magnified when the writer lacks wisdom of age; the distance that can cure one of certain vanities. I can't say that I've avoided all, or any, of these hazards successfully (p. xvi)

It is evident in the above quote that Obama is conscious of the role that memory's fallibility plays in the autobiographical process, and is another case of literary self-consciousness which draws readers' attention to the literary status of the work.

After stating these dangers, Obama continues to outline some artistic techniques that he utilizes in his narrative:

> Although much of this book is based on contemporaneous journals or the oral histories of my family, the dialogue is necessarily an approximation of what was actually said or relayed to me. For the sake of compression, some of the characters that appear are composites of people I've known, and some events appear out of precise chronology. With the exception of my family and a handful of public figures, the names of most characters have been changed for the sake of their privacy (p. xvii)

Obama's poetic self confesses that the work is not only factual but also contains other artistic elements such as composite characters, montage, invented dialogue and disjointed linear arrangement of narration.

Graphic metaphor and the art of imagination

The next stylistic element I will focus on is the usage of graphic metaphor. This is a conventional metaphor that involves the representation of a person, place, thing, or idea by means of a visual image that suggests a particular association or point of similarity. It is also known as pictorial metaphor or analogical juxtaposition. . Mahama's usage of the graphic metaphor is achieved by drawing parallels between two separate events or narrating two stories consecutively, in which process, the one constitutes a reflection of the other. In the second chapter, after recounting the series of bullying experiences he and his friends suffer at the hands of Ezra, he describes Ezra as a dictator and quickly establishes a connection with similar characteristics of African leaders, thus:

> What was happening to my group of friends and me in Achimota, around 1967 and 1968, was truly a microcosm of what was happening throughout of Africa. Dictators were sprouting up one after another, bushmen with bad manners and violent tendencies. They held their communities in fear and felt entitled to what did not belong to them (p. 46)

Mahama chooses to narrate this experience with Ezra over other childhood experiences because he wants to establish a wider connection with the problem of dictatorship in African politics at the time. He makes this connection more explicit by adding that "Perhaps our season of Ezra was our initiation rite into this new Africa, one that was changing so rapidly and radically from the Africa for which our fathers fought…" (p. 47)

In another such passage, Peter and Alfred's band known as "Frozen Fire" is strategically selected to depict the political condition of Ghana at the time. During their student days at Tamale Secondary School, the two brothers (Peter and Alfred) form a band known as "Frozen Fire". However, Mahama finds the name meaningless and asks his friend Salifu why his brothers had chosen that name for their band. The ensuing interaction demonstrates how Mahama is deploying metaphor here:

> Ah Dramani," said Salifu, shaking his head. "You have to learn to think past the literal. Fire gets frozen all the time, in people and in places. Ask anybody who is married. Or even just look around. We are living in a frozen fire. Ghana is a frozen fire. Africa is a frozen fire. Hmmm… (p. 156)

After this exchange, Mahama resumes the narration to make the metaphor more explicit:

> The entire continent had been caught in a state of suspended animation. The flame that had been sparked by Ghana's independence and subsequently blazed a trail of freedom throughout the continent had indeed been frozen…the sole reason the fire hadn't yet been extinguished was the presence of hope (p. 157)

Obama's usage of metaphor can be seen in his inclusion in his work of the sermon delivered by the African American Rev. Wright Simmons entitled "The Audacity of Hope". According to the Reverend, the sermon relates the trials and tribulations of the biblical Hannah and also reminds him of a painting called *Hope,* which depicts a

wretched woman in a desolate state who nevertheless retains hope for the future. The Reverend likens this painting to the bitter racial experiences that black people suffer on daily basis. Then Obama in his poetic mind weaves the sermon into his narrative of race and resistance:

> As I watched and listened from my seat, I began to hear all the notes from the past three years swirl about me…The race and anger of men…the desire to let go, the desire to escape…And in that single note – hope!... I imagined the stories of ordinary black people merging with the stories of David and Goliath, Moses and Pharaoh…Those stories of survival, and freedom, and hope – become our story, my story; the blood that had spilled was our blood, the tears our tears.

The point in this graphic metaphor is that Obama selects a particular anecdote, that is, that of this particular sermon, because it suits his theme and the message he presents in this narrative of race and resistance. In other words, instead of just conveying his message, his artistic consciousness compels him to invoke another concept (the anecdote) which is related to his message.

In order to commence narrating the story of his father's life, Obama alludes his father to the myths related in a book he once read, titled *Origins*:

> Instead, the path of my father's life occupied the same terrain as a book my mother once bought for me, a book called *Origins*, a collection of creation tales from around the world, stories of Genesis and the tree where man was born, Prometheus and the gift of fire, the tortoise of Hindu legend that floated in space, supporting the weight of the world on its back (p. 10)

Obama feels that readers might better understand exactly how his father pursued his life simply by understanding the mythical content of *Origins*. Obama thus sums up his father's life for the sake of narrative and dramatic perspective, and he makes *Origins* the title of that particular chapter of the work to make this metaphorical connection more explicit and striking.

Good autobiographers must know when to summarize, dramatize and imagine key experiences which they feel contributed to their formation and growth by selecting particular words and rhythms, and then weaving them in the most poetic form possible to make the past something that comes alive in the mind of the reader. This can be achieved through the use of a range of imaginary devices, such hyperbole, simile, paradox, imagery and other literary techniques, as illustrated in the extract below from Mahama's work:

> I don't remember being nervous, but surely I must have been. I clung to my mother…she was slow-eyed and her pupils shone brightly with a flame that seemed to be rekindled after each blink. Her skin was dark and liquid-smooth, like chocolate after it has been placed on fire and allowed to melt for one full

minute. Not knowing when I might see her again, I etched the details of her face into memory (pp. 17, 18)

This extract comprises several hyperboles and similes, including reference to the bright pupils of his mother's eyes as a rekindled flame, and to her complexion as melted chocolate. Similar devices are used by Mahama in his relation of a story from his childhood where he and his friends go hunting for birds and come into contact with a snake and begin to run to save their lives:

> It was a primal flight, as though my body were hurting forward on its own volition. I could feel my heart pounding in my mouth as if it were literally going to burst. The fear was palpable, like a living, breathing thing, encasing my body tighter and tighter as I progressed (pp. 59, 60)

The extract below also shows a calculated attempt Mahama to appeal to the aesthetic sensibilities of the reader. In presenting the following episode about his ancestors who lived during the colonial era, he goes beyond the memories he sees in his mind's eye, as his poetic talents come into play:

> The district commissioner had come to ask the Soma Wura to volunteer at least one of his many children to be educated. I **imagine** that while he was in the stateroom, the district commissioner sat on a bench or chair situated in the same spot as the cushions of the complainants whose cases my great-grandfather heard (p. 28)
>
> …I **imagine** that the two colonial policemen who showed up to escort the group of primary school students from Bole to Salaga were from the Native Authority Forces (p. 32) (emphasis mine)

By using the word 'imagine' it shows clearly that these are not recollections from memory but literary reconstructions.

The same literary devices are deployed by Mahama to convey the way the author has imaginatively configured Ezra's physical appearance in his personal memories of the bully: "His physique resembled those of the men we sometimes saw on the campus grounds clearing the underbrush with long, slightly curved cutlasses. Their skin, which was blacker even than a starless sky at midnight, would be glistening with sweat…with good reasons: Ezra was a bush boy; he was tactless and uncouth" (p. 40). The autobiographer's use of imagery is also evident in his description of places, such as the following depiction of his mother's dusty hometown Damongo:

> Despite that dust, Damongo was a wondrous place, drenched in the most vibrant array of colors. The sunsets went from orange to violet; the sky was a pristine blue, save whatever feathery white clouds were floating through. Between earth and sky were as many shades of green as imaginable, trees and bushes and shrubs and more trees, more bushes, more shrubs (p. 54)

In the example above, we see how Mahama has mastered the ability take his perception of a certain image in his mind and project it to his readers with awe-inspiring effect. His

reference to colors, sunsets, sky, feathery white clouds, earth, trees, bushes and shrub convey to us the wondrous Damongo that he imagines in his mind's eye.

One aspect of the uniqueness of Obama's artistic powers of imaginary representation lies in his ability to imaginatively re-create events that may or may not have happened based on events that actually occurred in the past. For example, Obama recounts the story of his grandfather's first attempt to woo his grandmother several years before the American Civil War. His grandfather might have been in his mid-teens when he met his grandmother. This is how the autobiographer creates this imagined event and presents it to his readers:

> I sometimes **imagine** them in every American town in those years before the war, him in baggy pants and a starched undershirt, brim hat cocked back on his head, offering a cigarette to this smart-talking girl…He's telling her about the big cities, the endless highway… and at this point the story quickens in my mind like one of those movies…I **watch** as my mother is born at the army base where Gramps is stationed; my grandmother is **Rosie the Riveter**, working on a bomber assembly line; my grandfather sloshes around in the mud of France, part of **Patton**'s army (p. 15) (emphasis mine)

First of all, by using the word 'imagine' Obama indicates that he is not recollecting these events from memory but through his own imaginative capacity as a poet, in conformity with Aristotle's principle of 'universality' that suggests that poetry expresses how a person of a certain type will on occasion speak or act according to the law of probability or necessity. In his mind's eye, Obama pictures how his mother would have been born amidst the chaotic setting of the army base where his grandfather was stationed. He imagines his grandparents by alluding to two important U.S. cultural icons of World War II: feminist icon Rosie the Riveter and military icon George Smith Patton Jr. The reference to Rosie the Riveter and Patton provides readers with an insight into his grandparents' personalities, depicting his grandmother as a strong woman and his grandfather as brave and patriotic. In relation to his grandfather, Obama imagines what he may have looked like in the 1960s: "I can **imagine** him standing at the edge of the Pacific, his hair prematurely gray, his tall lanky frame bulkier now, looking out at the horizon until he could see it curve" (p. 16) (emphasis mine)

Obama's experiences of racial prejudice compel him to imagine his grandfather's first encounter with his African father:

> When my father arrived at the door, Gramps **might** have been immediately struck by the African's resemblance to Nat King Cole, one of his favorite singers. I **imagine** him asking my father if he can sing, not understanding the mortified look on my mother's face. Gramps is **probably** too busy telling one of his jokes or arguing with Toot… (p. 17) (Emphasis mine)

The use of the words 'might', 'imagine', and 'probably' indicate to the reader that this episode is an imaginative reconstruction of what might have happened when the two men first met.

During his visit to Kenya, Obama sought to re-establish contact with his relatives and to resolve some mysteries concerning his lineage. Two days after his arrival, Obama and his sister Auma, drive to the British Airways office to recover his baggage. While they walk through the streets, Obama's imaginative self moves into action once again:

> I feel my father's presence as Auma and I walk through the busy street. I **see** him in the schoolboys who run past us, their lean, black legs moving like piston rods between blue shorts and oversized shoes. I **hear** him in the laughter of the pair of university students who sip sweet, creamed tea and eat samosas…I **smell** him in the cigarette smoke of the businessman who covers one ear and shouts into a pay phone; in the sweat of the day laborer…his face and bare chest covered with dust. The Old man's here, **I think**, although he doesn't say anything to me. He's here, asking me to understand. (p. 323) (emphasis mine)

The autobiographer sees, hears and smells his father even though he had died several decades before that visit to Kenya. This is the way in which the writer invites us readers to use our imaginations to re-create the sights, sounds and smells that he imaginatively associated with this memory in his mind.

As does Mahama, Obama also uses such imaginary devices to evoke places, such as the description below of Hawai'i where he spent his childhood, in which he utilizes rich and colorful expressions that appeal to all the human senses of sight, smell, sound, touch and taste in a deliberate effort to create a vivid and dramatic portrait:

> I can retrace the first steps I took as a child and be stunned by the beauty of the islands. The trembling blue plane of the pacific. The moss-covered cliffs and the cool rush of Manoa Falls, with its ginger blossoms and high canopies filled with the sound of invisible birds. The North Shore's thunderous waves, crumbling as if in a slow-motion reel. The shadows off Pali's peaks; the sultry, scented air (p. 23)

Conclusion

This article examined the use of four literary elements in two factual autobiographies authored by ex-presidents. Although their works are less fictive and more non-fictional than other types of autobiographies, both authors nevertheless make effective use of a range of literary devices, such as metafiction, paratextual representations, graphic metaphor and the art of imagination to make their stories come alive in the imaginations of their readers, thus demonstrating that even in the most factually based autobiographies, historical veracity is inevitably intertwined with artistic creativity.

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GRANDFATHERS OF THE NUYORICAN POETRY MOVEMENT

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This article traces the development of the Nuyorican Poetry Movement in New York City. Pedro Pietri's 1973 ground-breaking poem, "Puerto Rican obituary", gave impetus to a poetic movement that rose to prominence in the late 1960s and still exists today as the Nuyorican Poets Café, a place that nurtures Puerto Rican talent and the unique language of Spanglish. Pedro Pietri, Miguel Piñero and Miguel Algarín are the founders of the Nuyorican Poetry Café. The three men used their lives, talent, and money to foster a literary movement that has flourished into the twenty-first century.

Pedro Pietri's poem set the stage for articulating the Puerto Rican experience in the United States mainland. The poem articulates the belief of far too many Puerto Ricans and others who think that the American dream is achieved through hard work alone. With the most well-developed work ethic on earth, they labor themselves to death and die broken and broke. Pietri and Piñero both died young, but not before giving voice to the voiceless Spanish-speaking young in the so-called land of opportunity.

Politics and identity dominate the early focus of the Nuyorican Poetry Movement. Like the Black Arts Movement of the same period, the collective included poets, musicians, visual artists, playwrights, and writers of Puerto Rican descent. Visual artist and poet Sandra María Esteves was among the first women to contribute to the development of the Nuyorican Movement, earning her the title *La Madrina*. Just as "black" was once an insult to African Americans until the Black Power and Black Arts Movement reclaimed the word, "Nuyorican" was also a term of insult until the Puerto Rican artists in New York City embraced it and transformed its meaning. Spanglish also has become a reclaimed word once denigrated as uneducated speech like Ebonics (African American English). The Nuyorican Movement was a popular-culture crusade that challenged the legitimacy of assimilation and the strictures of

high culture that embraced the idea that English was the only language of upward mobility (Badillo, 2006; see also *Newsweek,* 2003).

Spanglish, the combination of Spanish and English and other creatively made-up words represents the newly, but fractured, form of identity represented in the Puerto Rican American experience (Newsweek). Originating in New York City in the Lower East Side also known as Loisaida, South Bronx, East Harlem, and Williamsburg, Spanglish and the Nuyorican Movement developed into CHARAS/El Bohio, the Puerto Rican Travelling Theater, El Museo del Barrio, and the Nuyorican Poets Café. The outpouring of creativity erupted during the time of social and political upheaval in the United States. The Civil Rights Movement, Black Power Movement, Black Arts Movement, Anti-War Movement, Women's Movement, and student rebellions across the nation created an atmosphere of activism and change. Oppressed groups galvanized, organized and creatively expressed their experiences and conditions. Puerto Rican identity and the history of oppression was expressed in many genres.

Historically, Puerto Rico was colonized by the United States in 1898 (Picó, 2014). The appeal of the island for the United States was its rich coffee and sugar production. In 1910, the U.S. government imposed citizenship upon the people of Puerto Rico without granting the individuals of the island a say as to whether they wanted to become independent or to become US citizens. Lisa Sánchez-González points out that Puerto Ricans are citizens and colonial subjects. By 1930, much of the island had been converted into sugar plantations owned by Domino Sugar and US banks (Ayala, 221-227). The colonial history of exploitation and the arrogance of Anglo-cultural hegemony fed the ire and discontent among Puerto Ricans both on the island and in the States resulting in the formation of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party in 1917, and of the Puerto Rican Independence Party in 1946. On the mainland, the attempted assassination of President Harry S. Truman in 1950 as well as the Capitol shooting in 1954 spoke volumes about the discontent of Puerto Rican activists (Picó). World War II ushered in the first great migration of Puerto Ricans from the Island. That wave began in 1947 and continued until 1957 (Korrol & Hernández: 7). New York City was by far their most popular destination. The garment industry offered work for women, and low-paying service jobs offered employment for men. Once on the mainland, Puerto Ricans faced the same race-based discrimination with which African Americans struggled (Ortiz: 58). Poverty and housing discrimination resulted in most Puerto Ricans settling in East Harlem and on the Lower East Side, the Bronx and Brooklyn. Poverty, crime, drugs and the ghettoization of Puerto Ricans in New York City gave rise to creative expression in many artistic forms including tagging graffiti, theater, dance, and poetry. Miguel Piñero, in fact, perhaps is better known as a playwright for his famous play *Short eyes*, which dramatizes prison life.

Of the three men who were the founders of the Nuyorican Poetry Café, Piñero's experience is most tragic.

Born in Gurabo, Puerto Rico on December 19, 1946, Piñero migrated to the mainland with his family in 1950. The family settled on the Lower East Side. By 1954, Piñero's father had deserted his wife and five children, and the family sank deeper into poverty. The oldest of his five siblings, Piñero stole food to eat and help his family struggling to survive on welfare. He was arrested numerous times and incarcerated in juvenile detention. At thirteen he joined The Dragons, a street gang, and continued his life of crime. In 1964, he was arrested for armed robbery and sent to Rikers Island. Miguel Piñero might have benefited from the Job Corps program, an experiment of President Johnson's Great Society intended to eliminate poverty and racial injustice, had it not been for the fact that it was at Camp Kilmer Training for Job Corps that he was introduced to drugs (Sánchez-González). Piñero became addicted to heroin. At one point his mother had him committed to the psychiatric center at Manhattan State Hospital. There he earned his GED. In 1971, Piñero was sentenced to Sing Sing State Prison on the charge of armed robbery (Sánchez-González).

In a prison theater arts program conducted by Marvin Camillo, Piñero wrote his award-winning play *Short eyes* (Bernstein). The play provided a platform from which he could launch Algarínthe Nuyorican Poets Café with his good friend Miguel Algarín, as part of a group that first met in Algarín's living room on East 6th Street. The Poetry Café was born at a time when art and politics were making loud assertions that all art is political and that "Art for Art's sake" was dead. Traditional ideas regarding art which had been elitist and articulated by university trained critics and professors were now being challenged by a new young often untrained cadre of artists. The new artistic movement shifted to the streets, giving voice to the dispossessed. Just as the Black Arts Movement was the cultural arm of the Black Power Movement ushered in by the Black Panther Party, so the Nuyorican literary Movement was inspired by the political climate in New York City and the activities of the Young Lords. The Brown Berets and the American Indian Movement (AIM) were also actively engaged in the social and political events of the day.

The overarching idea of the Nuyorican Movement, and others, was art from the people for the people. The struggle between elitist and populist art seemed to ebb and flow over time. During the late 1960s and 1970s the tide had turned from professionally trained artists to an "all power to the people" call to arms. Joseph Campbell believes art comes only from the gifted. He writes:

> There's an old romantic idea in German, *das Volk dichtet,* which says that the ideas and poetry of the traditional cultures come out of the folk. They do not. They come out of an elite experience, the experience of people particularly gifted, whose ears are open to the song of the universe. These people speak to

the folk, and there is an answer from the folk, which is then received as an interaction. But the first impulse . . . comes from above, not from below (p. 85).

Looking at the populist movements of the late 20th century, one might be inclined to agree with Campbell. Much of the poetry that came from the people during the Sixties and the Seventies was raw and unstructured, but as with all human phenomena, there were exceptions. Piñero's "Elite experience" ironically was about extreme poverty, incarceration and drug abuse. Nevertheless, his poems resonated with the people inspiring them and creating a space for poetry to flourish. For critics and gatekeepers of culture, the experiences articulated by young brown and black poets revealed much suffering of which they seemed to have been previously unaware.

One of Piñero's first poems, "Black woman with a blond wig on", is within the tradition of the revolutionary poetry of the times. It shows influences of The Last Poets and echoes Gil Scott Heron's poem "Wiggy". Piñero says: "Black woman with a blond wig on/ You're living an illusion" (www.allpoetry.com). He uses the term "horse hair" which Heron popularized with his poem "Wiggy" saying wig wearers created a "horse hair nation" (www.genius.gilscottheron.com). Piñero's poem centers on identity, ironically not his but that of black women. A paradoxical aspect of the freedom and literary movements was machismo, male chauvinism, and the audacity of men to tell women what to do, an issue pointedly addressed by Brazilian poet Esmeralda Riberio. Her poem "Routine" says, "There's always a man/ telling me/ what to do" (Warren: 620). Piñero's later poems address more fully the Puerto Rican experience in New York City, which is similar to that of other ethnic groups locked out of the wealthy metropolis.

The development of cultural awareness is exemplified in the poems and plays of the era. The first developmental phase of awareness is descriptive, describing poverty and articulating an angry response to it. A poignant example is the poem "The book of Genesis according to St. Miguelito" Miguelito is Piñero's name for himself. The poem opens with the lines: "Before the beginning/ God created God/ God created the ghettos & slums/ and God saw this was good" (Algarín & Holman: 349). He goes on to list: lead-based paint used to decorate the slums and ghettos; garbage, filth and drugs that fill the streets; heroin and cocaine addiction, and then links them all to disease based upon poor living conditions. He calls it all genocide. In this poem, he blames capitalism for all the isms: racism, male chauvinism (machismo), imperialism, and colonialism are named outright. The poem ends with just one word on a single line. "Vaya" (p. 351). In black church culture they too say, "Well". African American poets and writers and women writers of this period also passed through stage one, recognizing their condition and naming it.

The second developmental stage of awareness is an idealized notion of elsewhere. Somewhere else life is good. For Nuyoricans, the place is the enchanted island of Puerto Rico. In the biopic of Piñero's life there is a scene where he returns to Puerto

Rico and performs his poetry and uses the moniker "Nuyorican". The island audience is surprised by the negative jabs regarding the mainland and question his identity. They ask if he is Puerto Rican (*Piñero,* 2001). At least he can respond that he was born on the island, which is more than African Americans can say when they visit Africa, enchanted with the idea of a Motherland. The idealized notion of an island or a continent is only that, an idea. Some women writers also imagined an ideal space before patriarchy (see *The temple of my familiar* by Alice Walker). Apparently, the idealized awareness is part of becoming one with the idea that identity is not static and accepting the notion of cultural hybridity. Poet Tato Laviera makes it plain in the poem "My graduation speech" that begins, "i think in spanish/ i write in english" and ends by saying, "so it is spanglish to matao" (Algarín & Holman: 332-333). Pedro Pietri's poem "Wet hand on dry dreams" conjures images of a lost island. He thinks of a lost memory and writes "I look at the sea/ the sea doesn't look back at me" (Algarín & Holman: 341).

Making connections is the next developmental stage of awareness for the poets. To address the real problems facing Nuyoricans, they needed to and did form coalitions mainly with African Americans who suffered the same type of discrimination. They formed alliances with the Last Poets, Gil Scott Heron, and the Beat Poets in the East Village, and with Amiri Baraka and other BAM poets (Black Arts Movement) (see *Outlaw,* Piñero et.al). They also joined with Asian American poets creating an international multicultural space for poetry (Algarín & Holman). Together, the poets would speak to the people about their conditions pointing out what some had come to accept as their lot in life as unacceptable.

In 1973, Piñero, Algarín and Pietri began what would become the Poets Café when they began meeting in Algarín's Lower East Side apartment to swap poems and to rap. The three men, all Puerto Rican, could not have been more diverse, but their differences blended well. Miguel Piñero was the wild card, but possibly the best known. His play "Short eyes", written while incarcerated, catapulted him to fame. He appeared on the hit television series *Miami Vice* and was the subject of the biopic, *Piñero* (2001). He authored twelve plays and appeared in films which included *Fort apache, The Bronx, Kojak,* and many other shows. He was inducted into the New York Writers Hall of Fame in 2013. Despite his various talents as a playwright, actor and poet, he never overcame his drug addiction, which led to his demise. The official cause of death was listed as cirrhosis of the liver (Bennetts). Piñero's poetic and dramatic presence lives on as his final wish was recorded in his poem, "A Lower Eastside poem". The poem directs that his ashes be scattered on the Lower Eastside, "From Houston to 14th Street and from Second Avenue to the Mighty D" (Algarín & Holman: 7). Miguel Algarín carried out his wishes.

Miguel Algarín's life differed from his friend Piñero's in significant ways. Of the three friends, he is the only one still alive. Born in Santurce, San Juan, Puerto Rico,

on September 11, 1941, his family migrated to New York in 1950. While the family settled on the Lower East Side and did not escape poverty, the family remained intact. María Algarín worked in a factory and Miguel Algarín, the father, worked as a parking lot attendant. Algarín was the middle child. He avoided the pitfalls of street life although he was streetwise. He completed high school and earned a bachelor's degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1963. In 1965, he earned a Master of Arts degree from Pennsylvania State University. He majored in English and completed the PhD in comparative literature at Rutgers University where he became a faculty member and taught Shakespeare and ethnic literature for 30 years. Poet, scholar/professor, playwright, and translator, Algarín won the Before Columbus Lifetime Achievement American Book Award in 1980, the first Latino to do so (Nguyen).

By 1975, Algarín's living room was an overcrowded meeting place for Nuyorican poets and writers. Together the men rented a space on East 6th Street and this became the Nuyorican Poets Café. In 1980, Algarín purchased a building on East 3rd Street and expanded the Café. A sanctuary for Puerto Ricans in New York City, the café has grown into a multicultural, multiracial, multiethnic shelter for creative artist near and far. The Café is now a non-profit organization.

Pedro Pietri was born in Ponce, Puerto Rico on March 21, 1944. His family migrated to the States in 1947 when he was three-years old. Unlike his colleagues and fellow poets and playwrights, Piñero and Algarín, Pietri grew up in Manhattanville, better known as Spanish Harlem. He graduated from Haaren High School, the same school that Herman Badillo attended. Badillo was the first Puerto Rican congressman. Pietri was drafted into the army and served in the Vietnam War. When he returned to New York, he became a member of the Young Lords, an activist group patterned after the Black Panther Party (Darrel Wanzer-Serrano, 2015). The Young Lords were a street gang that became a civil and human rights organization. They were nationalist and wanted self-determination for Puerto Rico.

Pietri's epic poem, "Puerto Rican obituary", was first read in 1969 at the church occupied by the Young Lords for their breakfast program for children. The Spanish Methodist Church of East Harlem reclaimed as the People's Church by the Young Lords is where Pietri set in motion a new literary movement. He was a Puerto Rican nationalist and his poem "The Spanglish national anthem" emphasizes his politics. He saw clearly the ironic oppression of church and state and gave himself the title of Reverend. He authored more than 20 books of poetry and plays, and his work has been translated into more than a dozen languages (González; Flores & Adorno).

Certainly, there were other players upon the stage, but Pietri's poem, "Puerto Rican obituary", and Piñero's and Algarín's plays and poems opened and sustained what became the Nuyorican Poets Café, legitimatizing Spanglish and promoting the Slam poetry events of the century's end. Pietri was known as the Poet Laurate of the Nuyorican Movement (Pietri, book cover). He would live to see the Café become

home for Slam events. However, he developed stomach cancer and succumbed on March 3, 2004 at the age of 59 (*New York Times Archive*). His funeral was held in the People's Church/The Spanish Methodist Church of East Harlem, where he first read his epic poem, and perhaps like Piñero he had written his own obituary.

The Nuyorican Poets Café

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"NO NACIÓ PA' YUGO": NATIONALISM, COLONIALISM, AND OPPRESSION IN THE WRITING OF *LA GENERACIÓN DEL 50*

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Christopher Columbus arrived in Puerto Rico on November 19, 1493. Even though this date is among those used to celebrate Puerto Rican heritage, questions have been arisen as to why Boricuas celebrate *el Día de la raza* on the day when Spanish dominance and oppression became engraved eternally in Puerto Rican history and culture, helping to forge the peaceful, passive Puerto Rican that American writer and literary critic Alfred Kazin characterized upon visiting the island in 1960 as "docile." The rebellion against Spanish colonial rule on September 23, 1868, commonly called *El Grito de Lares,* was planned by revolutionaries and contributors to the abolition of slavery on the island, Ramón Emeterio Betances and Segundo Ruiz Belvis. Although the rebels did not fully succeed in their attempts to establish *un Puerto Rico libre*, the Spanish government granted the island more autonomy as a result of that revolutionary moment when the Puerto Rican people joined forces to demand liberty from oppression, which, up until the present day, has yet to be experienced again on the island.

While the Spanish American War in 1898 was the decisive factor that forced Puerto Rico into the hands of the United States 405 years after its discovery, writers and critics of what can be considered *La Generación del 50* such as René Marqués, Abelardo Díaz Alfaro, Edwin Figueroa and others analyze and criticize how Puerto Ricans have waged their struggle for identity under colonial rule of the United States. Their texts, generally considered at the time to be 'nationalist' in nature, open up a space for conversation about what it is that makes a text one that is considered 'nationalist'.

While both Spanish and English are legacies of colonial rule over Puerto Rico, the use of the former was deeply favored at the time by nationalists over the use of the latter, after fifty years of epistemically violent, but ultimately fruitless, efforts by the U.S. to impose its language on Puerto Rico. On July 25, 1952, the colonial status of the island took on its current form as the Commonwealth (also known as *Estado Libre Asociado*)

of Puerto Rico, also becoming a day of celebration for some Puerto Ricans, who cherish the idea of belonging to and eventually forming part of the United States.

The works that make up the corpus of Puerto Rican nationalist literature, virtually all of which were written in Spanish and some of which were never translated into English, provide a look at a range of Puerto Rican characters who grapple with the same problematic situation: How does a Puerto Rican survive while being trampled under the iron fist of North American imperialism? The writers of *La Generación del 50* analyze what they see as the "docility" of Puerto Ricans in relation to the oppression of the United States, while attempting to inspire the necessary revolutionary posture within their readers to create hope for a new island, liberated from colonial domination.

René Marqués, born on October 4, 1919, in Arecibo, Puerto Rico, was an agronomist before deciding to shift his attention on writing plays, short stories, and essays that would change the tone of Puerto Rican literature forever. His essay titled "*El puertorriqueño dócil*" [The docile Puerto Rican] was published in 1960, and then re-published in 1977, along with his other essays focused on similar topics from 1953 to 1971. His experience as an agronomist led him to see Puerto Rico not only through the lens of urban areas, such as San Juan, but also through that of the *jíbaro* in the mountainous areas of Borikén, the Taíno name for the island. Fiercely critical, yet entirely necessary as a wake-up call, "*El puertorriqueño dócil*" sees the Boricua's docility as the reason why North American culture has so quickly and easily become the norm in Puerto Rican society.

Before the 1950s, Boricuas could not display their own flag and were forced to use only that of the United States. English was used as the language of instruction in schools, disregarding the fact that the great majority of students had never heard the language before they entered the classroom. Marqués writes:

> The use of a foreign language always implies an additional intellectual effort and a tension not normal in a conversation in one's native tongue. It places the person whose language is not being spoken at an intellectual or psychological disadvantage. In addition, in this case, the foreign language is fraught with mental burdens, ambivalences, and psychological conflicts: colony-colonial power, Puerto Rican-North American, inferior-superior, weak-strong, docile-aggressive. Thus, even without perceiving it, the Puerto Rican will experience extraordinary mental and emotional fatigue. (p. 52)

This experience was the norm in Puerto Rico before the 1950s, with the inhabitants of the island seemingly separated into two groups: the nationalists and the annexationists. The annexationists want Puerto Rico to be assimilated into the United States, while the nationalists dream of an independent Puerto Rico no longer in the oppressive grip of any colonizing power. Marqués critically questions what the Puerto Rican people are doing to change their colonized socio-political situation, by asking readers what has

happened to the political organizations that struggle against imperialism on the island. Specifically, he describes how the Independence Party died at only fourteen years of age in the November 8, 1960 elections:

> Of the 80,000 votes necessary for its survival – ten percent of the total electorate – it only obtained 24,000… It achieved its greatest strength in the elections of 1952 with 125,000 votes, thus becoming, ephemerally, the second most important party in Puerto Rico. As soon as it had achieved this, its dramatic and vertiginous decline began (p. 65).

Today, *el Grito de Lares* is celebrated every 23rd of September in the plaza of the town of Lares where rebels united 151 years ago. It's a beautiful sight to witness with so many people in the plaza, that it becomes impossible to see anything but the colors of the Puerto Rican flag and that of Lares. However, as the political parties such as the PIP (Puerto Rican Independence Party) and the PPT (Working People's Party of Puerto Rico) hand out their flyers asking people around them to renounce American citizenship and fight for *la lucha para la libertad,* people stand around the plaza, listen to politicians in favor of independence give their speeches, yell "*¡Eso!*" in agreement, but do little more throughout the year. Although it is easy to partake in this celebration of the struggle for independence, Puerto Ricans must see the fundamental truth in Marqués' words. It is obvious that the docility of the Puerto Rican population is very much alive in the present era of unprecedented attacks against them by the imperialist initiatives of the *Junta Fiscal* imposed on the island by the U.S. government and the U.S. banking establishment that it represents, which has effectively usurped the power of the elected government of Puerto Rico.

While schools are being closed, one must wonder what the bigger plan for the future generations of Puerto Rico is. The University of Puerto Rico, founded in 1903, has been under heavy attack in recent years. Since even before Puerto Rico's economic recession in 2008 which resulted in the imposition of the *Junta Fiscal*, the University of Puerto Rico's 11 campuses have seen massive cuts in class offerings, ridiculous rises in tuition costs per credit, and a hiring freeze that makes it virtually impossible for future generations of academics to be get tenured teaching and research positions. In "*El puertorriqueño dócil,*" written some 60 years ago, Marqués speaks truths that still very much apply to today's society, where the docility of Puerto Ricans is still evident in their acceptance of defeat without the initiative to fight back. He uses the following example:

> In the School of Medicine they courteously ask students if they wish the class in English or in Spanish. Only one need prefer it in English for the course to be taught in that language during the whole academic year. The rest of the Puerto Rican students – an absolute majority minus one – do not dare to make the slightest protest, which shows how linguistic democracy is faring in those surroundings" (p. 51).

The University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras campus offers undergraduate and graduate courses in English using English as the language of instruction, but the rest of the classes outside of the English department are taught in Spanish, while other universities such as Interamerican University offer entire programs in English not only for those few Puerto Ricans who are able to handle academic English, but to also attract students from abroad. What foreigner wouldn't want to come to Puerto Rico to "study abroad" and experience the island's beautiful beaches, rivers, rainforests and people?

One focus of nationalist literature has been the figure of the *jíbaro*, who represents in the national imaginary the Puerto Ricans of former times from *el campo* who owned their own farms, kept to themselves and their families, and despite their desires to live 'a better life' in the city, had deep-rooted attachments to their land. Abelardo Díaz Alfaro, born in 1919 in Caguas, Puerto Rico published "*El Josco*" in 1948, in his book of short stories titled *Terrazo*. Here, he presents his readers to a *jíbaro* named Jincho Marcelo, who works for Don Leopo, the narrator's uncle. Jincho Marcelo speaks like a person from *el campo,* his habits are simple, he has trouble pronouncing some words, yet works hard and loves the bull *el Josco* as if it were his own son. Like Marqués, it was easy for Díaz Alfaro to understand *el jíbaro,* since aside from his profession as writer, he also worked as a social worker in mountainous towns throughout the island, such as San Lorenzo, mentioned in the text.

"*El Josco*" is a direct critique of the colonialism enforced on the island by the North American government. Its validity still holds true today as the narrator introduces readers to a small farm town, about 40 minutes away from the capital of San Juan. Díaz Alfaro intoduces el Josco, (*josco* is a synonym for dark-skinned) at the beginning of the text as a strong bull, representing the strength of an island. Díaz Alfaro describes the bull in this way:

> La cabeza erguida, las aspas filosas estoquendo el capote en sangre de un atardercer luminoso. Aindiado, moreno, la carillada en sombras, el andar lento y rítmico. La baba gelatinosa le caía de los belfos negros y gomosos, dejando en el verde enjoyado estela plateada de caracol. Era hosco por el color y por su carácter reconcentrado, huraño, fobioso, y de peleador incansable (p. 57).

This bull does not tire of his daily tasks on the farm, and while Jincho Marcelo simply admires the beauty, build, and strength of the bull, Don Leopo has other intentions for the animal.

This short story quickly introduces its readers to the dilemma at hand as a white bull is introduced to disrupt the routine of the *jíbaro*. While industrialization could be easily be seen as progress by the Puerto Rican people, the impacts of U.S.-driven industrialization were devastating to Puerto Rican society and culture. In 1947 newly elected governor Luis Muñoz Marín of the Popular Democratic Party along with the United States government began Operation Bootstrap, which stimulated the investment of millions of

dollars through tax breaks and other incentives in Puerto Rico, with the goal of converting the island's economy from an agrarian one to an industrial one. This would effectively bring about the near extinction of the *jibaro* and destroy the economic self-sufficiency of the Puerto Rican people forever. Puerto Rico's economy shifted from more labor-intensive activities such as agriculture and the manufacturing of tobacco products and leather, to more capital-intensive industries, such as pharmaceuticals, chemicals, and machinery. In the process, Puerto Ricans became totally dependent on imports from the U.S. for their food and other basic necessities.

This industrialization of Borikén is represented in "*El Josco*" by the white bull, called "el Jincho" by the narrator (*jincho* being a synonym for white). Although Jincho Marcelo tells the narrator that "*Toro macho, padrote… no nació pa' yugo*" (p. 57), Don Leopo's purpose on the farm is exactly that, to more completely harness and exploit el Josco, metaphorically comparing the resulting death of the black bull, with the death of the culture and resiliency of the Puerto Rican people. Leopo even says to Marcelo, "*Lo quiero para cruce* (referring to the white bull), *hay que mejorar la crianza.*" (p. 58). This attempt to 'better the genes' of Leopo's cattle makes el Jincho the most sought after animal on the farm.

Eventually, el Josco confronts his rival el Jincho to fight for dominance. This scene is imaginative and thrilling, the two bulls begin their performance as in a dance, and then attack, leaving el Josco hurt and el Jincho unharmed. Those of us who are familiar with Puerto Rico's current socio-political situation should be able to predict what happens to the black bull at the end of the story: he is forced to be harnessed or yoked together with another bull while the white bull establishes his dominance. El Josco begins to lose strength, becomes weaker, and eventually dies. In his sadness, frustration, and pain, Jincho Marcelo can only repeat the same words he told Don Leopo at the beginning of the story, that el Josco was not made to be harnessed. Socio-politically, Díaz Alfaro's story is a strong and direct cry for Puerto Ricans to wake up from the hazy, dreamlike docility that they find themselves in. It is a cry for help, an alarm and a call to action.

Yet another writer of the time that touches on this topic is Edwin Figueroa, born in Guayama on March 26, 1925. Figueroa, previously unrecognized as a writer, won third place in the Certamen Festival de Navidad in 1956, which was sponsored by El Ateneo Puertorriqueño. His short stories reminded the judges of another Puerto Rican that was also from Guayama named Luis Palés Matos, one of the first Boricua writers to focus on the lifestyle of the African descended Puerto Ricans. Guayama is comparable to the town of Loíza in that it has heavy Afro-Caribbean influences visible in its culture, and works by Figueroa, such as the short story "*Aguinaldo Negro*" show such influences. In this story, an enslaved woman suffers the loss of her baby who is half white due to the fact that the father is the owner of the plantation where she works and lives.

In any case, it is the short story titled "*Lolo Manco*" that led Figueroa to literary fame. The protagonist in "*Lolo Manco*" is Dolores (Lolo) Guerra. "Dolores" and "Guerra" not

only being fairly common names, but also translating as "pain" and "war" respectively. Thus, from the outset, the main character of this short story symbolically represents the hardship and difficulty of the industrialization of the island. What Guerra wants is simple: He is tired of working on his father's farm, exhausted because as he says, the land is no good and there are no people anymore to work it. His father *el viejo* Don Bauta tells Dolores that the soil will give life to those who are committed to working it, but these things take time, vegetables do not pop out of the ground automatically, and a family cannot be fed without there first being an investment of time, energy, and compromise with Mother Nature. However, Dolores is in denial, and while his parents realize that it is useless to try to convince him to stay, he decides to leave for the city to live with his aunt Úrsula.

Figueroa describes Úrsula as an obese woman: "La tía Úrsula movía su gordura sofocante de un lugar a otro" (p. 203). She is excited that Lolo is there to help, since the house is mortgaged and her daughter married an American man and moved to California, not even sending a letter back to the island. Úrsula tells Lolo that there are jobs available at the window factory. He goes first thing in the morning the following Monday and is offered a job immediately. His first interaction with an American man in the story is bizarre: while Dolores is sitting in the office waiting for an offer of employment, a man appears who is described by the narrator as pink-skinned with red hair. Lolo looks at him and thinks that the man looks like a pink baby in the body of a man. Figueroa writes, "*A Dolores Guerra lo pareció ver un niño gigante en aquel hombre extraño. Observó cuando el norteamericano puso la carpeta sobre el escritorio y le oyó silbar algunos sonidos extraños mientras regresaba por el mismo lugar*" (p. 205). These strange sounds are clearly those of the English language which Lolo has never heard before and to him, it is made up of combinations of strange sounds that he cannot decipher.

The next day, Lolo walks alongside the other workers on the way to the factory. As they walk, he tries to keep up the pace with them, unaccustomed to the rapidity, rush, and anxiety of industrial life. His first days are stressful, the *capataz* or overseer, is constantly yelling about production, the sounds of the machinery pound into Lolo's ears, creating even more anxiety and panic while he is obliged to complete his task in a short amount of time, so the output can move on the next operation required for production. However, Lolo is desperate to make money, not only for himself, but also to provide for his aunt, and upon being offered double shifts at night, Lolo agrees. The character of Lolo then becomes a zombie, possessed the quick, repetitive and forceful labor of the factory. His aunt tells him to slow down, but it is as if he is possessed by an obligation to work the most hours, produce the most windows, and be the most diligent employee at the factory. Stories such as these don't have happy endings and one evening, overworked, overtired, and pushed to the point of exhaustion, Lolo's hand is eaten by the

machine that had dominated his body and soul for the past months, and thus he gained the nickname "*manco*" which means "without a hand".

While Figueroa leaves the ending for readers to speculate about, he informs us that Dolores decides to go back home to Don Bauta's farm. There is no need for a handless man to work in the factory, and he is fired just as easily as he was hired. At the end of the story, Figueroa evokes a metaphorical death: the character of Lolo Manco, laying in the fields, his family's house in the distance, dies, leaving Dolores Guerra, the man on the farm, the man hesitant to work with the land that his father had been tending to for decades, as the only remaining representation of the character. Readers are then made to question what will happen to Dolores, since it can be assumed that he will never again be able to survive in the fast-paced *ciudad* that is not only San Juan, but the industrialization that the United States has brought to the island.

Figueroa makes many comparisons between the farm and the city in subtle ways that readers must pay close attention to. Don Bauta is a skinny, old man, with hands that have seen years of hard labor, and with *"pies costrosos"* or dirty feet; while *tía Úrsula* is the embodiment of what happens when the agrarian economy is abandoned, her obese body the result of the loss of self-sustainable labor. In the book *Cuentos puertorriqueños de hoy,* René Marqués states that Figueroa's short story is both the symbolic and literal representation of the machine destroying the man. He states, "In 'Lolo Manco', the urban machine mutilates the agricultural worker, destroying his potential for creative capacity that is the hand" (p. 190). Figueroa's character Dolores Guerra is literally and figuratively eaten alive by the hungry mouth of imperialism.

The writings of *La Generación del 50* are in some ways even more relevant to Puerto Rico today than they were half a century ago. Through the electronic media, North American influence on the island's culture is growing stronger every day, and the island is now being overtly and 'legally' governed directly by Wall Street.

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UNSETTLING RESONANCES
IN CULTURE AND HISTORY IN THE
GREATER CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND

INDIGENOUS CARIBBEAN SAILING IN PRE-COLUMBIAN TIMES

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The indigenous peoples of the Caribbean are known for being adept canoe makers and sailors. They are known for exemplary navigational skills by stars, currents, and prevailing winds. There are even linguistic similarities for navigational terms in indigenous languages from South to North America, extending even to the Austronesian Pacific. They cultivated cotton and made hammocks, an item later adopted by European sailors to improve onboard sleeping comfort on rolling seas. They used reeds and palm fronds for the construction of dwellings and household artifacts. They weaved. They were traders. They knew astronomy. And yet, in the dominant narratives of history and anthropology, scholars find it difficult to credit them with the use of sail.

Three possible reasons come to mind. First, it conflicts with the stereotypical image of the ignorant noble savage, a justification for land dispossession and enslavement. They were glorified or demonized but could not be seen as equals. Second, it diminishes the image of European sailing superiority. Sailing from South to North America requires a type of sail that can catch a beam reach (the wind to the side of the vessel) which was not yet popularly used in Europe. As an example, Columbus's caravels sailed on a run, with the wind on the poop deck (*viento en popa*) and with following currents (Columbus, 1969; Gyory et al., 2013). If they did not have these two things, they sat like ducks on the water, or corks popping up and down on rough seas. And third, there is a lack of archaeological evidence that Ancient Americans had sails. One relies on circumstantial evidence from European graphic and written texts, and indigenous codified and mystical imagery.

Plenty has been recorded on the negative image of the indigenous peoples – prejudices and atrocities that linger into our present times. It is inevitable to avoid this negativity, however, the main focus will be on graphic and written texts, stone imagery and artifacts, as well as research studies that support indigenous sailing in Ancient America and at the onset of the European invasions. Johannes Wilbert, anthropologist at UCLA, has conducted research on the Warao indigenous people in South America. In his paper,

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Navigators of the winter sun, he states in one paragraph, "Warao boats of either class lack outriggers." These are the projecting structure on a boat or fixed standing masts and wire stays to which sails are attached. In a following paragraph, he adds, "Sometimes, especially in the Upper Delta region, plain dugouts are also provided with rectangular sails of leaf-stalks matting or triangular ones of cloth" (pp. 17-19). The rigging is removable and put away when not needed. Note both types of sails he mentions, square and triangular.

Wilbert adds that Warao canoe-making is of pre-historic origin and that the name Warao is a combination of *Wa*, meaning canoe, and *Arao*, meaning people: "The Warao are people of canoes" (p. 17). Further up north in the Yucatan peninsula, the Maya used logograms based on syllabic glyphs, marked on stones and pottery. One such glyph is presented in the book by anthropologist and food historian, Sophie Coe, *The true history of chocolate* (2013):

> *Ka* was the name of a fish. *Ka* was also the name of a comb made from the bones of the Ka fish. *U(a)* or *wa* is the monosyllabic word for canoe. *Kakau(a)* becomes the bitter chocolate drink, which becomes sweet *cacao* in Spanish, and *cocoa* in English – reminiscent of the sea trade enabling the drink. The Mayans also used cocoa beans as currency (Coe & Coe: Loc. 617).

In 2016, the Disney animation film, *Moana*, was launched. Criticism ensued as to the portrayal of the native Polynesian peoples, including Doug Herman's article in the *Smithsonian Magazine* titled, "How the story of "Moana" and Maui holds up against cultural truths" (2016). The negatives were: the mocking portrayal of the coconut people, fat Maui, the innocent happy villagers, and the collage of different Polynesian people as one nondescript stereotype. The positives were: Moana as a strong character, depiction of traditional tattooing, and the engagement of navigation and wayfinding. On this last point, he quotes Sabra Kauka, a native Hawaiian cultural practitioner saying, "We sailed the great ocean in *wa'a* (canoes) using the stars, the winds, the currents as our guides" (Herman, 2016). It appears that *wa* was a word for canoe in the Atlantic and Pacific seas.

In Polynesian lore, cultural anthropologist Tevita Ka'ili mentions that a god like Maui never acts alone, but is always balanced with a goddess like Hine, not depicted in the film, but for in one of Moana's songs (Herman, 2016). Likewise, the Warao canoes in South America, have a male right side and female left side for balance. The tree felled is the daughter of the goddess Duarani, mother of all trees, and both must consent to the ritual death (Wilbert, 1977).

In order to bring distances, navigational language, and local knowledge into perspective, I will provide an example from my own sailing experience in the region. I have been sailing since the 1970s in the Greek islands, New England, and the Caribbean. Sailing the Caribbean is a dangerous feat even for the more adept sailors; a hard lesson

learned by Columbus when on his first voyage he lost the flagship *Santa Maria* to a reef off the island the Tainos called Ayiti, now Hispaniola (Rouse, 1992: 143). The first time I saw a Caribbean chart, I called it an obstacle course. Sailing to Culebra island can take 4 hours with a south wind. It can take an exhausting 18 hours of tacking sails if the prevailing Trade Winds blow from the east. The distance between both points is 20 nautical miles. With a south wind, I'm sailing on a beam reach (wind from the side). With an east wind, I'm on a closed haul or beating against the wind – tacking, tacking, tacking or zig-zagging into the wind. The beam reach is considered the best point of sail – comfortable, pleasant, and fun.

From south to north Caribbean, sailing usually involves a beam reach, given the easterly prevailing winds. The distances are much longer. I cannot see indigenous peoples paddling from Venezuela to Antigua (494 nm), let alone the Bahamas (1,058 nm), when a beam reach would be much more comfortable and faster, with a sail. And they often sailed with their families. Furthermore, contrary to popular belief, indigenous sailing was not limited to one-way, one-time trips. Archaeologist David Watters concludes that constant seaborne commerce and other interaction linked the indigenous peoples of the Caribbean with their relatives in mainland South America (p. 89).

Eric Thompson, leading Mesoamerican archaeologist, ethnohistorian, and epigrapher, named the Putun people of east coast Yucatan, the Phoenicians of the New World (as cited in Sabloff: 67). He hinted at their use of sail as early as 1937, with stronger arguments to follow in a 1949 article published in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. Thompson's paper was refuted in 1988 by Jeremiah Epstein from the University of Texas at Austin. Epstein questions eyewitness reports, Bernal Díaz's citations, and possible linguistic confusions (p. 1). He adds that there are no visual depictions of sails in stonework. To this last opposing argument, I have three rebuttals. First, sailors have always been zealous about sea trade and fishing secrets. Second, Mayan and other indigenous groups use a language, both in poetry and visual graphics, that portray what is known as extended metaphors, a code instead of the favored literal expressions of the West. For example, a jade skirt is a lake, flower and song is poetry, a serpent is a canoe. Quetzalcoatl, the plumed serpent, is a god who disappeared to the east vowing he would return (Townsend, 1992). Third, they did not use fixed rigging. A sail could double as a bimini, a roof, or as bedding, but it was not an integral part of basic boat design.

Scott M. Fitzpatrick, an anthropologist from the University of Oregon uses two arguments to rebut the use of sail in the Caribbean (2013). First, his view mirrors McKusick's colonial era assessment:

> The barbarians make two kinds of boats in which they go to sea. Their boats are very different from our skiffs and sloops. We call their biggest boats *pirogues*, although the savage word for them is *canoua*. …. They have no compasses, magnets, or sundials. Therefore, they do not go too far from land. When they lose

sight of land, they steer at night by the stars and by days from the course of the sun (pp. 115-116).

Second, Fitzpatrick uses what he calls "interisland visibility" as "likely one major reason why smaller to mid-size dugout canoes were satisfactory and did not necessarily need to be improved upon." (p. 125). As a rebuttal to the rebuttal, the reference to barbarians and savages speaks for itself. There is a distinct difference between a canoe and a pirogue. Anyone who has sailed the Caribbean knows there is no such thing as interisland visibility, except perhaps within the Virgin Islands and the Grenadines. Skiffs and sloops came much later, and as I will attempt to show, the Caribbean may have had a leading role in their development.

Other archaeologists rebut these arguments. Jeremy Sabloff, in his article "Old myths, new myths: the role of sea traders in the development of ancient Maya civilization" states that, "the relative insularity of lowland Maya studies has inhibited a Mesoamerica-wide view of the role of trade between Maya and non-Maya peoples in the writings of many archaeologists" (p. 67). In a recent 2017 book, *El secreto mejor perdido* [The best lost secret], a young researcher and historian, Roberto Pérez Reyes, documents the accomplishments of the Tainos and apparent similarities between them and other indigenous cultures. Among his navigational examples are the many small figures that resemble a coqui or an infant (p. 22). With a hole in the center, they are not practical jewelry. He proposes they may be the Taino equivalent of a compass rose for navigation. Another of his examples links samples found in Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and Papua New Guinea (84). Pérez notes that these represent an intentional geometrical convention related to calendar functions, spacetime orientations, and astronomical cycles (p. 25).

David Watters reinforces this view when he states in his article titled, "Maritime trade in prehistoric eastern Caribbean" that "Archaeological evidence for this maritime adaptation is provided by artefactual remains among the islands and long-distance trade with the South American continent" (p. 88). He further adds that most archaeologists are landlubbers with a land orientation while many indigenous peoples had a seaward orientation. Among the textual evidence are passages from Bernal Díaz del Castillo's book, *The true history of the conquest of New Spain*, where he makes reference to the year 1517, arriving from Cuba to Cape San Antonio in Mexico, "… and on the morning of 4 March we saw ten large canoes called pirogues, full of the inhabitants of that town, approaching us with oars and sails" (1963: 22). They saw sails approaching.

Jack Forbes indicates that, "The palm-leaf matting used as an awning suggests also a knowledge of sailing, since such a matting can easily catch the wind and be used as sails. Sails of woven matting were used along the Pacific coast and also by the Caribs of the Antilles" (2007: 43). Forbes continues, "Sails were often used both on rafts and in canoes (*canoas*) and pirogues (*piraguas*). Early sails seem to have been made of palm

matting (or other fibrous material on Lake Titicaca) fixed to a pole mast with tough cording made from palm fibers" (p. 2).

In his book, *The American discovery of Europe*, Forbes makes a compelling case that Ancient Americans were in Europe before Columbus's voyage. Given prevailing currents and winds, it is actually easier to sail to Europe from the Caribbean than vice versa. The connecting Gulf Stream, a river within the ocean, moves at a hefty 4 miles per hour from east to west (NOAA, 2018). He notes that in the 1470s Columbus met with a Native American man and his wife in Galway, Ireland, and that he wrote the following on the margin of one of his books, "People from Catayo towards the east they came. We saw many notable out logs in their possession, of marvelous form" (p. 8). Hence ensued the chain of events that led to 1492. At the time of his encounter in Galway, Columbus was a common seaman and a bookseller (p. 10). Why did native Americans stop sailing? As more European players sailed into the American continent, the number of kidnappings for slavery or forced labor increased. Forbes states, "Thus, it probably became increasingly dangerous to go out to sea after the 1490s, and especially in parts of the greater Caribbean" (p. 41).

In more recent times, the single sail pirogue developed into the Caribbean made fishing skiff, still locally made in Puerto Rico where it is known as a *Nativo*. It originally had removable rigging. A similar fishing skiff in Cuba is described in Ernest Hemingway's, *The old man and the sea* (2003). There are also the impressive master boat builders in Anguilla, but that's another paper.

The Ancient Caribbean people could sail on a run and a beam reach with square and triangular shaped sails when most Europeans were still running with the wind on their poop and square sails. The use of two triangular sails enabled sailing close to the wind, an invention that is generally viewed as European. Originally known as the Marconi sail, now it is known as the Bermuda sail. The 17th century Bermuda sail configuration allows a sailboat to sail close to the wind, zig-zagging into the wind. It is about the only way to sail into Bermuda. Howard Harris, director of the National Museum of Bermuda notes that the Tainos were the island's first settlers, a thousand years before Europeans. Cedar was a favorite Taino boatbuilding wood, and Bermuda is known for its Bermuda Cedar (Beckingham, 2017). It is now the most popular rigging worldwide.

As we fast approach our conclusion, let us review the three possible reasons for not giving credit to Ancient Americans on their use of sail. First, the difficulty of seeing beyond the stereotypes of the simple savages, the coconut people, incapable of complex astronomical and navigational knowledge. Not perfect, but not demons, they simply saw navigation from a more holistic perspective that included the spiritual, differing from the western obsession with the physics of sailing. Second, even though Europeans tend to take credit for it, sailing is not a European invention. The Ancient Americans, Arabs, Chinese, Polynesians, and Africans were on parallel and occasionally more ad-

vanced tracks than Europeans. Third, the lack of archaeological evidence, which is explained by Watters by the fact that indigenous sails would have been made of perishable materials which were likely to have decomposed with time (p. 88).

Taking into account the geographical spread of such indigenous peoples as the speakers of the Austronesian languages who are found today from Madagascar off the coast of East Africa to Easter Island off the coast of South America, and the spread of speakers of the Arawakan languages who are found today throughout the Caribbean Basin and beyond all the way to Peru and Argentina, an unprejudiced observer would find it inconceivable that the indigenous peoples of the Caribbean and the Pacific were not familiar with the use of sail before the arrival of the Europeans. The time is long overdue to acknowledge and valorize the indigenous Caribbean's contribution to sailing techniques and technologies.

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GEORGIA CONNECTIONS: POSSIBLE CARIBBEAN INDIGENOUS PRESENCE AND INFLUENCE ON THE NATIVE AMERICAN CONFEDERACIES OF THE SOUTHEASTERN UNITED STATES

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An article appearing in the September 4, 1909 edition of the Douglas County Sentinel, entitled "Remarkable stone image found near Douglasville", tells the story of what happened one day when William Harvey Roberts went hunting for wild turkeys along Sweetwater Creek in Douglas County, Ga. What Roberts discovered while hunting in an area called Jack's Hill would become known as the Roberts and/or Sweetwater Creek petroglyph. The newspaper describes how the stone was found in an area where "[a] large number of Indian relics have been found", and located "near the top of a cliff, which has stone steps dug out on the side, and is almost a hundred feet high and perpendicular to the little creek below" (cited in Smith: 45-46). In her article titled "Mystery of the Roberts petroglyph", Virginia Davis states:

> During his hunt, Mr. Roberts became tired and decided to pause to rest on a large boulder. As he did so, he discovered something that has become an enduring mystery... Mr. Roberts noticed the large rock on which he was sitting had engraved drawings which resembled the human form…[and] decided to retrieve it as a curiosity item for his home" (Davis: 48).

This engraved stone was kept in the Roberts home until his death. In 1930, the Roberts family loaned the stela to the State Archives of the Department of Natural Resources (Smith: 46). The petroglyph was housed for many years in Rhodes Mansion, the original office of the Georgia Department of Archives and History, located on Peachtree Street in Atlanta. In 1962, the Archives loaned the petroglyph to the Columbus Museum where it was displayed and then stored until 2005. In 2005, it was taken to the newly created Sweetwater Creek State Conservation Park Interpretative Center, in Lithia Springs, Ga, where the stela currently resides (Smith: 47-48; Davis: 49).

Interestingly enough, the Sweetwater petroglyph is not the only glyph to be found in this area. Georgia holds many examples of early petroglyphs, such as those located along on Nickajack Creek and in Forsyth county. Were these stones carved by local tribes, or were they carved by travelers passing through the region? Are the symbols traceable to other cultures? Can we determine contact through the possible cultural legacies visitors may have left behind? These questions serve as an exploration into the possibilities of a Caribbean indigenous influence on the cultures of the Native American confederations found within the southeastern United States.

The state of Georgia is considered to have one of the richest petroglyph traditions in the South Eastern United States, its geographical location making it the ideal meeting ground for indigenous encounters. Looking at the following tri-state map, we can observe two major riverine entries into the region from the southeastern Gulf corridor into the rich water basin areas of Alabama, Georgia and Florida – areas that contain huge artifact fields.
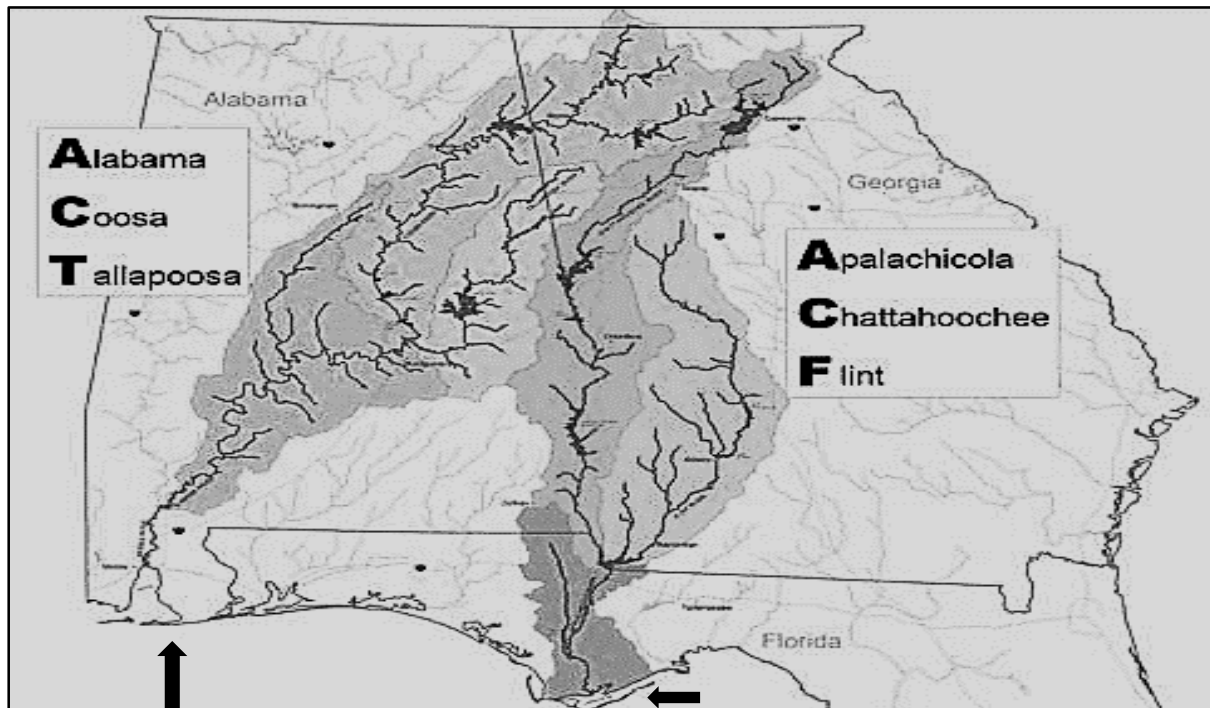
Virginia Davis describes the petroglyph as follows, "The Roberts petroglyph is 200 to 250 pounds in weight. It is 46 inches in height, 22 inches wide and 10 inches deep at its greatest dimension. The stone is schist, not granite as is sometimes assumed" (Davis: 48). Margaret Perryman, in her article "Sculptured monoliths of Georgia", states that:

> The petroglyph is quite different from any of the other known Georgia petroglyphs. The peculiar shape of the stone and the distinctive type of its markings make it one of the most interesting and rare examples of stone carvings in Georgia. The apparently purposely cut deep notch in the bottom of the stone is most

puzzling and poses the problem of whether the stone might have been made to be placed upon a cross beam or a ridge pole (Perryman: 7).

The artwork etched onto the stone is very different from the highly realistic stone sculptures found in the region that are known to have been created by the ancestors of Georgia's Creek and Cherokee tribes.

According to Richard Thornton, a Creek architect and writer, the petroglyph was thrust into the national limelight in 2011, when filmmaker and amateur archaeologist Jon Haskell became intrigued by the strange appearance of the petroglyph. Having filmed documentaries in many parts of the Americas, he had never seen any petroglyph like the Sweetwater Creek petroglyph in the United States:

> During the first week of April 2011, Haskell sent emails throughout North America to friends, who were either archaeologists, petroglyph specialists or experts on Native American art. Stephen C. Jett is a geography professor at the University of California at Davis and a recognized scholar of the petroglyphs and pictographs of the American southwest. His brief comment emailed back to Jon Haskell was the first interpretation in a century that assigned a regional identity to the Sweetwater petroglyph. He wrote, "It looks vaguely Caribbean to me, but that's just an impression, I am not conversant with the rock art of that region. (Thornton, 2011: online article).

Looking at the figure, it is possible that it is a "guardian spirit" whose presence would have warned travelers that they were entering a province or sacred area. In August of 2018, I had a discussion with Taino scholar Roberto Perez Reyes, author of *El secreto mejor perdido*, who talked about the possible significance of the figure portrayed on the petroglyph – he identified it as Caniba[1] (in Kalinago *karibna* "the people") – a powerful symbol that tells others that the place it appears in is inhabited by a strong people. The figure possesses a dominant stance, indicating power, and outstretched hand with many digits, which indicates a large population. Richard Thornton was the first to write about the petroglyph's possible Caribbean roots. Reading his research, it states that his archaeological contacts in Puerto Rico identified the entity as Mabouya. For me, this is strange, as the Maybouya for the Kalinago is a malevolent spirit who possesses its unsuspecting victims and causes illness.

In the l930's, archaeologists, including the late Richard Wauchope and Arthur Randolph Kelly, working in advance of the establishment of an industrial park on the Chattahoochee River near the outlet of Sweetwater Creek's, discovered three varieties of tubers growing wild near the original stela site that had been previously unattested in the local archaeological record. They looked like "bushy" morning glories, but had large, edible

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[1] This is evidence that I presented some years ago in the following article: Maxwell, Melinda (2012). Wendigo, Canaima, Caníbal: a journey into the world of Amerindian shape-shifting. In Nicholas Faraclas et al. (Eds.), *Double voicing and multiplex identities: unpacking hegemonic and subaltern discourses in the Caribbean* (pp. 445-449). Curaçao/Puerto Rico: FPI; UNA/UPR.

tubers growing underground (Thornton, 2011). According to their description, these mounded areas, or *conucos*, likely contained *batata* (sweet potato) or *ñame* (wild yam). Intensive land development since then has eliminated the wild root crop patches, but some sketches still exist.

According to Thornton, some linguistic evidence also exists as to the possible settlement of indigenous peoples from the Caribbean. Much of his etymology focuses on Creek/Mayan prefixes and Arawak suffixes (2011; 2016). Some of the town names that he mentions most definitely contain Taino etymons, for example Toa, which means river, is one of the towns that Hernando de Soto encounters in what is today Georgia on the first European expedition into the interior of the Southeast of North America in the 1500s (see Miner Sola). Thornton observes that the Toasi (meaning "Offspring of Toa" in Creek) ethnic group was different from the others in the Florida peninsula and later moved to the area around Birmingham, Alabama, where English-speaking settlers called them the Towasee. He also notes that by that time they had become members of the Creek Confederacy. Some of their language survives in a glossary and has been found to contain both Arawak and Mvskoke words (Thornton, 2016).

From 1564-1565, Rene Goulaine de Laundonniere recorded numerous provincial and town names on the Georgia coast and along the Althamaha River that ended with the Taino suffix *-coa*, Thornton refers to *-coa* as Arawak (in Taino *coa* serves as a prefix or suffix meaning "place" – see Miner Sola). There are several surviving place names in the mountains of western North Carolina, Georgia and eastern Tennessee that also have the *-coa* suffix, these include Toccoa, Stecoah, Talikoa, and Seticoa. Etymology aside, there is very significant evidence that indigenous peoples originally from the Caribbean (the Bahamas, Puerto Rico, Cuba or Hispaniola) paddled to the Florida Peninsula, followed the gulf coast up to the mouth of the Apalachicola-Chattahoochee River, and ultimately settled in the vicinity of what is now Atlanta, Georgia.

Shortly after many of the indigenous peoples of the Southeast were forcibly relocated from northwestern Georgia to Oklahoma on the Trail of Tears in 1838, early settlers found an 8 1/2 foot long - 2 1/2 foot wide boulder in Forsyth county, located alongside a wagon road between the towns of Cumming and Dahlonega. On the three-sided rock were carved seventeen glyphs that didn't correspond to any of the Creek or Cherokee nations' glyphs. Circles dominate, but there are also some abstract glyphs that were not recognizable to any scholars of the day. These same marks are found on petroglyphs throughout the Caribbean. Charles Jones, one of the pioneers of American archaeology, viewed the boulder around 1870. He included a description of the boulder in his landmark book *Antiquities of the southern Indians, particularly of the Georgia tribes,* published in 1873. At the time it was discovered, the figures on the boulder were incised 1/2 to 3/4 inches deep. On one end of the boulder, running vertically was a line of 18 drilled dots, interconnected by an incised line. The largest set of concentric circles meas-

ured 8 inches in diameter. Through the decades, the boulder was vandalized by sight-seers and eroded by the elements. In order to protect it from further damage, it was relocated in 1963 to the new Georgia State Art Museum on the campus of the University of Georgia in Athens, where it still resides.

Track Rock Mountain is immediately adjacent to Georgia's tallest mountain, Brasstown Bald. The location of the small terrace there containing the six boulders is about 30 feet above a paved road that was once an American Indian trail that went over a gap between two mountains. However, this trail was not one of the wide, road-like routes that once interconnected the commercial circuits of pre-Colombian North America. It led to a quarry of soapstone, which was mined to create cooking bowls and metates (mortar/pestles) for grinding (the Cherokee used soapstone for pipes and ingested it for medicinal purposes, as it is high in magnesium). Some of the glyphs carved at Track Rock Mountain also exhibit circles and swirl designs found throughout the Caribbean.

The Cline Family/Reinhardt Petroglyph is a 5-ton boulder that was donated to Reinhardt University in Waleska, Georgia by members of the Cline family in the 1940s. This ancient and mysterious carved rock was found years ago on the Cline farm in the Hickory Log area of Cherokee county near the Etowah River and was brought to the campus on a large wrecker and placed between two big oak trees next to Dobbs Hall. It was later moved into the Reinhardt library and then to the Funk Heritage Center, which is Georgia's Official Frontier and Southeastern Indian Interpretive Center, also located in Waleska, where it is now the centerpiece of the Hall of Ancients. Like the above mentioned stone artifacts, this boulder contains carvings that are commonly found in the Caribbean, specifically spirals.

One interesting point is that none of the petroglyph boulders in northern Georgia are directly associated with Native American town sites. Their locations are typically on top of natural features which are visible from a distance. What the boulders do share is an association with ancient trading paths, and they would have been landmarks for travelers in ancient times. That does not necessarily mean that these rocks were originally carved by the indigenous inhabitants of the lands near them, though. They could have been carved by travelers passing through the region, who wished to leave a record of their presence.

In this section, I would like to transition from petroglyphs to some of the possible influences brought into the Southeast by the indigenous peoples of the Caribbean. I will begin with head flattening /cranial deformation. In her book *Slavery in Indian country: the changing face of captivity in early America*, Christina A. Snyder writes, "When infants from these groups lay on their cradle boards, families placed wooden boards covered with deerskin on the foreheads, making the cranial vault rounded and long" (p. 17). Head flattening in the Southeast was practiced by a number of tribes. The Choctaw and Chitimacha, who only flattened the heads of male babies, and the Caddo, who only flattened the heads of those of hereditary political and religious leaders, whose status

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was determined according to their matrilineal descent system. These leaders directed political and religious ceremonies, as did a similar group of leaders in Taino culture. Cranial deformation in the Southeast was usually an indication of high social rank. In Caribbean indigenous cultures, head flattening was practiced among the Taino in the Bahamas, Cuba, Jamaica, Haiti, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, and among the Kalinago from the Virgin Islands on down the chain of islands that includes Dominica, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Grenada, St. Vincent and the Grenadines.

Tattooing among the tribes of the Caribbean was documented in early letters and reports dating from the late 1400s by both Diego Alvarez Chanca, who sailed with Columbus, and Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo. Tattooing was also common among the tribes of the Southeast, including the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Seminole, Natchez, and Caddo. The Chitimacha of Louisiana, who tattooed their faces, bodies, arms and legs, had a leadership system similar to both the Maya and the Taino, consisting of a class of hereditary leaders and a class of commoners, referred to in Taino language as *nitaino* and *naboria*, respectively. Members of these the two classes spoke different varieties and intermarriage between them was forbidden.

Blowguns are another possible cultural link between the Southeast and the indigenous Caribbean. The use of blowguns by North American tribes has only been documented in the southeastern United States. Tribes that utilized the blowgun include the Houma, Koasati, Cherokee, Chitimacha, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Seminole. These tribes made cane stems into arrow shafts, blowguns and darts for hunting squirrels, rabbits and various birds (Bushnell, 1909; Hamel & Chiltoskey, 1975; Speck, 1941; Kniffen et al., 1987). Young Cherokee boys used giant cane blowguns armed with darts to protect ripening cornfields from scavenging birds and small mammals (Fogelson, 2004). Today, the Eastern Band of Cherokee are the only remaining tribe that actively uses blowguns for the hunting of small game. These blowguns are made from river cane, much like those utilized in the Caribbean by the Kalinago (Rosseau Reed – River Cane). Unlike the Kalinago, who used manchineel or sandbox tree to poison their dart tips, the Cherokee never used poison because they felt it would contaminate the meat.

The evidence presented in this article indicates that there was significant pre-Columbian cultural contact and exchange between the Caribbean and the indigenous Southeast of North America. These connections are confirmed by the existence of shared mythological traditions and southeastern agriculture involving Caribbean cultivars, such as tobacco, corn, peanuts, cotton and tropical squash. DNA testing among the southeastern nations has shown the presence of haplogroups only found in the Caribbean and Central and South America. This gives the concept 'circum-Caribbean' new meaning, suggesting that our understanding of the circum-Caribbean needs to be expanded from the colonial context in which we normally use the term to the much longer and culturally more complex era of pre-colonial contact.

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ACADEMICS-AGNOSTIC ELABORATION:
CARMWAC AMONG CARICOMMONERS

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Introduction

In the early 1990s the writer conceived, and since 1995 he has led, Introduction to the History of the World African Community, a project that introduces people in Saint Lucia in the Eastern Caribbean to the history of the members of the Community over millennia before they came to the Caribbean and other parts of the Western Hemisphere. The project first introduced the history to 250 students in Form 3 at the alma mater of the author, the Vieux Fort Comprehensive Secondary School in Saint Lucia, in 1995. This implementation was so successful that the teachers who collaborated with the author persuaded the principal to incorporate the coverage of the history in the curriculum. They also asked the writer to compile a volume that incorporated the highlights of the history, and in response, the writer wrote *Africans before CARICOM.* In the first ten years after the project, the writer introduced the history to more than 1,500 young learners in Form 3 in 6 other secondary schools on the southern half of the island. He also introduced it to more than 250 mature learners in "education" and "enrichment" programs in 7 communities on the southern half of the island. In addition, he introduced it to thousands more through articles in *The Voice* and *The Mirror,* and in interviews on the government-owned-and-operated public service National Television Network.

One major conclusion of the writer is that there is a need to present rationales for the study of the history to learners using language that has its roots in their lives. The text that follows seeks to meet this need by (a) describing the observations of two composite caricatures the writer calls Hoitee Kalabash and Toitee Kalabash, who display several attributes the writer calls Corrective Automatic Reactions to Membership in the World African Community or CARMWAC, and (b) using these observations to justify the study of the history of the Community. It especially seeks to use language that is accessible to young learners in secondary schools and "mature learners" in education or "en-

richment" programs – and not from the traditional "disciplines" one encounters in formal education. Hence the title: Academics-agnostic elaboration: CARMWAC among Caricommoners.

Hoitee and Toitee Kalabash: our education, our selves, and the world

Hoitee and Toitee Kalabash were born in one of the islands in the Eastern Caribbean. They have been obtaining their education since their birth. They have been obtaining it from many sources. Hoitee and Toitee obtained part of their education outside schools. They obtained some of it by reading printed versions or webcast versions of books, newspapers, and magazines. They obtained some of it by listening to recorded, broadcast, and webcast audio programs, and by watching and listening to recorded, broadcast, and webcast television programs. And they obtained some of it by having experiences in the world, making observations about the world, attending lectures about the world, and having conversations with other people about the world.

Hoitee and Toitee also obtained part of their education from schools. They obtained some of it from an infant school, from a primary school, and from a secondary school. They also obtained some of it from one university from which they got their bachelor's degree, from another university from which they got their master's degree, and from another university from which they got the doctor of philosophy degree. The doctor of philosophy is the highest degree. Now that we know about the education of Hoitee and Toitee, we probably are thinking at least two things. We probably are thinking that the education they have received must be complete. We also probably are thinking that the education they have received must be perfect. But before we make up our minds about these things, we should consider more information about them and about their education.

This information may be useful to us in at least two ways. It may help us understand the beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors of Hoitee and Toitee. It may help us judge, condemn, ostracize, or punish Hoitee and Toitee. And, it may be useful in a third way. The information may help us understand how Hoitee and Toitee have lost some of the guts that should be in them. It also may help us understand how some other things may have replaced these guts. In fact, it may help us understand how they have become like a calabash. But the information does not stop there. It also may help us understand that we may use our knowledge of the history of the ancestors of Hoitee and Toitee Kalabash to restore the guts that used to be within Hoitee and Toitee Kalabash. In the history of the world, the oldest and most tested philosophy of life in general and education in particular is the philosophy of MAAT. It says that our ultimate objective in education and in life is to make ourselves, our relations with the world, and so the world, perfect. It also says that we reach this perfection by achieving seven ideals. And it says that the ideals are Truth, Justice, Propriety, Harmony, Balance, Reciprocity, and Order. The philosophy of MAAT seems to give us two major guidelines for education and for life.

The first is that we achieve the perfection by maximizing the good we receive from the world and by minimizing the bad we derive from it. The second is that we achieve the perfection by maximizing the good we contribute to the world and minimizing the bad we introduce into it. There are three ways in which our education prepares us to observe these guidelines. Education helps us develop Understandings of life and the world. It helps us develop Attitudes toward them. And it helps us develop Abilities that we may use in them. Thus, there are two factors we can use as we evaluate the education we receive. One is diversity in the education. This has to do with how much it connects our lives to the many parts of the world. The other is idealism in education. This has to do with how much it equips and inspires us to achieve perfection in our selves, our relations, and our world. We may use both of these factors as we evaluate the education that Hoitee and Toitee Kalabash have received.

The world to which our education helps us connect ourselves includes many groups. People are members of different numbers of these groups. Some people are members of few groups. Many are members of several groups. Most are members of many groups. A few of Hoitee and Toitee's ancestors came from near the Seine River in Western Europe. From these ancestors, they got some things we call attributes of culture. These include beliefs about the world, attitudes about the world, and ways of behaving in the world. So, Hoitee and Toitee are members of the World European Community. Others of Hoitee and Toitee's ancestors came from near the Volta River in West Africa. Some came from near the Congo River in Central Africa. And some came from near the Senegal River in West Africa. From these ancestors, Hoitee and Toitee received many beliefs about the world, attitudes about the world, and ways of behaving in the world. So, Hoitee and Toitee are members of the World African Community. Hoitee and Toitee are members of their families, their neighborhoods, and their village or town or city. They also are members of their island community, the Eastern Caribbean Community, and the Greater Caribbean community. And they are members of the Western Hemisphere Community, the World European Community, the World African Community, and General World Community. Hoitee and Toitee are members of several communities.

We also can use the two factors above as we evaluate the education Hoitee and Toitee Kalabash receive about the World African Community. One of the factors is diversity. The greater this diversity, the more the education connects them to the Community because it is a part of their world. The other of the factors is idealism. The greater this idealism, the more the education prepares and equips them to achieve perfection in their relations with the Community because it is a part of their world. It may be wise to consider both factors as we evaluate the education of Hoitee and Toitee Kalabash.

The education of Hoitee and Toitee helped connect them to several peoples. It helped connect them to Chinese people, Indian people, Greek people, Roman people, and British people. Thus the education led them to believe that they need to connect themselves

to these people and so that these people are important. But their education did not help them connect themselves to members of the World African Community. Thus it led them to believe that they do not need to connect themselves to members of that Community and thus that its members are not important.The education of Hoitee and Toitee led them to believe that many peoples contributed to the advancement of our world. It led them to believe that Chinese people contributed. It led them to believe that Greek people contributed. It led them to believe that Indian people contributed. It led them to believe that British people contributed. It led them to believe that Japanese people contributed. It led them to believe that French people contributed. And it led them to believe that Roman people contributed. Thus it led them to believe that these peoples are valuable. But it did not lead them to believe that members of the World African Community contributed. And so, it led them to believe that the members of that community are less valuable.

Education, ranking groups and attitudes toward the World African Community
The education of Hoitee and Toitee also has led to two strong tendencies in them. It has led them to tend to place people in ranks. One is the high rank. Another is the middle rank. Yet another is the low rank. It also has led them to tend to judge people on the basis of the rank in which they believe people belong. This tendency has had consequences for how they look at themselves and at members of the World African Community.

Hoitee and Toitee have come to believe that the more education people have, the higher the rank they belong in, and the less education people have, the lower the rank they belong in. They have come to believe that European peoples in general are very well educated, they themselves are quite well educated, and members of the World African Community in general are less well educated. So they place the European peoples in the high rank, place themselves in the middle rank, and place members of the World African Community in general in the low rank.

Hoitee and Toitee have come to believe that the more people follow Christianity, the higher the rank they belong in, and the less people follow Christianity, the lower the rank they belong in. They also have come to believe that European peoples in general follow Christianity very strongly, they themselves follow Christianity quite strongly, and members of the World African Community in general follow Christianity less strongly. So they place the European peoples in the high rank, themselves in the middle rank, and members of the World African Community in general in the low rank.

Hoitee and Toitee have come to believe that the more people are well off in life, the higher the rank they belong in, and the less people are well off in life, the lower the rank they belong in. They have come to believe that European peoples in general are very well off in life, they themselves are moderately well off in life, and members of the

World African Community in general are less well off in life. So they place the European peoples in the high rank, themselves in the middle rank, and members of the World African Community in general in the low rank.

Hoitee and Toitee have come to believe that there is an ideal way of life. They have come to believe that European peoples have this way of life, they are moving toward it, and members of the World African Community in general are making little progress toward it. As a result they place European peoples in the high rank, themselves in the middle rank, and members of the World African Community in general in the low rank. Hoitee and Toitee have another set of beliefs that have to do with putting people in ranks. They believe that people may belong in ranks on the basis of the power they have in life. They believe the more power people have, the more other people they can affect and the more ways they can affect these other people. They have come to believe that European peoples are extremely powerful, they are moderately powerful, and members of the World African Community in general are not powerful. So they place the European peoples in the high rank, themselves in the middle rank, and members of the World African Community in general in the low rank.

Hoitee and Toitee also believe that they may place people in ranks on the basis of how much they could benefit from associating with these people. They have come to believe that they can gain very much by associating with European peoples, can gain much by associating with other Caribbean people like themselves, and can gain very little by associating with the members of the World African Community in general. So they place the European peoples in the high rank, they place themselves and other Caribbean people in the middle rank, and they place other members of the World African Community in general in the low rank.

Hoitee and Toitee have other beliefs that have to do with putting people in ranks. They believe they should place people in ranks on the basis of how much they think the actions of the ancestors of the people appeared to be in the interests of fore parents of Hoitee and Toitee yesterday and the interests of Hoitee and Toitee today. They believe the more the actions of the ancestors of people were in these interests, the higher the rank the people belong in, and the less the actions of the ancestors of people were in these interests, the lower the rank the people belong in. They believe the ancestors of People of the European Continent (PECs) acted in these interests when these PECs forced ancestors of People of the African Continent (PACs) into slavery. They believe the ancestors of PACs did not act in these interests when these ancestors "sold" ancestors of Hoitee and Toitee on the African side into slavery. So they place European peoples (who brought the benefits of slavery to them) in the high rank, themselves and other Caribbean people (who received the benefits of the slavery) in the middle rank, and the ancestors of PACs, the PACs toady, and the members of the World African Community in general, in the low rank.

Partly because of their education, then, Hoitee and Toitee have come to believe that members of the World African Community in general are the least important peoples, the least valuable peoples, the least educated peoples, the least Christian peoples, the least well off peoples, the least civilized peoples, the peoples with the least to offer, and the least powerful peoples, and that they have acted the least in the interests of Hoitee and Toitee. With these beliefs, Hoitee and Toitee have concluded that the members of the World African Community in general belong in the low rank. But Hoitee and Toitee have developed three very important beliefs about rank. First, they believe that they should strive to be in the high rank. Second, they believe that if they should be in the middle rank, they should try to move up into the high rank. Third, they believe that if they should be in the low rank, they should try to move into the middle rank and then into the high rank. Hoitee and Toitee no doubt believe that being in the low rank should be avoided. They even believe that people in the low rank should be shunned.

But when Hoitee and Toitee think about their appearance, think about their ancestry, think about their beliefs, think about their attitudes, and think about their habits, they are reminded that they are members of the World African Community. Thus, because of their education, when they even start to think about themselves as members of the Community, they feel much pain. As a result of this pain, Hoitee and Toitee have developed two Corrective Automatic Reactions to Membership (CARM) in the World African Community. One reaction is the Minimization of Proximity (MiniProx) to membership in the World African Community. The other is the Maximization of Compensation (MaxiCom) for membership in the World African Community. These reactions have become quite automatic in Hoitee and Toitee. In fact, they have become so automatic that Hoitee and Toitee do not even realize that they have developed them.

Minimization of Proximity to membership in the World African Community
Because of what Hoitee and Toitee's education has led them to believe about the World African Community, they have developed one general tendency. It is the tendency to reduce their closeness to members of the World African Community and this can be called the Minimization of Proximity (MiniProx). As Hoitee and Toitee try to achieve this minimization, they show three tendencies. They are the Minimization of Attention (MinimAt) to membership in the Community, Minimization of Inclusion (MinimIn) in the membership of the Community, and Minimization of Exposure (MinimEx) to the idea of membership in the World African Community .In order to achieve their Minimization of Proximity (MiniProx) to the World African Community, Hoitee and Toitee have developed a noteworthy tendency. It is the tendency to minimize attention (MinimAt) to their membership in the Community. They tend to cut down on the attention they pay to the fact that they are members of the World African Community. They also tend to cut down on the attention others pay to the fact that they are members of the Community. Hoitee and Toitee tend to cut down on the attention in three ways. First,

they tend to avoid noting that there are different peoples in the world. Let us call this Minimization of Expression of Recognition of Variety (MERVar). Second, they tend to claim that they have connections to many different peoples in the world and therefore do not stress their connection to any one of these peoples more than they stress their connection to any one of the others. Let us call this Minimization of Expression of Recognition of Particularity (MERPar). Third, they tend to claim that they are Caribbean people, as a result they stress their connections to people in their island and people in the region, and as a result they do not stress their connections to the many different peoples who are outside the region. Let us call this the Minimization of Expression of Recognition of Externality (MERExt).

On some occasions, Hoitee and Toitee say they try not to note or emphasize the fact that there are many different peoples in the world. They say that is because they prefer to look at the world as a whole, but they know that this is not the real reason. The real reason is that they would like to minimize the attention they pay to their membership in the World African Community, as well as the attention others pay to their membership in that Community. Hoitee and Toitee know that if they note that there are different peoples in the world they also will have to note that there are members of the World African Community in the world. They know that they also will have to note that they are two of the members of that Community. But Hoitee and Toitee want to avoid paying attention to the fact that they are members of the World African Community. So they avoid noting that there are many different peoples in the world because they believe that in this way they will avoid noting that there are World African Community members in the world and as a result they will avoid noting that they are members of that Community. As we easily can see, by not noting that there are many different peoples in the world, Hoitee and Toitee are trying to minimize attention to their membership in the World African Community.

Hoitee and Toitee tend to say that they, their island, and the Caribbean are the results of many contributions of many peoples. Sometimes, they do not stress their connection to any one of the contributors but they stress their connections to all of the contributors. And they tend to say that as a result they do not stress the roles of any of the contributors who are members of the World African Community but stress the roles of all contributors. But Hoitee and Toitee display one tendency when they are in school, read a newspaper, read a magazine, read a book, listen to a radio program, or watch a television program, and try to get information about people in the Caribbean that contributed to its development. On these occasions, they tend to look for information on the contributors who are or may be members of other world communities, but they tend not to look for information on the contributors who are or may be members of the World African Community. This means that Hoitee and Toitee are willing to stress their connections to other world communities more than they are willing to stress their connections to the

World African Community. It also means that Hoitee and Toitee are making the argument that they do not stress their connections to one group more than they stress their connections to any other groups simply because they can use that argument to justify their tendency to not stress their connections to the World African Community. And it means they are making the argument because they can use it as they rationalize their tendency to minimize attention to their membership in the World African Community. Sometimes, Hoitee and Toitee tend to say that they do not stress their connections to any one of the different peoples of the world that contributed to themselves, to their island, and to the Caribbean, but instead stress their connection to their island and to the Caribbean. They also tend to say that as a result they do not stress their connection to the World African Community but instead stress their connection to their island and to the Caribbean. But Hoitee and Toitee display one tendency when they go to school, read a newspaper, read a magazine, read a book, listen to a radio program, or watch a television program. They try to get more information about their connections to peoples outside their island and the Caribbean than about their connections to people in their island and the Caribbean. For example, they try to get more information about how many works of their musicians are popular outside their island and the Caribbean than about how much these works are popular in their island and the Caribbean. Indeed, they try to get more information about how much the works are popular among fans outside the Caribbean who are not members of the World African Community than about how much the works are popular among fans outside the Caribbean who are members of that Community. This means that Hoitee and Toitee are willing to stress their connections to peoples outside their island and the Caribbean more than their connections to people inside their island and the Caribbean when the outside peoples are not members of the World African Community. It also means that they are not willing to stress their connections to peoples outside their island and the Caribbean more than their connection to people inside their island and the Caribbean when the outside peoples are members of the World African Community. And, it means that they claim that they do not stress their connections to peoples outside their island and the Caribbean but instead stress their connection to people within their island and the Caribbean simply because they can use that claim to rationalize their tendency to minimize attention to their membership in the World African Community.

Another tendency displayed by Hoitee and Toitee is the tendency to minimize how much they include themselves (MinimIn) within the membership of the World African Community. One way they do that is that they deny that they have cultural characteristics that are similar to those of the members of the Community. First, they deny that they have beliefs that are similar to those of members of that Community. Second, they deny that they have attitudes that are similar to those of members of the World African Community. Third, they deny that they have behaviors that are similar to those of the members of that Community. In the aspects of culture – beliefs, attitudes, and behavior

– Hoitee and Toitee minimize how much they include themselves (MinimIn) in the membership of the Community. There is another way in which Hoitee and Toitee minimize how much they include themselves (MinimIn) in the World African Community. They tend not to acknowledge that they have physical features that are similar to those of members of that Community. This is shown in a song about a woman who is talking to other women about where her child got its physical features from. In the song, the woman seems to claim that the child got some of the physical features from different ancestors. They include Spanish, Chinese, Irish, Carib, British, and Portuguese ancestors. Some of these ancestors may be real, and some very well may be imaginary. But the interesting thing is what the woman does not acknowledge. She refuses to admit that the child received some of its physical features from its African ancestors. She refuses to acknowledge this fact, even though one of those African features that is the complexion of the child is obvious. The song is called "Dey En See Africa at All" and it is the work of Chalkdust, the great teacher, ethnomusicologist, kaisomaster, and promoter of knowledge of the African part of Caribbean heritage.

Yet another tendency displayed by Hoitee and Toitee is the tendency to minimize how much they are exposed (MinimEx) to information that expresses or supports the idea of their membership in the World African Community. In trying to achieve this minimization, Hoitee and Toitee have developed three habits. They have developed the habit of refusing to pay attention to any information that expresses or supports the idea of their membership in the World African Community. Let us call this refusal. They have developed the habit of resisting any attempts made by people to provide them with information that expresses or supports the idea of their membership in that Community. Let us call this resistance. They even have developed the habit of resenting any person or other source that tries to provide them with information that expresses or supports the idea of their membership in that Community. Let us call this resentment. Refusal, resistance, and resentment are three means that Hoitee and Toitee tend to use as they try to minimize their exposure to information that expresses or supports the idea of their membership in the World African Community.

Maximization of Compensation for membership in the World African Community
Hoitee and Toitee try to minimize their proximity (MiniProx) to the membership of the World African Community. But time and time again, their daily lives give them reminders that they are members of that Community. When they think about their ancestry, they are reminded that they are members of the World African Community. When they think of their appearance, they are reminded that they are members of that Community. When they think about their beliefs, they are reminded that they are members of that Community. When they think of their attitudes, they are reminded that they are members of that Community. When they think of their behaviors, they are reminded that they are members of the World African Community. As a result of these reminders,

Hoitee and Toitee have been feeling that perhaps they are less important just as members of the World African Community in general are less important. They have been feeling that perhaps they are less valuable just as members of the Community in general are less valuable. And they have been feeling that they belong in the low rank just as members of the Community in general belong in the low rank.

So, they have been trying to do certain things with the hope that these things will help them feel as important as others, as valuable as others, and in the same high rank as others. They have been trying so hard to do these things that it seems they want to maximize how much the things help them feel as important as others, as valuable as others, and in the same high rank as others. Let us say that Hoitee and Toitee are seeking the Maximization of their Compensation (MaxiCom) for their membership in the World African Community. Hoitee and Toitee have been doing three kinds of compensating. One is compensating by maximizing how much they emulate other people; let us call this the Maximization of Emulation (MaximEm). One is compensating by maximizing how much they impress other people; let us call this Maximization of Impression (MaximIm). And one more is compensating by maximizing how much they accept the opinions of other people; let us call it Maximization of Acceptance (MaximAc). These three kinds of compensating seem to have become almost automatic. Hoitee and Toitee just do them as they live their lives. They do not even seem to realize that they are carrying out the compensating.

Hoitee and Toitee have chosen a person to be their model. That person is a European person. Hoitee and Toitee are trying hard to emulate that person. They are trying to think as that person thinks, hold attitudes the person holds, and behave as the person behaves. They believe that if they become like the person, they will feel important, valuable, and equal to others. In other words, they seem to believe that by Maximizing their Emulation (MaximEm) of the person, they are maximizing their compensation for their membership in the World African Community.

Hoitee and Toitee have been trying to make sure that European people are impressed by them. They have been trying to do so when they have thought that European people have wanted them to do something. They also have been trying to do so when they have held conversations with European people. When European people want Hoitee and Toitee to do something, Hoitee and Toitee try to make sure that the Europeans are impressed by them. They do that by trying to be the first person to do the thing. They also do that by trying to do the thing the best way the European people say it may be done. And they do that by trying to do more of the thing than the European people say they want. When Hoitee and Toitee hold conversations with European people, they try to make sure that the European people are impressed by them. They do that by trying to be the first to come up with answers or points. They do that by trying to give more information than is needed to answer a question or to make a point. In addition, they do that by trying to bring up questions or points so that they could answer the questions or

points and the European people would see or hear them answer the questions or points. Hoitee and Toitee believe that if they make sure that European people are impressed by them, they will feel important, valuable, and even equal to others. In other words, they believe that by Maximizing the Impression (MaximIm) that European people develop of them, they are maximizing their compensation for their membership in the World African Community.

Here are other things Hoitee and Toitee have been doing. Sometimes, when European people say Hoitee and Toitee should do something a certain way, Hoitee and Toitee tend to do it that way. Sometimes, when Hoitee and Toitee have to make a decision on how to do something, they tend to find out how European people would do it, and then do it that way. Sometimes, when Hoitee and Toitee realize something needs to be done and that they could do it, they tend to wait until European people say they should do it and then they go ahead and do it. Sometimes, when Hoitee and Toitee must decide whether something they have done is good, they tend to wait for European people to say it is good and then they say it is good. As we can see, Hoitee and Toitee tend to submit to the opinions of European people. And so, they believe that by Maximizing their Acceptance (MaximAc) of the opinions of European people, they are making up or compensating for their membership in the World African Community.

How complete or perfect was the education that Hoitee and Toitee received?

When we first read about the education of Hoitee and Toitee, we may have thought that it was high in diversity and that it was complete. Remember that one of the groups that Hoitee and Toitee belong to is the World African Community. Remember, also, that the education of Hoitee and Toitee did not help them understand that Community. Then go on and decide whether the education of Hoitee and Toitee was high in diversity and was complete. When we first read about the education of Hoitee and Toitee, we may have thought it promoted idealism. Remember that one of the groups that Hoitee and Toitee belong to is the World African Community. Remember that the education of Hoitee and Toitee led them to believe that members of that Community are less important than, less valuable than, and even inferior to, others. Remember that this education led Hoitee and Toitee to think that they themselves are less important than, less valuable than, and even inferior to, others. And, remember that their education led them to develop CARMWAC. After you remember these things, decide how much the education promoted idealism in Hoitee and Toitee.

It was not like this 5,000, 2,000, or 1,000 years ago. In those times, the education that most children in the World African Community received did not lead them to believe that members of their Community in general were less important than, less valuable than, and even inferior in rank to, others. It also did not lead them to believe that they themselves may be less important than, less valuable than, and even inferior in rank to, others. And it did not lead them to develop CARMWAC. For much of the last 500 years,

Europeans have dominated the African fore parents of Hoitee and Toitee and controlled the education that these fore parents have received. The Europeans have crafted this education in ways that have led these fore parents to develop the negative feelings about themselves as individuals and as a group, and even to develop CARMWAC. The Europeans made sure of this state of affairs because they wanted to control the African fore parents and to reap the benefits of that control. These Europeans knew that with the negative feelings and CARMWAC, the African fore parents would look to them for guidance. They also knew that in this way, they would be able to control their African fore parents more easily. In addition, they knew that with this ability to control, they would be able to take advantage of their African fore parents. For example, they knew they would be able to take for themselves the benefits of the hard work of the African fore parents.

The way in which the Europeans have been able to control the members of the World African Community by controlling the education these members have received about their history is captured in a song. The song says that the people who have controlled education have made sure that education does not inform the members of the World African Community of their heritage and that this action has been a way of keeping the members in bondage. It also says that the people who have controlled this education have tried to destroy the traditions of the members of the World African Community in order to keep them in subjection. The song is called "True Story" and is the work of 'African Oneness' musician Jimmy Cliff. He and Chalkdust seem to have spent far more time and effort than many other Caribbean musicians in trying to understand people of the African continent and members of the World African Community.

In recent years, some members of the World African Community have taken control of the education Hoitee and Toitee have received. This education has continued to teach Hoitee and Toitee many of the things Europeans taught their fore parents about the World African Community. For example, it has led Hoitee and Toitee to believe that members of their Community in general are less important than, less valuable than, and even inferior to, others. It also has led them to believe that they themselves may be less important than, less valuable than, and even inferior to, others. And, it has led them to develop CARMWAC. This kind of education has not been received only by Hoitee and Toitee's fore parents. It has not been received only by Hoitee and Toitee. It has been received by many other members of the World African Community who have been under the domination of other peoples. This type of education and its effect on members of the World African Community are described in one book. It was written by Carter G. Woodson and is called *The mis-education of the Negro.*

Putting the guts back into Hoitee and Toitee Kalabash
How can Hoitee and Toitee Kalabash obtain an education that does not have these effects on them? One thing they could do is live in the World African Community 1,000

or more years ago, but, of course, they cannot do that. Another thing they could do is read books that give them more information about that Community. Some of these books are by people who are experts on the World African Community and members of other world communities. Some of the books are by people who are both experts on the World African Community and members of that Community. Some of this latter group of experts are people of the African continent (PACs) and some are people of African descent (PADs). Some of the PADs come from the Eastern Caribbean, from the Northern Caribbean, or from the Greater Caribbean. With the information in these books, these experts are saying, "This is our account of the story of the members of the World African Community."

Many people may hesitate to read these books because they may be concerned that the information in the books may create problems in their lives. They may be concerned that such information may put them in the middle of a conflict. They may be concerned that such information may require them to change. They especially may be concerned to realize that their decisions may have very serious consequences for their selves and their lives. The information in these books may lead them to develop fresh ideas about the World African Community. They may feel there is a big conflict between these ideas and others they may have known before. The feeling that there is this conflict and that they may be caught in it may cause them uncertainty, concern, and pain. The information in the books may lead them to change from organizing their thoughts and their lives one way to organizing their thoughts and lives another way. They may be concerned that making such changes will be a challenge. In addition, the thought of the change and the challenge may cause them uncertainty, concern, and pain. After they think that the information in the books may lead them to change, they may wonder whether Europeans will approve of them or patronize them or ostracize them after the change. They also may wonder whether Europeans will aid them or frustrate them or punish them after the change. This may cause them much uncertainty, concern, and pain.

But there is another way of looking at the change. This other way starts with the idea that members of the World African Community have a long history that has shaped them. It also includes the idea that this history has prepared them to help the world in the age of globalization. It says that because of their long history of being civilized, the members of the World African Community may have what may be an important role in moving the world beyond the stage of globalization and toward the stage of globalism. In the stage of globalization, many parts of the world have connections to each other. With these connections, an event in any part of the world affects events in its other parts, a condition in any part of the world affects conditions in its other parts, and a characteristic in one part of the world affects characteristics in its other parts.

In the stage of globalism, the parts of the world interact with each other in such a way that they make up a global community with relationships in which the various parts help

themselves, help each other, and help the world to achieve perfection and to realize themselves. More than 5,000 years ago, members of the World African Community spelled out the relationships in the philosophy by which they lived at all times, and this has been one of their highest achievements. Experts say that in these relationships, they received guidance from, and tried to live by, these ideals: Trust, Justice, Propriety, Harmony, Reciprocity, Balance, Order. The experts also say that the name of this philosophy is MAAT. As the world seeks to go beyond the lower stage of globalization and attain the higher stage of globalism, it needs a set of ideals and a philosophy that may guide it. For thousands of years, members of the World African Community have had such ideals, which are Truth, Justice, Propriety, Harmony, Reciprocity, Balance, and Order. Members of the World African Community also have had such a philosophy, which is MAAT.

This means that one of the major responsibilities of the members of the World African Community is for them to use these ideals and philosophy both in elevating themselves and in elevating other members of the world community from the stage of globalization to the stage of globalism. But as the members of the World African Community try to meet that responsibility, they must review their history, study these ideals and this philosophy and see them as the results of that history, and apply the ideals and the philosophy in their lives. Then they will be in a position to instill these ideals and this philosophy in other members of the world community.

Remember Hoitee and Toitee? Remember their last name was Kalabash? Remember that their education took much of the guts out of Hoitee and Toitee Kalabash? Remember that one result was the condition we call CARMWAC? Well, we may call on both Hoitee Kalabash and Toitee Kalabash to study the history of the World African Community for three reasons. First, the study of that history will help put the "guts" back into Hoitee Kalabash and Toitee Kalabash. Second, the study of that history and the restoration of their "guts" will help Hoitee Kalabash and Toitee Kalabash deal with the results of mis-education in the form of inferiority, MiniProx, MaxiCom, uncertainty, concern, pain, and the overall problem of CARMWAC. Third, their study of the history and the ideals and philosophy derived from it, may help prepare Hoitee Kalabash and Toitee Kalabash for their roles in the advancement of humanity from globalization to globalism.

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SPIRITISM IN PUERTO RICO: PRISMATIC INTERSECTIONS OF EUROPEAN, AFRICAN, AND INDIGENOUS SPIRITUAL BELIEFS

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Introduction

The practice of Spiritism in Puerto Rico is often maligned and positioned alongside other forms of spirituality that carry negative connotations. One of the main reasons for this is that there exists a dissonance between followers of mainstream religions and practitioners of the various forms or currents of Spiritism in Puerto Rico. Upon their arrival in the Caribbean region, the Spanish colonizers created a polemic which was saturated with contentious rhetoric regarding religion and spirituality that marginalized indigenous and African practices, some of which were eventually incorporated into some of the five main currents of Spiritism. This was done to justify the subjugation of indigenous Caribbean and African peoples and to position them as *the other*. Despite the attempts to eradicate indigenous and African cultural and spiritual practices, many such practices have survived up until the present. In the late 1800s, when for the very first time significant numbers of Europeans began arriving in Puerto Rico, some of these surviving African and indigenous spiritual practices merged with the European Spiritism that these newcomers brought with them.

Its European roots notwithstanding, the Spanish colonial authorities and the Catholic Church positioned Spiritists as heretical challengers to religious orthodoxy. Under the Spanish it was common for Puerto Rican Spiritists to be jailed for sacrilege and denied basic civil rights such as marriage. Nonetheless, the practice of Spiritism survived clandestinely until Spain ceded Puerto Rico to the U.S.A. in 1898, which led to the elimination of draconian laws regarding spiritual practices (Koss, 1976: 31-37). Despite its endurance, there is a dearth of research on Puerto Rican Spiritism and the changes it has undergone since the closure of a certain group of Spiritist centers, otherwise known as *Mesa Blanca* [White Altar], a name derived from the white table cloth that was traditionally placed on the center's main table. (All translations in this article are by the author, unless specified otherwise.)

The last significant research project involving *Mesa Blanca* mediums was conducted in the 1980s by Harvard doctoral student Mario A. Núñez Molina, whose writings are among the few published in English which include interviews with such mediums. The present article has as its purpose to provide an overview of the different currents of Spiritism in Puerto Rico, their origins, their core beliefs and the evolution of *Mesa Blanca* in particular, after the closing of its centers. It is argued here that these closures resulted in a shift from a more hierarchical top down organizational model to a more organic bottom-up home- or *botanica*-based one, as well as in the appropriation of iconography from multiple religious and spiritual traditions that share principles with Puerto Rican Spiritism.

Five currents of Puerto Rican Spiritism
Núñez Molina (1987: 95-99) stresses that Puerto Rican Spiritism consists of not one single current, but in fact encompasses five different currents, modes or approaches to personal development and access to the spirit world, which sometimes intertwine with one another in complex ways. He refers to these five currents as follows: 1) the 'Kardecian' current; 2) the 'Trincadismo' current; 3) the 'Spiritist Church movement' current; 4) the 'Espiritismo with Santería' current; and 5) the 'Indigenous Espiritismo' current, or *Mesa Blanca*. The first two of these five currents maintain the European understanding of Spiritism as a philosophy or science, while the third current has
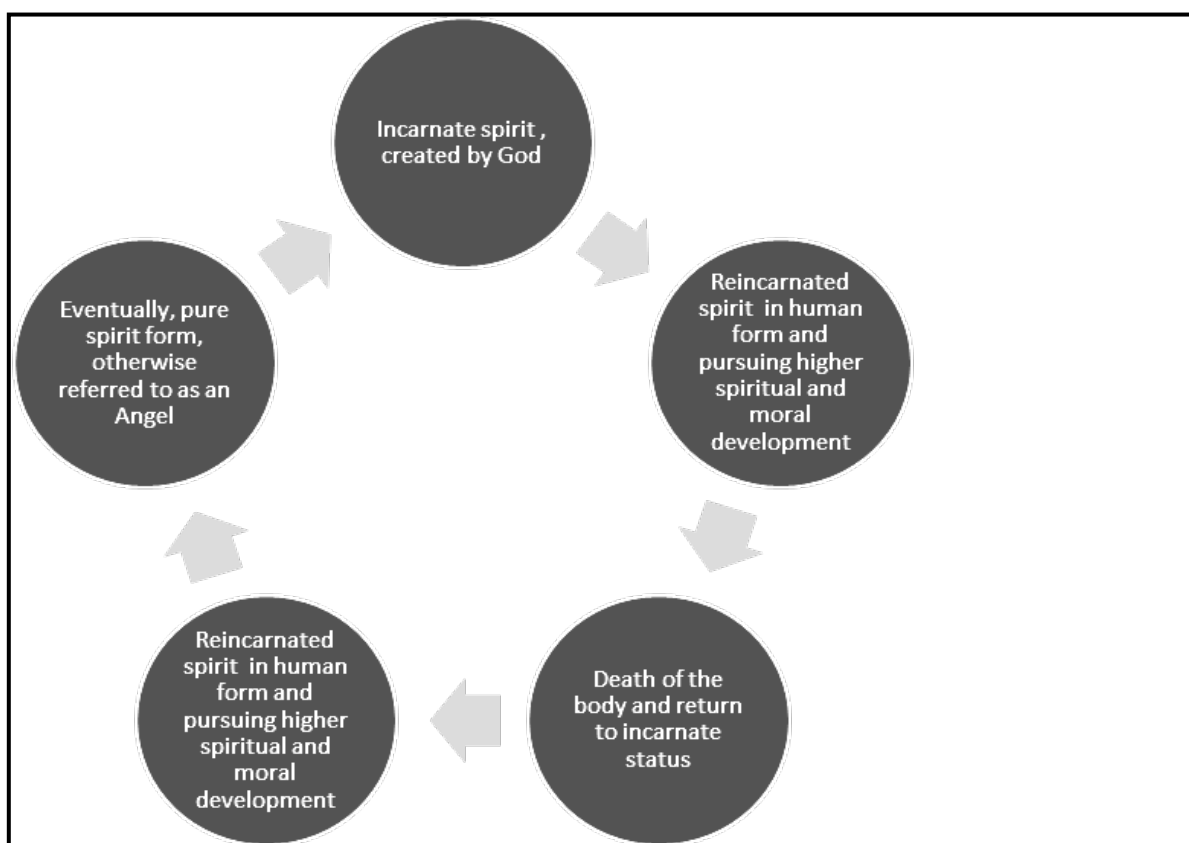
Figure 1 The Spiritual Evolutionary cycle

transformed itself into an evangelical Protestant church, and the fourth and fifth currents have incorporated a mix of African, indigenous and Christian elements (Núñez Molina: 95-99).

Although there are multiple currents or forms of Spiritism, all generally share the following common core belief system: 1) the belief in a spirit world which has daily interaction with the human world; 2) the belief that there are people (mediums) who act as intermediaries between the two worlds; 3) the belief that each person has a spirit guide who protects them against malevolent or confused spirits and aids them in times of distress; 4) the belief that each person has a spirit within that existed before they were born and will continue to live in the spirit world after they die, until they are reincarnated; 5) the belief in *pruebas* or trials, including suffering and illness, resulting from misdeeds in a past life; 6) the belief that those who overcome the challenges posed by these *pruebas* attain a higher level of spiritual and moral development; 7) the belief that when a spirit is without a human body, it is a disincarnated being and when a spirit occupies a human form, it is a reincarnated being; 8) the belief that spirits, in both their disincarnated and reincarnated forms are all working toward the development of higher spirituality and morality in order to attain pure spiritual form; and 9) the belief that the pursuit of pure spiritual form can be as short as a few lifetimes or in excess of one thousand lifetimes (Núñez Molina, 1987: 6-9). Some of these core beliefs are summarized in Figure 1.

All of the five currents of Spiritism in Puerto Rico also share the following understandings of the spiritual and human worlds. The spirit world contains a continuum of spirits that occupy distinct levels of moral and spiritual development. At the lowest end of the continuum are found less highly evolved spirits. These less highly evolved spirits can attempt to harm a particular human being for various reasons including: mischief or malice, because that particular human being's spirit wronged them in another life, or because they remain attached to a now ended past life in the human world and do not comprehend that the spirit of that particular human being has already reincarnated and is now leading a new life. An example of the latter would be a spouse from a former life interfering with the current relationship of a reincarnated being. This negative form of interaction occurs because of the disincarnated spirit's lack of attainment of a higher spiritual and moral development. Interactions between the spirit world and material world are not limited to those involving less highly evolved spirits, but can also involve more highly evolved spirits, who share their benevolence with reincarnated beings (Torres Camacho: 168-169).

Kardecian Spiritism originated in Europe as a philosophical and scientific belief system formulated by French Educator Hippolyte Léon Denizard Rival, who wrote under the pseudonym Allan Kardec. Focusing on the transformation of the individual and society, one of its primary tenets is that Spiritism should not be practiced as a religion. Wealthy Puerto Ricans who immigrated from or visited Europe in the late 1800s re-

turned to the island with this philosophy and utilized it to strive for personal and societal betterment during a period of oppressive Spanish colonial rule. Both the Spanish colonial government and the Catholic Church were opposed to Spiritism, so practitioners were forced to work clandestinely to transform themselves as well as their communities. Despite being persecuted by the colonial government, Kardecian Spiritists created small libraries, published magazines and sent delegates to European Spiritist conferences to campaign for their right to practice this approach to personal and social growth, which was granted to them after Puerto Rico was annexed by the United States in 1898.

As Kardecian Spiritism began to grow, it focused on education and healing, while formalizing its main principles, the most important of which is that Spiritism is not to be practiced as a religion (Schmidt: 129-130). That said, a belief in God was cited as a key principle of Kardecian Spiritism in an interview with Elvis Lozada, Director of Kardecian Center *Centro Amor al Bien de Estudios Espíritas* in Cabo Rojo on May 2, 2017, where Mr. Lozada also stated that Kardecian Spiritism followers utilize "Jesus as a moral compass". As the movement began to grow, so did the number of centers and the use of Spiritism as a means of personal improvement and healing. Over time though, members of the Kardecian movement deemphasized the use of mediums for spiritual improvement and focused more on internal meditation and relaxation (Núñez Molina: 118). Kardecian Spiritism, much like the other currents of Spritism, has declined as more and more young people have abandoned its practice, but there still are centers in highly populated areas of Puerto Rico and its diaspora. Although the Kardecian movement was a source for all the other currents of Spiritism in Puerto Rico, at present only the Trincado current resembles the Kardecian model. Joaquín Trincado (1866-1935) practiced Spiritism as philosophy and science, but disagreed with some of Kardec's beliefs, especially regarding ignorant spirits and the importance of a medium's knowledge of their spirit guide. Some studies state that this movement was popular in Cabo Rojo during the 1980s, but recent interviews with practitioners of Spiritism suggest that Trincadian centers no longer exist there.

The other three currents of Puerto Rican Spiritism blend Christianity with Spiritism. The third one, which Nunez Molina (1987) identifies as the 'Spiritist Church movement' current, is exemplified by La Iglesia Discipulos de San Pablo Espiritistas Cristianos, which exercises its Spiritism within a Protestant evangelical church framework. Núñez Molina attended one of their services in the 1980s where he observed Christian components that included a choir and reading from the Bible. He also interviewed church leaders who stated that they had 300 members and 100 mediums. One difference between this current and the others is that Christianity is interwoven into every activity and ritual. Another difference is that, unlike the Kardecian and Trincadian currents, the church's library did not contain any books related to Spiritism (Núñez Molina: 119-123). Interviews with informants in 2017 reveal no information

or knowledge of this branch of Spiritism, so it is likely that it has ceased to exist in Puerto Rico. Online searches, however, reveal that similar evangelical Protestant Spiritist churches exist in other Latin American countries.

The slave trade and plantation life both involved an attempt to strip the enslaved of their cultures and identities, including languages and religions, as a way to promote acceptance of domination and to reduce the likelihood of uprisings and rebellions. Once on the plantations, the enslaved were formally forbidden to speak African languages and practice African religions, but they creatively circumvented these restrictions. When they were forced to use European languages, the enslaved interwove African grammatical structures with European words, and creolized languages emerged. In Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico and other Spanish colonies, the enslaved were forbidden to practice African religions, so, just as they did with European languages, the enslaved interwove African spiritual practices with Catholic practices and creolized religions emerged.

For example, noticing certain similarities between traditional Yoruba deities or Orishas and specific Catholic saints, the enslaved linked the two together and the religious practices of Santería emerged, which enabled the enslaved to covertly worship the Orisha in the form of Catholic saints (Schmidt, 2006: 238). Since indigenous peoples of the Caribbean were among the earliest peoples to be enslaved by the Spanish in the region, Santería also incorporates a number of indigenous elements as well. For many in Puerto Rico, Spiritism has become a vital component of Santería, just as Santería has become a vital component of Spiritism, with many Santeros (healers/mediums) utilizing the healing properties and spiritual beliefs of Spiritism, giving rise to the fourth 'Espiritismo with Santería' current of Spiritism identified by Núñez Molina. That said, Spiritism has avoided total assimilation by Santería, and Santería has avoided total assimilation by Spiritism on the island (Núñez Molina: 131).

Finally, the last current of Spiritism that Núñez Molina identifies in Puerto Rico is the one that the author refers to as 'Indigenous Spiritism' which is commonly referred to by its followers as *Mesa Blanca*. In his thesis, Núñez refers to this type of Spiritism as "autochthonous" to Puerto Rico, but also acknowledges that many of its rituals derive from both indigenous and African spiritual practices combined with European, or Kardecian ones (Núñez Molina: 105). Although it is at times difficult to disentangle the five different currents of Spiritism, the fourth and fifth currents are especially difficult to differentiate the one from the other, because of their shared African, indigenous and European roots, and because both emerged from a multicultural matrix of beliefs and practices.

Mesa Blanca: from centralized to decentralized organization

The name *Mesa Blanca* spawns from the traditional white table cloths utilized in the centers of Indigenous Spiritist current in the 1970s and 1980s. In these centers, many

mediums sat at a long table, covered with a white table cloth and adorned with a few simple Catholic images, mostly of the Virgin Mary. There was usually a goblet of water and sometimes cigars and flowers on the table too. Followers who suffered distress caused by ignorant spirits traveled to these centers to be cured by these mediums (Núñez Molina: 106-111). Joan D. Koss-Chino states that many of the centers closed because they were "subject to divisiveness, then abandoned when serious conflict arose between a medium and the president." (1999: 283)

The closing of the more hierarchically structured *Mesa Blanca* centers, complete with officers such as 'presidents', did not lead to the disappearance of this current of Spiritism in Puerto Rico. Instead, this current has persisted in the form of a less centralized, less hierarchical and more loosely organized network of autonomous mediums and healers operating out of their own homes or small spiritual and healing artefact and consultancy businesses called *botánicas*. Today these mediums work independently with minimal contact with and influence from other mediums, and thus they are no longer subject to management and influence by a center president.

This decentralization has resulted in a rapid and fascinating appropriation and proliferation of practices and iconography not only from Amerindian and Afro-Caribbean traditions, but also from many of the South and East Asian traditions that must have originally inspired much of Kardec's philosophy, including the key tenet of reincarnation. This results in tables/altars that take on a drastically different appearance in terms of their iconography from that of the tables in the Mesa Blanca centers. Despite the radical deregulation as to what might be placed on the altar/table, and the breakdown of hierarchically organized channels of communication among mediums, my visits during 2017-2018 to Indigenous Spiritist homes and *botanicas* have revealed remarkable similarities in terms of altar construction and iconography, including a number of Orisha figures normally associated with Santería.

This utilization of Orisha iconography by a particular medium does not imply that they believe in or practice Santería . In an interview with medium Don Fello, in San Germán in February 2017, he was questioned about his use of Orishas and if he believed in Santería:

> **Researcher:** Como estuvimos hablando antes acerca de las Orishas africanos, pero eso no es Santería?
> [Like, we were talking about before, about the Orishas, isn't it Santería?]
> **Don Fello:** No, esto no.
> [No, not this.]
> **Researcher:** Que conexión tiene con espiritismo?
> [What is their connection with Spiritism?]
> **Don Fello:** La santería es una cosa y esta es otra.
> [Santería is one thing and this is another.]
> **Researcher:** Pero porque usas Orishas?

[But why do you use Orishas?]

Don Fello: Porque esto [Espiritismo] es para coger causas, para curar gente y la santería mayormente es para trabajar con sangre, con gallinas que no me conviene.

[Because this [Spiritism] is to help people, to cure people, and most Santería deals with blood and hens and that does not suit me.]

It is clear from his answers that Don Fello does not believe in Santería and, although Orishas are intrinsic to the Yoruba pantheon, Puerto Rican Spiritism has appropriated these African deities.

Image 1 is that of the Seven African Powers (*Las siete potencias africanas*) that are to be found by of Don Fello's altar. An interview with Spiritist Doña Josie in Arecibo, in May 2017 also resulted in a similar rebuff of Santería, although she goes even further than does Don Fello in her replication of Santería tradition, by incorporating a spiritual boveda, or portal to the spirit world, (see image 2) in her practice of Spiritism.

Image 1 The display of African Orishas next to a Puerto Rican Spiritist's altar in San Germán (Photograph by P.R. Kelly 2017)

Image 2 A spiritual bóveda, or portal to the spirit world, next to a Puerto Rican Spiritist's altar in Arecibo (Photograph by P.R. Kelly 2017)

This iconography represents a distinct departure from documented observations of *Mesa Blanca* Spiritism that transpired in organized centers, which utilized only a few Roman Catholic icons, water, flowers and tobacco, but did not contain any African symbols or representations. Mario Núñez Molina's extensive fieldwork in *Mesa Blanca* centers in the 1980s contains detailed descriptions of such centers where he never made any reference to African or Afro-Caribbean iconography. Núñez Molina notes that the tables in Indigenous Spiritism/ *Mesa Blanca* may contain "a goblet of water, flowers, cigars, statues of different Catholic Saints, incense, and other paraphernalia" (p. 107). In his thesis on *Mesa Blanca* Spiritism, titled *"El Espiritismo Criollo o Mesa Blanca Espiritual"* Héctor Manuel Torres Camacho (2009) also noted that the tables in *Mesa Blanca* comprised "a plain white cloth or tablecloth" and "a glass filled with water . . . a white candle, white flowers, a notebook, Florida water, and a crucifix" (p. 201). Florida Water is utilized in spiritual rituals for cleansing and protection in the Caribbean. Items such as icons or doorways can be wiped with a cloth soaked in Florida water and it can also be used in baths or applied directly to the skin (Wang et al., 2002). In any case, there is no mention of Afro-Caribbean iconography or ritual. Interviews with informants corroborate these descriptions of a white tablecloth, a Catholic image, flowers, and sometimes tobacco in the center. The only difference in the responses of the informants was that sometimes the tablecloth was red or a smaller red

one was placed over the white one, but every other detail, including the omission of African symbols, matches the descriptions of previous researchers.

Images 3 to 6 are of figures recently observed on home altars, including La Madama (image 3), a Roma man [Gypsy] (image 4), and an Amerindian (image 5). Another figure I have also encountered statues of Buddha, among other religious and cultural appropriations.

Images 3, 4, and 5 Figures on or by Puerto Rican Spiritists' altars (Photographs by P.R. Kelly, 2017)

Mesa Blanca Spiritism has re-invented itself to a point where it now appropriates a multitude of icons from a wide array of religious and cultural traditions. Raquel Romberg (2007) comments on the appropriation of the orishas outside of Santería today:

> even when the orishas are invoked, it does not mean that those who invoke them follow all the necessary prescriptions [of Santería], such as keeping up with the numerous taboos and rituals followed by those formally initiated into their secrets. Strategically thus appropriated, some key commercialized icons of Santería, such as the "Seven Powers" and the beaded necklaces of the orishas, have become creole symbols of an imagined, generalized notion of African-based ritual powers (even when the ceremonies, such as animal sacrifice and initiation rituals, through which these symbols acquire their ritual power within Santería are obliterated). (80)

The adoption by *Mesa Blanca* of symbols and representations from previously excluded sources has contributed to its further marginalization by mainstream society. Judith Bettelheim (2005) notes in "Caribbean Espiritismo (Spiritist) Altars: The Indian and the Congo" that society derides *Mesa Blanca* because its appropriation of seemingly disparate items grouped together on altars is often viewed as "kitsch", or a

conglomeration of mismatched items thrown together without thought or reason (p. 312).

However, one can read this apparent eclecticism in another way. La Madama in Image 3 represents an enslaved woman, and can be found in the Sanse, Palo Monte, and Ocha Santería traditions, where she is considered to be an ancestral representation and/or spirit guide, while the Amerindian in Image 4 is a healer and the Roma man in Image 5 represents divination. So, what some observers ridicule and discount as *kitsch* on *Mesa Blanca* home altars*,* probably represents a thoughtful and deliberate selection of icons that embody shared beliefs between Spiritism and other religious and spiritual traditions. In fact, it could be argued that this openness and willingness to be pluri-cultural and pluri-identified in the area of spirituality is one of the deepest and most resilient legacies bequeathed to the peoples of the Caribbean by their indigenous and African foremothers and forefathers. Thus, labeling of *Mesa Blanca* altars as *kitsch* may just be another projection of the colonial gaze that constantly finds overt and covert ways to trivialize Caribbean cultures and peoples for their failure to completely reject their indigenous, African and Asian legacies on the one hand, while simultaneously trivializing those same Caribbean cultures and peoples for not conforming to some monolithic artificial colonial construct of a single 'authentic' indigenous, African or Asian legacy.

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UNSETTLING RESONANCES IN MUSIC IN THE GREATER CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND

KEEPING IT CLEAN?: CRITICAL MEDIA LITERACY, MORALITY AND JAMAICAN DANCEHALL

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> Can you hear me when I say, put your lighters in the air, lighters in the air;
> If you know yu heart clean like a whistle, like a whistle, heart clean like a likkle whistle
> - Chronixx
>
> Given [Dancehall artistes'] influence among the young, there is an element of truth to the suggestion that popular music is a real medium of education for youth
> - Andrew Ross, Real Love (1998)

Abstract

This article explores a critical media approach to Dancehall in order to engage Jamaican young people on the question of morality. The specific trope identified within the Dancehall corpus is the pervasive idea of being "out and clean" (the term is cognate with "clean heart" and "clean"), which has its roots in the Judeo-Christian milieu of Jamaica. Being out and clean is multivalent and can therefore be regarded as physical "cleanness" (personal hygiene, stylishness, and attention grabbing dress) as well as spiritual and moral rightness (living right, and being a good person who takes account of what God demands). The discussion concludes by presenting "Perkins's critical pedagogy for Dancehall", which can be used to engage young people in forming a critical approach to Dancehall and other media.

Key terms: Dancehall, critical media literacy, youth, Jamaica, pedagogy, out and clean

Introduction

The last place many Jamaicans would look in search of ways to influence youth values and attitudes for the better is the music they listen to. This is so because pop music, that

is, music that has been packaged for mass consumption (read *youth* consumption), especially Dancehall and Hip Hop, has been written off by many as unrepentantly anomic, anarchic, nihilistic, amoral and even immoral (Sonjah Stanley Niaah (2010) provides a useful summary of various arguments about Dancehall). Donna P. Hope (2018) maintains that intra-generational and political debates around the value and validity of Jamaican popular music continue to ebb and flow and "colour the musical landscape" (p. 2). Indeed, usual readings of Dancehall have been mostly negative because of the prominence of such themes as *gyals* (promiscuous sexuality), *guns* (violence), and *bling* (name brand fixation and conspicuous consumption) (Hope, 2006). The prevalence of these emphases in Dancehall has been attributed to hegemonic dissolution, in which the Western middle class markers of culture, morality, and aesthetics have been swept away and replaced by an alternative ethos, in this case, the ethos of the disenfranchised urban poor (see Gray, 2004; Meeks, 2007).

Jamaican journalist, the late Ian Boyne, argued vehemently that "negative" Dancehall, which he considers the primary socialising agent in the inner city, promotes violence and retards Jamaica's national development (Boyne, 2013). Boyne was often opposed by academics and other Dancehall aficionados; one of his opponents, then a Junior Minister for Tourism in the Jamaican Government, constantly maintained that there is no direct causal link between Dancehall and violence (Crawford, 2014). Boyne argued that he was not making a causal link, but rather highlighting that "negative Dancehall reinforces anti-social and violent behaviour and encourages young men to validate themselves through violence rather than through wholesome activities" (Boyne, 2013: 200–201). Owen "Blakka" Ellis echoes this concern poignantly in his poem *Tick*, which reverberates with the image of a ticking time bomb:

> And ghetto spread/ vulgarity is mother's milk/daily fed/. . . /nothing much/can do for them doc/better you tell the selector/run some track/but do it quick/heal a gap/fill the crack/gone too far/to turn around/or turn back/man need to feed/flames in him head/Pass a mike/or load a gun/one way or the other/people dead. (Owen, 2014)

Ellis emphasizes the dangerous potency of music in equating its power with that of the gun – either way people die. (See Carolyn Cooper's (2004) arguments about the metaphorical deployment of guns in Dancehall).

Two important matters are at play in the discourse exemplified by Boyne, Crawford, Hope and others that need to be examined: 1) the important socialising role of Dancehall artistes, who it is claimed have more influence than politicians, especially on inner city and other at risk youths (Boyne, 2013; Forbes, 2010); and 2) what is oftentimes ignored in vitriolic exchanges is the presence in Dancehall of another theme – God/Gad. The 'God' theme captures concerns about morality, spirituality, personal faith in God, and the good life/living, which faith demands. This 'God' perspective permeates not only the lyrics of the more "conscious" artistes, who do not glorify hypersexuality or overt

violence, but also the so-called "slack" artistes, whose repertoire resounds with the usual tropes of hypersexuality, violence and conspicuous consumption. The presence and potential of this theme is meaningful in the Jamaican space, which still considers itself "Christian," as was demonstrated by a *Gleaner* newspaper poll in which 45% of those polled considered themselves "deeply religious" (Gleaner, 2015). This is coupled with a fairly youthful population, where approximately 22% per cent of the population is between 15-24 years old (the youth dependency ratio is 40.5%). Within that larger population, 44% of those aged 18-24 consider themselves "somewhat religious" and 29% considered themselves "deeply religious" (Gleaner, 2015). Young people are clearly religiously inclined and may be open to learning more about morality and values. Dancehall, the much maligned genre, can serve as a tool in this critical pedagogy (see Lewis & Carr, 2009).

This article explores the potential for engaging Jamaican young people on the question of morality using Dancehall, the music that they listen to most frequently, oftentimes through consuming the accompanying music videos that are released with each song (Forbes, 2010). Indeed, adolescents are the primary targets for music videos (Rowe 2013). It begins with the idea of being "out and clean" ("clean heart" and "clean"), which is a well-known trope in Dancehall. It argues that the idea of being "out and clean", which is linked to "*swagga*", is multivalent and can, therefore, be defined as physical/outward "cleanness" (good personal hygiene, stylish and attention grabbing dress) as well as inner cleanness/ "clean heart" (being a good person who takes account of what God demands and lives right).

The role of contemporary Pentecostal religion in Jamaica in shaping the ideas about cleansing, clean heart and good living that are present in the Dancehall trope is exca-vated and, in so doing, it acknowledges Dancehall as a form of pedagogy, which can and does serve as a means of teaching about how to live and be in the world, that is, "keeping it clean". Dancehall, like various forms of music and dance, can and does serve as a source of values and norms (morality, culture) that can be life affirming and supportive of the value of the human person beyond access to excessive material goods, access to pliant and conquerable bodies, and retributive violence as a means of express-ing (masculine) identity. It does not ignore the aspects of Dancehall that are to be cri-tiqued, that is, "negative Dancehall". Indeed, the counter-politics of popular cultures of the post-colonial space such as Dancehall have been a two-edged sword, implicating the subject in relation to domination and subordination while offering a route out of these kinds of relations (Sheller, 2012).

In order to explore the Dancehall pedagogy effectively, the discussion takes on board Marcia Forbes' (2010) call for media literacy among the young. (Forbes' study demon-strated a link between consumption of music videos and risky sexual behaviour and problematic ideas about self, sex and sexuality among Jamaican young people.) Young people require this form of literacy in the contemporary world, where "the majority of

the information people receive comes less often from print sources and more typically from highly constructed visual images, complex sound arrangements and multiple media formats" (Kellner & Share, 2007: 3). The article concludes by providing a brief introduction to a pedagogical framework, designed and deployed by the author in conducting media literacy discussions with young Jamaicans.

Critical media literacy: Dancehall as pedagogy
The Catholic Bishops of the Antilles have reflected on the rapid and profound changes that digital technology has brought about:

> We also need to recognize that these rapid changes in technology are also altering the ways that people – our parishioners, and especially the youth – are gathering and processing information, expressing themselves, and creating relationships. This change provides us with a challenge as Church: how to place this technology at the service of evangelization. (Antilles Episcopal Conference, 2017: 6)

They are clear that the moral attitudes, political and social systems, and education of the people of the region have been significantly affected by these changes. They acknowledge that "the media are now the chief means of education, guidance, and inspiration for individuals, families, and societies at large" (p. 6). In so doing, the Bishops hint at, but do not dwell on, the "need to educate our people to access truth from this emerging culture in which 'likes' are more important than truth" (p. 10).

The Bishops' thinking is in line with the work of scholars like Kellner and Share (2007a), who demonstrate effectively how "new information communication technologies and a market-based media culture have fragmented, connected, converged, diversified, homogenized, flattened, broadened, and reshaped the world. These changes have been reframing the way people think and restructuring societies at local and global levels" (pp. 59-60). However, Kellner and Share go beyond the Bishops' project of calling for deploying digital technologies as a means of reaching digital natives to calling for a notion of literacy that expands the notion to include forms of "mass communication, popular culture, and new technologies" in a bid to "deepen the potential of literacy education to critically analyse relationships between media and audiences, information, and power" (p. 61). In so doing, students are empowered to create their "own messages that can challenge media texts and narratives" (Kellner & Share, 2007a: 61).

The importance of such media literacy has been recognised by the United Nations through UNESCO: "Current advances in information technologies and propagation of new digital media and learning environments stipulate the increasing importance of media literacy, which is today recognised almost universally as one of the key competences in the educational system" (Foreword: Pérez Tornero & Varis, 2010: 5). UNESCO's definition of media literacy reads in part, "the process of assimilating and using the codes involved in the contemporary media system as well as the operative skills needed

to properly use the technological systems on which these codes are based . . . the capacity to access, analyse and evaluate the power of the images, sounds, and messages with which we are faced every day and which play an important role in contemporary culture" (Pérez Tornero & Varis, 2010: 5). In order to appreciate the potential of "out and clean" songs and other songs in Dancehall to impact values ("keeping it clean"), it is necessary to understand Dancehall culture as a part of media culture, which is itself a form of pedagogy. Pedagogy is about "the practice of teaching that makes a difference in the intellectual and social development of students" (Chapuis, 2003: 3). Dancehall pedagogy as a form of media culture teaches proper and improper behaviour, gender roles, values, and knowledge of the world (Kellner & Share, 2007). Of course, people are often unaware that they are being "educated and positioned by [Dancehall] culture as its pedagogy is frequently invisible and absorbed unconsciously" (Kellner & Share, 2007: 4). Indeed, Rowe (2013) notes that adolescents are bombarded with highly sexual messages via music videos just at the point at which they are developing their ideas and values about gender and sexual practice. Many Dancehall videos are replete with messages that do not, for example, reinforce safe sex behaviour (Rowe 2013). Unfortunately, the images and messages of the videos are less researched than the lyrics of the songs. Critical media literacy for Jamaican youth is therefore a process by which Dancehall pedagogy can be interrogated and unveiled in order to challenge its hidden and not-so-hidden curriculum.

Media literate youths are better able to decipher the complex messages they receive from television, radio, newspapers, magazines, books, billboards, signs, packaging, marketing materials, video games, recorded music, the Internet, and social and other forms of media. They can understand how these media messages are constructed, and discover how they create meaning – usually in ways hidden beneath the surface. Acquiring the ability to critically analyse the relationship between media and audiences, which is at the heart of the controversy surrounding Dancehall and its impact on society, deepens knowledge of matters of information and power. In this way, spaces can be created to cultivate: 1) skills in analysing media codes and conventions (for example, the "out and clean" trope); 2) abilities to criticise stereotypes (of women, sexual minorities, "informers"), dominant values (consumer goods, promiscuous sexual behaviour), and ideologies (violence as marker of masculinity); and 3) competencies to interpret the multiple meanings generated by media texts in their varied forms. Youths who are media literate can also create their own media, becoming active participants in our media transformed culture and better citizens participating actively in the construction of their social realities.

Washed clean, out and clean

The experience of being made clean - washed clean by the blood of Christ, the Lamb - is an important part of the Christian journey. Jamaicans are familiar with the beloved hymn, "White as Snow," with the lines,

What can make me whole again?

Nothing but the blood of Jesus.

Oh! Precious is the flow

That makes me white as snow.

Notwithstanding the racial and cultural hegemonies and stereotypes at play, this hymn is an allusion to Psalm 51.9 ("wash me with hyssop, and I will be clean; wash me, and I will be whiter than snow") or Isaiah 1.18 (". . . though your sins are like scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool"). Similar hymns include, "Are You Washed in the Blood". There are over 100 verses in the Christian Scriptures that refer to being washed whiter than snow or being cleansed by the blood (see also Revelation 7.14). In that regard, baptism is the important ritual in the Church that undertakes such cleansing, stamps Christian identity, and leads to salvation (literally and spiritually).

In the practice of Jamaican Pentecostals, among whom can be found various churches like the New Testament Church of God and the Church of God of Prophecy, for example, as discussed by Austin-Broos (1999), the experience of being "clean" is an important spiritual event. Indeed, the New Testament Church of God Declaration of Faith includes the following article of faith: "In the baptism with the Holy Ghost subsequent to a clean heart" (ntcogjamaica.org). Pentecostals are the largest Christian denomination and their influence is pervasive. Pentecostal women dress in white for communion and/or Sunday services to signify purity.

The ritual of water baptism justifies believers in the Pentecostal faith and is a prerequisite to the full healing received from a baptism of the Holy Spirit. Austin-Broos explains,

> Healing is a central component of Pentecostal practice, but this is a healing from the Holy Spirit. Pentecostal healing is more often rendered as cleansing that makes the body a vehicle for Spirit. A clean body signifies a thoroughly cleansed soul so that only a person justified in faith and seeking sanctification can be healed completely. (1999: 221)

This idea of spiritual cleanness/cleanliness is brought together with the notion of physical cleanliness in the oft-heard statement, "cleanliness is next to godliness". Contrary to what many believe, this is not a biblical verse, but is first to be found in the writings of English philosopher and scientist Sir Francis Bacon (1561-1626); Bacon wrote, "Cleanness of body was ever deemed to proceed from a due reverence to God" (quoted in Thomas, 1997: 27). It was perhaps John Wesley (1703-1791), the founder of Methodism, who popularised it when he made a reference to the expression in one of his sermons in the form it is used today: "Slovenliness is no part of religion. Cleanliness is indeed next to Godliness" (quoted in Thomas, 1994: 65). Indeed, in mid-nineteenth century England, reformers and other moralists made "physical cleanliness…the route to virtue as well as to health…soap was an instrument of moral piety" (Thomas, 1994:

56). Of course, their connection of physical cleanliness to morality e is not a very big leap given the importance of ritual purity and cleanliness for holiness in the Hebrew Scriptures or Old Testament, as mentioned previously; "clean hands went with a pure heart" (Thomas, 1994: 60). Thomas (1994) argues that in "the[se] preachers' arguments in favour of cleanliness we find that they were strongly coloured by more secular considerations" (p 68). Two non-religious reasons for cleanliness were manners ("civility") and health, both of which can been seen to be at play in notions of cleanliness in contemporary Jamaica, as discussed below. Foremost in the notion of manners or civility was the emphasis on personal cleanliness, not for hygienic reasons, but in order to avoid offending others by unpleasant sights or smells, especially social betters. "For this reason, bodily cleanliness earned a place among the 'small morals' or even… made it part of morality itself" (Thomas, 1994: 69). In tandem, there emerged an influential school of medical writers who recommended baths as a form of personal hygiene. Prominent among the health regimen recommended was regular bathing, "which was portrayed as a necessity, both therapeutic and hygienic, a cure for innumerable diseases and a help to long life" (Thomas, 1994: 75).

Importantly, these reformers and non-conformist missionaries, who preached and lived the idea of the intersection of cleanliness and godliness, had a significant impact on the moral and cultural development of the Jamaican populace in the late1800s, after the Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865. Nonconformist missionaries and the colonial authorities entered into a compact to "civilise" the Jamaican population, a small group of whom, just one generation after Emancipation, engaged in a spontaneous uprising against their mistreatment at the hands of former slave masters and other purveyors of injustice, led by Governor Eyre. This new compact aimed "to prevent another eruption of 'the savagery' of Morant Bay. Such efforts have reverberations for Jamaicans and the Jamaican state even till today" (Perkins, 2019: 224). So it is no puzzle that ideas about being "clean", "out and clean" or having "a clean heart" are important tropes for Dancehall artistes as they come out of the Jamaican milieu, which is decidedly (Pentecostal) Christian-influenced, with very strong Biblical underpinnings shaped by the non-conformist traditions of the early modern Britain. Indeed, cultural critic Stuart Hall (1993) argues that it is difficult to understand the development of the Caribbean without understanding the role of the Church. It is difficult to understand the development of Jamaica without understanding the role of the Church, even up to the present day. Jamaicans from all walks of life are deeply religious and readily give expression to their faith without discomfort or recognising seeming contradictions between claims that are made and the seeming incongruence of action (Perkins, 2012).

In Dancehall, it is customary to hear about the "clean" version of a song/album, which is set against the "raw" version. The "clean" version is non-explicit and eligible for airplay while the "raw" version contains expletives and explicit sexual and other ques-

tionable references, more suited for the live, relatively private Dancehall space frequented by adult patrons. The Broadcasting Commission of Jamaica regulates the broadcast of excessive violence, offensive language and explicit sexual content guided by the Children's Code for Programming (2002) and the Television and Sound Broadcasting Regulations (1996). Dancehall is not the only genre of music that falls under its regulation. Of course, with the advance of information and communications technologies, the definition of broadcast is somewhat blurred as explicit content is readily available in the public sphere through sites such as YouTube and online radio programming. Importantly, Jamaican children and youth, being digital natives, get most of their news and entertainment via these online sources.

This idea of "clean" is especially meaningful in Jamaican society, which is strongly influenced by Judeo-Christian ethics and morality, as noted previously. Being "clean" is important to Christians as it reflects ideas of purity, sanctification, healing, and sexual propriety. Sexual purity is perhaps the usual connotation for being "clean" (pure, holy) and this is reflected in the Purity Movement aimed at keeping young people, especially girls, sexually abstinent until marriage. The call is to avoid all things that threaten such purity, including certain forms of music. Jamaican Christian educators Andrew and Donnette Norman capture this perspective in their manual for students entitled, *Passion and purity*, where they define "a song [as] clean and wholesome when it does not incite lust or violence, or promote that which is not of God" (2012: 83). The expectation is that "impure" songs should be avoided in order to maintain oneself in a pure state.

The Christian/Rasta substratum of Dancehall is evident in myriad references to 'the Almighty (One)', 'Jah', 'Jesus', 'Faada/Maasa Gad', 'Jehovah' or 'Selassie' in many Dancehall songs and among the repertoire of artistes, who are neither to be identified among the 'conscious' group nor the Dancehall gospel crossover group (Perkins, 2012). The God/faith theme in Dancehall has three dimensions: 1) profession of personal faith and the desire to live according to that faith; 2) rejection of Christians/Church as fake, hypocritical or not truly living the faith; and 3) rejection of Church/Christianity/Christ as false, hopelessly compromised. Atheism or agnosticism does not seem to be an acceptable posture within the Dancehall space.

In Dancehall, there are numerous songs that articulate the idea of being out and clean explicitly in their titles. Several even have the same title, as is demonstrated in Table 1 below.

Popular artists I-Octane and Ding Dong, I-Octane and Tenza, Vybz Kartel, and Beenie Man all have songs entitled, "Out and Clean". Numerous others reference being "clean", which is cognate with "fresh" or "bathing", either in the title or the lyrics. Of course, there are many other songs that treat the idea of being clean without referring to it in the title. Mavado's "Gully Gad" is one such. There are dances that overlap with this clean motif also, for example, "Ever fresh, Ever clean" and "Shampoo", which are directly related to the songs of the same name.

Table 1 Partial List of "Out and Clean" Songs

Artiste	Out and Clean Songs
Chronixx	Like a whistle
I-Octane and Ding Dong	Out and Clean
Red Dragon	Hol' a Fresh
Ding Dong	Shampoo
Tenza	Out and Clean
Vybz Kartel	Out and Clean
Beenie Man	Heart Clean
Beenie Man	Eva Clean
Mr G featuring Beenie Man	Clean Everyday
Beenie Man	Out and clean
Demarco	Out and clean –
Mavado	Gully Gad
Mavado	Clean Everyday

Artiste Red Dragon's 1993 song "Hol' a Fresh", that is, "Go take a bath," is perhaps the best known of the songs that deal directly with cleanness as personal hygiene. Red Dragon berates some patrons as literally "dirty wretch[es]" for "dressing to puss foot" (being very well dressed to go to a dance, driving in the "hottest" vehicles, boastfully engaging in the Dancehall space), yet having not taken a bath/shower or a "fresh":

> *Some people come a dance/ my god, dem well dressed*
> *Dem dress up inna jacket/ dem dress up inna vest*
> *Man dress woman dress inna di best*
> *Yeah some a ride bike/ some a drive Chevrolet*
> *And come a Dancehall and a push up dem chest*
> *A tell crowd a people bout dem a di best*
> *And when you tek a stock/ my god, a dem nuh fresh*

The DJ literally explains how a person should hol' a fresh. *"Come now tek up the rag, tek up di soap and run go hol' a fresh!"* Being pleasant smelling is about self-care, self-respect, but also care and respect for others, who must, in a close or tight space, bear the brunt of the odour of unwashed bodies. Clearly, enjoyment is curtailed by such less-than-pleasant encounters. Of course, what is not sufficiently countenanced in the condemnation of this "dirty wretch" is the experiences of many inner-city dwellers who may not have the running water and the amenities needed to "hol' a fresh" regularly. Oftentimes, bathing is in a shared communal space that removes the privacy and lei-surely nature of the bath (Gray, 2004). There is no necessarily moral issue being tackled in this song beyond a concern for the comfort of the neighbour, although, for the nine-teenth Century reformers, hygiene is a matter of civility and morals. Of course, there is

the larger underlying issue of justice concerning the living conditions of Jamaicans in the inner city that requires further interrogation.

Popular Dancehall artiste, Beenie Man, the "girls dem shuga", perhaps unsurprisingly, has a whole repertoire of clean songs – "Heart Clean", "Clean Every day," "Eva Clean", "Clean and Come Out," "Clean Like a Whistle" and "Clean Your Heart". Beenie Man's "Clean Like a Whistle", for example, immediately brings to mind the colloquialism, "clean as a whistle", which has been repurposed to talk about a person's moral status. (The origin of the colloquialism is in the whistling sound made by a sword as it cleanly decapitates a person.) Similarly, Chronixx's "Like a Whistle" argues that physical cleanness cannot be equated with moral cleanness: *"Nuff people a walk pon road in a clean clothes but dem heart it waan detergent"* [A lot of people are walking around in clean clothes but their hearts need to be cleaned with detergent] (Chronixx, "Like a Whistle").

In addition, unsurprisingly, Beenie Man's song is replete with biblical references – Jesus and Judas, blessings, prayer – and the ubiquitous exhortation to "live right" and reject "bad mind". In the Jamaican context, "bad-mind is a trope used to identify the ill intention or act of another, undertaken as a form of envy" (Lewis, 2014: 328) or, as Wardle contends, "part of the language of moral sentiments used to value people's intentions" (Wardle, 2018: 55). Wardle elaborates on Lewis's understanding noting, "It is defined behaviourally by a 'craven' desire to strip someone else of their goods. But it is not the other's material possessions that are the ultimate focus, most significantly it is their good standing or reputation that is being destroyed by the 'cravenness' of 'bad mind'" (2018: 55). Furthermore, Wardle maintains that there is equally present a less emphasized aspect of badmind, the idea "that badmind finds its way back to the person who practices it by way of some kind of final subtraction from their spiritual wellbeing and as a distortion in their ability to act morally." (p. 55)

The trope of bad mindedness is usually accompanied by racial underpinnings with the explicit notion that badmindedness occurs among African-descended Jamaicans because "they don't want to see other Black people prospa [do well]". Lewis describes these as ethical and ethnicized market values. Problems Lewis identified within the craft market, where he conducted his research, are held by the vendors to be within themselves and their community:

> Bad-mind and 'black disunity' are illustrative of particular self-perceptions of blackness, especially when viewed in a comparative context. Black disunity is a determined assessment of black–black interaction, which is confirmed through comparison with other groups [like the Chinese of Indians in Jamaica] (Lewis, 2014: 333).

Such problematic beliefs about fellow Jamaicans are both taught and reinforced by Dancehall music and culture.

As highlighted previously, "clean" is a multivalent concept and can therefore be described as physical "cleanness", which highlights sartorial statements made, especially by men. So when Mavado, "the Gully Gad", states in "Clean Everyday": *"Everyday mi step out mi clean/ Everyday mi step out mi clean,"* he is literally talking about being clean and clean smelling, but also being stylish (properly coiffed) so he can *"flash tru di town wid a pretty brownin"* [So he can drive quickly through the town with his pretty light-skinned woman at his side.]. Such "cleanness" is attention-grabbing and status-bestowing. His "cleanness" and "outness" is a mark of his success and so, *"every gyal wan fi own him/ and a seh dem nah clown him/ every gyal ah come a sekkle dung ah seh dem wan hold him/ seh dem wan fi wear di gold ring."* The racially desirable stereotype of the lighter skinned female (the *brownin*/browning) as trophy is evident in this claim to being "out", as is the continued defining influence of British cultural imperialism on the consciousness of a large number of poor and working class women who desire formal marriage and the respectability of a "church wedding" ["wear gold ring"] (Gray, 2004). Among the moral behaviours that mark "cleanness" are, as Chronixx identified also: living well with siblings, not grudging others, focusing on the family, refusing to be a "yes man":

> *Mi and mi brother dem good*
> *Wi never grudge Teflon*
> *Family mi deal wid*
> *mi bu[r]n yes man.*

Being "clean hearted" is apparently a character trait acquired at birth. Perhaps akin to the stereotype that Black people are badminded. Claims to having a clean heart are direct allusions to Psalm 51.12: "A clean heart create for me, God; renew within me a steadfast spirit" (New American Bible). Of course, numerous other biblical allusions apply, including Psalm 73.1; Proverbs 20.9; 1Kings 15.3-5. Again, there are resonances for the Jamaican Pentecostal substratum shaped by the moralistic ideals of the non-conformist missionaries, even if faint. A Pentecostal saint is birthed only when "a repentant heart within a clean vessel [is] transformed into a saint" (Austin-Broos, 1999: 143). A closer examination of this allusion identifies very Jamaican gendered understandings of the anatomy and physiology of the body as present in the Pentecostal rite of sanctification.

For women, in particular, cleansing in preparation for the in-filling involves purifying the body-vessel. Pentecostals focus on fornication as the chief way by which the body-vessel is made unclean. The female vessel is sullied by "unsanctified semen" from illicit intercourse (Austin-Broos, 1999). At baptism, the Holy Ghost enters through the woman's vagina and cleanses it of unsanctified semen before proceeding to fill the belly and move to the heart in order to bring the soul back to life. It is, naturally, the blood of Jesus that transforms the sinner into a saint.

The heart is the seat of the soul and spiritual health, while the belly is the seat of fecundity and physical health. They are conjoined by blood, which is pumped from the heart throughout the body. Physical health is thereby connected with spiritual health, but the womb-endowed bodies of women also bear on spiritual health. (Austin-Broos, 1999: 146)

Once the person is saved and sanctified, she becomes Holy Ghost-filled having been water-baptised, to allude to the words of a popular Pentecostal song. Glossolalia or speaking in tongues is an expected manifestation of that in-filling and the transformation of body and soul that ensues.

A less gendered image of that process of becoming a saint is "circumcising the heart". This is the image that is most resonant for men in the Pentecostal community. It references Paul's letter to the Romans 3.29, where he describes sanctification as a "circumcision of the heart". Paul, of course, references the Jewish rite of male circumcision. Jamaican Pentecostals associate this image of a circumcised heart with the possession of the Holy Ghost. Again, the breath of the Spirit becomes the sacrificial blood of Christ, which cleanses. The blood of Jesus, which is often pleaded by Pentecostals in time of spiritual and physical attack, circumcises the heart by cutting it and washing it clean. Austin-Broos (1997) points out the relationship of the idea of cutting to the Revival notion of "cutting and clearing" evil from within an individual or her environment. The shell of the heart if pared away from its core allowing it to truly pump redeemed blood around the body. The mechanism is similar to the activity of the blood in the body-vessel but without the feminine emphasis on a filled womb and vaginal-entry way.

Living right or being a good person is also another level of meaning of "clean". Being clean in that sense requires taking account of what God demands. The idea, of course, is that clean living will bring you closer to God and that God requires that we live clean (spotless, sinless, unblameworthy lives). Beenie Man claims in "Heart Clean":

Mi heart no dirty
mi heart clean like the water from the stream
Mi mind no dirty, mi think clean
I will never grudge you fi you queen [woman/wife/girlfriend].

Here he is using the same imagery and pointing out vices, such as, being "grudgeful", which are to be rejected in being "clean". Interestingly, many of the out and clean songs are directed at persons who are chided for not living clean but engaging in practices that include the disease of badmind ("Heart Clean"), which leads to killing and stealing even from old women. In contrast, Beenie Man extols the importance of hard work in his own career success.

In "Eva/Ever Clean", Beenie Man disses one of his Dancehall rivals, Flippa Mafia, known then as the "flossing King" because of his habit of throwing money into the crowds, opening bottles of high-end liquor, dressing in expensive fashion and driving

luxury vehicles. Beenie declares that his unnamed rival "can't stop his *swagga*" as he is never to been seen wearing the same clothes he does. He names the high-end brands he wears (Louis Vuitton, Dolce and Gabbana, etc.) and belittles his rival's purchases which he claims were made at Payless and Macy's. Indeed, he claims his place as <u>the</u> "flossing King" in "the Dancehall thing" as he goes on to list the high-end vehicles he drives both at home and abroad.

Clearly, being "clean" requires being "out" as well, that is, strutting one's stuff in the public domain ("flossing", i.e., self-promotion, conspicuous displays of wealth and consumer goods). Others need to see the cleanness so one has to be out. As a result, Delgado de Torres (2011) argues that there is some overlap in the meanings of "*swagga*", a crossover hip hop term, and the Dancehall term "out and clean". For Delgado de Torres, "out and clean" is "a Dancehall term, which describes the preparation of one's appearance and application of techniques of the body. The Dancehall participant becomes "clean" in order to then be "out" in front of the Dancehall audience" (Delgado de Torres, 2011). Delgado de Torres obviously is not aware of how morally laden the concept is or the personal hygiene elements involved; rather her focus is on the style of dress, and the process involved in developing and producing such style. Such a narrow focus does no justice to the potential of the idea.

At the same time, Dancehall artistes themselves may be unaware of the laden-ness of "out", which is a term usually used to describe gay people who live openly as gay. Indeed, the idea of clean that is extolled can have as part of its identity a rejection of sexual minorities <u>and</u> the embrace of the "*gangsta*" lifestyle as is seen in Mavado's "Everyday":

> *Every yout wan live mi dream*
> *We dem call di dream team*
> *We the best eva seen*
> *Wi straight like a pants seam*
> *Tell dem a gangsta regime*
> *Tell dem move outta mi way mind mi press fiyah*

The heterosexist masculinity that is the ideology supporting "clean" is revealed in Mavado's self-description as "straight like pants seam" and this works in tandem with the "*gangsta* regime", which is quick to "*press fiya*" (shoot) anyone who gets in the way of the Gully God/Gad. This may oftentimes be a gay man, who is frequently subject to cultural, lyrical and physical violence (even death). Chronixx also reminds "JahCoola", "[re]*member yu tell mi fi straight like ruler!*" ("Clean Like a Whistle"). Similarly, Beenie Man claims to be "clean" and not "lean", that is, straight/ heterosexual ("Ever/Eva Clean"). Throughout these proclamations is the assertion that their "cleanness" attracts all kinds of women to them. Beenie Man is clear in "Clean Everyday" that "*bad mind people fi get peppacorn*", suggesting that enemies should be "peppered" with shots. The irony of the 'g'/Gad trope in Dancehall, as demonstrated in the various tracks

dropped by artistes such as Mavado's claiming protection from the Messiah or Beenie Man's claim of "blessings that shine an' a glisten" ("Clean Like a Whistle"), is that God is assumed to be on their side as they unleash violence on their rivals or against the socially marginalised like gay men. The potential contradictions in such positioning are unacknowledged.

Outline of a critical pedagogy for media literacy

As an ethicist, I am often called upon to speak on topics such as music, ethics, Dancehall and youth culture. In teaching Jamaican young people about approaching Dancehall and other forms of popular music, I have developed my own critical pedagogy, which for this article I am naming *A critical pedagogy for media literacy*.

I usually begin with the image of a mirror - music can be likened to a mirror. What do mirrors do? Provide a reflection or help us to see things better. So, for example, you can squeeze that pimple better or put on your make up properly. Magnifying mirrors are a godsend when you are trying to find that virtually invisible strand of hair on your chin! So mirrors do have a very useful purpose of helping us see our reflection better. This image of the mirror is represented in the argument that Dancehall "simply reflects the injustices, inequities, and the dehumanisation of the ghetto. The deejay is merely a re-flector" (Boyne 2005 in Boyne 2013, 203). Indeed, Sonjah Stanley Niaah (2010) argued that during the 1980s a shift in political policies led to a new sense of exaggerated self-hood – the ghetto fabulous sense, which was mirrored in the lyrics of DJs such as Yellow Man and Shabba Ranks. The lyrics of these DJs "mirror a roundabout turn 'from the social concerns of the seventies' fuelling the 'new' Dancehall era with songs replete with sexual braggadocio, misogyny and violence" (Foster, 1999 in Stanley Niaah, 2010: 4). Reflecting is but one dimension of the phenomenon, however.

There are some kinds of mirrors that do not reflect reality. Some mirrors "BBX", that

Image 1 BBX (Dancehall Mirror) (Image designed by Amaka Latibeaudiere)
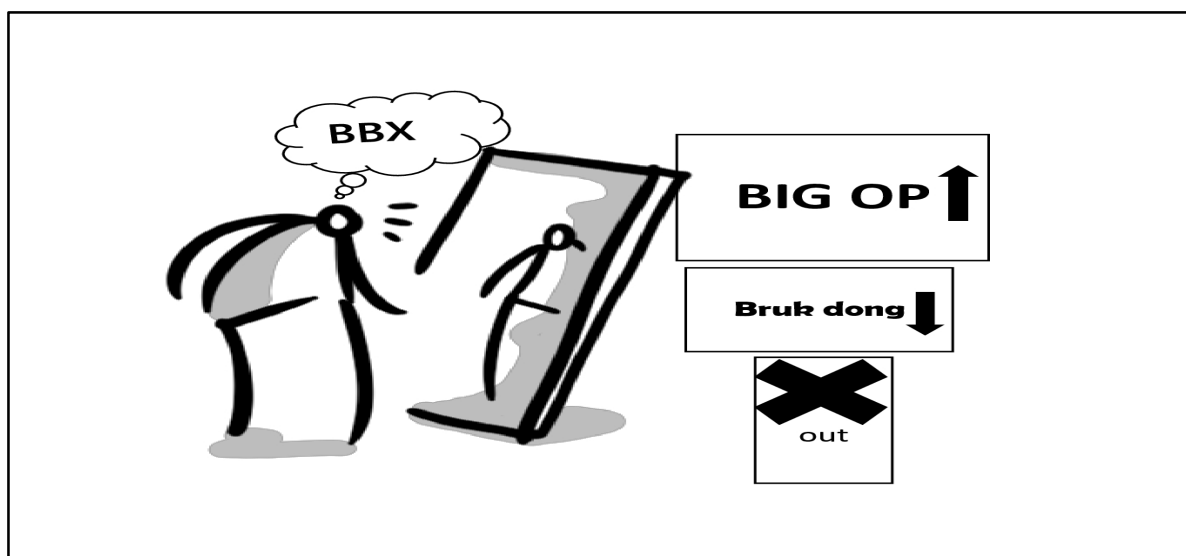
is, in the Jamaica language, they "**B**ig Op, **B**rok Dong, and **X** Out". What do I mean by that? Some mirrors do not simply reflect reality; they also distort it and mess with it. Think of funhouse mirrors or even caricatures as in Image 1, below:

Dancehall:

B – "*Big op*" [Big up], that is, enlarges, exaggerates, is excessive, supports, and glorifies. So in the Dancehall, every ghetto woman is a *skettel* (a loose woman); every politician is a crook; every man has "*gal inna bungle*" (has numerous female sexual partners simultaneously). Lighter complexioned females -"brownins"- are more beautiful and desirable. Promiscuous sexual behaviour, gun violence, ostentatious consumption (bling), and ganja use are all glorified and exaggerated. Female sexual availability is trumpeted. Ironically, every man's mother is loved, loving and lovable.

B – "*Brok dong*" [Breaks down], that is, under-represents, reduces, and belittles certain groups. Informers and gays are therefore presented as fair game for violent attack. Ugly women, fat women, and maties (mistresses) are generally undesirable and lazy.

X – "X out", that is, minimises, ignores, leaves out certain groups, certain ways of living and being and, in so doing, diminishes and devalues them. The role and presence of hardworking people, those that value school and education, appropriate lifestyles (monogamy, respect for women not on the basis of their bodies and sexual performance, skin colour) are given little prominence.

We all need to listen to music and watch the accompanying videos with a more critical eye or ear. Ask questions about what the music is really saying and doing. Remember BTB (**B**lind Eye; **T**one Deaf and **B**rain Deaf), as in Image 2 below:

Image 2 BTB (Critical Approaches) (Image designed by Amaka Latibeaudiere)

Blind eye   Tone deaf   Brain dead
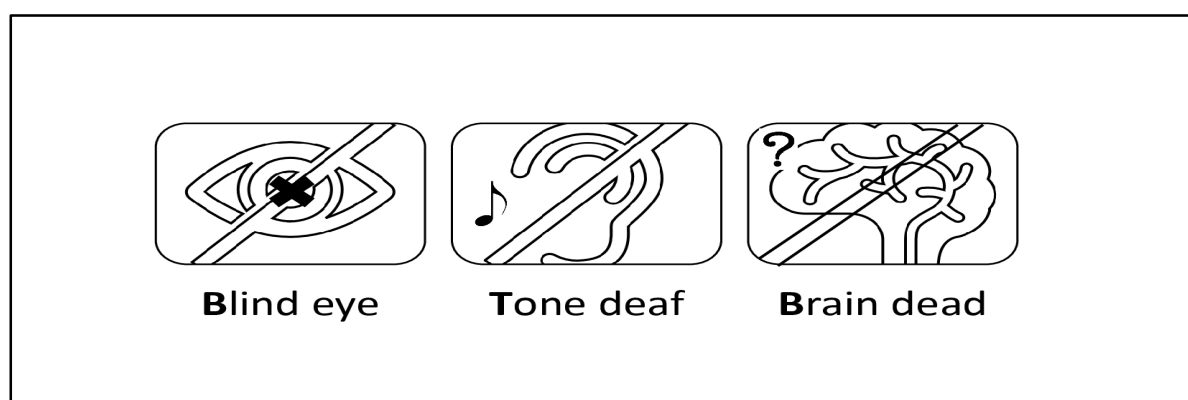
Do not be:

Blind Eye – What are you seeing? (There are often word images and metaphors in lyrics such as penises being compared to guns and sexual activity as work). Who benefits from such images? Why? Who does not? Why not? (Do I? How?)

Tone Deaf – What are you hearing? Unflattering comments about women? Ways of being male that actually undermine the value of fatherhood and respect for self? Who benefits? Who does not?

Brain Dead – What questions does this raise for you? Tap into your discomfort. What can you do to respond to what you see present in the song/video?

Simply learning to ask these questions is not sufficient, of course. Young people need to be motivated to act against such pedagogy embedded in media, Dancehall, in this case.

Critical media literacy gives young people "power over their culture" (Kellner & Share, 2007: 18). They can thus be empowered to critique the meanings that are currently embedded in the Dancehall space that are not life-affirming, while not totally rejecting the space itself. In so doing, they can (re)create their own meanings and identities while recognising their responsibility "to shape and transform the material and social conditions of their culture and society" for the better (Kellner & Share, 2007: 18). To do so allows them to be faithful to their spirituality as Jamaicans, deeply shaped by Judeo-Christian perspectives as captured in the Gad trope of Dancehall. The idea is that with increased media and cultural literacy skills, young people will become more discerning about the kind of music they listen to and how they actively listen. The basic critical pedagogy outlined above represents a skeletal framework for teaching young people how to engage the popular media they are listening to, watching, participating in. This framework can be seen as a foundation for a home-grown critical literacy approach that teaches young Jamaicans how to ask critical questions of the media, with the goal of preparing them for morally engaged and critical citizenship.

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'WE KINDA MUSIC' IS NOT 'WE TING': CHALLENGING MUSICAL FORMULAS IN TRINIDAD'S PANORAMA COMPETITION

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Introduction

> *This kinda music would make people lose control.*
> *This kinda music would capture the world…*
> *My kinda music, your kinda music.*
> *Calypso music is we kinda music.*
> Slinger "Mighty Sparrow" Francisco, *Sparrow vs. The Rest* (1976)

The lyrics of the 1976 Mighty Sparrow tune, "We Kinda Music", address the powerful and festive spirit of calypso. In this tune, Sparrow identifies three important elements of the genre: its status as an internationally popular musical idiom, its basis as a shared, or collective, form of Carnival expressivity, and its capacity to induce "ramajay".[1] In 2014, when the *birdsong* Steel Orchestra played Andy Narell's Panorama arrangement bearing the same title, however, the band did not score well enough to even advance to the final round of that year's Carnival competition. This was an unequivocal and, as I argue in this paper, a paradoxical message from the judges: "We Kinda Music" is *not* for Panorama.

While many pan people in Trinidad and beyond are outspoken about their love of Narell's music, many Panorama fans have expressed vehement critiques about his tenure as a foreign arranger from 2013-2016. For example:

> This man is out of place trying to impose his experience, wherever it originates on MY cultural experience, this is what WE express, this was born out of our rejection of all things colonial. You must be aware of the political aspect of music because it exists. This thing goes beyond notes and silence. I demand musical

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[1] ramajay (v., passive): the act of letting go, breaking away. Term defined by the authors of the "My Panyard", see http://www.mypanyard.co.uk/Pan-Ramajay.html

independence, […] I refuse to be colonised […] What we have created puts food on his table so [he should] just remain silent and observe.[2]

What this blog post forcefully communicates is that: Narell's kinda music is indisputably not "We ting". And while the slogans "We kinda music" and "We ting" may on the surface appear to embody the same ideological orientation toward the shared expressivity, collective festivity, and ramajay spirit that epitomizes the spirit of Carnival, in this presentation I suggest that these two mottos represent mutually untranslatable truths about the centrality of Trini cultural ownership and authority relative to the Carnival arts, the ambiguous value for musical innovation within the history of Panorama, and the function of competition as a medium of both creativity and control.

We ting

> *Trinidad is the most competitive society I know. It is the only place in the world where you have an orchestral music festival and they call it a war. They actually say that here: "Panorama is war."* Andy Narell, *Alive* (2011)

Calypso, Pan, and Carnival share related histories and, in the mid-20th century, they formed the basis for what became a uniquely Trinidadian national identity. Pan, in particular, saliently indexes the tenacious spirit of creativity at the core of the Carnival arts. Prior to the inception of Panorama in 1963, "The Bomb" had been a form of fierce competition between street bands featuring road-march style arrangements of European classical pieces and American popular songs. These tunes were rehearsed clandestinely both to maximize the impact of the arrangement on the audience and to maintain a strategic advantage over rival bands – to simultaneously overwhelm and delight via the calypso-ization of foreign, yet familiar, musical idioms. But in the wake of independence in 1962, "The Bomb" had been strategically diffused as the new staged and adjudicated competition called Panorama rose in popularity and prestige. This was part of a broader strategic move by the post-colonial government to at once usher in a new non-European and distinctly Trini cultural profile via the integration and showcasing of various Carnival arts, and to "clean up" (or clean out) the socially objectionable aspects of Carnival. Panorama was designed to incentivize middle class participation in, and hence broad cultural ownership of, "We ting."

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[2] Blog response by Keith P. Maynard to "Pulling no punches: Andy Narell, arranger for *birdsong* Steel Orchestra, speaks on the 2014 Panorama Season", featured on When Steel Talks. See http://www.panonthenet.com/tnt/2014/invue/andy-narell-3-14-2014.htm

The Panorama Formula[3]

Arranger	Band	Year(s) and Tunes	Convention(s)
Anthony "Tony" Williams	*North Stars* *North Stars*	**1963** - "Dan is the Man," Mighty Sparrow **1964** - "Mama Dis is Mas," Lord Kitchener	"classical" - arpeggiated harmonies, contrapuntal passages, and modulations
Lennox "Bobby" Mohammed	*Cavaliers* *Cavaliers*	**1965** - "Melody Mas," Lord Melody **1967** - "Sixty-Seven," Lord Kitchener	"excitement" - rhythm breaks, varying textures, dramatic dynamic contrasts
Earl Rodney	*Harmonites* *Harmonites* *Harmonites*	**1968** - "Wrecker," Lord Kitchener **1971** - "Play Mas," Lord Kitchener **1972** - "St. Thomas Girl," Lord Kitchener	"power" - volume, fast tempos, syncopated bass lines, minor keys, montuno-based jam sections
Ray Holman	*Starlift*	**1969** - "Bull," Lord Kitchener	complex harmonies, melodies in the bass part, liberal reinterpretation of "mood" of original calypso
Clive Bradley	*Desperadoes (all except 1998)* *Nutones (1998)*	**1970** - "Margie," Lord Kitchener **1976** - "Pan in Harmony," Lord Kitchener **1977** - "Crawford," Lord Kitchener **1983** - "Rebecca," Blue Boy **1998** - "High Mas," David Rudder **1999** - "In My House," Emanuel Synette **2000** - "Picture on My Wall," Emanuel Synette	"clarity" - separation of parts in orchestration based on range and function; elevating the groove via repetition and layered, or interlocking, rhythms; melody-strum-bass foundational texture

The first Panorama, which was held during the 1963 Carnival, was organized by the National Association of Trinidad and Tobago Steelbandsmen and the Carnival Development Committee. In addition to the criteria that competition arrangements <u>must</u> utilize current popular calypsos, various additional – yet unofficial[4] – conventions for what

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[3] Table created by author with information drawn from a study by Aaron Zeigler titled *Challenging the Trinidad and Tobago Panorama Construct: An Analysis of Compositional Styles of Ray Holman, Liam Teague, and Andy Narell*, (DMA thesis, University of Iowa, 2015).

[4] The criteria for musical compositions are listed in sections 6 (Music) and 7 (Adjudication) of the "Panorama 2016 Rules and Regulations" published by Pan Trinbago (see http://www.pantrin-

judges and audiences expected to hear on the Savannah stage emerged in the first decade of Panorama. The early champions provided the foundational models that have been closely emulated by subsequent generations of winning arrangers.

The Panorama formula is a rubric that consolidates the compositional devices of several of the early first-place arrangers: Tony Williams's arpeggiated harmonies, contrapuntal passages, and modulations established the *classical complexity* convention, while Bobby Mohammed's arrangements, which featured rhythm breaks, varying textures, and dramatic dynamic contrasts, cultivated the *excitement* criterion. Earl Rodney demonstrated the ideal *power* of a Panorama tune by exploiting extremely loud volumes, by using lightning fast tempos, syncopated bass lines, minor key variations, and montuno-based jam sections in his best arrangements. Clive Bradley modeled *clarity* in his tunes by deliberately separating each voice in the band based on range and function and by "elevating" groove through the use of repetitive, layered, and interlocking rhythms.

Innovators

Throughout the more than 55-year history of Panorama, the competitive value for innovation within this formula has been ambiguous. There exists an unofficial-yet-clear set of expectations for arrangers relative to sounding "We ting" in their tunes: the appropriate music should be exciting, fresh, clever, energetic, powerful, and overtly "Trini" in spirit, yet not completely or radically original. In a sense, a "winning" arrangement is a conservative and faithful Panorama-style reinterpretation of calypsos and socas that are familiar to the Trini audience and that, importantly, adhere closely to the formula.

In an unprecedented move in 1972 (and again in 1973), Ray Holman composed and arranged his *own* original *tunes* "Pan on the Move" (1972) and "Pan on the Run" (1973) for his band, Starlift, to play at Panorama. In 1972, the band took third place – which was a significant achievement for the band and for Holman, given that the tune had not been composed by a calypsonian, but in 1973 they did not place nearly as highly and, as a result, Holman left the band after that last season. In Holman's case, his move toward original content was interpreted by calypsonians (namely, Mighty Sparrow), and other pan arrangers (like Clive Bradley, who'd followed Beverly Griffith as the arranger for Desperadoes) to be a calculated act of selfishness, a deliberate attack on "We ting". Holman's innovation has been characterized as a critical response to the decade-long monopoly that calypsonians Mighty Sparrow and Lord Kitchener had on producing tunes for Panorama, which had effectively and drastically limited the repertoire, sound,

bago.co.tt/Panorama/Panorama-2016). This manual identifies that "the selection must be any Calypso/Soca or Chutney Selection" that "has not been played by said steel band at a previous Panorama Competition." These are the only musical requirements for conventional steel bands.

and style of arrangements during that time. Holman's own tune – his own original calypso – enabled him to create and arrange music suited to his own vision of what a competitive steel band could sound like.

In the years following this innovation, other arrangers took up the own tune legacy with greater competitive success than Holman, but it was not until Phase II Pan Groove won with Len "Boogsie" Sharpe's "This Feelin' Nice" in 1987 and "Woman is Boss" in 1988 that music which was not originally composed by a calypsonian or soca artist, won Panorama. After Boogsie's success in the 1980s, own tunes were used by arrangers with mixed success (a few wins, some ties, and many 2nd and 3rd place results).

Table 1 Winning Own Tunes

Year- Tune
1987 - "This Feelin' Nice," Len "Boogsie" Sharpe (Phase II Pan Groove)
1988 - "Woman is Boss," Len "Boogsie" Sharpe (Phase II Pan Groove)
1991 - "Musical Volcano," Robert Greenidge (Desperadoes)
1992 - "Savannah Party," Pelham Goddard (Exodus)
2001 - "A Happy Song," Pelham Goddard (Exodus)
2005 - "Trini Gone Wild," Len "Boogsie" Sharpe (Phase II Pan Groove)
2006 - "This One's For You Bradley," Len "Boogsie" Sharpe (Phase II Pan Groove)
2008 - "Musical Vengeance," Len "Boogsie" Sharpe (Phase II Pan Groove)
2009 - "First in de Line," Edwin Pouchet (Silver Stars)
2010 - "Battle Zone," Edwin Pouchet (Silver Stars)
2013 - "More Love," Len "Boogsie" Sharpe (Phase II Pan Groove)
2014 - "Jump High," "Len Boogsie" Sharpe (Phase II Pan Groove)

Composer Andy Narell is among the arrangers who have taken up the own tune mantle in recent years. Like these other innovators, he has done so deliberately and unapologetically – and, moreover, with the passion and compulsion of someone possessed. As a solo jazz pan player and international band leader, he's had significant professional and commercial success. Paradoxically however (or maybe not), during his tenure as a Panorama arranger – and specifically during his time with the *birdsong* Steel Orchestra from 2013-2016 – his tunes have consistently failed to place anywhere near the top of the competition list, even when attempting to incorporate and adapt elements of the formula into his compositions.

"We Kinda Music"

> *A jumbie is a spirit. They say there's a jumbie in the pan and if it gets into you, you can never get rid of it. It's like a virus that you catch and you can't get rid of it for the rest of your life. I suppose it was like that with me.* Andy Narell, *Alive* (2011)

Narell was born in 1954 to a social worker in Manhattan's Lower East Side who ran an after-school music program for youth that included a small steel band. At twelve years old, he first travelled to Trinidad to play at Queen's Hall for the National Steelband Music Festival. A year later, Narell's father convinced pioneering Trinidadian tuner Ellie Mannette to come to the US to build instruments for his program, which marked the beginning of a life-long close friendship between Andy and Ellie. Mannette would go on to become a part of the "University Settlement" – a collective of Trini entrepreneurs who were centrally important to the spread of steel bands in the US in the late 20th century.[5]

After graduating from the University of California at Berkeley in 1973, Narell played and recorded for various popular artists and film and television composers, he formed his own record company (Hip Pocket, in 1978), and released his first solo album (*Hidden Treasure*, 1979). From 1981 to 1986 he released several solo albums on pan and he toured Europe and Japan with several other jazz musicians. He also returned to Trinidad to play in Panorama with Jit Samaroo and the Renegades in the late-1980s, which was when he began to study the techniques of the early Panorama champs like Clive Bradley, Beverly Griffith, and Ray Holman.

In 1990, Narell collaborated with the Our Boys Steel Orchestra to produce a music video that was premiered at Panorama the same year.[6] This video featured "We Kinda Music," an original composition from Narell's 1989 *Little Secrets* album that also subsequently appeared on the 1991 *Pan Progress* album released by Our Boys. "We Kinda Music" is also the title track from Narell's most recent album (2017). The name of this composition is a nod to Sparrow's 1976 calypso tune that was cited at the beginning of this paper; however, it is not an arrangement or cover, per se – it is originally composed musical material bearing the same title. Narell also used this composition as the basis for his 2014 Panorama arrangement for the *birdsong* steel orchestra.

In 1999, Narell became the first foreigner to arrange for Panorama when he composed the tune "Coffee Street" for Skiffle Bunch and he followed up his premier by taking the same band to finals again the next year with an arrangement of another of his originals,

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[5] J. Tiffe, *Tropicalism and the struggle for legitimacy: a history of the Steel Band Movement in American universities*, (PhD dissertation, Florida State University, 2015): 34-38.

[6] Andy Narell and Our Boys Steel Orchestra (1991) (see https://youtu.be/et_-c1HvldE).

"Appreciation." During this Panorama stint, Narell and Skiffle Bunch advanced to Finals both years, placing 8th out of 12 for "Coffee Street" and 12th out of 12 for "Appreciation."

After this, he took a 10-year hiatus from participating in Panorama, although he returned to Trinidad several times to perform, notably for another concert at Queen's Hall with the Trinidad All Stars in 2007. He also worked with 1980 Calypso Monarch, Willard "Relator" Harris, on the *University of Calypso* album project in 2009 before returning to Trinidad again as an arranger for Panorama in 2013, 2014, 2015, and 2016, with the *birdsong* Steel Orchestra. Since that period of time, Narell has continued to record and release albums and to perform around the world.

Table 2. Narell – Selected discography

*Hidden Treasure (*1979)
Stickman (1980)
Light in Your Eyes (1983)
The Hammer (1987)
Little Secrets and *Slow Motion* (1989)
Down the Road (1992)
Long Time Band (1995)
Behind the Bridge (1998)
Fire in the Engine Room (2000)
Live in South Africa (2001)
The Passage (2004)
Tatoom (2007)
University of Calypso (2009)
Alive (2011, five films)
Oui Ma Cherie (2015)
*Dis 1. 4. Raf (*2016)
We Kinda Music (2017)

Table 3. Narell – Panorama tunes

"Coffee Street" (1999)
"Appreciation" (2000)
"The Last Word" (2013)
"We Kinda Music"(2014)
"Pan Magic" (2015)
"Dis 1. 4. Raf" (2016)

Narell's discography (Table 2) and list of Panorama arrangements (Table 3) reveal two significant aspects of his method and persona as a composer. The first is his tendency

to reference or otherwise incorporate in his works Trinidadian musical idioms and themes related to the island's musical-cultural history. For example, the album titles: *Stickman*, *The Hammer*, *Down the Road*, *Long Time Band*, *Behind the Bridge*, *Fire in the Engine Room*, *University of Calypso*, and *Dis 1. 4. Raf* are all references to either people, places, bands, tools, and/or practices linked to the history of Carnival and popular culture in Trinidad. A stickman refers to a member of a *kalenda* stick-fighting gang from the late 19th – early 20th century, which is a tradition associated with calypso, Carnival, and the evolution of the steel band. An engine room is a euphemism for the percussion section in a steel band. Raf Robertson was an accomplished Trinidadian composer and musician. Narell's use of these references as titles of his works reflects his lifelong connection with and study of Trinidad's cultural universe.

The phrase "Pulling No Punches" addresses the second important aspect of Narell's approach to composition and arranging. It is the title of an article from a popular steel band blog site, *When Steel Talks*, that features an interview with him about Carnival in 2014. The piece highlights Andy's opinions about musical style, his position as a non-Trini arranger, and competition in the arts. The interview underscores Narell's confidence and pedigree as a composer and performer, which many readers have interpreted as arrogance. This – bravado, arrogance – is another important theme apparent in Narell's repertoire, as a second review of Tables 2 and 3 might reveal. The albums *Stickman*, *The Hammer*, *Fire in the Engine Room* mentioned above are all titles that reference important parts of the historical narrative of steel band in Trinidad, but they also index a literal pridefulness in musical practices and historical figures associated with the traditional and popular practice of it. Moreover, *Hidden Treasure*, *University of Calypso*, *Appreciation*, *The Last Word*, and *We Kinda Music* are all titles of albums or Panorama tunes by Narell that can be interpreted as self-referential and figurative, which reveals another dimension of hubris in his approach to composition for pan.

Narell's biographical and musical profile suggests that he is not only a successful composer and performer, but he has also cultivated a reputation as an opinionated historian-critic. As he indicates in the interview, he went to "war" in Panorama in 2014. And in addition to these fighting words, Narell employed various musical devices and manipulated the Panorama formula in an attempt to mount fierce competition in his piece, "We Kinda Music." Next, I present a brief descriptive musical analysis of this Panorama arrangement.

Pulling no punches

> *There are of course those who consider what I'm doing an attack on the culture and yet others who think that I really want to win Panorama but keep showing up "with a knife to a gunfight."* (Andy Narell, 2014)

The typical features of Andy's musical style, which are reflected in the Panorama arrangement of "We Kinda Music", include a tendency toward jazz-based harmonies and modal figures, cooler tempos, precisely orchestrated groove patterns derived from dance genres of the Caribbean and Africa, and pre-composed jazz forms. Apart from being played at a slightly downtempo 113 BPM, "We Kinda Music" contains a number of other formulaic elements in the diagram above, including 1) themes presented in standard Bradley-esque melody-harmony-bass textures, which is a feature of *clarity*; 2) multiple thematic sections and the use of chromaticism in the introduction, coda, and transitional passages, all of which index *classical* complexity; 3) low-pan melody voicings during upper-voice variations, which evoke *excitement*; 4) alternation between standard soca/calypso sections and Latin rhythmic structures during the jams, which is a manifestation of the *power* criterion. And, it is a unique form of the *own tune* – it is an original composition by the arranger, but it bears a title explicitly borrowed from an already-familiar calypso. These musical features of the arrangement align very closely with those of other winning Panorama tunes.

But, there are two significant musical elements of "We Kinda Music" that, although technically satisfy the Panorama paradigm, represent a dramatic reinterpretation of these formulaic criteria. As noted in an analysis by Ziegler (2015), the presence of rhythm breaks in cut-time – where the band drops out but the engine room continues to play, maintaining a consistent pulse structure for the groove – and modulations (of the chromatic and/or direct persuasion) are both important components of winning arrangements. And although "We Kinda Music" contains both rhythm breaks and modulations, Narell liberally reformulates how these occur in his arrangement by *combining* the two ideas. He achieves the rhythm breaking in the final two-and-a-half minutes of the nearly 8-minute piece after a metric modulation from cut-time to 6/8. Because the eighth-note subdivision remains constant during this transition, "We Kinda Music" breaks out of the cut-time rhythmic framework of Panorama by shifting smoothly into the slightly displaced compound Afro-Cuban groove. After this, Narell further plays with the listeners' sense of time by placing upper voice vamps and mid-voice strums on subordinate pulses before breaking triumphantly and briefly into common time and then modulating imperceptibly back into cut-time for the final restatement of the original thematic content.[7] In "We Kinda Music," Narell's strategy was to employ parts of the formula and keep them identifiable and audibly intact, while simultaneously exploding this template by creatively short circuiting the rhythmic and modulatory criterion.

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[7] "We Kinda Music," Semi-finals performance, Power 102.1 FM broadcast (beginning at the end of the first pre-composed solo section to the end; final ~3 minutes (see https://youtu.be/ofqjJteuGKc?t=5m).

The Paradox: "We Kinda Music" as a musical critique of "We ting"

What 6/8 time in a panorama tune? Is this carnival music or what? Even the noted and respected arrangers he mentioned won't do that @#$t. I do see some tourists wine to that time. Pretty soon our culture will think that jump-up means moving up and down like Riverdance. Culture first. Clichés define cultural traditions in our music. Knowing how to be creative with clichés is what define the innovators. Raymond Thurmond

Andy is an arrogant disrespectful fella. He can't step out of his box. He wants you to lower the rim because he too old to soca. Bugs

Remnants of slavery and colonialism are at work here. The truth is if Andy was not white there would be no conversation here. Andy would have been shown the door with a big foot flying right behind him. Andy is making a mockery of Panorama. I say send him to Antigua and let's see if he can tell them what to do with their music. Bugs

He is getting the credit where none is due. I too am very tired of this topic and as I have stated before, I would rather talk about some of the other more deserving topics and pan arrangers/musicians. Sweet and Sour[8]

As reflected in the quotes above, Narell's "Pulling No Punches" interview generated a vigorous online discussion about the inappropriateness of his jazz-based style for Carnival, about the Panorama formula and the importance of clichés in tradition and culture, about his age and integrity as a composer, about his racial identity, privilege, and role as a foreign arranger, and about past and current "greats" – arrangers more worthy of discussion. These comments further punctuate a dialectical relationship between the "We Kinda Music" and "We ting" ideologies.

In one sense, Narell poses a threat to the stability of Trini proprietorship and authority when it comes to Panorama. Many Panorama fans find his opinions about current problems plaguing the competition to be irrelevant or otherwise entirely inappropriate, given his status as an outsider – and an arguably privileged one at that. To others, his compositional style is an unwelcome mutation of typical Carnival forms like soca, an attempt to recolonize musical aesthetics by a foreigner, or a strategic act of war on the culture. Given this perspective, it is no paradox that Narell's commitment to the musical forms

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[8] Pulling No Punches: Andy Narell, Arranger for *birdsong* Steel Orchestra, speaks on the 2014 Panorama season, featured on When Steel Talks, March 2014 (see http://www.panonthenet.com/tnt/2014/invue/andy-narell-3-14-2014.htm).

of Trinidad and his fluency in the related cultural idioms has resulted in his marginal placements in the competition.

From another angle though, what Narell's kind of music generates is a profoundly musical critique of the 'We ting' ideology: that cultural ownership is a powerful illusion, which – in the case of the Panorama paradigm – might be working against the robust ramajay spirit at the very core of the Trinbagonian Carnival arts. An alternative way to perceive Narell's style and persona is that it embodies the innovative and subversive power of pan jumbie – a force that cannot be contained, controlled, or otherwise colonized. It blindly spreads, like a virus, to those who offer themselves over to it, regardless of in-group status or place of origin. More than simply a jazzy attempt by a foreigner to *capture* the spirit of Trini creativity in order to win a competition, "We Kinda Music" can be interpreted as an orientation toward Panorama in which the arranger served as a dedicated medium for the spirit of Carnival to articulate itself – paradoxically, in the same way the ol' time lavway chantwells ended their stick fighting kaisos with the heartless machismo of: "*sans humanité*."[9]

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[9] The term "sans humanité" is a standard refrain of the 'ol-time' lavway Kaisos – an important roots genre for calypso that predates modern Carnival traditions. By saying this phrase at the end of their extemporaneous em-ceeing, chantwells aggressively punctuated their messages with a "heartless machismo" to match the stick fighters competing for victory. (http://chutneybacchanal.blogspot.com). The term means: "without humanity."

NEW HORIZONS – FLORIDA STYLE: A MUSICAL ETHNOGRAPHY OF PANS DE LEÓN IN TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA, USA

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Adult musicking participation is rather distinctive in Pans de León. Members are adults who are close to retirement, or already retired, and have arrived at yet another turning point in their lives in which they have chosen to make steel band a meaningful component. These adult students shy away from self-identifying as musicians, are content with repeating musical phrases ad nauseam in rehearsals, and have copious self-deprecating jokes to share regarding their musical and learning abilities. Still, each student recognizes multiple motivations for, and delights in, joining the band. As noted by Christopher Small, "The fundamental nature and meaning in music lie not in objects, not in musical works at all, but in action, in what people do. It is only by understanding what people do as they take part in a musical act that we can hope to understand its nature and the function it fulfills in human life," (Small, 1998: 8).

Therefore, the purpose of this article is to explore the effects of community musicking on adult steel band learners; that is, what functions does it fulfill in their lives. Over the course of a three-year period, information was acquired through ethnography via participant-observation and interviews with all band members. Meaning, significance, and usefulness of musicking in Pans de León relates to community, diversion, and mental plasticity. With several decades of life experience, each student has a set idea of his or her learning style, accompanied by years of patterned behaviors, which have both aided and hindered their musical experiences. In this article I examine ways in which 'senior' music students improved their musicality and quality of life, experienced meaning, and strengthened social engagement and social bonds through their participation in Pans de León.

The steelpan is an instrument of Trinidadian origin developed in the 20th century. It was brought to other West Indian nations, England, the United States, and Canada with immigrants very soon after its inception. In its new locations, pannists and steel bands

have often taken on more localized adaptations and flavors while simultaneously working to honor the musicultural roots of the instrument. So called "Floribbean" culture gained strength when Miami, Florida became a major cruise hub after WWII, bringing Caribbean imagery and culture to Florida. Decades later, the Leon High School steel band program was started in Tallahassee, Florida in 1990 by Nancy Marsters, and by 2007, four sections of curricular steel band were taught daily at the high school. The adult, community steel band program was established in the spring term of 2007 (Image 1) by David Knapp, as an extension of the already existent Leon High School steel band activities, in order to (1) provide adults with a quality music education experience, and (2) foster strong ties between adult and high school steel band groups. Since 2007, adult band activities have expanded from the initial group Steel Crazy, to Pans de León in 2008 (Image 2), and Pandemonium in 2011.

Image 1 Original adult steel band (photograph by Julie Walker)

Within the United States, New Horizons Programs began in 1991 at the Eastman School of Music in Rochester, New York, and focus on music participation by older adults. The New Horizons concept has spread throughout the United States, which is understandable as the Baby Boomer generation reaches retirement. Adult music participation is quite different than conventional student involvement. Members of the band will not pursue careers in music or regularly gig; they shy away from self-identifying as musicians. Instead, musicking in the band focuses on aspects such as community, diversion, and mental plasticity. In the case of Pans de León, this New Horizons-style group focuses on non-Western music, which is less common among New Horizons-type ensembles, but culturally sensible in Florida.

Image 2 Pans de León, Adult Community Steel Band, Tallahassee, Florida, USA, circa 2013 (photograph by Janine Tiffe)

At the time of my research in 2013, participants of Pans de León paid $100 per semester to rehearse for two hours, once a week, for 15 weeks. At the end of the semester, the ensemble would perform in the high school steel band concert. Pans de León took an ever-important social/snack break in the middle of rehearsal, with snacks being provided weekly by the self-proclaimed "Duchess of Fun" (Image 3). Furthermore, members commonly shared "Tuesday Night Dinner" (Image 4) after rehearsal at a local restaurant. Logistically, the adult community steel bands also aided in supporting the high school steel band program through their Caribbean Dinner fundraising event; they sold tickets; designed, crafted, and set up décor; performed; and functioned as the cleanup crew.

In terms of repertoire, most of the selections played by the adult steel bands since their inception have either been Trinidadian calypsos or socas or American pop tunes. These choices are emblematic of maintaining the musicultural tradition of, and demonstrating respect for, Trinidad, while also incorporating the familiar. Notable rehearsal and pedagogical techniques included lots of repetition, enlarging music up to 4x the standard size (Image 5), students devising their own notation systems, making recordings in practice that were continually listened to for years, a reliance on outmoded forms of technology (e.g. CDs), greater frequency of accommodating mobility issues (Image 6), positive reinforcement, patience, and trust. For further learning opportunities, many students also participated in a so-called Summer Steel Series. These a la carte summer

Image 3 The Duchess of Fun
(photograph by Allyson Puckett)

Image 4 Tuesday Night Dinner
(photograph by Allyson Puckett)

were designed to help adult students have consistent playing time, so as to not lose all they gained during the school year. As well, these summer sessions allowed time for developing performance technique, and improved musicianship concepts to be more thoroughly explored without the pressure of an impending performance.

Image 5 Greatly enlarged musical print
(photograph by Allyson Puckett)

Image 6 Accommodating a broken ankle
(photograph by Allyson Puckett)

Ethnographic data obtained via interviews with band members provides further insight into issues of improved musicality and quality of life, meaning, and strengthened social structures. In terms of musicality and musicianship, many members wanted to learn to play pan because "it looked fun." Typically, this meant adult students had been to a high school concert to see high school students smiling and grooving to the beat while playing. Were members of Pans de León able to replicate the same lively vibe? It was something they worked toward. Often adult members would watch video of themselves performing and vocalized that they *thought* they smiled and moved *much* more when performing. They *promised* they had a good time, but they were concentrating so hard on not making mistakes. Ultimately, this periodically resulted in mandated movement from the director; choreographed portions helped the musicians make the correlation between feeling like they were having fun and showing they were having fun.

Adult students also cited a desire to develop their musical skills in some capacity – for example they wanted to improve their listening skills, understand how music works, or be able to perform effectively. They learned terms like counter-melody and composite rhythm. They learned how to construct an improvised solo. And albeit informally within rehearsal sessions, they analyzed music orchestration through awareness of what others around them were playing. Of course, unique learning styles were invented along the way to bridge individuals' knowledge base and needs with a more standardized and codified classroom-learning environment. For example, some students wrote the letters DFP in their music as a substitute for a musical rest ("Don't Fucking Play"). One member would listen to audio recordings of the songs while walking around a lake at night, and unbeknownst to her she would start waving her arms without realizing it (to achieve the kinesthetic sensation of actually playing pan). Before she realized what she was doing, others walking around the lake started giving her a wide berth because they were wondering what was, "wrong with this woman." She also reportedly received strange

Image 7 Pans de León performing at the Shriners Club in Tallahassee, Florida, USA (photograph by K. Ann Tiffe)

looks from other drivers while practicing on her steering wheel when in stopped traffic. A significant musical accomplishment for the group was "the gig" (Image 7)

In the spring term of 2013, Pans de León performed an entire hour set of music at the local Shriners club in Tallahassee, Florida. Not only did this require having exponentially more music in their functioning repertoire than ever before, but it also necessitated moving instruments to and from the performance venue *and* setting them up. This was a major achievement for the ensemble, as well as a unique one, resulting in the honorific (and horrifying) label "*the* gig."

Topics relating to quality of life centered on both the musical, (e.g. I wanted to learn to play a musical instrument, and I wanted a challenge), and the non-musical (e.g. I needed a better work-life balance). Members were very aware of the control they have over their daily lives in comparison to high school students learning pan. To quote one member, "If you picked songs that people objected to, you would hear about it right quick! You do not have a group of shrinking violets…You can't make adults do things they don't want to. Adults will give you the finger and walk off. Kids don't have a choice." Henceforth it was clear the membership *enjoyed* participating in the band, which was also evidenced by a significant contingency continuing year after year after year, and the existence of a waitlist for enrollment into one of the three adult groups.

One of the most prevalent themes relating to quality of life cited by members of Pans de León was a desire to keep the mind active through the aging process. In fact, one suggested name for the first adult steel band was New Neurons. According to one member, the take away is:

> You're never too old. You wanted to do it? Just do it! Stop talking about it. It's all about the adventure… I think it gives us hope, because those who are going [to practice], we are not going quietly into the night. We're fighting! We all learn, and help each other learn. It's not over just because you're aging. Some people think that.

The meaning of these activities is wrapped up in the implicit and explicit significances as identified by members of Pans de León, both musical and extra-musical. For example, "We can get 18 people in a room, listen to one another, and create something someone will stay in a room and listen to…[giggles]" and "I was pretty frightened when I came to the first class. 'I don't know what I'm doing. I'm not hearing what I'm supposed to be hearing.' I came home and walked around the kitchen with two wooden spoons, trying to beat out this guitar [pan] rhythm." In other words, members feel pride in their engagement with the learning process.

There was also an understanding of, and desire for, creating conversation through music. "I want the ability to feel something and be able to express it as part of the musical conversation, without there being stress involved with it" and "I view music as a form

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of communication where you give back. [The audience] may not want to hear it… [giggles].” Some members viewed performance as a gift, or a way of giving back, as a way to communicate with others, even culturally, and as an important outlet for personal creativity and expression. As articulated by one member “I wasn't exactly encouraged to have a voice as a female in a small town in the south. We would play classical music whether we wanted to or not, but I think I would have done much more if I expressed my needs.”

Members of Pans de León have been brought together by musicking, and ultimately they have built very strong social ties around the activity. While many did not anticipate such connections, and a couple people eschew them, the majority embraces them. “We laugh. We make mistakes and live to tell the tale. We have achievements together.” Some were surprised to find so many commonalities with other members, even in terms of political persuasion. One married couple in the band that were both retired law enforcement noted that they really did not have friends who are anything *but* former law enforcement, and they found it remarkable to have friends outside of this demographic. But as one member noted, “…the pizza and the beer don't hurt… [laughs].”

Indeed, it is not just about the music. It is just as much about “The peeps, man! The peeps! The peeps keep you coming back…you have to enjoy the people you work with; it's not just about the activity itself.” The social aspects were of equal importance to the musical features of Pans de León. They function as a collective and there is pride in the achievements of that collective. As one member noted, “I'm proud of the group. I can't do it all by myself, either. There's been a lot of help, guidance, and group type things.” This musical support system has infiltrated their non-musical lives to an extent that the phrase “my family” is used several times by members of the group in interviews when referencing others in Pans de León. A significant example of this family sensibility can

Image 8 Members of Pans de León in France (photograph by Janine Tiffe)

be illustrated in a summer trip in 2014, when nine members of the band traveled together to France for a 10-day cultural excursion (Image 8). We all know it is one matter to be friends, but traveling together is a different story, and traveling internationally is a great way to break up the family.

But that's not the end of the story. Instead, adult steel activities in Tallahassee, Florida are alive and well. Dozens of participants continue to grow as musicians and also continue to build community. As Small states, "Music is not a thing at all but an activity, something that people do," (p. 2). While the groups have cycled through five different directors since their inception, a significant core of the participants remain the same. To put it in *their* terms they are "Steel crazy…after all these years."[1]

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[1] To see a performance by Pans de León, visit https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a9upM-o_G6A to watch their performance of "Allah We" on 5 December 2016.

JAMMIN' ELEGGUA: JAZZ, WOMEN AND SANTERIA IN CUBA

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Introduction

Afro-Cuban rhythms were accepted in the early 1900s as an emblem of "Cubanness" by the dominant and largely European descended classes that had condemned them in the 1800s as "lascivious" and "wild", setting a precedent for a very fickle and ambivalent attitude on their part towards any activity that had to do with African descended people. This was even more evident when some kind of profit could be made, because it was at that time that these rhythms became a perfect device to face off the invasion by the foreign music that these ruling classes felt they had to oppose with something accepted by the Cuban people and turn a handsome profit in the process (Acosta, 2003: 9). Jazz was then considered by them to be an "alien" influence because it was associated with Africa, which opens the conversation on the paradoxical Eurocentric stances of the dominant classes of Cuba, who found themselves accepting and promoting an Afro-Cuban musical genre at the expense of an African-American one, even though both have African Diasporic roots.

The *afronegrismo* movement is defined by Acosta as a real appreciation by the Cuban cultural vanguard for the contributions of African descended people to Cuban national culture, among which music plays such an important role (p. 11). Just as Cuban music has influenced practically all U.S. musical styles, so has American music and more specifically jazz influenced various types of Cuban music, from danzón to ballroom rumba, from ballads to mambo and salsa. This phenomenon, call it transculturation, fusion, or crossover, has been a positive one and has enriched the music of both countries (p. 10). In the works of Roldán and García Caturla, for the first time practically all modalities of Cuban popular music, including ritual music of African origin such as *yoruba* and *abakuá*, were integrated in the symphonic domain. Both composers achieved an authentic fusion of the Afro-Cuban tradition and the European one, and although they did this outside the language of jazz, their work bears significant influences from it (p. 12). From that point on, the interplay between these genres from such different worlds has

created an environment that has opened up new spaces for Afro-Cuban expression that was otherwise limited to the approved state channels.

The presence of Caribbean musicians in New Orleans at the times and venues where jazz was born, allowed them to play a significant role in the emergence of an expressive and improvisational genre that recognizes its African roots and heritage. These and other musicians went on to create Latin Jazz, which then moved throughout the Caribbean to interact with each island's authentic music. The result has been magnificently diverse, and takes as many forms as there are genres and musicians. Yet, for all its revolutionary challenges to Eurocentric cultural norms, jazz remained a heavily male-dominated genre and discourse. If men who did not fit the male African-American standard found it difficult to find a voice there, female musicians were silenced entirely. This has not deterred these women, and instead it has obliged them to create their own spaces. Over time, an array of opportunities has become available to them, yet the jazz stage is still a challenging place for female singers and musicians to stand tall. There are some exceptional cases, where female jazz musicians have beaten the odds stacked against them with all the authenticity they can muster. Daymé Arocena is one of these artists who has gone beyond the repertoire of the expected to redefine what it means to represent your origins and identities. Disregarding boundaries and stereotypes, she has given a voice both to the everyday Afro-Cuban as well as to Santería, one of the most marginalized of Cuban religions.

With the inspiring figure of Daymé Arocena in mind, this article examines the how she and other Cuban female musicians have managed to successfully negotiate the sometimes problematic connections between jazz and the African diaspora, between jazz and Cuba, and between Santería together with other African diasporic cultural forms and the Cuban government.

Jazz as an African diasporic medium

When jazz is mentioned, some of the first terms to come to mind are "American", "improvisation", "jam sessions", and perhaps an "inexplicable phenomenon that is quite contagious" if one were to define it on the spot. But of course, there is much to be found behind these terms, and their history is never as clear-cut as it seems. In fact, it has not been long since the claim of jazz having African roots, and not purely American ones, began to be taken seriously. Joshua Vincent and Lydia Lindsey review literature that links jazz and the African diaspora, utilizing a theoretical construction borrowed from Benedict Anderson of an imagined community. Imagined, perhaps even virtual, because its members will never know most of their fellow members in any form. Although they experience no meeting or contact, in their minds they perceive themselves as part of a particular group which is socially, culturally, and psychologically connected (Vincent & Lindsey, 2017: 161) This approach to the African diaspora allows us to view its

meaning as a fluid one, based on imaginary and symbolic communities and the cultural and political constructs that their members call into being.

Such an approach allows an appreciation of the inter-relatedness of the jazz diaspora and the African diaspora. The African diaspora geographically and historically situates cultural, political, and social spaces that allow the support, negotiation, and shift of racial and national identities. This is true for the traveling African, the jazz musician of African descent, and the communities of jazzophiles who self-identity within American society and the world through the musical and spiritual components that are often overlooked by the dominant segments of society (Vincent & Lindsey: 160). Both diasporas rest on the premise that jazz and its people are inherently transnational, and it is in that transnationalism that its members can negotiate an identity beyond the limits of an American national identity or whitening of the musical discourse. Jazz then travels through the African diaspora, and thereby its music is altered along with collective and individual identities.

Since the enslaved were prohibited from performing their traditional African music, their musical expression changed and evolved to suit their oppressed situation. Although a systematic attempt was made to erase African musical traditions in the Americas, a number of these traditions managed to survive, some through blues and jazz. Stylistic changes in music have mirrored historical changes in the attitudes and social conditions of African Americans and the rest of the African diaspora (Vincent & Lindsey: 163).

A definition of past and present African diasporas can be found in Colin Palmer's conceptualization of 5 diasporic streams of African peoples. The first 3 streams constitute what he calls pre-modern African diaspora. He refers to the first stream as the one that occurred 100,000 years ago and involved major movements within and outside of Africa. The nature of this stream is controversial, because it has important bearing on the study of early humankind. The second stream begins around 3000 B.C.E. (before common era) with the movement of the Bantu-speaking peoples from present day Nigeria and Cameroon to the central, southern and eastern parts of the continent. The third stream starts around the 5th Century B.C.E. with the movement of traders, merchants, the enslaved, soldiers, and others to parts of Europe, Asia Minor, and Asia. It can be loosely characterized as a trading diaspora, with an uneven pace and varied texture and energy, facilitated by the Muslims after the 7th century.

These last two streams constitute the modern African diaspora, characterized by "racial" oppression and resistance. The fourth stream begins around the 14th century and lasts until the 19th Century A.D. and centers on the Atlantic trade in enslaved African people. This is the diasporic movement that is typically referenced in general discourse surrounding concerning the African diaspora and the transnational nature of African identity. The fifth stream refers to the period from the 19th Century after the end of slavery in the Americas until present day. It is characterized by the international migratory

movements of African people and people of African descent both within and outside the confines of Africa.

It is through the fourth and fifth streams that African diasporic cultures become embedded in jazz, with at least three significant impacts. The first impact occurs as part of the fourth diasporic stream, and involves a binary interchange between Africa and the New World on the part of the enslaved (Vincent & Lindsey:162). This impact is felt primarily at the level of the underlying structures and orientations that shape the outward manifestations of musical and communicative practices in jazz. The second impact unfolds in the interstices of the fourth and fifth streams and involves the social history of blues and jazz music in the United States and in African-American culture, blues being the music from which jazz and other work song derived genres originated. Jazz should not be thought of, however, as a successor to blues, but instead as a genre on its own that has followed its own trajectories in relation to the trajectories of the African diaspora. The third impact occurs in the fifth stream, and is characterized by jazz musicians' improvisational efforts to communicate with imagined African Diasporic communities. In this sense, jazz music serves an "essentially phatic", social, emotive, and metalingual agenda in calling imagined African Diasporic communities into being (Vincent & Lindsey: 164).

Among several reasons why some define jazz as uniquely American is a legal one: U.S. House of Representatives Resolution 57 of December 4, 1987 claims that African Americans have cultural ownership of jazz as a multifaceted art form that has given birth to cultural fusions and has become a true international language. Thus, jazz became an American National Treasure. The process by which this legislation was proposed and passed involved the elite Berklee College of Music which, in partnership with the U.S. State Department, saw this definition of jazz as an American phenomenon as a money making opportunity and a tool of diplomacy (Vincent & Lindsey: 166). By adopting jazz as a tool of diplomacy, the U.S. government could both bring this aspect of African American culture into the meta-narrative of what it means to be an American (p. 164), as well as de-emphasizing the African roots of jazz and emphasizing its American roots. While some considered this a step forward in terms of the official recognition of jazz, it came at the cost of a Europeanizing discourse. This whole process therefore takes on political significance in reconstructing the identity of African descended people (p. 166). House Resolution 57 establishes that jazz is a cultural phenomenon that promotes a broad spectrum of changes in society, identity, politics, people, and race relations based on the ideals of global equity in imagined African diaspora communities (p. 167).

In the current fifth African diasporic stream, jazz has entered a period of intra-diasporic transition, even within the African-American community (p. 172). Machito's jazz band was one of the first to self-identify as Afro-Cuban, acknowledging the African roots of their musical style and forcing the Latino and African American diasporic communities

to recognize their common African roots (p. 170). Fela Kuti pioneered Afro-Jazz, a style that emerged from the fusion of African American jazz and the melodies, rhythms, and cultural sensitivities of Yoruba land (p. 177). Louis Armstrong said "that if New Orleans was the cradle of jazz, the Gold Coast or Ghana as they call it, must be the mother," placing emphasis on the African origins of jazz. He also understood the feelings of inferiority that come with the otherness of Blackness, which could be in part deconstructed with jazz. As many of these musicians called out to their African roots, the dynamic went beyond the relationship between African Americans and the "homeland" to encompass an interchange between Africa and all of the Americas, to include a multiplicity of cultural flows and fusions between and among Afro-Latinos, Afro-Caribbeans, Afro-Europeans, African people in Africa, and African-Americans (p. 169).

In his conceptualization of the Black Atlantic, Paul Gilroy explains that a sense of identity is always becoming rather than being, and the imagined communities of the African diaspora accentuate this dynamism: "Since identity is non-static, growing, and "becoming", the African diaspora's identities of jazz musicians, jazz itself, jazzophiles, and general audiences are always in the process becoming while tied to national and racial roots" (p. 178). In a jazz performance, identities are enacted in the way the performer dissolves into the audience, in the way that they collaborate together in a creative process governed by formal and informal democratic rules where the performer assumes the role of storyteller (p. 179). Thus, the past in jazz is relevant to the present, invoking the idea of a living history where the African diaspora is the "cultural memory" while the jazz performance is a particular kind of living experience that stems from one's African diasporic consciousness, identity, and Blackness.

Lucumí, Yoruba and Santería in Cuba

Santería's roots undoubtedly stretch as far back as the very first encounter between the Catholic Portuguese, many of whom became renegades and went to live as Africans in West African communities along the Atlantic coast of Africa, and the Yoruba in the 15th century. The cultural fusions that ensued from that time onward and over the following four centuries of Afro-Atlantic enslavement included forms of Afro-Catholic syncretism. That said, one of the more recent strands of Afro-Catholic syncretic religion in the Americas can be traced back to 1850 with the arrival of one of several waves of enslaved Yoruba or Lucumí to Cuba (Sublette, 2004: 212). The religious practices that they brought to the island became syncretized and re-syncretized with Catholicism and other local spiritual traditions to become known as *Regla de Ocha* or *Santería*. Often referred to as a mixture of Yoruba and Catholic religions, it is worth pointing out that Santería implies more than a combination of the two. In fact, the practice of Santería can be considered a version of Yoruba religion with a veneer of Catholicism, incorporating Catholic forms, symbols, and rituals of as it sees fit. This type of syncretism and the pluri-culturalism and pluri-identification that it implies is a widespread phenomenon

across West Africa, where people see religions as not being mutually exclusive, allowing them to practice a number of religious traditions (p. 213).

Yoruba as a term refers to an ethnic group of some fifty million people who live mainly in what today is called western Nigeria and eastern Benin Republic, one of the most densely populated areas of the region and the world, and one of the major sources of the enslaved brought to the Americas. This term is also sometimes used to refer to particular subgroups of the enslaved in Cuba, as well as to some of their cultural practices. In Cuba, Yoruba is sometimes used interchangeably with the term Lucumí, apparently derived from the greeting "Oluku mi" in the Yoruba language, which could be translated as "my friend" (p. 207). The use of the term Lucumí is documented in written sources at least as far back as 1906, and, after the Cuban revolution in 1959, it became the term used to describe the form of Afro-Cuban religion described above, with the term Santería gradually becoming used more frequently for the same purpose (p. 208). Yoruba religious traditions are very numerous and diverse, and some varieties of this religion had also undergone a degree of syncretization in Africa with Islam, which has also been widely practiced in Yoruba land for centuries.

The Yoruba *orisha* are deities with complex personalities who become part of their practitioners' households in Santería. The term *orisha* is interchangeably used with the term *santo/a* in Cuba, which is indicative of how they have outwardly assumed a Catholic facade, normally attributed to the need for African religious practices to appear to conform to Christian norms in order to survive in the hostile environment of European colonial society and chattel slavery. The use of Catholic saints to represent the *orisha* is logical, since both roughly fulfill the same function as intermediate figures between the human and the divine. So, in the eyes of the enslaved, the saints could very well have appeared to be the Europeans' *orishas* (p. 214). In Yorubaland religion is non-hierarchical, non-standardized and non-dogmatic, which means that the personality, gender, and attributes of each *orisha* vary substantially from one community to another. Some of this diversity and indeterminacy has survived in the Americas, but in present day Santería, there is a strongly identifiable fundamental personality for each *orisha*. Each believer has a particular *orisha* who serves as their guardian angel. Believers do not choose their particular *orisha*, but instead they are called by their *orisha* to be assigned to them through a ceremony in which Orula, the keeper of the oracle of divination, informs each believer's godparent who their *orisha* is. While there are at least thirty-three *orishas* depicted in Havana's Sociedad Yoruba museum, this paper will mention four of them: Elegguá, Yemayá, Orula, and Ochún.

The identities of each *orisha* include characteristic colors, favorite foods, particular songs, rhythms, dances, and *ebó*, a specific animal which serves as their sacrificial offering. Sacrifice involves the release of blood, by which *aché* or "life force" is released (p. 215). Sublette offers the following descriptions of the four *orisha* selected as examples for this study:

Elegguá's colors are black. He is the trickster god, the opener of roads and the guardian of the crossroads He is always the first and the last to be saluted in a ceremony. Often represented as a child, he can appear as a mouse. He is rarely depicted in Catholic guise, almost always being seen in his African representation.

Yemayá is the mother of the world, goddess of salt water and the sea, protector of fishermen, and syncretized with La Virgen de Regla (a black madonna), she is one of the most popular *santos* in Cuba. Her colors are blue and white. Uses of these colors in Cuba are therefore not accidenta. Her dance is the undulating motion of the waves.

Orula is the keeper of the oracle of divination, Ifá, and his colors are yellow and green. *Santeros*, whoever their saint is, typically receive "La mano de Orula", the wristband of alternating yellow and green beads seen on many Cubans. Orula is the one a query is directed to when you consult a *babalao*.

Ochún, the goddess of love, beauty, and prosperity is syncretized with the Catholic La Caridad de Cobre, named the protector of Cuba in 1916. Women all over Cuba, of all faiths, are named Caridad. Her color is gold, just like Caridad de Cobre's dress. She is a *mulata* and she protects pregnant women, looking out for the well-being of sex workers. Vanity is part of her persona and she loves to look at herself in a mirror. She coats her lips with honey as an aphrodisiac to ensnare men. Her dance is sweet and seductive, and when she dances, she laughs. The goddess of fresh water, she lives in the river. Highly intelligent, she is the only *orisha* who is privileged to work with Orula in consulting the oracle Ifá. (pp. 215-216).

Santería is a religion where dance plays an important role and a ritual dance, or toque de santo may result in an act of possession. Such possession results in a *danza convulsiva*, whereby an *orisha* "mounts" a believer. The expressions of a particular possessed believer are specific to the attributes and preferences of the particular *orisha* who has mounted them, and spectators can normally deduce which *orisha* has been called by the behavior of the possessed believer (p. 231). While European "classical music" is based on the Gregorian chant, much of the world's popular music is based mostly on the African drum (p. 219). The drum is the instrument with which the practitioner calls down the *orisha*, flattering them by giving them what they like, or insulting them to provoke a response (p. 232). In Cuba, the survival of the drum has allowed African music to interact with European music in a way that has enabled it to thrive, despite attempts to eradicate African cultural manifestations in the Americas.

Afro-Cuban culture, censure and ideological shifts in Cuba

It is only fairly recently that the long struggle for the official acknowledgement and appreciation of Afro-Cuban culture has scored any significant and lasting victories. Afro-Cuban musicians had few opportunities before the Cuban Revolution in 1959, and even thereafter, it took some time before performers came to be accepted as they are today. This has been largely because of a colonial and neo-colonial ideology that sees anything African as antithetical to hegemonic notions of 'development' (Moore, 2006: 171), for which we can find documentary evidence in newspapers from at least 1910 onward.

Starting in 1959, efforts were initiated to attempt to study Afro-Cuban heritage through the promotion of folkloric ensembles and centers for artistic creation. Over most of the following years, however, official acceptance of these initiatives remained somewhat ambivalent. For example, while there was a timid acknowledgement of Afro-Cuban culture that prompted some curiosity, no serious research was undertaken. While centers for artistic creation were established, their work was not allowed to reach the general public; and while a limited amount of researchers and performers were allowed to address Afro-Cuban themes, they were only allowed to do so within a narrow range. In 1962, the government forbade the organization of interest groups based on 'race' with the intention of promoting national cohesion. While some of the impulse behind this policy was to challenge the racist practices that had promoted the separation of peoples of European descent from peoples of African descent on the island, these efforts also deprived Afro-Cubans of spaces to socialize and organize. Such spaces included *sociedades de color*, which also provided opportunities for musical training (Moore: 174). At the same time, there were public announcements by the government which claimed to valorize Afro-Cuban artistic forms.

During the early 1960s there was significant prejudice towards the drumming associated with sacred performances on the island. Many artists reacted to this prejudice by varying their repertoires and transforming Santería melodies to secular lyrics. A case in point is the Conjunto Folklórico Nacional (CFN) which was founded in 1964 to become the first state-funded artistic institution devoted exclusively to the performance of national folklore (p. 185). While this was an attempt by the government to support Afro-Cuban folklore, it also ended up limiting it to a particular European descended audience, with minimal compensation for the performing groups. To make matters worse, the population generally saw the music of the CFN as "*una cosa de negros*" further entrenching racist discourse. Some performers such as Eugenio Matibag considered the CFN to have been part of a strategy of containment and that folklorization was simply a subtle means "of cultural whitening and de-Africanization" (p. 187).

Afro-Cuban music and performance rarely featured on radio or television, including that of CFN, which produced one record in 1964 and the following one in 1975 (p. 190). Restrictions were also placed on literature that focused on Afro-Cuban music. The focus

of musical education in Cuba, according to Acosta, is Eurocentric, adopting a "colonial gaze" whereby material from Europe is seen as more sophisticated than that from the Americas and whereby elite Eurocentric "academic music history" completely upstages more inclusive and politically engaged "real music history" (p. 188).

Deeper and more thoroughgoing acceptance and expression of Afro-Cuban culture and identity only really began in the 1980s. The "Africa Decade" began as visitors to Cuba from the United States, West Africa, and the Caribbean who openly embraced African aesthetics, dress, and music had an instant impact on Cubans of color (p. 191). The discourse surrounding what it meant to be Afro-Cuban drastically changed and institutions to present and preserve Afro-Cuban folklore were established and given meaningful support. In 1986, the Wemilere Festival of Music and Dance with African Roots was first celebrated, while Casa de Africa opened its doors as an ethnographic museum that promoted the preservation of Afro-Cuban history and served a center for scholarly research.

Despite this new surge in Afro-Cuban cultural activity, support from the government was still less than enthusiastic. It was the reorientation of the island's economy toward tourism and foreign investment in the 1990s that finally allowed it to flourish. This has been particularly true in Havana, which houses the Conjunto Folklórico, Hurón Azul, and the Callejón de Hamel, all centers for Afro-Cuban folkloric performance which have among their goals to lessen prejudice and increase public acceptance of Afro-Cuban culture. While these economic changes allowed a wider range of representation, they also resulted in commercialization and the phenomenon of "pseudo-folklorism, autoeroticism, and *jineterismo cultural*". Many performers who had little to no contact nor interest in Afro-Cuban culture, now joined in for economic gain (p. 194).

On the other hand, the content and substance of Afro-Cuban performance became subject to a process of reinterpretation or "discriminating inclusion and exclusion" whereby attempts were made to adapt them to some idealized form of 'national culture'. This resulted in the rise of strongly subsidized artists who did not perform traditional folklore, but incorporated elements of it into performances that were deemed "high culture" (p. 195). According to Martínez Furé, this new cultural environment failed to come to terms with traditional prejudices on the part of the island's ruling classes toward its Afro-Cuban heritage, and the traumas and inferiority complexes that such attitudes have inflicted on all Cubans, especially those of African descent. In the end, the promotion of Afro-Cuban culture has been left to its everyday articulation in the everyday lives of the Afro-Cuban population (Moore: 196).

Music and dance are central to Afro-Cuban religious practice, since the *orishas* are said to love music and are attracted to venues where music and dancing occur. It follows that the official restrictions placed on Afro-Cuban music over the centuries automatically restricted Afro-Cuban spirituality, and vice versa. For example, during the 1950s, Afro-

Cuban "religious pop" music would have been one of the only means available to publicly acknowledge Afro-Cuban religious traditions without harassment, mainly because the propertied classes would not have understood allusions in the music to religion, but also because they tolerated such music in the name of maintaining "quaint" local traditions. (Moore: 200).

According to Communist Party doctrine, Cuban citizens have the right to adhere to any belief system, so long as it does not include anti-revolutionary ideology. For many years, this was far from the reality in practice, especially where Afro-Cuban religious traditions such as Santería, Palo Monte, Espiritismo and Abakuá were concerned, with the government condemning them as religions for the uneducated (p. 198). Those in power also recognized, however, the popularity of these Afro-Cuban spiritual practices and the important role they might play in mobilizing the population to fully embrace a new social order.

Musicians have resisted official intolerance and persecution by taking bold steps to incorporate more Afro-Cuban religious elements into their work and fewer Euro-centric stylistic changes. They did this by including sacred drumming sequences, Yoruba chants in their entirety, *toques* or consecrated rhythms, praise songs to Changó, Ochún, Obtalá, Elegguá, Ogún, and Ochosi, as well as *rezos* or non-metrical praise songs over drumming to Yemayá and Changó in their work (p. 200).

But the epicenter of resistance remains at the grassroots level, where practitioners of Afro-Cuban religions have continued their spiritual traditions, despite the vagaries of official policy. As Moore explains:

> Every *casa de santo*, every *cabildo*, every *Abakuá plante* represented a grassroots institution affirming the place of African religions within Cuban society. Their members demonstrated the Afro-Cuban community's desire for religious self-determinism and helped create alternate histories and memories that contested official discourse (p. 201).

Whenever the official stance has shifted to a more intolerant one toward Afro-Cuban and other forms of religion, the most immediate effect has been to suppress popular religious festivals, thereby closing spaces for Afro-Cubans to celebrate their spirituality (p. 203). In the later 1960s and 1970s, state policy shifted to a stance of "scientific atheism" and advocated for the renunciation of religion. The government no longer allowed anyone linked or openly identifying with a religion to be part of the Communist Party, thus limiting educational and career opportunities. Academia, psychology, philosophy, and political science were particularly impacted, with religion becoming such a taboo that it was no longer considered to be a valid topic for academic investigation (p. 208). This increased intolerance included physical harassment from state officials on charges such as possessing religious artifacts in one's own home. Most practitioners of Afro-Cuban religions found themselves obliged to practice in secret, publicly denying their beliefs in order to access professional and educational opportunities.

The official discourse of "scientific atheism" argued that Afro-Cuban religions were a result of "primitive" thinking, and that *santeros/as* represented an "earlier stage" of human "development" that had no place in the new Cuba (p. 210). At one point it called for their elimination for the sake of the country's well-being, claiming that the practice of Santería was a symptom of mental disorder, linking spirit possession to neurosis (p. 211). Paradoxically, the state also recognized the aesthetic value of the dancing, drumming, and performances associated with Santería. Therefore, while Santería could not be accepted or supported as a religion, elements of its practices could be secularized and acknowledged as some idealized or "purified" form of national folklore (p. 212).

In the later 1970s, attitudes surrounding Afro-Cuban religion began to change, especially because of new contacts established between Cuba and Africa and the return from Africa and elsewhere of Cuban militants who had gained a new appreciation for the cultural forms that they saw abroad, but which had long been stigmatized in the Caribbean (p. 214). At this time, the Center for Investigation and Development of Cuban Music (CIDMUC) was established. As in the past, some aspects of this new embrace of Afro-Cuban culture and religion were superficial. For example, in 1987 while the five-day visit to Cuba of Alaiyeluwa Oba Okunade Sijuwade Olubuse II, a representative of Yoruba religion in Nigeria, was heavily covered by the official media, and while it put the spotlight on Santería, Palo, and Abakuá in Cuba, the majority of the public still maintained and expressed discriminatory views towards Afro-Cuban religions and the topic was never broached again (p. 215). While the Communist Party's conflict with Christianity was due in part to the ties between Catholicism and the previous propertied elites, its suppression of Afro-Cuban religion can be traced back both to long-standing prejudices in middle-class Cuban society against African-influenced culture as well as long-standing prejudices in Marxist and other forms of Eurocentric philosophy against human spirituality (p. 222).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, a religious "boom" has ensued, with many Cubans publicly admitting to involvement in spiritual practices, thus rejecting the twenty-five years of overzealous regulation of spiritual life (p. 220). In 1991 the government helped to establish a Yoruba Cultural Society, dedicated to the conservation of Santería-related traditions. That year also witnessed initiates beginning to walk the streets wearing ritual vestments and necklaces that identified them as *santeros/as* (p. 221). Since 1992, religion has become a predominant theme in the dance music repertoire. Currently, state institutions consider all religions "national heritage", and allow many religious groups to earn their living by performing or teaching their rituals to visitors (p. 223). There remains, however, much to be done. While literature on Santería is now also viewed positively, Afro-Cuban religious performance is rarely featured on television or on the radio. The music of Yoruba and Kongo rituals has not been included in programs of study at national art schools and there is no initiative in place to perpetuate and disseminate such traditions more widely (p. 223).

A divisive effect has accompanied the economic and cultural shifts in Cuba. Many performances are held in areas designated for tourism and people with US dollars, at a price that very few Cubans with their Cuban pesos can afford. A socialist approach is now being replaced by a capitalist one. The government has also begun offering recording and production services to performers, to counter the appeal of more expensive facilities in London and New York. As a result, many artists are now based in Cuba, instead of travelling to record (p. 233). The work of previously censored and exiled artistes is now accessible to the public, as concern over sales has largely taken precedence over the ideological content of recordings (p. 234).

The state used to be the exclusive representative of artistes abroad, managing their earnings and determining the sale and distribution of their music. This was justified by the state's investment in artistes' training and its support in meeting their daily needs (p. 236). As a result, many artistes defected and established their musical lineages elsewhere. Since 1993, artistes have achieved the status of independent workers, whereby the state only earns a percentage of their income (between 10 and 50 percent). Since 1997, musicians and composers have been allowed to negotiate their own contracts with little state intervention (p. 237). While such contracts are mainly signed abroad, the state itself continues to pay most musicians working on the island in national currency, creating a severe disparity between those musicians who have connections abroad and those who do not (p. 240). The liberty to perform now comes with less economic support from the state, with the advantages and disadvantages this entails.

As for content, musicians have been avoiding political themes and seem to focus mainly on lyrical songs with personal content. Younger musicians tend to use extended jazz-influenced harmonies and complex rhythms, with a measure of African-derived aesthetic influence being featured prominently as well (p. 244). The large numbers of musicians in Cuba and limited access to studios results in artistes leaving the island. Once they have left, they often sing about their experiences at home. These artistes then achieve significant popularity on the island, contributing in no small way to Cuban "national music" which has become increasingly engaged in a wider international dialogue that includes the entire Cuban diaspora (p. 244).

Daymé Arocena: *Cubafonía para el mundo*

From this new environment, this new Cuba, emerges the figure of Daymé Arocena, a young singer from the Diez de Octubre neighborhood in Havana who is the embodiment of all of the elements that can be said to make a Cuban, Cuban. Integrated at an early age into the musical education system on the island, she graduated as a choir conductor, which was not an easy feat, because she struggled with a slight angle in her left arm that affected her movements and at first she stuttered. She quickly progressed, however, and became such a prodigy that she was leading big jazz ensembles at the age of 14.

Challenging the masculine stranglehold over jazz, Daymé created a small all-female jazz band called Alami. This was her response to her own question as to why she seemed to be the only woman in the group or on the stage. Alami became a feminine presence within a male dominated genre. During Alami's performance at the Jazz Plaza Festival in Havana, Jane Bunnet took to the stage with them, soprano saxophone in hand, yelling '*Qué vivan las mujeres*!' This encounter would transform that group into another called Maqueque, in collaboration with Jane Bunnet, who had already recorded many albums with the intent to showcase Cuban artists, including Daymé and four other female Cuban musicians as well as members of Daymé's family. With Daymé however, she seized the opportunity to give women a space, a presence, an instrument, and a full voice, as she incorporated other contemporary female artists into a genre that they had previously avoided precisely because of its male-dominated character.

Daymé's struggle has not only involved a confrontation with patriarchal domination, but also a confrontation with economic domination. While she never experienced the strict censure and restrictions that previously defined the musical scene as she grew as a performer, she has faced the increasingly limited space of opportunity for economic advancement encountered by all but the privileged few musicians under the capitalist system that is increasingly defining how music is made by Cubans. Her frustrations on this front nearly led her to leave the island. It was a message from Yemayá that encouraged her to continue performing in Cuba, and she did. When Jane Bunnet began working with her, however, Daymé was able to expand her horizons internationally, with Gilles Peterson becoming her mentor and producer. In fact, Daymé was widely recognized overseas long before Cuba realized the value of the gem that it had been refining over the previous years.

Utilizing her mastery of pure jazz improvisation, Daymé's performances seem to weave together a discourse whose textual threads challenge all preconceived notions of women, jazz, Cuba, Afro-Cuban identities and Santería. This is evidenced in the title of her newest album, *Cubafonía*, which is an allusion to *sinfonía* and Cuba, the sounds of Cuba, which she has been articulating since her very first performance, in the hope of connecting all of these elements that she considers part of her identities, as well as in the hope of rescuing them from prejudice, commercialization and cooptation.

Santería is present in many, if not all, elements of Daymé's performance, where she typically appears barefoot in traditional white garb and a headdress that is a statement of religious commitment (Sublette, 2004: 209). She begins every session with chants dedicated to Yemayá, her *orisha*, and Ochún. During the performance, she often kneels in mid-chant as a devotee, invoking the deities and speaking with the power of their *ashé* (Clark, 2005: 39). In a 2015 interview with *Havana Cultura* she states that she does not feel it is herself that performs, perhaps alluding to the ritual possession that is manifested through Santería dance rituals. Now equipped with her repertoire from

Cubafonía, she includes the piece "Elegguá" from that album in the introductory segment of most of her concerts. With her playful aura it seems only fitting that she invokes this trickster god who guards the crossroads with Yoruba/Lucumí chants. "*La rumba me llamo yo*" explores her courageous embrace of her Afro-Cuban origins and all that this entails. Following the lead of other Afro-Cuban musicians, she shies from confronting the racial question by using conventional confrontational politics, preferring instead to do so through recounting personal but powerful experiences and stories.

Clark (2005) proposes new perspectives on women in Santería, in which the religion embodies a feminist discourse that re-centers women in its practices and beliefs. By back translating Afro-Cuban terminology into the relatively ungendered Yoruba language, the strict gendering that the *orisha* and Afro-Cuban religious practice have undergone in the Americas begins to give way to the diversity and transgressive gender-bending that typifies the *orisha* and their worship in Yoruba land (p. 36). This is an important part of what Daymé channels in her performances, integrating details, definitions, explanations, and experiences of life in Cuba. In the midst of a celebration of heritage, chants and laughter, Daymé brings a humanity and presence to the genre that feels genuine and authentic, performing a tribute each time she sings, both to her *orishas* and to her Cuba.

Conclusion

It is truly a new era for Afro-Cuban music in Cuba, one that is liberating, but at the same time difficult to succeed in. Daymé Arocena has managed to do so, emerging from a two bedroom home that sheltered 22 family members. As a devotee of Afro-Cuban Santería, she weaves all of the elements of her life in Cuba into music that resonates all over the world. She has made a conscious effort to be authentic and unapologetic concerning her origins and identities in her work, and for the most part she has managed to accomplish this goal. Her albums are filled with the interplay of jazz, Santería, traditional Cuban musical genres and tropes, and a voice that transcends boundaries. It is in her live performance, however, where she truly shines, because, in the best tradition of jazz, she is a master of improvisation. In comparison, the albums seem somewhat softer and tame, channeling only part of the *ashé* she shares on stage. Daymé dedicates her songs titled "*Madres*" and "*Negra Caridad*" to Oshún, maintaining that all Cuban music starts in the living culture of its people, and in its own home-grown Afro-Cuban spirituality and music. Daymé says that she composes in her dreams, guided by messages from Cuba, Yemayá and Ochún. She also feels that there is little editing to be done to the resulting musical pieces, because they need to be treated as living things, deserving of their own authenticities.

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UNSETTLING RESONANCES
IN LITERATURE AND GENDER IN
THE GREATER CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND

SPIRITUAL CHRONICLES OF MAMI WATA IN MARYSE CONDÉ'S *WHO SLASHED CELANIRE'S THROAT?*

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> beauty that blinds the eye
> that breeds the insatiable thirst in a man's bosom
> slimy
> tender
> source of all woman's vice fire that burns in water (Acholonu, 1995: 67)

Catherine Acholonu's poem, "Water Women" triggered my initial interest on how Mami Wata is represented in West Africa, and further inspired me to seek a better understanding of who this "daughter of the river [the] goddess of the silent sea" (p. 67) is, what she does, where she does what she does, and how her actions affect the human societies where she is recognized as a goddess and worshipped. My interest was given a boost after listening to Victor Uwaifo's High Life song, "Guitar Boy", and blossomed into a desire to search for possible narrative representations of Mami Wata in African and African diaspora fiction. I became even more excited about this potential research area after taking some courses in Caribbean literature which featured discussions of the Caribbean version of Mami Wata and after traveling to Ghana on a fieldwork course. During the trip, I observed several shrines sites and billboard representations dedicated to Mami Wata along the coastal plains of Ghana. Some of these billboard representations of Mami Wata depict a dark-skinned female with a fish tail and long black hair, who holds a mirror or a brush in her hand as she rises majestically from the ocean. Further preliminary research revealed that majority of her devotees are women, and I thus set out to examine how women's lives are influenced by her in African and African Diaspora fiction.

In "Water Woman", Acholonu describes Mami Wata as a woman with great beauty who elicits awe-inspiring adoration and worship by both men and women. Her generosity and irresistible charm cause her followers to remain devoted to her; for those who worship her are said to be blessed with great success and material wealth in various forms.

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Her fluidity of shape and movement is emphasized in the representation of Mami Wata as a serpent, suggesting that she is a wise and wily female with the ability to both terrify and inspire people into worshipping her. She is also known for accumulating believers through visitations in dreams or by luring them into her underwater home and sending them back with special gifts, such as powers of healing and prophecy.

In the Volta Region of Ghana, there is a belief that life in Mami Wata's realm under the sea is more beautiful than on the surface of the earth. Allegedly, it is so beautiful that once experienced by a human, the individual who goes underwater typically does not want to return to his normal life. People who live close to the coastal and riverine areas visit priests who offer believers the opportunity to see life underwater. Mami Wata's ability to heal the sick also attracts converts who go to her with different types of incurable diseases that cannot be treated using traditional ways of healing and which are often traced to some transgression committed against her. For such a person, only Mami Wata can bring about healing. Thus, Mami Wata is not just a water spirit; she is a deity among other deities in the African and African Diaspora pantheon of divinities.

In the African derived religion Santería which is practiced in both Cuba and Puerto Rico, as well as in Candomblé in Brazil, she is called Yemayá or Yemoja after a Yoruba deity of the sea, while in Vodun she is referred to as La Sirène. Yemayá in Yoruba land is known as a powerful god or goddess of the sea, especially near the shore, where Yemayá supervises the equitable distribution of the abundant gifts of the oceans among the people of the world. When the Yoruba arrived in the Caribbean as both enslaved and indentured workers, Yemayá and other Yoruba deities came along with them. Yemayá's journey through the Middle Passage gendered her as a goddess of the ocean, motherhood, fertility, love, and family. Like water, she represents both change and constancy bringing forth life, protecting it, and altering it as is necessary (Cooper: 111). I have come to understand the importance of water as a foundation for life and a spirituality in West Africa. Chimalum Nwankwo identifies the sea as a paradoxical element that both inspires both fear and enlightenment in many West African belief systems (p. 47).

Though she has never birthed children herself, Mami Wata, as a manifestation of Yemayá, is still a mother-figure to many of her believers. Some believe Mami Wata to be their lover rather than mother. As a lover or mother, she is known to provide her worshipers with spouses, children, material wealth, good looks, and good fortune. Many communities in West Africa associate Mami Wata with wealth, because it is believed that she blesses her worshippers with prosperity. Wealth can be material possessions or sometimes children, depending on the needs of the believer.

The most common image of Mami Wata is that of a gorgeous woman with long black hair and a snake encircling her upper body. This depiction is often mis-attributed to images of a woman with Indo-European or supposedly 'non-West African' facial features and a West African skin tone, but Mami Wata's features are also commonly found

among many West African ethnic groups, such as the Tuareg and Fulani. According to Drewal, this image is based on a famous chromolithograph of Maladamatjaute, a Samoan snake charmer, that was circulated all over the world in the 1880s. The dominant discourse on the origins of the image of Mami Wata claims that West Africans appropriated Maladamatjaute's image to represent their concept of Mami Wata. Drewal remarks that, "Remarkably, this image symbolized the exotic other for two vastly different cultural areas in the world: she was a mysterious, sensuous Oriental snake charmer for Europeans, but a European water spirit for Africans" (p. 170).

I argue that Drewal neglects the fact that for centuries before to the 1880s, the idea that Mami Wata possesses a snakelike body was common throughout the Afro-Atlantic. Thus, it is possible that this contemporary image traces its roots to West Africa rather than Samoa or to both. I argue that further research needs to be done to determine whether the images of Mami Wata now portrayed on billboards and in books can be attributed exclusively to one particular source. In my opinion, it makes much more sense to see the predominant depictions of Mami Wata today as emerging from a multiplicity of images engendered by the creolized colonial encounters between peoples of African and non-African descent in the Afro-Atlantic world.

In my research concerning how women's lives are influenced by Mami Wata, I have found Maryse Condé's representation of Mami Wata in her novel, *Who slashed Celanire's throat?*, particularly helpful, especially in the way that she draws from popular beliefs to evoke the deity and the interplay of influences to and from the deity and her female protagonist. I must emphasize here that the scribal representation of Mami Wata in that novel and others does not imply that the main characters are passive vessels or embodiments of the goddess, but instead that there is a complex interaction between deity and protagonist. For example, last year Liberian American author Wayetu Moore published her debut novel titled *She would be king*. The story follows the main character Gbessa, a village witch with long red hair, who uses her gifts to promote the emergence of a new Liberia. In her youth she is cast out of her Vai village, and left to live in nature, which takes good care of her. Gbessa loves going to the lake. Her long red hair is enchanting. Her gift is immortality which allows her to help protect her people. Like Mami Wata, Gbessa is powerful yet infertile. Although Moore has confirmed that Gbessa is not Mami Wata, one can argue that the protagonist interacts in multiplex ways with the goddess, just as does Celanire.

Celanire is the main character of Maryse Condé's *Who slashed Celanire's throat?* who, throughout her difficult life, never allows herself to be defeated. She leaves Guadeloupe to run an orphanage in Ivory Coast on a revengeful quest to find out who was involved in the attempt to kill her as a ritual sacrifice at her birth. As a baby she is found dead with her throat sliced open, but she is revived by the town's doctor. She empowers women to explore their spirituality, sexuality, equality and pursuit of education. When she finally achieves her goal, Celanire settles back into her home in Guadeloupe telling

Thomas, her husband, that all she needs to do now is to be a "good mother" (p. 232). Celanire is compared to Mami Wata by other characters in the novel, and she is described as a woman of immense beauty: "Her admirers compare [her eyes] to stars, diamonds, carbuncles, and other clichés. Her breasts hovered on the edge of her bodice like two birds eagerly awaiting flight" (Brand: 131). Her eyes make other characters feel bewitched or under a trance while in her company. Allusions are made to images of water and fire when others are in Celanire's presence. "Her eyes, which were burning into him, contradicted the platitudes coming out of her mouth" (Brand: 15). Later in the novel when she tries to seduce Hakim, her touch is described as "a trail of fire on [his] leg" (Brand: 42). Celanire also appears to alter her appearance as she sees fit in the eyes of each of her serial 'victims'. For example, when bewitching a well-off suitor, she appears as coiffed and garbed in pertinent attire:

> Very black of skin and whose hair was not crinkled but straight, brushed into a chignon and twisted into a long braid as thick as your arm. Dressed in the European manner, a black silk polka-dot scarf was wrapped around her neck. Her lips were painted in full mauve, her eyelids blue. The oblate, who was the talk of Adjame-Sante, looked like a hetaera or female companion of upper-class men" (p. 14).

Celanire is an Afro-Caribbean woman with foreign features. She has travelled the world, and learned to dress in the latest fashion. She is so flawless that people do not want to believe a woman can attain such success without assistance from others. Her charms leave everyone in awe.

In the Caribbean as in Africa, Mami Wata is often rendered as holding or alongside snakes. The snakes are said to reflect how Mami Wata can control and manipulate her devotees. Consonant with this representation, in a scene from the novel, a nurse is convinced Celanire can shed her body, as a snake can shed its skin. One late night while Celanire is on her revengeful quest, a young girl enters Celanire's room. The girl unexpectedly finds, "a little heap of soft, shapeless flesh and skin in front of the wide-open window. … [Celanire's] mouth smeared with blood [she] was under the spell of a powerful aawabo" (Condé: 75).

Many people in the town believe that Celanire is a horse 'ridden' by a powerful demon, and that under her scarf is a mark to prove that she is possessed by an evil spirit. Frances Henry notes in Reclaiming African Religions in Trinidad:

> the deities are free to choose their "horses", and very frequently individuals become "overshadowed" with a power. They do not fall into the deep trancelike state of active spirit possession but may become dizzy, fall down or shake violently for a few moments and then return to normal. When this occurs, it is said to be a power trying to find a "horse" to settle upon (p. 8).

I argue that Celanire is possessed by a spirit, but not an evil one. Mami Wata is known to be as calm as she is wild. Celanire is the most beautiful woman in the town, but after

the spirit completes its final revenge on her father in Peru, she begins to look her age, "her brow was covered in sweat, and her body was as limp as a rag doll" (Condé: 220). She has nothing left to do, and wants to return to her home in Guadeloupe. Spirits possess bodies to fulfil tasks, and once they have done so, they can return to the spiritual word. So, the questions that continue to emerge are: Who manipulates whom? Are spirits good or bad? and if Celanire never allowed her Mami Wata spirit to 'ride' her, would she ever have been able to achieve her revenge?

Representations of Mami Wata continue to appear in African and Caribbean texts. The multiplicity of these representations allow readers to gain different perspectives on women's lives, in their various temporal, spatial and psychic contexts. Maryse Condé leaves her readers with a desire to dream and journey towards the spiritual world, and to reconnect to their African origins by having Celanire return home. Many African descended women suffer intolerable losses, and mourn in different ways, but through their connection to spirit, they still manage to survive and even thrive. Mami Wata, as I have shown, manifests a perseverance that reflects spiritual and cultural traditions among African descended women, which allows them to face their challenging situation courageously.

Misty L. Bastian claims that:

> there is something compelling about how the discourse of spirit/human interaction relies on metaphors of kinship and alliance. In the grip of powerful feelings of alterity and thinking that their lives are out of control, Igbo- speaking people turn to the foundations of their social experience to socialize and connect with these others. (p. 131).

This kinship between the spiritual and human world is a fruitful source of questions and answers, as well as comfort and a discomfort, to African and African descended people. The use of Mami Wata in novels such at Maryse Condé's *Who slashed Celanire's throat?* dramatizes the importance to women in the African diaspora of the dynamic and sometimes problematic interplay among natural, social, cultural, human and spiritual forces.

Condé's depiction of a powerful female protagonist such as Celanaire in her novel in dynamic interaction with mythical images of Mami Wata affirms Gay Wilentz' understanding of how Caribbean women writers' fictional depiction of women as achievers, educators and activists in both the cultural and spiritual realms unsettle the narratives that marginalize and silence women and challenge the limitations placed on their full participation in society:

They are the connection between the past and the future for their children and families. This is important because African heritage is rarely taught in some schools, and students of all cultures should experience this cultural connection. Oral traditions and folklore through familiar experiences brings out the myth of their African tales. This expansion of knowledge of self-representation and spirituality, is essential to using their writings

as a method of uncovering and recovering their collective past. (Wilentz: 235)

The novel shows that through their spiritual and cultural agency, African descended women such as Celanire can and do participate in the creation and maintenance of spaces for women to assume control over their bodies and their lives. Condé purposefully reiterates in her narrative the importance of the spiritual world in the lives of African women, supporting and checking women's desires and aspirations to ensure that they function not in the service of the individual for personal glory, but instead in the service of their communities, just as Yemayá ensures that the abundant riches of the sea are fairly distributed to all humankind.

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THE FEMININE AND INSULARITY IN J. M. SYNGE'S "RIDERS TO THE SEA", DEREK WALCOTT'S "THE SEA AT DAUPHIN" AND THE GROUNDWORK THEATRE COMPANY'S "THE FALLEN ANGEL AND THE DEVIL CONCUBINE"

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Introduction

The feminine experience in the Caribbean is its own form of insularity. Insularity, as it is commonly defined, is a generalized ignorance of ideas, idiosyncrasies or cultures outside of a particular island. Although British insularity is often a prime example of this phenomenon – manifested in traveling narratives – that form of insularity is also a colonialist effort. In that sense, British insularity is not successfully implanted or exactingly reproduced in territories outside of Great Britain. Instead, due to colonization, different insularities – aside from that of the colonizer – arise as a very unique characteristic of the Caribbean basin.

The physical image of the island is linked to the desire for conquest. In "The island writes back: discourse/power and marginality in Wole Soyinka's *The swamp dwellers*, Derek Walcott's *The sea at Dauphin*, and Athol Fugard's *The island*" Garuba argues that much of the vocabulary used in traveling narratives, which can be attributed to islands, is feminine in nature. For instance, virgin territory and secluded, blank, or empty spaces suggest the desire to occupy in relation to foreign or outside presences. Garuba writes:

> For explorers, islands have always been objects of desire, the blank spaces in the vastness of the seas for which the questers long in their sojourn to bring under the cartographic system of the map and render them amenable to discursive control. The explorer's narrative, always pointing from the center to the islands located at the margins of the seas, is a narrative produced by the center, for the center and of the center. (p. 61)

As a result of this centralized power, the islands in the Caribbean all share legacies of enslavement and the perpetuation of the foreign invader through language. However, the way the islands themselves have developed to be culturally distinct from one another is worth noting. In this article, I want to use this aspect of insularity – uniqueness – to discuss how these insularities are manifested through female characters in John Millington Synge's "Riders to the sea", Derek Walcott's "The sea at Dauphin" and "Fallen angel and the devil concubine", which is a collective collaboration between Honor Ford-Smith, creative founder of Sistren and the team that worked under the sponsorship of the Groundwork Theatre Company in Jamaica.

John Millington Synge's "Riders to the sea"

According to Remy Leder, the island is still the object of desire to the traveler or the explorer, but it is also the traveler's demise. Therefore, it is not strange to relate this notion to femininity and the female body when the figure of the traveler is assumed to be masculine. In John Millington Synge's "Riders to the sea", Maurya becomes the embodiment of the island. She is an overseer of sorts, for she has known nearly everyone who has died at sea, including her sons, Michael and Bartley. Her own life is parallel to the immobility of the island, to the point that she displays a calm resignation due to her old age rather than despair:

MAURYA: *(raising her head and speaking as if she did not see the people around her:* They're all gone now, and there isn't anything more the sea can do to me.... I'll have no call now to be up crying and praying when the wind breaks from the south, and you can hear the surf is in the east, and the surf is in the west, making a great stir with the two noises, and they hitting one on the other. I'll have no call now to be going down and getting Holy Water in the dark nights after Samhain, and I won't care what way the sea is when the other women will be keening.

(To NORA): Give me the Holy Water, Nora; there's a small sup still on the dresser.

Going beyond Maurya's relationships with her daughters, one can also observe how Synge discusses the influence of Catholicism in Ireland (Holy Water) in juxtaposition to paganism (Samhain). This is also comparable to how Christianity, in the form of either Catholicism or Protestantism, has shaped the lesser Caribbean.

Synge's constant references to the Celtic tradition are useful in determining to what kind of insularity readers will be exposed. As opposed to what the traditional travelling narratives tend to imply, Maurya's island is not just any random empty space. The relationship between the island and its inhabitants provide that insularity, or that glimpse into island life, that goes beyond the notion of occupation. Thus, Remy Leder states:

Throughout this battle for Bartley's life, Maurya employs rhetoric characteristic of the oral tradition-a tradition that had lived much longer among the Celts than other European populations. Maurya, heir to this tradition, wields words in a way

no "modern" woman can. Her language is not easily dismissed. It has shape and surface; it is "hard" and "dark" and, as Maurya hints, should have the power to "hold". (p. 211)

Both Maurya's role in the family and her relationship with the sea are almost interchangeable in the sense that both prove to be unwavering and resilient to the passing of time and the sense of loss. This creates a kind of insularity pertaining to Ireland's colonial experience. Because colonialism is an exercise in power and control over what is deemed a lesser subject, using women as the characters brings out that suggested meekness.

Nevertheless, the point is not to argue that Synge might have been sexist, but to highlight the resilience of women despite seeing their role in paganism diminished due to the imposition of dogmas. Remy Leder further asserts:

Maurya's focus is on "this place", the island. She knows it intimately-its winds, its graves, its portents. She knows the amount of turf necessary to keep a fire alive, and the way a drowned son will look when he has been floating on the sea for nine days; she knows the long history of her own family-mostly a litany of death. Her knowledge is deep, but sharply limited to the island. In fact, during the course of the play, Maurya's world becomes progressively more constricted. (p. 208)

Therefore, Synge upends the relationship between the island and the feminine being objects meant for others to conquer and offers a new prism through which insularity can be observed and appreciated without power and masculinity as direct influences. "Riders to the sea", or one of Ireland's oldest, prominent dramatic plays, is a reflection of Synge's sometimes romantic fascination with island life. The isolation of the island as a setting for this one-act play is effective in conveying insularity because it highlights the role of the matriarch of what seems to be a typical Irish family who are fishermen and engage in other forms of trade. Nevertheless, the news of a masculine dead body washed ashore serves as a form of catalyst which affects these women who have outlived the men who have gone off to the sea to provide for themselves and their loved ones.

Since the isle of Inishmaan served as an inspiration for "Riders to the sea", it can be inferred Synge was fascinated by islands and insularity. That he chooses an almost all-female cast is important to note because it changes the concept of who is actually the provider within a different cultural landscape. How death is dealt with in the play also matters because women, being considered as life-givers, are expected to have a deeper understanding of the life cycle.

Derek Walcott's "The sea at Dauphin"

"The sea at Dauphin" is a standalone piece in which Derek Walcott integrates the Caribbean experience in ways that do not clash with the Irish experience Synge means to

illustrate. Though it has been already debated whether or not Walcott somewhat plagia-rizes the works from which he draws inspiration, it is certain that Walcott does not try to mimic postcolonial Ireland. The absence of the feminine in the play, from the cast to the plot itself, is evident. Not only is the gendered difference palpable through Walcott's casting choices, Walcott also readapts how insularity is viewed from a more masculine stance, so as to depict Caribbean islanders as motherless.

The sea to the islanders is a foreign entity which resembles more the colonizer than the homeland, so the island becomes more akin to the island of traveling narrative – a space with no markers or no names other than what the former slave has grown to know:

> AFA: The sea is very funny, papa. But it not making me laugh. Some say this sea is dead fisherman laughing. Some say is noise of all the fisherman woman crying. Sea in Dauphin never quiet. Always noise, noise.
> [Pauses. Spit in the water. He leaves AUGUSTIN to fix the canoe and stands up over the old man]
> It will not make you laugh, old man, every night it getting whiter, and the birds running hungry on the rocks by Maingot side. (pp. 57-58)

In *The sea at Dauphin*, the island is not the static, eternal mother or the place one can call home. Reminiscent of Glissant's thought, Dauphin, as imagined by Walcott, is a place where both the concept of the womb and motherhood are nonexistent because the islanders have been uprooted from the homeland, or Africa as it is mentioned in the script. In the play, the fishermen regard the island and the sea as their prison where their identity is framed by poverty and religion endorsed and encouraged by the colonizing forces.

Garuba argues that the island is not really a point of origin in *The sea at Dauphin* even though ordinary life is explored:

> Derek Walcott's The Sea at Dauphin presents another picture of the island as a diasporic home, a new home after the "dispersal". Though the "dispersal" can be seen as a historical pre-text, this history is not dwelled upon. What is explored is the quotidian lives of the islanders in their own island home, away from the col-onizer. (p. 66)

Walcott's cast is male, but men are still the providers. However, it is implied that Dau-phin is a cruel place (or a mistress) thus, the place itself does not let them prosper. Dauphin as a collective, especially in the eyes of its main protagonist Afa, cannot im-prove because of colonialism and the notion that "God" is "white". Nevertheless, it is important to point out that the struggles of island women are virtually absent from the play. Any mention of women throughout the play are related to how relevant the femi-nine presence is to the men involved, mostly as wives, mistresses, or sexual partners. There is no sense of nurture as part of the insularity and the feminine experience of Dauphin because, as Afa himself states "he does not have and does not love woman"

but it is not found anywhere else in the script that he has not known a woman in physical or sexual terms. In Dauphin, the women suffer, but it is only through the masculine experience that this suffering is made real.

The Groundwork Theater Company's "Fallen angel and the devil concubine"

The end-product of an improvisation, "The fallen angel and the devil concubine" is not only about the portrayal of Caribbean women, but the racial tensions which arise between them. One must make note that the white (also mulatto or colored) and the black experiences in the Caribbean differ from the African American experience of race, and that it is not a good idea to utilize the latter as a point of reference when discussing why the two women have different outlooks on life, not only because of their gender, but also the color of their skin. Similar to "Riders to the sea", "The fallen angel and the devil concubine" also addresses how ownership of property is handled differently when the inheritors are women. Throughout the play, it is implied that neither of the tenants in an old, derelict mansion is the legal owner for the sake of being women. Instead, one claims the mansion on grounds of her aristocratic lineage, while the other is a free woman who has been left the mansion after many years of service.

Each female character plays a duplicity of roles. Katie, who claims to be Lilian, is both the representation of the former white, privileged female and the dispossessed woman who can pass as white. Her outward "whiteness" in the play is not a symbol of superiority or prosperity, but of the fragility of what it means to be white in the postcolonial Caribbean. Lettie, who is black and a former slave, no longer shows deference to any white person as she claims the house as her property. Like Maurya, Lettie also appears to have an ancestral connection more tangible in the form of spirituality than Katie's familial ties ever appear to be. What is more interesting about Katie is that she attempts to hide both her true sense of self and her suffering through language. This resonates with the idea that women in the Caribbean are the object of the colonizer and are thus unreliable when it comes to bringing about equality between the genders and races.

In the scene I use below, to be a white woman in the Caribbean signifies the inability to shift or move forward from being a mistress to an ordinary woman with no title, and to be a black woman means that having no title is the very definition of existence. However, I feel one is no less repressed than the other. Not only are black women oppressed by their condition as slaves, white women are an afterthought, regarded as irreparably dependent on men. These circumstances are evident the moment Katie and Lettie see each other. The former assumes the latter has come to be "the help", but the latter views the condition of whiteness as ethereal since she is no longer a slave:

> KATIE: Good day.
>
> LETTIE: *Yuh nah go tek set pon mi in yah today, duppy or no duppy… damn white duppy.* (Brandishes cross.) *Come out! Mi seh, come out! Yuh nuh have no need a di house no more…*

KATIE: (Exits room and crosses center pursued by LETTIE.) What are you doing? Don't be silly. I am not a duppy. See? Just flesh and blood. Like you.

LETTIE: *Weh yuh come haunt mi fah? Mi never mean fi disturb yun. Shelter is shelter.*

KATIE: That's what I say too. No need to be afraid of me.

LETTIE: *Well, if yuh a nuh duppy, yuh a trespasser den, cause mi nuh give you no permission fi come inna dis house. Either one, mi seh yuh fi come out! COME OUT MI HOUSE!*

KATIE: Do you really live here? So do I. What a lovely coincidence! I was wondering where I could get help in the area, and here you are: right on my doorstep, so to speak. I really desperately need someone to help me around the house: these young girls just don't know what a day's work is and I was wondering if you would be interested…

LETTIE: *Fallen angel! Dat is wat. If yuh a nuh duppy, yuh a fallen angel.* (p. 245)

To be a fallen angel might also indicate how white women's struggles are hidden under the guise of their colonial status. As it is later revealed in the play that Katie fell in love with a black man and her family shunned her for it, her situation bears a resemblance to Walcott's running theme in *The Sea at Dauphin* that God is white, thus the oppressor is white, and where there is whiteness, there is poverty. Katie no longer has a male figure of importance in her life (her brother Lawrence), and she also stops being in a higher position than the black man as "his woman".

Throughout the play it is often mentioned that Katie might be psychologically compromised, so her situation is no better than Lettie's for being white and most of the slurs come from Lettie and are directed at her person regardless of whether or not Katie pretends to be mentally unfit:

LETTIE: *But, Katie, bearer nuh ride horse.*

KATIE: It wasn't really a horse… It… it was a mule.

LETTIE: Mule?

KATIE: Yes, a fair man… not as fair as me, but fair… on a white mule.

LETTIE: *A who yuh tek fi idiot, Katie? A you write di letter an put it in deh. But affidavid inna yuh carahu. See it yah! Affidavid an writ!*

KATIE: Remember I have papers, too, you know… Real papers, not like that rubbish… The bearer brought the title to the place for me today. He left it when he brought your letter…

LETTIE: *Is dat a fact? Mek I see it.* (LETTIE enters KATIE's room.)

KATIE: I don't have to show it to yuh. *Is none of yuh business.* (p. 268)

It is necessary to underscore this difference between the two women because it is implied that Lettie can derive her strength from her belief systems and her ancestors

whereas it appears that Katie has nothing of the sort. However, this does not mean that Katie's struggles as a white woman in the Caribbean are no less important or that they are to be overlooked. At the heart of Katie and Lettie's relationship – because there is no longer a power dynamic between them in colonizer/colonized terms – insularity is defined as both the presence and the absence of the female struggle in the Caribbean. Finally, if one were to somehow erase Katie and Lettie's circumstances and still look at the rest of the play as an ordinary picture of the Caribbean or what to expect from island life, one would still end up with the quintessential element of the traveling narrative, which is empty space. But, since the female characters are indeed necessary to explore what makes the phenomenon of insularity so unique to the Caribbean, especially in the wake of colonialism, the characters themselves provide insights in relation to how Caribbean societies incorporate circumstances and struggles that lie beyond the obvious exercise of power and domination.

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FEMALE EFFACEMENT IN A GENDERED LINGUISTIC ENCOUNTER IN "THE TALL SHADOW" BY MEILING JIN

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Introduction

Guyanese storyteller Meiling Jin uses her short story "The tall shadow" as a tool with which to explore some of the power issues that limit the lives of female characters in the multi-cultural Caribbean. Her story explores the dysfunctional dynamics of male-female interactions within a patriarchal, post-plantation culture of the English-speaking Caribbean, focusing specifically on male dominance based on social class. Jin uses language as a symbol for male desire and patriarchal, socio-cultural domination. She also presents the idea of diasporic migration and the dream of personal emigration as symbols for female freedom and self-expression, as incompatible with the socio-cultural structure of marriage, which negates the personal, physical and social mobility of young women of the working classes. Another symbol Jin uses is the house. Traditionally, the house is interpreted as a female domestic space. However, in this story, it is different. Here it is the realm of a rich and powerful male character that tries to impose a gendered speech event upon a female protagonist of a lower social class, expecting total obedience. Therefore, the house symbolizes domestic violence, and the space within it presents an alternate zone in which to explore male domination. For our analysis, we shall call this encapsulated narrative zone the Fantastic.

According to Eric Rabkin (1977), "one of the key distinguishing marks of the fantastic" in literature "is that the [mimetic] perspectives enforced by the [realistic] ground rules of the narrative world must be…contradicted" (p. 8). We see this clearly in Meiling Jin's story, for the socially powerful Sultan is also a sorcerer who murders people by trapping them within a magical mirror, turning them into photographs which he frames, and then hangs in his living room. Not only is Sultan powerful in the realistic segment of the story, but he is also powerful in the supernatural realm. He is capable of taking the human subject, stripping it of its humanity and its voice, and transforming it into a collectible, commodified, dead object that he hangs on his wall. Sultan represents a form of patriarchy that expects the individual to comply without questioning. This extremely

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oppressive manifestation of patriarchy both mirrors and is inextricably intertwined with the economically exploitative and Eurocentrically racialized system of colonial plantation slavery, and the apprenticeship and wage slavery systems that followed abolition. Fantastic stories are often composed of three movements, like musical sonatas: The first movement occurs in an intra-textual reality, the second segment slides into the fantastic, and the third re-establishes intra-textual normalcy, returning characters and readers to a level of normalcy that resembles extra-textual reality. That pattern does not manifest itself in this story. Instead, "The tall shadow" begins at the edge of the supernatural, just as Sultan begins his conjuring act, as if the reader had accidentally stumbled into the conjuring session. Also, at the very end, the characters remain within the fantastic sphere of Sultan's house, which symbolizes the legacy of plantation violence and domination through the reenactment of gendered domestic violence, despite it happening within the supernatural.

British Guyana was an English colony from 1796 until its independence in 1966. Before that, it had been in the hands of the Spanish and then the Dutch, although the indigenous peoples of the region managed to limit any effective colonization of Guyana and the other Guianas to small coastal outposts until the 19th century. The Europeans who appropriated these lands established sugar and cacao plantations that were worked by enslaved labor. The Europeans first enslaved the Amerindians, then imported indentured European laborers, and finally, the Dutch began importing enslaved Africans in the mid-1600s. Slavery was abolished in 1838, that is to say slavery on the plantation.

One of the painful, lingering effects of Guyana's post-plantation and neo-colonial reality is unrelenting poverty. In 2006, it was reported that 35% of Guyana's population was living at the poverty level (CIA World Fact Book). Today, in 2019, fifty-three years after independence, little has changed, with 40% of Guyana's population living below the poverty level ($1.75 per capita per day); and 20% living in extreme poverty ($1.25 per capita or less per day). This neo-colonial situation has led to Guyana having an "emigration rate [that] is among the highest in the world [with] more than 55% of its citizens resid[ing] abroad" (CIA World Fact Book). Sadly, migration has become part of Guyanese culture, as a means of survival.

Guyana and other creole societies of the Americas (Bickerton, 1976) resulted not only from an amalgamation of peoples, languages and cultures, but also of flora and fauna, for sugar cane was imported and introduced as an agro-industrial cash crop from Asia. This hybridized colonial project was initiated by Portugal and Spain in the 1400s, and was taken over by 'enlightened' French, Calvinist Dutch and capitalist English entrepreneurs in the mid 1600s, because they rejected what they considered to be Spain and Portugal's incomplete and superficial conquest of the Americas. The new colonizers saw Spain and Portugal's model of colonialism as a failure because it had allowed ethnic, cultural and linguistic mixing (Faraclas, 2012).

The Dutch, English and French equated the terms creole and creolization with corruption, feminization, Indigenization, and Africanization of what they considered to be pure European bloodlines, society, culture, and language. To this new breed of colonizer, the Spanish were enemies unworthy of their possessions due to the extent to which they had allowed their colonial enterprise to be creolized. They believed that ethnically mixed individuals inherited the negative traits of each 'race' and that the repeated and indiscriminate intermixing in the Spanish colonies, between African, indigenous and European peoples had disqualified the Spanish claim to European whiteness (Faraclas, 2012). Rejecting Catholic, pre-capitalist colonialism, they were obsessed with the idea of replacing it "with a more exclusively patriarchal, Eurocentric, racialized and capitalist form of domination" (Faraclas, 2012: 61). It is within this Caribbean context that "The tall shadow," takes place, with the protagonist Maralyn being a racially hybridized individual who speaks Guyanese English lexifier Creole, an equally hybridized language variety.

Language and power

Meiling Jin places her characters Sultan and Maralyn in an intratextual community that is a result of past and present imperialistic projects in the Caribbean. One persistently painful phenomenon in neo-colonial societies is the dichotomous relationship between the prestige European Standard language inherited from the colonizer which is used in government, education and the media (in the case of Guyana, the official and national language English) and the stigmatized and marginalized creole language of the vast majority of the people (in the case of Guyana, Guyanese English lexifier Creole) (De Camp 1968). In "The tall shadow" Jin ascribes Standard English to Sultan, a wealthy, educated, male of South Asian descent and assigns Guyanese Creole to Maralyn, the lower class, Afro-indigenous-South Asian descended protagonist. De Camp (1968), explains that in the Caribbean context creole languages:

> almost invariably have a low social status. If the equivalent European language is also the standard language of the community, the creole is…unlikely to be granted status as a real language. Rather it is thought of as…a…corruption of the standard language…a problem of speech correction, attributing it to careless, slovenly pronunciation….The creole is inseparably associated with poverty, ignorance, and lack of moral character (p. 35).

Maralyn belongs to a community of speakers "who ethnically identify as Creole-mixed-race peoples…[who] consider English Creole to be their 'home' or native language" (Bonner, 2001: 82). She is also a market vendor who is "tired of standing all day in the market, selling roti" only to come home to "join her mother in the kitchen…[to]… mix the roti" for the following day (Jin, 2007: 21). Her speech and her profession are evidence of her lack of social rank and power. As a young woman, she has two worries: a

suitor, "the taxi driver Winston [who had]…asked her to the dance on Saturday night" (21) and her desire to emigrate to New York, to join her cousin Sandra. Maralyn had just received a postcard from Sandra with the words 'Greetings from the Big Apple' on it. Sandra had gone ahead, emigrated first, and was in the process of establishing herself in America. She had done it, and Maralyn's biggest desire was to join her cousin.

"The tall shadow" uses the desire to emigrate and the rejection of marriage and motherhood as sites for the clash between female agency and socio-cultural roles. Jin's story sees emigration as a liberating force that can deliver the Guyanese woman from the culturally determined and limiting environment of traditional womanhood. In the Caribbean, the female dream of personal emigration symbolizes freedom in two areas. First, it is perceived as a way to escape from the socio-cultural institutions of marriage/motherhood, which curtail the personal, physical and social mobility of young, impoverished women. Secondly, it is seen as the path to a better life, which is a euphemism for escaping poverty. Therefore, emigration provides impoverished Caribbean women, such as Maralyn, options that do not exist in their countries of birth.

However, Maralyn is unaware that she has another suitor, a rich, elderly, grey-haired, South Asian descended man of Muslim extraction, named Sultan with "large eyes…a hooked nose [and] skin…dark like old leather" (p. 23). Sultan is a retired judge from the County Court House, who comes from a well-to-do family. His father had been a good lawyer and his mother a landowner. His name and his profession denote authority and privilege. Etymologically, Sultan comes from the Aramaic *shultana* which means 'power'. In Arabic, the equivalent term means a sovereign, an absolute ruler or a despot (dictionary.com).

Even though Sultan is not of European descent, it is clear that he enjoys many privileges, unlike Maralyn and her family. His character represents a myriad of manifestations of power: educational, economic, judicial, cultural, socio-historic, and above all, patriarchal. Sultan is South Asian descended man in the Caribbean, which most likely means that his ancestors were indentured laborers who arrived in Guyana after the abolition of slavery. Since many ex-slaves refused to continue working on the plantations, plantation owners were in immediate need of workers. This led to the importation of approximately 500,000 indentured workers from England's South Asian colonies to the Caribbean from 1838 to 1924 (Williams, 1970: 348).

South Asian plantation workers were granted access to land ownership at the end of their indentureship, as an incentive to re-indenture themselves for five to seven more years. This privilege had been historically withheld from the previously enslaved Arawaks, indentured Europeans, and enslaved Africans that had worked the sugar and cacao plantations hundreds of years before the South Asians. South Asian workers who re-indentured themselves and forfeited the cost of their return passage to India received ten acres of Crown land, which was actually indigenous land stolen by the British (Perry, 1969: 104). During 1891-1913, British Guiana gave 32,000 acres of land as free

land grants and homesteads to 844 South Asians, as an incentive to re-indenture themselves. The value of the land owned by South Asians in British Guiana in 1911 was close to a million dollars. By 1912, and with the help of land ownership, the South Asian population that had had started as indentured workers owned over 13,000 head of cattle and over 3,000 sheep and goats (Williams, 1970: 352, 353). Land ownership led to financial security, something the former communities of plantation workers never attained.

It is not an accident that Jin constructs Maralyn as a poor, young woman of African and Arawakan descent. Her racial hybridity makes her beautiful, but she belongs to the peoples who were disenfranchised during the colonial period. The illegitimate daughter of an unmarried mother who is the mistress of a married man, Maralyn's neo-colonial, post-plantation, socio-historical heritage is poverty and lack of opportunity. Her Afro-Amerindian Caribbean reality differs significantly from that of Sultan, who inherited a secure, comfortable Caribbean existence because his ancestors had begun their permanent residency in Guyana with privileges that Maralyn's ancestors never had. These colonial privileges placed Sultan's family on a higher level of society, that still benefits in the neo-colonial age. Sultan's family could also have arrived later, as merchants with the financial means to establish themselves as businessmen and eventually become part of Guyanese commercial elites.

Due to his level of education and social class, Sultan speaks Standard English, which denotes prestige in Guyana. As a judge and member of the legal establishment, he is skilled in using language to manipulate and win arguments. Sultan also understands Maralyn's Guyanese Creole, despite not speaking it to her. Furthermore, he masters a magical language that allows him control beyond the realm of physical reality; for Sultan is also a sorcerer. The story begins with a display of Sultan's knowledge of the language of sorcery. He uses a magical spell to conjure a spirit – a jumbie – out of his own shadow. He had "waited until the day was far advanced, then stood in the sun so… his shadow would be at its longest. [then] Raising his arms he whispered *Ran-jai-pa*" (Jin, 2007: 21) and sent his own detached and materialized shadow scurrying, to kidnap the young woman.

Maralyn is in her backyard washing her feet after a long day at the market, when the shadow creature approaches her, hovering above and waiting for her. The scared girl sees it and speaks to the supernatural entity in Creole. She tells it: "*Me na want nuttin to do with jumbie*" (p. 22). Nevertheless, the jumbie disregards her words, approaches her "as she backed away, it reached her because it was a tall shadow" and it enchants her. It makes Maralyn forget herself and mindlessly follow the jumbie "through the gate…down the road," because now "all she knew was the shadow" (p. 22). While entranced, the young woman arrives at Sultan's bizarre house, where the windows are "shut, to keep the shadows in" (p. 23). This kidnapping, via jumbie and mind control,

is the first symbolic representation of male dominance over the female protagonist. Sultan uses the power of magical language to exert control over Maralyn's will and body. Sultan's house epitomizes patriarchal power and female dispossession, for he has kidnapped Maralyn against her will and forced her into his domain. Once inside she watches how the obedient jumbie shadow returns to Sultan, and this breaks the spell; she remembers who she is and what has happened. As she regains her sense of self, she becomes aware of her lack of control and lack of agency and remembers local stories about jumbies, in which she believes. She realizes she is in danger and starts to feel fear. In an attempt to understand her strange predicament, she interrogates Sultan, in Creole: "*Who is you?... How you know my name?... Is you bring me here?...Why you bring me here?...And what about the shadow...you send to fetch me?... dis shadow do you biddin'. How I know I ain' ending up a shadow?*" (Jin: 23, 24, 25).

Sultan answers all her questions, including the ones she does not ask aloud, so she realizes that he can read her thoughts. Immediately, their linguistic differences become apparent when Sultan answers her in Standard English. He informs her of his intentions towards her, telling her he wants to marry her. He says "I've watched you…You sell roti in the market and clear fifteen dollars a day…I wanted to meet you…I need a wife…I like your stillness and your beauty" (pp. 23, 25). It is clear that Sultan has always lived a life of Caribbean privilege and that he is accustomed to getting what he desires. To him, Maralyn is a thing of beauty he has seen at the market and feels he should own.

During their interactions, the severity of the socio-economic differences between them becomes manifest. Sultan inhabits the upper echelon of Guyanese society, owns land, owns his own home, and has money for traveling and life's luxuries. Furthermore, he speaks Standard English the "elite language" of his society, a legacy of Guyana's colonial past. Interestingly, his mastery of English and the magical language represent colonial power, as well as his obsession for control over the female body. In the Caribbean past during the times of slavery, the enslaved female body belonged to the privileged propertied male; as part of the master's chattel. In the story, Sultan embodies the privileged male at the top of 'the great chain of being' for he inherited and internalized the extreme form of patriarchal control that was put in place by the Northern European enslavers and colonizers. It does not matter that Sultan is not of European descent, for his socio-economic and gendered privilege and his oppression of those without such privilege have turned him into the neo-colonial master, which is made manifest in his use of Standard English in his bizarre attempt at wooing Maralyn:

> My name is Sultan…I wanted to meet you…I brought you here because … I need a wife… I could…help you to get to the Big Apple…I could take you there…They have a big hotel called the Plaza. You can ride to the top in a thing called an elevator, and see the whole of the city…There's a place I can take you to have afternoon tea, the Savoy. We can listen to music and enjoy a civilized

life…If you married me, we could travel…We could see the wonders of the world, and at my age, that's all you want to see (Jin, 2007).

Maralyn's reactions and responses to Sultan's proposal are articulated in Guyanese Creole. Throughout their strange and frightening night of conversation, she says:

You does read thoughts!... Me. You wife! Is joke you makin!...Man, I don' even know who the damn hell you is?...Any case, why me? Dey plenty other people in this damn place...You know magic and got plenty wealth. Where from I ask meself? Tek Kay you got a bacoo working for you?...What make you tink I wan go place? Why you don't marry me mudder and I come and stay with all you? (Jin, 2007).

His knowledge about New York City is another representation of Sultan's patriarchal power over the female protagonist. To Maralyn, New York is a city in her mind, the daydream that "could lift [her] out of grinding poverty", and remove her from her "small, stinking world" (p. 26). To her, it is a utopia, the American dream, the imagined land of milk and honey, even if her only experience of it is nothing more than the short message written on cousin Sandra's postcard. To Sultan, on the other hand, it is a lived experience. He explains, authoritatively, that the "Big Apple is…A big city. Big buildings…cars, crime, poverty." It is simply a place where "People work their ass off in the shops, or worse, sell their tail on the street." He tells her "You think the streets are paved with gold? No. Street paved with bodies, some dead, some alive" (p. 27). The different ways in which Maralyn and Sultan perceive and talk about New York once again denotes the inequality between the two characters. When Sultan speaks of the city, he speaks with the power of experience, for he knows the city. His discourse about New York indicates his dominance over Maralyn, for she has never been there. His discourse is meant to showcase Maralyn's disadvantaged position.

Sultan also uses language to highlight his financial power in his attempt to seduce Maralyn with his money. First, he cruelly points out the limitations of her humble standard of living and tells her: "you're wasted here...You earn fifteen dollars a day, fourteen ... you give to your mother .... How long will it take you to save up to go to the Big Apple? Three … years? ...four? ...If you marry Winston, worse. He'll want you to stop … working ... you'll have children. You'll be stuck" (p. 28). Sultan's words make the young woman feel naked and ashamed and make her see her poverty as other people might see it. He tries to convince her and says: "if you married me, we could travel…We could see the wonders of the world" (p. 27). Sultan's words tempt the young woman briefly. They make her think of New York, and they remind her of the pyramids of Egypt and the Taj Mahal which she had seen in her school geography book. His words momentarily make her wonder if she could visit them. Since he can read her mind, he continues: "I could…help you get to the Big Apple…I could help you go abroad. Tomorrow, if you like. *I have plenty money*" (p. 26), but, while she is marginally tempted

to take up his offer and travel with him, she does not, because she is repulsed by "the old man [who] gave her the creeps" (p. 27).

Sultan never sees Maralyn as a person. He does not ask for her or her mother's permission when he sends the tall shadow jumbie to kidnap her in an attempt to force the girl to marry him. Like all the pretty things in his home, she is an object he desires. His efforts to seduce her with money fail, because, despite her poverty, Maralyn is not materialistic. Since Sultan cannot see her personhood, he does not respect her requests. Maralyn explains that she has responsibilities: "*I lef me mudder and the roti just lik tha. Me mudder going to be vex…I gotta go now, me mudder going to kill me if I don't help she with the roti*" (pp. 24-26). When she tries to leave, he treats her like a dog, ordering her to "'Stay' and the ring of power in his voice made her hesitate and stop. Her awareness that he "was an educated man, and he had powerful magic" (p. 24) shows that she understands his doubly privileged position, as a Caribbean man of power in the physical world (which resembles the readers' reality) and as a powerful sorcerer that controls the fantastic.

After telling her that she cannot leave his house, he tells her: "You can live here and enjoy my wealth. Have anything you like. I have more dollars than you can spend….Everything you need is here already" (pp. 24-29). However, Maralyn thinks about her mother and is still determined to go home. She is very concerned about the old man's powerful magic and his ability to be inside and outside her mind. She realizes his supernatural abilities will make her plans to escape quite tricky. Once again, she tries to negotiate by saying "*Well, Sultan man, lemme tink…I cant up and marry jus like tha'. I have to ask me mudder.*" Again he tells her: "*No….no to think*" (p. 29).

Sultan's utter disregard and disrespect for the young woman, along with her total lack of agency in the situation, makes Maralyn intensely aware of being trapped. She despairs and panics. Finally, when she jumps up and makes a mad dash towards the far away door, Sultan's magic shatters the girl's attempted escape, along with her dreams. As Maralyn runs, she realizes that what she thinks is a door is, in fact, a full-length mirror, but she cannot stop herself in time and crashes into it. Oddly, the mirror does not break. Instead, it absorbs her, and she finds herself inside the mirror, aware that she has entered another layer of the supernatural within the house of the judge and his jumbie shadows. She knows she is fantastically trapped inside the mirror because she can see Sultan on the other side of the mirror, still sitting in his living room.

The story as a speech event

Utilizing Hymes' (1964) model of the ethnography of speaking we can approach the story from a sociolinguistic point of view as a speech event. Sultan and Maralyn are members of different speech communities. Sultan masters Standard English, he understands Guyanese English Creole, and since our story transpires within a fantastic realm, he also speaks the language of magic. Mastering Standard English positions Sultan as a

member of a community that is considered prestigious, because English is perceived to be the elite language, due to its status as the nation's official language. Maralyn, on the other hand speaks a variety of Guyanese Creole, and in the culturally, biologically and linguistically hybridized Caribbean, creole languages are commonly considered to be second-class languages, along with their speakers.

Before the story begins, Sultan has decided to marry Maralyn, without ever having met her in person. Instead of approaching her to ask for a date, or arrange courtship, he has her kidnapped and brought to a predetermined domain over which he has total mastery, his house. The entire story is the representation of a speech event, which happens to be a deranged version of a marriage proposal. Sultan "organizes" this marriage proposal and goes about it most disastrously. His way of organizing it begins with a very peculiar speech act; he uses his magical powers and the magical language this entails to conjure a jumbie spirit, which he sends to bewitch, kidnap, and deliver the young woman to his house. This speech event takes place at a date and time that is wholly predetermined and controlled by the sorcerer, but entirely unknown to the young lady. Maralyn is then forced to interact with Sultan at a site solely determined by him.

The instrumentality of this deranged marriage proposal is Sultan's spoken language, and the only participants in the strange event are the two of them. Sultan does not ask; he dictates. As a speaker, Sultan delivers the deranged marriage proposal as an information session in which he tells Maralyn that he wants to marry her, that he finds her attractive, that he can provide for her, and that he can take her to New York City and other beautiful places. Since the end goal of this speech event is to obtain the girl's hand in marriage, Sultan arrogantly assumes that he will seduce her with his detailed arguments and financial power. He does not foresee the strength of Maralyn's sense of responsibility towards her mother or her non-materialistic personality. To him, she is a beautiful thing that he has seen at the market; she is something he desires and intends to buy somehow, and culturally, marriage can be seen a way of acquiring (or 'purchasing') a woman.

Maralyn begins as a listener but responds to Sultan's information session by questioning him about his motives and himself. Despite her attempt to level the playing field, Sultan continues exercising his upper hand and displays knowledge about her and her parents. He also provides verbal answers both to her spoken queries as well as to her unexpressed questions and observations. That is how she realizes that Sultan can read her mind. During the girl's terrifying experience, he plays the role of a gracious 'gentlemanly' host. He has his servant bring lemonade, invites her to stay and dine with him in the house, and lets her walk around, so that she can see his collection of strange photographs in beautiful frames on his living room wall.

Culturally and traditionally, a marriage proposal is a solemn occasion, since it is a significant step in an individual's life. In this speech event, the key, or tone, is mixed. Sultan, the speaker, is in complete control of the event; he is despotic and tyrannical

despite his outwardly polite manners. Here, the tone is of total disrespect and disregard toward Maralyn, who is terrified and in despair. Sultan has kidnapped and physically trapped his listener, and by doing this, he has reduced her to the role of the victim of his social and magical powers. The negotiated and romantic norms of the marriage proposal are entirely lacking, for there was never a negotiation or romance between Maralyn and Sultan before his decision to kidnap her.

The most emblematic performance of the power of patriarchal language is when Sultan refuses Maralyn the time to think about his proposal and to consult with her mother. This would have created the space for a new speech event that would have included Maralyn and her mother Elaine, as a new speaker and hearer, where they would then discuss the marriage proposal from a different perspective, in a different location and in a different tone. But Sultan does not allow this, he refuses to provide Maralyn with options and this invalidation of her right to decide reifies the lunacy of his control over the speech event. The event even fails to follow the norms of arranged marriages, for Sultan never approaches the parents to inform them of his desire to marry and provide for their daughter. Therefore, this marriage proposal is informative (he tells Maralyn he has chosen her as a wife); it is despotic and tyrannical (he expects her to accept and does not allow her any other option); and it is disastrous, for he magically removes her from the world of the living that exists outside his house when she refuses him. So the outcome of Sultan's deformation of a marriage proposal is entirely adverse. Maralyn rejects him, and because of this, he effaces her from social existence by keeping her within the fantastic realm contained inside his home.

Conclusion

In "The tall shadow," Meiling Jin explores several of the issues that limit the lives of women in the Caribbean; issues such as relentless and chronic poverty, the socio-cultural expectation that women must marry and submit to male-determined expectations, and the difficulty of access to emigration as a viable alternative. The story reveals that male-female dynamics continue to be complicated, with Caribbean men still attempting to impose patriarchal, gendered, roles and expecting complete compliance of Caribbean women. Despite presenting the Caribbean female as open to new ways of being a woman, the male character still wields enormous amounts of power over her and can destroy all of her dreams. This male character's power is represented through his mastery of the colonizer's language, his privileged socio-economic status, his knowledge of magic and the control it gives him over the supernatural space inside his house. Jin constructed the house as a fantastic sphere that encapsulates domestic violence, male dominance based on social class and the type of human exploitation that was established during the era of chattel slavery, but which persists into the neo-colonial present. It is within Sultan's house that the total effacement of the female subject takes place.

By making Maralyn disappear physically, Sultan exhibits total power. First, he has her kidnapped from her own home, which is an echo of the experience of thousands of young African women who were removed forever from their communities by slave merchants. Then he forces Maralyn into his dark, terrifying house, evoking images of how enslaved women were forced into the innards of dark, terrifying spaces in the bellies of ships during the middle passage. Finally, he uses his economic and gendered privilege to attempt to subjugate Maralyn, in a way reminiscent of how the plantation masters in the colonial Caribbean doubly exploited their enslaved female laborers, who were forced both to work the fields and submit to sexual exploitation. One hundred and fifty years after the abolition of slavery, the encapsulated colonial space within Sultan's home lets him expect this type of compliance from Maralyn's mind and body as if he were the sovereign symbolized by his name, and as if she were still chattel with no control over her own personhood.

Maralyn's complete erasure from the world at the end of "The tall shadow" retells the story of millions of women who, since the advent of patriarchy, have become victims of abusive males who have made them *disappear*. It also retells the stories of the millions of women who were made to disappear from their original communities and forced into Caribbean slavery. Maralyn is kidnapped from her home, transported against her will and delivered to the property of a powerful and wealthy man who tries to buy her. Once there, Maralyn is stripped of everything that ties her to her past. She no longer has access to her mother or her things, her desires and needs are disregarded, and her physical mobility is completely curtailed. Within this symbolic space, she is expected to renounce her rights and powers and automatically acquiesce to the will and whim of a man, and, if she does not comply immediately and totally, the punishment is disappearance and death.

Sultan's behavior, and its disastrous outcome, show the lingering and damaging effects of the colonial past in contemporary neo-colonial, post-plantation societies, where the structures and praxis of power still benefit the wealthy, powerful and privileged. Sultan punishes Maralyn because she dares to contradict him and the power structures he represents. He extinguishes her life and humanity, in order to transform her into dead commodity for visual consumption, a photograph that will be placed inside a beautiful frame, then hung on his wall, and Maralyn's mother will never know what happened to her daughter.

Maralyn's last act is one of self-assertiveness as she tries to escape Sultan's domain and return to her mother. Despite being scared and knowing that she is at a disadvantage, she chooses to choose. She refuses to become an object of servitude and is punished, transformed into a decorative object devoid of life. But Sultan's victory over Maralyn is a hollow one, as are all acts of patriarchal, ethnocentric and economically exploitative domination. The only way to completely dominate and control a living being is to kill it, thereby depriving both the dominated and the dominator himself of the only sources

of real happiness and fulfillment: love and life. In the final analysis, it is not only Maralyn who is deprived of her life, but Sultan as well is deprived of any hope of happiness derived from the living presence of Maralyn. In the end, he must be content with a dead image of her, which can never provide the fulfillment that he so desperately seeks, but so monstrously destroys for himself and all of those who are less privileged than he.

"The tall shadow" not only attests to the ultimate power of Maralyn's agency, but also to the ultimate weakness and emptiness of the gendered, racialized and class-based systems of domination that were established in the Caribbean and most of the rest of the world during the era of enslavement and colonialism, and which are still very much alive in the neo-colonial present. As they continue to destroy women, our planet, our communities and our sovereignty over what we need to subsist, it becomes more obvious every day that these systems of domination are cancers that feed on all of us and serve no one, because they are incapable by their very nature of providing real fulfillment to anyone, not just the Maralyns of the world, but also the Sultans.

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THE RISE AND FALL OF "KING" ALFRED: FATHERHOOD AND UNMANNING IN JAMAICA KINCAID'S *THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MY MOTHER*

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Orphaned at birth by the death of her Kalinago mother in the former British colony of Dominica, Xuela Claudette Richardson is an Afro-Caribbean woman who has spent her childhood and adolescence going back and forth between different men, including Alfred Richardson, her biological father. Looking back at her life seventy years after her birth, Xuela regards her father and other male subjects as victims and victimizers of colonialism and its evils. Mr. Richardson himself is implicated in the performance of hypermasculinity and its accompanying practices, particularly the silencing of women and legally sanctioned economic predation upon his fellow men. Compelled by love, hate, and fascination, Xuela examines the most important man in her life, and can only speculate as to how and why her father became a man who was hated and feared during his lifetime, yet died without siring any lasting legacy, save for herself. This compels Xuela to read Alfred's (his)story and failed attempts to perform/embody Eurocentric hegemonic masculinity with strange suspicion, as Mr. Richardson's "quest" for the political power and social respectability that accompanies this totalitarian version of masculinity plays an important role in unmanning him. Mr. Richardson's mimesis and praxis of so-called true masculinity ultimately annihilates him, as he has no children capable of inheriting his name, and his contemporaries remember him as a badge-carrying scoundrel who deserved worse than what actually befell him.

In the context of the present work, unmanning designates a systematic nullification of the masculinity of colonized men of Afro-Caribbean descent. Such nullification is accomplished by the creation, manipulation and enforcement of legal and extralegal social, cultural, political and economic structures and praxes built upon the domination and subjugation which a minority group of socially, culturally, politically, and economically dominant men hold over the majority of individuals and groups within a given society. These elites use laws, politics, religion, schooling, and other means of physical

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and discursive coercion to justify the preeminence and power they enjoy at the expense of women, children, and most other men.

In *The autobiography of my mother*, masculinity becomes conflated with masculinism. As defined by Arthur Brittan, the former term encapsulates "those aspects of men's behavior that fluctuate over time" and that are "always local and subject to change" (Brittan: 3). On the other hand, "masculinism" designates "the ideology that justifies and naturalizes male domination" and which "takes it for granted that there is a fundamental difference between men and women," assumes that heterosexuality is "normal" and normative, and unreservedly espouses "the sexual division of labour" even as it "sanctions the political and dominant role of men in the public and private spheres" (p. 4). However, not all men benefit equally from these arrangements-; most men are exploited and dominated by other men, and many dominated men dominate women, children, and men who are less powerful than themselves.

Some dominant and dominated men also practice hypermasculinity, an exaggerated imitation and practice of stereotypical attributes commonly associated with men and masculinity, particularly the subjugation of women via aggressive heterosexual conquests. Such feats demonstrate dominated men's desire to compensate for their own subjugated "non-masculine" state by striving to outdo/outperform other men through wielding so-called sexual power/prowess over the opposite sex as a badge of honor, which in turn doubles as a weapon oppressed men use to defend their fragile egos against anyone and anything who would destroy them. Since hypermasculinity privileges successful performances of "male" aggression/assertiveness, it also encourages engaging in feats of physical strength against other men that must be conquered/vanquished in order for hypermasculine men to remain dominant.

Throughout Kincaid's novel, unmanning and hypermasculinity coalesce with what Michael Kaufman terms "the triad of men's violence," namely violence against women, boys, and other men. Kaufman argues that, in the Western world, so-called "[c]ivilized" societies have been built through the decimation, containment, and exploitation of other peoples" via "extermination of native populations, colonialism, and slavery" (Kaufman: 3). According to Kaufman, "[o]ur cities, our social structure, our work life, our relation with nature, our history, are more than a backdrop to the prevalence of violence", they are "institutionalized form[s]" of violence "encoded into physical structures and socio-economic relations" that harm people to greater or lesser extent. He continues:

> . . . our personalities and sexuality, our needs and fears, our strengths and weaknesses, our selves are created – not simply learned – through our lived reality. The violence of our social order nurtures a psychology of violence, which in turn reinforces the social, economic and political structures of violence. The ever-increasing demands of civilization and the constant building upon inherited

structures of violence suggest that the development of civilization has been in-separable from a continuous increase in violence against humans and our natural environment. (p. 4)

Xuela's story chronicles the violence prevalent throughout her life as a colonized sub-ject in British-dominated Dominica. Her frustrated search for lost times highlights the physical and discursive violence her own father inflicted upon her mother and herself as well as upon other men who suffered Richardson's abuses of power as a policeman. Victims or otherwise, most if not all the people Xuela once knew are dead, leaving the elderly, childless narrator/protagonist to pick up countless scattered pieces of forgotten persons, times, and places so she might weave them into a coherent narrative capable of bridging the gaps left by the death of her mother and her experiences with unmanned fathers, lovers and husbands. Xuela begins her work with an acute awareness of pain and loss:

> My mother died at the moment I was born, and so for my whole life there was nothing standing between myself and eternity; at my back was always a bleak, black wind. . . . I only came to know this in the middle of my life, just at the time when I was no longer young and realized that I had less of some of the things I used to have in abundance and more of some of the things I had scarcely had at all. . . . [T]his realization of loss and gain made me look backward and forward: at my beginning was this woman whose face I had never seen, but at my end was nothing, no one between me and the black room of the world. I came to feel that for my whole life I had been standing on a precipice, that my loss had made me vulnerable, hard, and helpless; on knowing this I became overwhelmed with sad-ness and shame and pity for myself. (Kincaid: 3-4)

Xuela's sense of loss and regret does not stem solely from the fact that she never got to know the woman who gave her life through death. Her lack of the Mother is exacerbated by a life of material, economic, and spiritual deprivation that Xuela's mother, a Carib woman who was abandoned as a child herself, transmitted to her daughter. In her old age, Xuela realizes that the woman whose presence she longed for could never have answered her burning questions, let alone dispelled the shame and self-hatred that de-vours victors and vanquished alike within colonial societies. Paltry as this consolation might be, Xuela makes peace with the fact that there is nothing worth searching for in the name of the Mother, or that of the Father:

> . . . [Y]our own name, whatever it might be, eventually was not the gateway to who you really were, and you could not ever say to yourself, "My name is Xuela Claudette Desvarieux." This was my mother's name, but I cannot say it was her real name, for in a life like hers, as in mine, what is a real name? My own name is her name, Xuela Claudette, and in the place of the Desvarieux is Richardson,

which is my father's name; but who are these people Claudette, Desvarieux, and Richardson? To look into it, to look at it, could only fill you with despair; the humiliation could only make you intoxicated with self-hatred. For the name of any one person is at once her history recapitulated and abbreviated, and on declaring it, that person holds herself high or low, and the person hearing it holds the declarer high or low. (p. 79)

Names tell Xuela nothing of the people who bear them, regardless of where they might stand in groups of conqueror/conquered, oppressors/oppressed, etc. Her inability to create a stable, nurturing connection with either her mother or her father's side of her family mirrors the dynamics that mediate the search and creation of identity in Caribbean child protagonists. As Marlene Aponte Cabrera argues in "The vulnerable hero who survives and succeeds in Caribbean *bildungsroman*" these fictional girls and boys share all too common histories of pain and suffering:

> Heroes in Caribbean neocolonial literatures may at times present fragmented, ambivalent, and dysfunctional identities that resemble the isolated, variegated, and broken islands they inhabit. [. . .]. Sometimes, the character of the hero in Caribbean literature is as isolated and broken as the island he or she comes from. A coming of age child who is victim of abuse or neglect similarly feels isolated, inadequate and morbid. (Aponte: 1)

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Kincaid's novel occupies a liminal place in the canon of the Caribbean bildungsroman as Aponte defines it. *The autobiography of my mother* deals with the birth, growth, and education of Xuela Richardson within the context of colonial Dominica, yet the novel has little else in common with "standard" models of the European or Caribbean novel of human formation and arrival into adulthood. As Maria Helena Lima explains throughout her discussion of Kincaid's earlier fiction and nonfiction, the use Caribbean writers make of this particular genre cannot be separated from the region's complicated history:

> Caribbean writers "at home" and in the diaspora have used the bildungsroman form to represent their quest for personal and national identity, to explore precisely the complexities and contradictions of growing up in a region where (neo-)colonial relationships exacerbate an already oppressive patriarchal situation. (Lima: 858)

Departing from the work of Marianne Hirsch and Marc Redfield, Lima questions the possibility of reconciling the *bildungsroman*'s "traditional role of accommodation to the existing society" to a space as politically charged and historically traumatized as the Caribbean basin (p. 859). Arguing that the Caribbean's "history of foreign domination,

slavery, imperialism, and neocolonialism parallels a not always evident heritage of revolt, resistance and struggle to assert cultural and intellectual freedom", Lima alleges that the Caribbean novel of formation can go beyond narrating "the acculturation of a self" to challenge European humanism and its tendency to standardize/universalize society and culture by providing so-called norms and "model[s] of emulation for all peoples" (p. 859). This fact is related to Kincaid's use of the genre in *Lucy* and *Annie John*:

> While the "choice" of the bildungsroman in a way helps to reproduce the cultural imperialism that inevitably separates the Third World intellectual from the community and culture of her birth, Kincaid's rewriting of many of the conventions that have shaped the genre also allows us to see its use in the Caribbean and in the diaspora as a form of resistance. . . . [T]he set of available narrative conventions that allows a Western novelist to constitute her character's subjectivity does not serve as a model for the life-history of a girl growing up in a primarily female [or male] centered world in Antigua [or elsewhere in the Caribbean] before independence. Kincaid reconstructs the bildungsroman by transforming its narrative values. (p. 859)

Kincaid deploys the bildungsroman to sabotage the centripetal pretensions of European humanism and its discourses. By portraying Xuela and other characters as incomplete, inconclusive selves unmanned by centuries of colonialism, *The autobiography of my mother* criticizes the genre's propensity of making Eurocentric notions of identity, culture, history and gender into universal archetypes that fictional characters and real-life human beings are obliged to imitate under penalty of social death and "failure" in life. Kincaid's criticism overlaps with Édouard Glissant's dethronement of the image of roots as a paradigm of "the commonality of errantry and exile" (Glissant: 11). Building upon the work of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, Glissant delineates the parameters of the root and its counterpart, the rhizome:

> The root is unique, a stock taking all upon itself and killing all around it. In opposition to this [Deleuze and Guattari] propose the rhizome, an enmeshed root system, a network spreading either in the ground or in the air, with no predatory rootstock taking over permanently. The notion of the rhizome maintains . . . the idea of rootedness but challenges that of a totalitarian root. Rhizomatic thought is the principle behind what I call the Poetics of Relation, in which each and every identity is extended through a relationship with the Other. (p. 11)

However, Glissant warns that the rhizome is not intrinsically subversive, let alone "progressive". Departing from Immanuel Kant's distinction between nomads and skeptics, he warns of traps hidden within the rhizome:

> [Kant] seems thus to establish correlations between, on the one hand, a settled way of life, truth, and society and, on the other, nomadism, skepticism, and anarchy. This parallel with Kant suggests that the rhizome concept appears

interesting for its anticonformism, but one cannot infer from this that it is subversive or that rhizomatic thought has the capacity to overturn the order of the world – because, by so doing, one reverts to ideological claims presumably challenged by this thought. (pp. 11-12)

While the concept of the rhizome *can* be more inclusive of difference/dissidence and more accommodating of subversion and challenge than the "totalitarian root," it can also serve the purposes of dominant discourse and praxes, including Eurocentric hegemonic masculinity. The rhizome's nature makes it ideal for masking colonialist discursive coercion by decentralizing the latter's tools of domination in ways similar to the workings of neocolonialism. While the metropole appears to be "uprooted" after former colonies gain their independence, the ex-colonized still live, speak and think in terms virtually indistinguishable from those of the colonizer. Furthermore, the "defeated" metropole still monopolizes the economy and other means of production of its old territories. The ousted superpower might no longer rule directly, yet retains its hold over the lives, culture and economy of younger nations. The absence of a visible metropolitan center created in the wake of independence works to the advantage rather than the detriment of neocolonizers because this "loss" allows them to operate with virtual invisibility and practical impunity among exploited peoples duped into thinking themselves free.

The seamy underside of the rhizome is at work in Kincaid's novel. *The autobiography of my mother* examines Xuela's rootless life as it rhizomatically elucidates the lives of men to whom she was once a daughter, lover, or wife. Although the narrative decentralizes the narrator's account of herself and her mother, the rhizomes created by the act of narrating do little to liberate Xuela, a fact she is all too aware of herself:

> I am of the vanquished, I am of the defeated. The past is a fixed point, the future is open-ended; for me the future must remain capable of casting a light on the past such that in my defeat lies the seed of my great victory, in my defeat lies the beginning of my great revenge. My impulse is to the good, my good is to serve myself. I am not a people, I am not a nation. I only wish from time to time to make my actions the actions of a nation. (Kincaid: 215-216)

Rather than serve the interests of unrooted men, the narrator-protagonist ruthlessly pursues what she considers to be her own "good." From unapologetic masturbation to marrying an Englishman she does not love in order to subsist economically, Xuela's every word and deed are coldly calculated to serve herself first and foremost. "Powerless" as she might be as a colonized subject, this calculated self-interest allows her to unearth and name paradigms of colonial domination as they manifest in the lives of men like Alfred Richardson. The ways she accomplishes this share commonalities with what

Ramón E. Soto-Crespo regards as Kincaid's response to European conquest and its aftermath:

> Naming is key to Kincaid's critique of conquest because imperial accounts of the West Indian landscape depicted it as abundant in flora but empty of civilization. In imperial chronicles, the myth of the land as garden was concurrent with the erasure of the indigenous population and the depletion of tropical vegetation by deforestation. Reminiscent of Adam in the Garden of Eden, conquerors portrayed the Caribbean islands as Edenic gardens to be mapped and claimed on behalf of imperial power. Unnaming, naming, and renaming are here processes of historical and geographical importance that range beyond the purely theoretical. (Soto-Crespo: 348)

Like the Spanish, Portuguese, French, British, and Dutch conquerors of old, Xuela unnames and renames herself and her fellow men and women during her remembrance of her father and the life they led in Dominica. Her account of Mr. Richardson's origins is noteworthy on this regard:

> My father's skin was the color of corruption: copper, gold, ore; his eyes were gray, his hair was red, his nose was long and narrow; his father was a Scots-man, his mother of the African people, and this distinction between "man" and "people" was an important distinction, for one of them came off the boat as part of a horde, already demonized, mind blank to everything but human suffering, each face the same as the one next to it; the other came off the boat of his own volition, seeking to fulfill a destiny, a vision of himself he carried in his mind's eye. (Kincaid: 181)

Xuela links her father to unbecoming poetics of relation. Alfred's identity as a man of Afro-Euro-Caribbean descent is a multi-tiered unmanning network that spreads at ground and air level. Being as predatorial and omnicidal as the root, Mr. Richardson's rhizome shoots outwardly, mostly affecting his family and fellow citizens to their detriment. The son of John and Mary Richardson also has a strange relationship with his own father and his side of the family:

> This man named John Richardson was a trader of rum and he had lived all over the English-owned West Indies. . . .he had many children with many different women in these places where he had lived, and they were all boys and they could tell that they were the sons of John Richardson because they all had the same red hair, a red hair of such uniqueness that they were all proud to have it, the hair of John Richardson. This I knew because my father would tell people he was a son of this man and he would describe his father in his way, as a man who had lived in this place and that place and had children, all of them boys with red hair, and that whenever he himself saw a man with red hair he would know that this man was related to him and he would always say these things with pleasure and with

pride and not with irony or bitterness or sadness at the trail of misery this drunk from Scotland would have left in his wake. (pp. 182-183)

Alfred Richardson not only takes pride in his European heritage at the expense of his African ancestry, he also idolizes John's performance of hypermasculinity, willfully blind to "the trail of misery" his father left behind as a hypermasculinist trader in rum who sired countless children with different mothers, then forsook his lovers and off-spring to seek pleasure elsewhere. The fact that at least one of this Scotsman's countless sons kept his legacy alive denotes the symbiotic state of hypermasculinity and its praxes, as Alfred transculturated his father's "conquests" within a West Indian context and emulated them with the same callous gusto.

Whether Alfred's claim of knowing his "brothers" through the telltale sign of red hair is factual or not is beside the point. What matters is the criteria upon which he builds this claim, namely the importance he places on his father's side of the family, the one that, unlike his mother's, went on to make "history" in the Eurocentric sense of the word. For all Xuela knows, the man who became her father could have started out as one among veritable legions of lighter-skinned redheaded bastards who sought to achieve ascendancy in colonial society by following in the footsteps of an infamous Scotsman who was just as unmanned and oppressed as the sons he brought into the world. Kincaid's protagonist cannot rule out this possibility any more than she can fill in the gaps in what little she knows about her grandparents:

> It was a legal union and it took place in a Methodist church in the village of All Saints in the parish of St. Paul, Antigua, on a Sunday afternoon in the late nine-teenth century. His name was John Richardson and her name was Mary; I do not know if the word "happiness" was associated with marriage back then. They had two children, boys, named Alfred and Albert; Alfred became my father. What my father made of his parents I do not know. I do not know if his mother was beautiful; there was no picture of her and my father never spoke of her in that way. I do not know if his father was handsome; there was no picture of him and my father never spoke of him in that way. His mother would not have been born into slavery, but her parents most certainly would have been enslaved people; . . . his father then could not have been an owner of slaves but his parents might have been. How these two people met and fell in love then, I do not know; that they fell in love I do not know, but I do not rule it out, nor any other combination of feelings. (pp. 181-182)

As frustrating as the *lacunae* in her narration are, Xuela manages to make them speak. Although she cannot fill in the blanks created by John's and Alfred's erasure of the name and body of the Mother (Mary's maiden name is never revealed, for instance), Xuela fashions these memories of oblivion into rhizomes that set the foundations which make it possible to tell Mary's (her)story in ways similar to how Xuela sounds her own mother's silence.

What allows Xuela to unsilence her own mother, herself, and (albeit to lesser extent) Mary is the act of speaking these silences in spite of themselves, as she does when she denounces Alfred's erasure of *his* mother:

> His mother remained to him without clear features, though she must have mended his clothes, cooked his food, tended his schoolboy wounds, encouraged his ambitions, soothed his wounded brow; these are things I would have liked my mother to have done, if only I had had one. . . . My father did not attend her funeral, he was then a policeman in St. Kitts and already on his way to establishing his own small dynasty of red-headed boys; he did not marry yet. (p. 183)

Xuela connects the abbreviation of Mary's life and story to that of her own mother by denouncing colonialism and its offshoots, including Eurocentric (hyper)masculinism, as ultimately responsible for the erasure of these unstoried, Other(ed) Afro-Caribbean women and their voices, minds, and bodies.

According to Helen Tiffin, European colonial education and its emphasis on Eurocentric texts and textuality were key in doing away with the bodies, minds and cultures of native men and women, replacing them with foreign mindsets built upon racial, cultural, sexual, and economic self-suppression:

> The texts of Europe were both deliberately (and sometimes adventitiously) deployed in the repression of the local and the concomitant reproduction and valorisation of Anglo-European culture at the colonised site, within and through not just the minds but the very bodies of the colonised. [. . .] . . . [T]he interpellative effect of colonialist education throughout the empire was frequently to enforce a separation between mind and body in the colonised subject at the same time as it introduced, at least in some societies, the very conception of that separation. (Tiffin: 909-910)

As pernicious as colonial discursive coercion and praxes are for women, their effects on Afro-Caribbean men are by no means negligible. Because of these effects, men like John and Alfred Richardson learned to equate masculinity with the sexually rapacious possession of women's bodies not only as objects of desire and conquest, but also as *loci* for writing the Name of the Father through the siring of children inside and outside of marriage. To them and others, being worthy of the name "man" was tantamount to reading their bodies and selves as more or less "imperfect" extensions of the "perfect" body of the male European colonizer.

This reading stressed overcoming the "deficiencies" that prevented Afro-Caribbean and Euro-Creole men from meeting the standards set by the white man, yet no matter how zealously they emulated these models, colonized men would never be able to purge all they deemed unworthy of "true" rooted Western masculinity. Such upsets left Alfred and likeminded men racked with perennial feelings of guilt, impotence and inadequacy, compelling them to believe that they would always be "less" than male Europeans if they did not dominate other men through competition and aggression. This self-inflicted

unmanning was passed on from one generation to the next through different acts of "rewriting" the Name of the Father at the expense of the Name of the Mother, using ideology and praxis to transform women and their bodies into commodities to be perused, exchanged, even discarded, if one were so inclined.

These hypermasculinist ways of thinking, looking, and acting taught colonized males to "man up" by Othering the women in their lives, regarding them as something both necessary and dangerous, even alien, to themselves and their schemes for social, cultural, political, and economic ascendancy. It is little wonder that Alfred missed his mother's funeral. How could he be expected to tear himself away from *his* life and work for the sake of someone whom he and his father before him had stripped clean of all clear features throughout the decades, conveniently forgetting how she helped along their self-fashioning as men through her silent work behind the scenes?

Be as it may, men in *The autobiography of my mother* cannot escape the ultimate fate of all beings: death. Similar to what Louise Bernard argues, Alfred Richardson is vulnerable to the ebb and flow of history and text as they unfold in Kincaid's work:

> The wider inferences of tropes that appear consistently throughout Kincaid's work (that is, self, writing, death, history, and memory) are filtered through the multi-faceted prism of her writing life. The space of the Caribbean. . . is continually re-envisioned via the subjective truth of anamnesis. The art of recollection established by the overlapping and oftentimes interwoven genres of autobiography, autobiographical fiction, non-fiction, and memoir, is at once a historical undertaking and an unapologetic attempt to piece together, and thus make sense of, an immediate and intimate past. . . . [I]t is this remembrance of things past, or the trope of *countermemory*. . . that Kincaid continues to repeat and revise in both *opposition* and *apposition* to the seminality of the Western colonizing paradigm of modernity. (Bernard: 118-119)

The life and work of Xuela Richardson mirror these facts, yet the former take a strange turn as part of the novel's poetics of male relation.

For all his greed and cruelty, Alfred is powerless to prevent time and history from eliding his name, which is briefly spared from oblivion by a daughter he seldom cared about, let alone acknowledged, while he was alive. The short life of the son Mr. Richardson, sired with his legitimate wife and named after himself, preludes the all-devouring void that eventually completes his unmanning and makes it all but irreversible:

> This boy [Alfred Jr.] thought, and was encouraged to think, that he was like his father in ways that were physical and in ways that were spiritual, so that it was said of him that he walked like his father and that certain of his features were like his father's, but this was not true; it was not so, not really. He did walk like my father, he did have some of his gestures, but this walk of my father's was not natural to my father and his gestures were not natural to him, either. My father had invented himself, had made himself up as he went along; when he wanted

something, he made himself meet the situation, he made his cut fit the jib. The man, my father, whom his wife and his son saw, the man they wanted that boy to be, existed, but the person they saw was an expression of my father's desires, an expression of his needs; the personality they were observing was like a suit of clothes my father had made for himself, and eventually he wore it so long that it became impossible to remove, it covered completely who he really was; who he really might have been became unknown, even to himself. (Kincaid: pp. 53-54)

The life and death of Alfred Jr. reveals the sham the elder Alfred's life had become long before his spurned daughter was born.

The way Xuela interprets her stepbrother's fate runs parallel with Elizabeth J. West's claims in "In the beginning there was death: spiritual desolation and the search for self in Jamaica Kincaid's *Autobiography of my mother*":

[Xuela] presumes to see life in its veritable emptiness—a vision that escapes the racial victor (Whites) as well as the racially vanquished (Blacks). The power of her vision, however, only offers a life filled with a lingering emptiness, for she sees death as the ultimate power over life. From infancy, death will signal pivotal moments in her life... [. . .]. This bleakness, recounted in the first lines of the novel, will resonate throughout. [. . .] From beginning to end, the narrator maintains this desolate vision, and she will conclude her narrative with the despair of the beginning. . . (West: 3-4)

This "despair of the beginning" encroaches upon Alfred Sr. until it becomes virtually inescapable. Life and history themselves will sooner or later dispel Mr. Richardson's vision of himself as a farce, despite his refusal to see what Xuela and his victims behold day after day:

My father was a thief, he was a jailer, he spoke falsehoods, he took advantage of the weak; that was who he was at heart; he acted in these ways at all times in his life, but by the end of his life, the jailer, the thief, the liar, the coward – all were unknown to him. He believed himself to be a man of freedom, honest and brave; he believed it as he believed in the realness of anything he could see standing in front of him. . . and nothing could convince him that just the opposite was the truth. (Kincaid: 54)

Decades after the death of his only son and a lifetime of crimes against his fellow citizens, Alfred Richardson sees his roots and rhizomes shrivel and die. Looking back, he might have realized what the loss of Alfred Jr. meant in the greater scheme of things:

His name was Alfred; he was named after his father. His father, my father, was named after Alfred the Great, the English king, a personage my father should have despised, for he came to know this Alfred not through the language of the poet, which would have been the language of compassion, but through the language of the conqueror. My father was not responsible for his own name, but he

was responsible for the name of his son. [. . .] My father perhaps imagined a dynasty. It was laughable only to someone excluded from its substance, someone like me, someone female; anyone else would understand entirely. He had imagined himself as continuing to live on through the existence of someone else. (pp. 109-10)

So much for "King" Alfred. His root-rhizome already headed toward the end of all things, the man still holds hope for the future: "My father did not stop living then [after the death of Alfred Jr.], nor did he lose the desire to continue living, he only came to believe that there was a secret purpose to all his suffering and he longed for it to be revealed to him" (p. 111). Mr. Richardson gets his wish in the long run, but not quite in the way he imagined. Xuela's father ends up becoming the masks he wore throughout his life, and they, in turn, are becoming of him. After all is said and done, the time and effort John and Alfred Richardson put into fashioning themselves and the people around them at the expense of women, children and their fellow men is wasted; death finalizes the unmanning that pursued them in life. Regardless of the consequences (or lack thereof) of their hypermasculinity and crimes, the fact that everything these men desired and accomplished could only end with/in death reveals not so much the wages of sin as the ultimate fate of all human beings, scoundrels or otherwise.

The autobiography of my mother offers a counter-reading to hegemonic narratives that extol masculinist domination and predation in the name of justice and civilization. Kincaid's novel demonstrates what conquerors and their cronies have to look forward to after colonialism, hypermasculinity, and man's inhumanity to man and woman run their course: unmanning and obliteration. It matters little whether death comes much too soon or much too late. The end result is rarely anything other than being forgotten and/or sporadically remembered as a wraith so contemptible as to elicit scornful laughter from the people left behind as they themselves disappear into the night.

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CHALLENGING MASCULINE STEREOTYPES IN RYHAAN SHAH'S *A DEATH IN THE FAMILY*

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While we are used to seeing the mother in the role of caregiver in the nuclear family and while most fiction writing regards children as appendages to women, in *A death in the family* Ryhaan Shah (2014) does an exceptional job of reversing patriarchal paradigms. She deals with an Indian Islamic culture and faith in a predominantly Christian and Hindu Guyana where to be both a Muslim and a widower can be challenging. In this compact novel which takes place after the death of first the mother Ayesha and then much later the father Ahmad, the reader is left to reconstruct from bits and pieces who these two people were in real life. The work is compact in the sense that it heavily relies on internal monologues due to the absence of the mother and father. Focusing on premature maternal absence, we see how Ahmad assumes both the roles of mother and father of three children, coupled with his adamant resolution to stay single until his death.

It cannot be denied that we are the creatures of our environment, thus factors such as the socio-economic system of Guyana, racial classification, and religious background all intersect and shape Ahmad Ally's ideas, which prove to be unacceptable from the point of view of his family and in-laws. In this article, my focus will be on questioning conventional readings of Indo-Guyanese masculinity. In particular, I aim to challenge the stereotypical representations of Caribbean Muslim men in relation to their roles in both public and family settings. For example, I will show how Muslims are not averse to Western education for both boys and girls.

This novel is set in a short span of time that covers the death and funeral of Ahmad Ally, and it deals primarily with kinship and the complexities born out of familial relationships. The narration begins by forcefully including readers in the condemnation of the principal character Ahmad, who seems to be responsible for everyone's unhappiness, be it that of his dead wife, Ayesha, his children or his in-laws. However, as the narration progresses, things rightfully fall into place and, eventually, Ahmad is absolved of all acrimony harbored against him before and after his death, thus involving the

reader in an emotional conundrum. Only death grants Ahmad a space to be gradually reconciled with his children.

Ayesha's untimely death provides the backdrop for the perplexed world of *A Death in the Family*. Leaving behind three children, Maryam, Khalil, and toddler Dee, gives rise to an exceptional situation, in the sense that it's usually a woman's responsibility to raise children. In the novel, Ayesha's absence takes its particular psychological toll on each character, with constant weeping, relationship insecurity, and grudges all symptomatic of open psychological wounds. While maternal care has been eliminated from the lives of Ayesha's children, Ally attempts to compensate to some degree for this loss. It is dimly inferred in the novel that at some point in her life, Ayesha wants to be a teacher, along with her sister Hamida. However, due to marriage and domestic commitments, this aspiration comes to a dead end. During the post-independence period, Guyanese women were given more autonomy and independence, allowing some to break out of the traditional colonial domestic roles, as do some of Ayesha's siblings. At the same time, women also began to play more active roles as female heads of households, both creating a space for individual independence as well as strengthening their kinship relations.

Men subconsciously fear a woman's independence, and patriarchy often tries to relegate female subjects to domestic roles.

This enhances our understanding of Ayesha: "It is a fact that many a young woman in the Caribbean has deliberately stifled any pretensions to a career, lest in so doing she outshines her male counterpart and thereby ends up an "old maid" (Lawrence 1983, p. 5). If we are to follow this line of reasoning and apply it to Ayesha, it becomes clear that she decides to marry Ahmad as the socially more acceptable option, compared to that of staying single with money and a career. Subjects are borne of their surroundings, and Caribbean societies have inscribed colonial versions of patriarchy on the psyche of the people of the region: "…the ideology of masculinity and femininity in Guyana entails that the man be the breadwinner and the woman the caregiver. This ideology is the legacy of the Anglo-Protestant colonialists" (Das, 2000: 1947).

Turning to Ahmad Ally, throughout the story he is accused of ruining his children's lives. Raising three children alone isn't an easy task at all for either gender, but Ahmad shows no reluctance whatever in taking care of his children, despite the fact that he is a Muslim, and thus belongs to a community where this role is less accepted for a man than in others. The political turmoil and unrest that characterizes Guyana in this period makes child rearing even more challenging. All of these factors serve to further complicate the already complicated life of Ahmad and his motherless children.

Guyana was colonized by the British, and since independence in 1966, it has undergone many difficult and chaotic structural and cultural changes that have negatively affected both the Indo-Guyanese and Afro-Guyanese communities. Each of these communities

has organized ethnically based parties, which have waged fierce fights with each other over political sovereignty. In the novel this is well documented, in passages such as the following:

> Hasib and Hussein were busy with plans to emigrate to America. It was what everyone was doing. Everyone was escaping the future, the bleak future that the country offered. There had been disturbances and racial riots as the United States and Britain had colluded to remove the Indian political leader, Cheddi Jagan, from government and place his rival, the African, Forbes Burnham, into power. … There was ethnic cleansing, the cleansing of the Indians (Shah: 46)

The political situation in Guyana, described as "heaps of garbage" (p. 216) in the novel, leaves no doubt on the part of the reader about the anxieties harbored by Guyanese parents in relation to the well-being of their children. Questions of what and where children study become crucial in such circumstances, and Ahmad doesn't hesitate to send his children Khalil and Dee abroad for their studies.

Such political unrest and economic instability do not constitute an optimal climate for child-rearing. The reader wonders: How can Ally raise and protect his children in such conditions? Massive immigration to industrialized countries is one way out of this predicament, at least for those who can afford to do so. In Hamida's words: "everyone lived like that, lived schizophrenic lives, one part in Guyana and the other in New York or Toronto or Miami. Every family was broken like that. It was unnatural and unhealthy" (p. 133). Living in such a disturbing place and time gives any parent the right to send their children elsewhere.

Guyana's unsettled political situation is only one of a number of factors that makes Ahmad Ally's task in raising his children particularly challenging. Being a member of an Indo-Muslim minority, in a country where the majority are Hindus or Christians poses its own obstacles. Ahmad's Islamic upbringing obviously constrains him and the people who surround him, arguably in more severe ways than is the case for any other group living in Guyana. His children see him as narrow-minded, "keeping to his narrow, confined world with its set rules and fear of damnation" (p. 22), which in reality reflects his particular faith in Islam.

The idea of clinging to the past, keeping ties alive with his homeland, and preserving his heritage is a recurring theme throughout the novel, but most importantly it is the foundation upon which Ahmad's character is built. Most of the characters condemn Ally as being old-fashioned, because his way of thinking is focused on his vision of the past which represents for him a sense of safety and security, especially when his sense of stability is threatened by political and economic turmoil. Nobody stops and thinks that this bereaved father is doing his best with the culture that he received in his mother's lap. El-Aswad states that mothers choose "which elements of their original cultures they

would like to keep, which they choose not to keep, and the extent to which they wish to incorporate the new or other culture" (El-Aswad 2010, p. 238).

To some extent, however, Ahmad knows how to put his faith in its proper place, even though, as Price observes: "People who express greater religiosity tend to hold more traditional ideas about women's status and gender roles" (Price 2008, p. 86). In the end, Ahmad proves to be an open-minded father who wants the best for his children, regardless of any political or religious dogmas. He is not opposed to Dee's studying abroad and insists that Khalil should study in the States. He even allows Maryam to take over the family's business for a time. Yes, he has plans for his son to return to Guyana after finishing school, as means for passing down his name, or heritage which is very important to Ahmad. But these are normal expectations that parents, especially male parents, have of their children. Ahmad's father had come to the Americas seeking adventure, and Ahmad had been entrusted with the responsibility of taking care of the Ally name. People in the ancestral homeland measure someone's success abroad with two questions: What are your earnings? And what have your children accomplished? More than once in the novel, these concerns are mentioned, and Ally frequently expects his children at different times to "make me proud".

After his death, Ahmad Ally's children eventually start to realize all the misunderstandings that underlie the animosity that they harbor against their father. They admit that: "he doesn't see himself that way. He doesn't want to change anyone's view of the world to his. He just wants to be left alone to carry on with his own" (Shah 2014, p. 200). His toughness on Dee due to her breaking of tradition, his blessing of Maryam's wedding, and his purchase of a house for Khalil all prove to be beneficial. By the end of the novel, Maryam takes over the business and thus Ally's legacy is preserved; Khalil reconciles with his wife, Reena, and Dee marries a Hindu who converts to Islam.

Though his death closes a sad chapter in the lives of Maryam, Khalil, and Dee, they finally heal of the wounds that have been caused by the lack of a mother's lap. As grownups they finally reconcile their sorrowful past with their present so that they can move on in their lives. This fact is well expressed in the following lines: "how innocent the world was when you were a child. It was remarkable that it was the very same world all along and that it was you that changed and became aware of its complexities" (p. 209). Eventually they are able to identify with their father, and to see that his actions arose from real concern as opposed to the controlling father cliché; he wasn't just a father figure, but also a spring of emotional support or reconstruction. Nobody can replace a mother's warmth, yet Ahmad Ally acted in the only way he knew out of love for his children, and in the end his children were the ones who flourished "it was such a paradox, such a contradiction: their father showed such kindness to people who were acquaintances, employees. It was as if the kindness were easier because he had no emotional attachment to them" (p. 211).

One of this novel's strong points is the fact that, just as his children, the reader finally comes to understand who Ahmad was. His constant intervention into the lives of his children was his duty as a caring father. Some might see it as meddling because usually such behavior is more acceptable from the mother than from the father. Gradually the image of the late Ahmad Ally whom everybody accuses of having a hardened heart vanishes and instead we sympathize and remember that he was also a bereaved father who was left with three young children to raise alone. And he is well rewarded: his family thrives and prospers while others like Hamida's children and Ayesha's brothers leave their parents and the country for good, either because of Guyana's bad situation or simply due to a lack of family cohesiveness.

Ahmad's children inherit a safe and secure home in Guyana, a sense of belonging to a Muslim Indo-Guyanese community and they provide a proper funeral for their father. These were the values he wanted to pass down, and quite honestly, he did his job well "he [Rakesh] thought what nice children Mr. Ally had, and he thought that Mr. Ahmad Ally must have been a very proud man" (Shah 2014, p. 223). I conclude by asserting that *A Death in the Family* helps to fill a gap in Caribbean literary studies about Muslims, particularly because it challenges negative assumptions and stereotypes about Muslim male behavior in Caribbean contexts.

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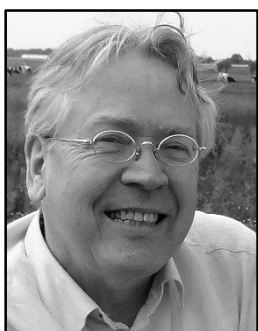
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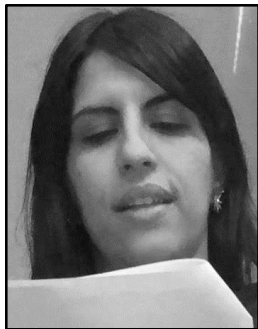
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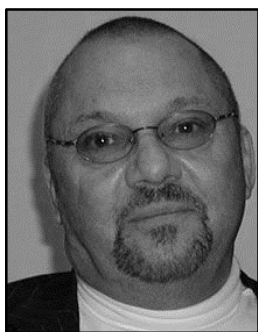
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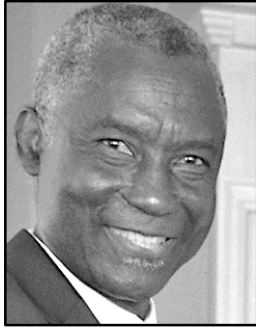
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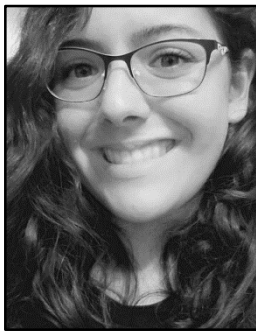
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