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AMONG THE CARIB OF BELIZE

City University of New York

Ph.D. 1986

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**LANGUAGE SHIFT AND THE REDEFINITION OF SOCIAL
BOUNDARIES AMONG THE CARIB OF BELIZE**
by

PAMELA WRIGHT

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Anthropology in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the City
University of New York

1986

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

April 30, 1986 Edward A. Bendix
Date Chair of Examining Committee

June 30, 1986 June Schreier
Date Executive Officer

Professor Eric Wolf
Professor June Nash
Professor Edward Bendix
Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

Abstract

**LANGUAGE SHIFT AND THE REDEFINITION OF SOCIAL
BOUNDARIES AMONG THE CARIB OF BELIZE**

by

Pamela Wright

Adviser: Professor Edward Bendix

This dissertation examines the language shift process among the Carib of Belize. The language shift is explained as an intergenerational phenomenon in which children extend the language associated with power in their social context into their family by not using the traditional Arawakan language of their family but Belizean English. This association of Belizean English with power is the result of the entry of the Carib into public sector labor. This entry has resulted in new class distinctions among the ethnic group of the Carib. The intellectuals of this class utilize the authority of their education and forms acquired in that education

to redirect ethnic consciousness, associating it with national identity. In Chapter 2 I discuss the system of distinctions in which Carib identity was formed and developed throughout history through an analysis of terms for people in the Carib language. In Chapter 3 I review the history of Belize and examine the labor structure of the country as a result of the place of the Belizean economy in the world capitalist system. I distinguish categories of informal, formal and public sector labor. I indicate the function of public sector workers as a class created by the state. The significance of this class in Belizean politics is briefly reviewed. I conclude the chapter with a discussion of the role of the public sector workers as a medial class in Belizean politics. In Chapter 4 I trace the history of the entry of the Carib into public sector labor and discuss the social distinctions of class among the ethnic group. Descriptions of rituals and citations of writings are provided to indicate ways in which Carib intellectuals direct ethnic consciousness. I also include labor histories of public sector workers in this chapter. Chapter 5 is an examination of the intergenerational language shift. Quantitative data are presented indicating the intergenerational aspect of the language shift and the

changing role of the child in the Carib family.
Language histories of individuals of different ages and experiences are presented. In the concluding chapter I review my theory of intergenerational language shift comparing it with other recent sociolinguistic study.

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Thanks is hopefully something that need not be said in print for those who have truly given of themselves to aid this endeavor. Sereme niahun. Anthropologists are fortunate in having work that sometimes allows us to sing along with others.

Acknowledgements are ceremonial naming, associating these names with one's work. Perhaps this ritual would be better accompanied by libations.

However thanks is necessary for the following people: My committee who suffered through many poorly written drafts but nonetheless read, understood and appreciated the ideas of the thesis. June Nash and Eric Wolf provide examples of excellence hard for graduate students to approach. Ed Bendix was a constant help in times when that help was absolutely necessary and his integrity was a fine model. His careful and patient manner steadied my ego enough to write, and his insistence on detail kept me from overly simplistic description and theory. Professor Susan Gal's enlightening comments as outside reader are already prompting me to rethink the work done for work ahead. I thank her for her time and inspiration.

The faculty and staff at Hunter College provided me a stage and a room of my own to work in. The Chairman, Daniel Bates, and the secretary Judith Tucker were especially helpful in providing access to a wordprocessor and convivial support. Johnnetta Cole loaned me her office many more times than it was convenient and always gave me a warm smile. Sonia Villegas, Reyna Schilling and Kathleen Walsh D'Arcy were inspirational as thinkers, students and friends. Debbie D'Amico-Samuels, a fellow graduate student and dancer, taught me much about speaking my own words in an academic context.

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To City University of New York I am grateful for both a graduate education which brought new dimensions to Texas traditions. Though graduate study here often meant many hours working to pay for an education, cutting into the time available to read, study and think, it also provided reason for continuing in times of hardship.

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It is good to hear two young people address each other in our language. Today the Garifuna is disappearing from the face of the earth. The children no longer speak their language to each other. They all speak Giyowe [Creole English] ... at all times. When their parents address them in Carib [Garifuna] language they answer in Creole... Disgusting. Their parents who perhaps do not speak either tongue lose communication with them. A gap in the family harmony, became a chasm because of the lack of understanding between them and confusion prevails...

excerpt from Tumba Le (This Drum) by Don Justo 1977, a novel written by a Garifuna man from the town of Dangriga in Belize who published it at his own expense in the United States
now a machinist and drummer in the United States
Written in English

Garinagu, magura wamei wanasinu
Adimurehawame wereru.
Pantawama lau wereru, iduhenu,
Gamalaliwama, agambuawamamuga.
Daralamuga bera waba lun webeluru
luei huya. Bucha wawagu ahuyuwa.

[English translation]
Garifuna people, let us not approach the nonGarifuna,
Let us speak our language,
Take pride in our words, my kinsmen,
Having one voice among us we could be heard,
So that the door may be open for us to get out
Of the rain. We are tired of the rain on us.

excerpt from a poem in Chulua Dan (The Time Has Arrived) by Marcella Lewis 1977, a book of poetry published in the town of Dangriga by Carib a village woman subsistence farmer
Written in Garifuna [my English translation]

And organ music
Jukebox blaring
Hymns sung to mary
And the queen's english
 shall not quiet the
Drums of my Fathers
Rumbling in my bones,
Drums of my Fathers.

Capturing my mind,
Drums of my Fathers
Recapturing my soul, or the
Words of my Fathers
Tumbling from my mouth.

excerpt from a poem in Chulua Dan (The Time Has Arrived) by E. Roy Cayetano 1977, a resident of Dangriga town and education officer
written in English

Language is important for the transmission of culture, for the passing of culture from one generation to the next. Language is even more important because a good part of our culture inheres in our language. Indeed what is the difference between us and other black people if we do not have our language. Alternatively, throw away the language and you throw away the culture? Are there children in the Carib community that do not know their language? Aren't we throwing away our language and thus throwing away our culture?....

excerpt from an article "Garifuna Culture" in Luwani Garifuna (The Soul of the Garifuna) by Theodore Palacio 1975, a collection of writings published in the town of Dangriga by Garifuna a Belize City principal of a secondary school
written in English

Chapter 1

Introduction: The Language Shift among the Carib of Belize

The preface to this chapter contains excerpts from writings by Carib authors. These are writings about the loss of the Garifuna language, spoken by a group referred to as Carib in this dissertation¹. These passages speak of a change which is taking place among the Carib: Carib children are not speaking the indigenous Garifuna language anymore.

This dissertation is the study of that language change among the Carib, an ethnic group of the nation of Belize. Belize is the former colony of British Honduras with an area of 22,963 kilometers (including the mainland and the cayes) and an estimated population of 161,500 in 1984. The country is located along the Caribbean coast with the Mexican state of Yucatan to the north and the nation of Guatemala to the west and south (see Fig 1). The nation of Belize, unlike its Central American neighbors has a history of British colonialism, which has left it with an Anglo-Saxon legacy. Thus English is the official language and the language of

instruction in schools (although Spanish is widely spoken).

In Belize I observed behavior and interviewed Caribs in Dangriga, a predominately Carib town of approximately 7,000 people, and in a small village in the south of Belize which I will choose to call Numada. Numada has a population of approximately 230 people, all of whom but one identify themselves as Caribs. The Carib are often identified by anthropologists as an Afro-Indian group, the product of runaway slaves and an AmerIndian group speaking an Arawakan language. The Carib have maintained this Arawakan language (not a Creole language but an AmerIndian language) until the present where, because the children of the group are not speaking the language, the language is dying. Instead, the children are speaking a code of Belizean English comprised of varieties of Creole English and standard West Indian English with the standard assigned a more formal usage while the Creole is assigned an informal usage respectively (since children rarely use formal language outside the church and school, children speak mainly in Creole). This type of variation between forms of standard English and Creole varieties for individuals

is known as a "creole continuum" (see Labov 1971, Bickerton 1973 and Rickford 1985 for diverse views on the social meanings and systematicity of these varieties).

The phenomena of the change of language by a community is often referred to by sociolinguists as language shift (following Weinreich 1953). The process of language shift is usually studied by sociolinguists by identifying individuals who have or are shifting languages and then attempting to correlate the language shift with other socioeconomic factors. Most often the community is the social unit of analysis.

In this study I will not attempt this type of analysis but rather will attempt to locate language shift as the product of significant changes affecting many Carib communities within a Belizean nation-state. Thus I locate the changing of labor pursuits of the ethnic group within the labor structure of the nation-state and demonstrate the effects of this change on Carib individuals in both the town and village. The entrance of the Carib into public sector labor in the Belizean nation-state has promoted a social change in Carib communities. I attempt to identify the language

change as part this larger social process occurring at a societal level for the Belizean nation-state and affecting Carib communities.

Thus the focus of my study is the social change affecting Carib communities as the source of the language change; I consider this a necessary direction for a thorough understanding of sociolinguistic change. Rossi-Landi (1983:113-115) ² and Halliday (1978:14-16) have also indicated the necessity of focusing on social relations as the source of language change. Halliday has indicated the significance of Bernstein's theory and research which

...places the emphasis on changes in the social structure as major factors in shaping or changing a given culture through their effect on the consequences of fashions of speaking.... (Bernstein 1971:123 as cited in Halliday *ibid*:25)

I also view language (in the sense of Saussure's parole) as social communication which does not exist independently of the relations which constitute human society, the material aspects of the organization of human labor, and the forms of communication involved in that labor³ The processes which organize human labor and shape the rise and fall of particular languages are complex, and the effects of material processes within societies upon relations

between languages may be gradual or long term. Many sociolinguists have noted the primacy of economic forces in society for promoting the languages used by various groups of people (Tabouret Keller 1972, Haugen 1985, Fishman 1977 et al). This is especially important in questions of language shift, language maintenance, and language spread.

Language shift and language maintenance have been described respectively in the literature as a community changing from the use of one language to the use of another or as a community resisting such change within a larger social unit dominated by another language. Cooper proposes that language shifts be considered as part of language spread:

Language spread may be defined as an increase, over time, in the proportion of a communication network that adopts a given language or language variety for a given communicative function. (Cooper 1982:6)

Fishman et al, (1977:108-133) have pointed out that these labels rely on the social unit being considered such that language shift/language maintenance involves consideration of language change phenomena on the community or "micro" level while language spread involves a worldwide or "macro" level comparison.

Bell (1976:26-27) has indicated that sociolinguists

have failed to consider the links between "micro" level sociolinguistics (in terms of persons interacting in communities) and "macro" level sociolinguistics (in terms of populations in nation-states). Understanding the scale of the social unit being considered and the relationships between those social units is critical to an understanding of the processes involved in a change of language among a group of people. Fishman (1967, 1971a) often confounds community, region and nation in comparing language spread and language maintenance phenomena. This is especially evident in his reworking of Ferguson's concept of diglossia.

Ferguson (1959) described diglossia as a stable situation of two varieties of the same language in contact, whereby the High (H) variety prevails in all public spheres and the Low (L) variety is the uncoded variant for family and friends. Fishman (1971a, 1971b: 286ff) extends the concept of diglossia to all bilingual "communities" regardless of social scale. His feature matrix defines these "communities" as to whether they characterize variants of a language as a High or Low variety and thus possess both diglossia and bilingualism.⁴ Thus the matrix includes the large

societies such as the United States and India in contrast to small isolated communities.

Confounding these social units may be heuristically effective for some purposes but may obfuscate the process of social change as it occurs on different levels of social organization. Understanding the articulation of various levels of social organization is important for understanding of phenomena such as language spread/language shift which are structured by the interaction of local communities within large entities such as the nation-state or of nation-states with colonial or metropolitan powers. Thus the state's relation to the community should be considered, and the mode of production supported by the state relative to that of communities is a critical factor in determining change within the communities.

In studies of "ethnic groups" and the social process of distinction between these groups called "ethnicity" anthropologists have steadily moved in the direction of considering the relationship between levels of sociocultural integration. From an early model by Steward (1955) to later redefinition and refinement of the theoretical approach by Wolf (1956, 1957, 1966,

1967) anthropologists have sought to determine the articulation of the communities they studied to larger social units. These theories have moved from a consideration of group relations in one nation-state to connections of peasant communities with the larger society to the consideration of the role of brokers or individuals who linked small towns to the state or elites to the allocation of development funds (see Adams 1970, 1971, Long 1975, Solien Gonzales 1972). Dependency theorists linked communities to the dynamics of world capitalism (see Nash 1981:402-403) and the historian Wallerstein (1975) developed a model of a world system "whose basis is an international division of labor mediated through trade exchanges without the need for a unified political structure" (Nash 1981:395). These models forced anthropologists to rethink their concepts of communities as isolated social units and to see them as groups of people embedded in a larger matrix of social, political and economic relationships.

However work by sociolinguists continued to adopt the community as a unit of analysis, even while linguists such as Hymes (1967, 1968, 1974) could admit that this unit was problematic:

Obviously membership in a community depends upon criteria which in the given case may not even saliently involve language and speaking, as when birthright is considered indelible. The analysis of such criteria is beyond our scope here - in other words, I duck it, except to acknowledge the difficulty of the notion of community itself. Social scientists are far from agreed as to its use....(Hymes 1974:51)

Gumperz (1964) attempted an assessment of the levels of social communication relative to cultural subdivisions in an examination of speech variation and the study of Indian civilization; but much of the work in sociolinguistics done within "an ethnography of communication" assumes a speech community (see Gumperz and Hymes 1964, Gumperz and Hymes 1972, Bauman and Sherzer 1974, Saville-Troike 1982) sometimes equated with a residential unit and other times referring to a group of people with shared values or norms for use of speech. Most sociolinguistic study has not attempted to investigate the integration between societal levels but rather has assumed the existence of "a community".⁵

As anthropologists refused to confine themselves to the community as a social unit they have moved from a consideration of ethnicity as strategies of political actors who are interacting and defining or redefining their interests (Barth 1969) to a study of the relation of emergent ethnicity to economic and political development (see Vincent 1978, 1974 for a general

discussion). However a Barthian concept of ethnicity as a strategy for political actors who are interacting via language and ethnic identification is still proposed by many sociolinguists who study code-switching (or changes in language within a single speech event) or emphasize language change and variation in relation to a "choice" of identities (Le Page and Tabouret Keller 1985:207-208). These approaches emphasize self-allocation to an ethnic group and view code-switching as a "strategy" for interaction (in Blom and Gumperz' (1972) terms metaphorical code switching):⁶

...by switching languages bilinguals often have the option of choosing which group to identify with in a particular situation, and thus can convey the metaphorical meaning which goes along with such choice as well as whatever denotative meaning is conveyed by the code itself. (Saville-Troike 1982:62-63)

Previously R. T. Smith (1970) and those espousing a theory of social stratification sought to examine the relationship between class, ethnicity and the division of labor. Others who have considered these relationships are Hechter (1976) who links ethnicity and migration⁷ within a consideration of labor market stratification labeling this process with the term "the cultural division of labor":

...the establishment of a cultural division of labor is inherent to states in the modern world-system, and especially so since the advent of

industrialization. The basic reason for this is that certain types of industrial enterprises need to recruit unskilled labor at minimal cost. (Hechter 1976:216)

Other theorists attempt to relate ethnicity to the dominant and subordinate relations of ethnic and class groups in a state for a consideration of "language group allegiance" of various groups in relation to the ideology dominant within the larger society. Hence the sociolinguist, Glyn Williams (1979:63) has argued that the ethnic group which controls the "infrastructure" (or mode of production) controls ideology and:

A major ingredient of the legitimization process is the expression of an ideology wherein the minority language is viewed as an irrational allegiance of a traditionally orientated population unarticulated to the mass society and the State.

Brackette Williams' (1984) studies of Creoles and East Indians in Guyana also stresses a type of ethnicity in which groups assert, redefine and adapt to a hegemonic ideology of Anglo-Europeans established prior to and during the colonial experience of the nation-state. This process has been particularly difficult for East Indian peoples in Guyana and elsewhere in the Caribbean as they must attempt to legitimate their ethnic heritage within an ideology which links Christianity and the state, particularly in the state controlled institutions such as the schools. Understanding ethnicity and class as

they are articulated within a larger ideology may and reveal much about the links between sociocultural levels.

In this dissertation I attempt a consideration of the forms of labor engaged in by the Carib, the resulting class formations of the ethnic group, and the development of Carib intellectuals out of an "educated class" among the ethnic group. I consider the restructuring of Carib identity and ethnicity. I will define ethnicity following William Sloane:

Ethnicity, then, might be defined as an identity claim which, relying on the manipulation of cultural and sometimes of genetic and/or geographical symbols abstracted from some distinct reality that characterizes the group, is advanced by the members of a social group in a given situation of structured interaction with members of another group. (Sloane :124)

Cohen (1969) has described ethnicity as a political rather than a cultural phenomenon. For the Carib I would argue that ethnicity has been transformed from a political to a cultural phenomenon and back again in the structured interactions of ethnic groups as they vary according to the relations of these ethnic groups throughout history. These processes are all a part of the social change resulting in language shift, and require not only an understanding of the Carib communities which I studied but also an examination of the Belizean economy and the nature of the newly independent Belizean

nation-state.

Development, Nationalism, Labor and language

A vast literature has accumulated on language shift phenomena. To define clearly the contribution of this dissertation to that literature I will first review the recent literature on development, nationalism, labor and language and then discuss my own theory and methodology in analysing language shift. Several sociolinguistic studies have attempted to relate linguistic heterogeneity within a state to the level of development of that state. (As I stated previously these studies are those which comprise macro sociolinguistics versus micro sociolinguistics which emphasizes community.) Fasold (1984:134-136) contains a review of comparative studies which attempt a correlation of linguistic heterogeneity with development. Pool (1972) has posited a causal relationship between the level of development of a nation and linguistic diversity. However, Lieberman and Hansen (1974) in a 100 year longitudinal study of eight nations (none of them underdeveloped) concluded "...there is essentially no association between the developmental characteristics and mother tongue diversity"(ibid:537 as cited in Fasold 1984:135).

Understanding the division of labor within states and aspects of this relative to ethnic division within states may serve to indicate how various languages come to have social significance within the social contexts of those states. Hechter (1976:215) has described how the recruitment of unskilled labor at minimal cost has promoted a cultural division of labor within states in the modern world system yet in the process of nation-building:

Nations can emerge from ethnically heterogeneous states only when at least some constituent groups change their ethnic identification, include themselves and become included by others into a single corporate body.

Indeed, understanding the place of labor in connecting individuals to others within nation-states is crucial in understanding the system of linkages which promote language change. These links may not follow contiguous geographical space but the hierarchical ordering of economic and political relationships within the state linked to those of the world system. Lunden (1979) sees occupations as being a part of a "communications network" structured within by

"nationalism" as "institutionalism" in a world-wide system. Consequently he states:

The position in a communications network may be more important than actual geographic distances.... formal and functional ties between a centre and other main centres of the world may be more important than contacts with the surrounding area. (Lunden 1979:12)

For Lunden, the consequences of increasing partitioning of work with industrialization world wide mean that :

...workers give up traditional within-the-family/ village partitioning and integration of work in favour of the within-the-state/ world partitioning and integration of work....(ibid p.14).

and he states that this combined with migration to the work site has had a great effect on the relationship between nationalism and linguism. Lunden has located linguistic minorities in European states in an areal distribution which is negatively co-variant with Christaller's central place system (ibid p.15). Hence for Lunden central places may be centers of linguistic spread and political-economic integration with these centers may promote language shift while language maintenance is promoted in circumstances where integration does not occur or is resisted. While Lunden has chosen to use a regional analysis model and I have chosen to use a world systems model described above by

anthropologists emphasizing labor within a world capitalist system both of these models are similar in that they emphasize the centrality of economics and economic-political factors in influencing language shift⁸.

Lillian Brudner-White (1978) studied a community in the southern Alpine province of Carinthia, Austria, depicting the language shifts of the community through time. Brudner-White's study is historical, revealing the economic and political changes which influenced language change from before the 9th century in the time of Roman rule to the present; as she states:

Each language shift was related to a fundamental change in the organizational basis of local political and economic institutions (Brudner-White 1978:156).

In the early periods German was the language of the lords and Slovene the language of the peasants as the Slovenes were incorporated into land control by the Catholic church and the Germans. After the 13th century the Slavic language became the exclusive language as the communities became corporate entities and excluded German immigrants.

Bilingualism in Slavic and German came with the Hapsburg dynasty in the 14th century when the feudal

system gave way to incorporation into a larger economic system. In the mid-nineteenth century common land ownership by the village gave way to redistribution of land to individuals and made the common political organization which administered the common land obsolete. This began the social process which resulted in German monolingualism; Brudner-White points out that this process has continued into the twentieth century furthered by new systems of transportation and education. Those areas that have maintained the Slavic languages have maintained the political and economic organization which administers the "Alm" or commonly owned land (ibid:182). In pointing out the significance of these economic and political organization in language shift /language maintenance in Austria, Brudner-White clearly rejects the theory that language change is promoted by ethnic sentiment:

With the exception of a relatively small pan-Slovene nationalist group, the beliefs which are expressed that actually perpetuate Slovene are associated with major life-cycle decisions of the individual and focus not on Slovene directly but on appropriate behavior related to neighborhood and locality. (ibid:172).

This case clearly demonstrates diachronic differences in economic and political organization which structure

labor and indicates the pattern of influence these structures had in promoting language change in Austria through time.

Several other sociolinguists have attempted to examine the type of labor and labor-related networks as a source of language shift. Tabouret-Keller (1972) describes language change in the Pays d'Oc region of France where children are not learning the dialect and are instead becoming monolingual in Standard French. She demonstrates a positive correlation with the amount of dialect or patois spoken and the number of agricultural workers in the town and a corresponding negative correlation between patois and industrial workers. She compares the language shift situation in the Pays d' Oc region to a language maintenance situation in Alsace, where despite some industrialization "traditional farming remains competitive" (ibid:375).

Some sociolinguistic studies have related labor organization within the state to linguistic division of the state. Hughes (1972) has described the "linguistic division of labor" in Montreal, pointing out the significance of the use of English or French in occupational hierarchies in Montreal.

In rural Mexico, Pessah and Zapata (1979) have indicated that the type of labor a community engages in and the requirements of that labor may induce language shift. Gal (1978, 1979) found that the correlation between occupation and language use alone was not enough to explain the shift from bilingualism in Hungarian and German to monolingualism in German among members of an Austrian rural community. Gal's study emphasized the role of labor relations in language shift: those community members whose networks did not include many peasants were shifting to monolingualism while those whose networks were of peasants maintained bilingualism. Gal's study has indicated the significance of labor in determining social relationships. Thus it is within a society where labor acts to bond social ties that language change takes place.

Although Belize is an underdeveloped country and thus has a different position within the world system than Austria, similar kinds of processes are affecting the language shift among the Garifuna reaching into the town and the village I studied. The Belizean nation-state has an underdeveloped economy as the result of a colonial use of the colony for lumber providing

surplus to a metropolitan center in Britain. The labor structure of the country reflects this economic and political legacy. The Carib have existed as one of a number of groups worldwide (see Braverman 1974, Wolf 1982:307) serving as labor force reservoirs with family members staying in villages providing subsistence to children while men worked for wages. This pattern began with mahogany labor and continued into the twentieth century with U.S. and British based companies such as United Fruit in Guatemala and Honduras, Brown and Root in the southern district of Belize, and Tate and Lyle in the northern districts of Belize. The resulting labor structure for Carib in Belize was one of migratory wage labor combined with subsistence pursuits, informal sector labor, a few individual forays into private business or enterprise in the formal sector, and labor in the public sector. Entry into public sector labor for the Carib has been a change from this labor status to a new labor status governed by the state.

Ideology, Class and Language Shift

Language shift may be portrayed as a simple process of assimilation by a lower class to a prestige language

of upper class speakers within a society or nation state. More recent work has looked at assertion of the vernacular language of lower class speakers as a positive reaction against a prestige standard (see Milroy 1980, Rickford 1985 for examples). However the process is more complex and may be understood by an examination of the process which Gramsci called egemonia or hegemony. I will define hegemony following Williams (1960:587) as:

...an order in which a certain way of life and thought is dominant, in which one concept of reality is diffused throughout society in all its institutional and private manifestations, informing with its spirit all taste, morality, customs, religious and political principles, and all social relations, particularly in their intellectual and moral connotations.

In this sense hegemony may be said to convey a common ideology within which ethnicity and class are articulated. This consensus is the basis of what Gramsci described as the "civil society" of the state. Gramsci was interested in distinguishing this aspect of the state as distinct from that of "political society" or the power wielding arm of the state.

For Belize ideological hegemony becomes important in nation-state building. That is, the consensus around values of the civil society is the necessary glue

holding together the regional, ethnic, racial, and class structure of the Belizean nation-state. The Carib entry into civil service labor via education has made them hegemonic agents for the Belizean nation-state. From the new class of public sector laborers in Carib communities has arisen a group of Carib intellectuals. They have served in this role throughout the regions of the Belizean nation state but it is in the southern regions that the Carib intellectuals have promoted "civil society" among their own people. The intellectuals have redefined Carib ethnicity within a hegemonic order connected to the Belizean nation. Their expressions of that ethnicity are most commonly in the language and forms of discourse of their education; these forms associate the English language with power and a "new aesthetic". This usage forms a new part of a general association of English and Creole with power in several domains of the workplace which also associate English and Creole with power as opposed to the Carib language, Garifuna. Children, socialized in this context extend the usage of Creole and English into the family. Thus English and Creole are now spoken within the family where heretofore Garifuna had reigned, associated with

the power and authority of elders.

The language shift occurs not contemporaneously among these intellectuals (most of whom retain the Garifuna language) but in the next generation of Carib. The language shift then indicates the penetration of hegemony within the final level of social organization, that of the family.

In locating group consciousness in history we must also consider how this group consciousness is transmitted to succeeding generations who may be constituting themselves and their own identity within a new social context. Inter-generational conflict or what Burke (1969:149) once called the "universal class war of the generations" must also be considered. Language shift is by its very nature an intergenerational phenomena. Dorian (1977, 1980, 1983) has chosen to describe the failure of a second generation to acquire the language of their parents as "language death".⁹

Intergenerational Language Change

As I indicated earlier code switching analysis implies a concept of ethnicity as conscious manipulation by the actors rather than a phenomenon structured by the

places of groups who speak these languages within a social structure. Gal's study of an Oberwart Hungarian community portrays diachronic change or language shift as arising from synchronic variation or code switching by adults in the community. However Dorian's studies clearly indicate the intergenerational differences in the process of language shift or language death. To understand social changes such as language shift we must emphasize that secular intergenerational language change may occur without previous synchronic variation.

In this study I have attempted to analyse labor change and language change within two generations. This type of analysis is consistent with an age-stratification model where cohorts, or those born at the same time period experience similar contexts shaped by particular historical, economic, political (and I would add ideological) circumstances during periods of their lives. Nancy Foner has pointed out the importance of this model in understanding social change:

While modernization theory tends to contrast modern societies with a model of a static "traditional" past, the age-stratification perspective reminds us that there is a potential for change in all societies -- in nonindustrial societies, before as well as after contact with the West. (Foner 1984:205)

I would argue that language death often occurs intergenerationally. Language is clearly subject to change in the process of transmission within that gap which occurs across generations, and language is not always transmitted from parent to child but can fall prey to those social distinctions which differentiate the two generations, even while the older are striving to pass on that language to the younger. Children however are not the passive recipients of their parents' identities but have an input into social identity all their own. The Carib children themselves are now undergoing a socialization process different from that of their parents. Education, now a stabilized and expanding force in Belizean society, provides a new context for "a child's language" to develop both as an institution where new ideologies are promulgated and as a domain for peer group socialization outside of the home. Carib children thus develop Creole as a "child language" in contradistinction to their parents. In the home this "child language" exists counter the parental authority of Garifuna and in peer or sibling solidarity. Children, however, do not select this new identity through language "out of the air" but from a new system

of social distinctions in Belizean society.

Creole English has become identified with nationalism in Belize. This arose partly through the assumption of political power by the Creole ethnic group who are descendants of slave owners and slaves from the early period of British dominion over the Belizean territory, who spoke Creole as a vernacular. This ethnic group attained power during the period of national autonomy from Britain (discussed in Chapter 3). Also Belize City, primarily inhabited by Creoles, was the urban center in which national politics were based. Creole was locally identified as a speech variant in contrast to British-identified standard West Indian English. Thus the nationalist slogan "Ya da fu we - Belize.", Belize is ours, was common in 1977 when I first visited Belize and a national magazine also utilized a Creole word as its title to signify its relevance for the newly emerging nation, "Brukdown". In this way Belize followed the lead of many Caribbean nations whose emergent nationalism also encouraged the local vernacular Creoles (Dalphinis 1985:15, Taylor 1968:618-619). (However by 1982 these slogans were rephrased in Standard English as "Belize is for

Belizeans" and "Forward Ever, Backward Never" (see also Le Page and Tabouret Keller 1985:231),¹⁰

But if in general emergent nationalism has provided a context whereby Creole has been associated with national identity the material basis of the Carib communities within Belize has gradually changed from an involvement with seasonal agricultural labor supplemented by subsistence labor to an increasing involvement with education and public sector labor which had previously been dominated by the Creoles.

In this way forms of written and oral expression for Carib intellectuals have become the forms learned as part of a Western education and indeed the code of this new expression itself is the code of that education, Standard English. Thus the Carib intellectuals, as cited in the preface to this chapter, present us with the written paradox of lamenting the loss of the Garifuna language in English.

In this thesis I argue that Belizean English (comprised of two levels of Standard English and Creole English) has come to dominate the lives of the Carib through its association with power in several domains. I argue that children, in this social context have

extended the social semiotic which associates the use of Belizean English with power and status into the family.

This extension and the intergenerational nature of it has been described for African countries by Mazrui (1975:10-11):

But what is a "first" language? Is this a chronological "first" - the language one spoke as a baby? Or is it a functional primacy, "the first in importance" in the total life of the individual - the language that comes to dominate one's life? English is already becoming the first language in the functional sense of dominating the lives of many Africans. Significant sectors of the ruling elites of African states conduct much of their public thinking, and in some cases, much of their private lives, in the English language. It seems possible that English will continue to be the first language functionally of large numbers of Africans critically placed in the destinies of their nations, for the rest of this century. But in addition it looks feasible that English will become increasingly also the first language chronologically of many African children. One sense of "first" tends to lead on to the second sense of "first" in the succeeding generations. For me English is my first language in terms of dominating my life, both public and private, but it is not my mother-tongue chronologically. For my children on the other hand, English is the native language.

This then, is my explanation for the language shift occurring among the Garifuna of Belize. I have attempted to see the language shift of Garifuna as an intergenerational phenomenon and to locate the source of the language change in the social changes within a parental generation while the language change itself

occurs in the children's generation. Should this language shift continue as it is, there will eventually occur a language death (see Dorian op. cit.) among the Carib of their Garifuna language. There may also be permutations of the English language which will "indigenize" the English of Belizeans. This process of "nativization" or "indigenization" is occurring worldwide as groups adopt English as their language. (Although what seems to be happening in Belize is that non-Creole speakers often adopt Creole features in their English to indigenize standard English.) This indigenization process throughout the world has led some authors to speak not of English as a world language but of world-wide Englishes (see Kachru 1983).

Language and Individual Choice

I do not consider language shift as a circumstance resulting from individual choice or strategies of ethnicity but rather as a phenomena resulting from changes in the associations of languages with labor and power such that individuals are socialized within a new semiotic of such associations. Bowles (1985:163-165) in a critique of the concept of the exercise of individual preference within liberal democracy has indicated how

the material relations of production place social constraints on individual preference. Similarly, labor relations structure the social relations of Belizean society determining language shift.

This position is one which differs from previous sociolinguistic studies of language where the focus of study has been the language itself and the use of language within the community. These studies tend to portray language shift or language change as a phenomenon located within the individual's mind based on preferences which he might exercise in accordance with "prestige" afforded language varieties within the community. For example, Gal in her study of the language change in a Hungarian Oberwart community while suggesting "industrialism" as a possible source of change ultimately sees the "choice" of language for speakers as the "source" of the change:

How does it [industrialism] affect the communicative strategies of speakers so that individuals are motivated to change their choice of language in different contexts of social interaction - to reallocate their linguistic resources radically so that eventually they abandon one of their languages altogether? (Gal 1980:3).

Gal represents the source of language change as the "prestige" of German over Hungarian, following new

occupations:

Only since World War II have industrial, commercial, and bureaucratic jobs become widely available and economically preferable to peasant agriculture. Since the war, upward mobility through wage labor has been possible for large numbers of peasants and their children. Because German is a prerequisite for education and training, and therefore for employment of almost every kind, knowledge of German is no longer simply convenient but is considered an economic necessity. More importantly, as young people today consistently enter the Austrian labor force and not peasant agriculture, the peasant value system that Hungarian has represented for centuries is being abandoned in favor of one based on money, on the ownership of consumer goods, and on a more sophisticated urban view of clothing, housing and entertainment. (ibid:63)

Thus the change of occupation is presented as a type of social choice with the language change following this. Given the change in agriculture in many places of the world to a capital intensive enterprise before, during, and after World War II it may well have been this development which prompted the "economic necessity" of acquiring German.

In a study of the history and spread of Juba Arabic in sub-Saharan Africa, Ushari Ahmad Mahmud (1983:120-122) also rejects this emphasis on "individual choice" as involved in the process of language shift, he concludes:

Language behavior differences cannot be explained by recourse to mere empirical generalizations about the effects of demographic appearances such as sex, tribe, occupation etc. Rather, these generalizations

should be systematically linked with their underlying socio-economic causation....

...The voluntarist view, with its advocacy of the conceptualization of language as a "commodity" subject to the laws of exchange in the market, seems to have crept unnoticed into the sociology of language from the conventional orthodoxy of neo-classical economic theory. Needless to say, the assumptions of this theory as well as its explanations have been subject to increasing criticism and refutation by the proponents of the schools of dependency and underdevelopment. Rather than seeking explanations for current socio-economic phenomena in the study of individual behaviour and of voluntary wish or in any pre-given cultural order, the dependency and underdevelopment theorists adopted historically-based approaches to empirically investigate and explain these phenomena. By the same token, explanations of language phenomena should be sought in the totality of the socio-economic praxis, and not in whether an isolated individual "buys" himself Amharic, Kikuyu or English. In this respect, I will deny any real role to the individual speaker as a decision maker who adopts this or that language on the basis of its functional use to him or her. An individual does not exist as such and then "decide" to learn a particular language. His or her overall language practice is determined and constrained by his or her position within the social structure, and evolves in close relationship to that structure.

While I might argue that in some contexts language may be maintained as a form of resistance aligned with group consciousness (either class or ethnic), I would agree with Ushari Ahmad Mahmud that political and economic determinism of the relations between social groups and their languages is the norm.

Thus in this dissertation I attempt to depict the

process of the language shift in describing the labor change of the Carib from the "manual" seasonal wage labor and subsistence to "intellectual" labor connected with education and public sector work. Following Diane Austin (1984) I discuss this distinction between "educated" and "uneducated" as the ideological basis for a class system. Within the class system of Belize I depict the position of this "educated class" as that of a new petty bourgeoisie both in its role of maintaining an ideological system which dominates the lower classes and in occupying an economic niche between the local property owners or bourgeoisie and the lower class, in this case a group which includes the seasonal agricultural workers and subsistence producers.

I depict the class structure of the Belizean nation in order to delimit the position of the Carib within this society. Delimiting ways in which individuals are grouped into classes may then be related to ways in which social boundaries are defined and group consciousness posited.

As Mintz (1979:194) has said :

...accurate and adequate typologies of rural classes - and of the variety of constellations of such classes in particular societies - may prove to be a precondition for analyzing effectively the way in which different classes in the same society are able to unite their differing consciousness in supporting

a common political program.

Several authors writing on Belize have commented on the role the Carib have played as teachers (see Dobson (1973:163,323), Grant (1976:13)). In fact, numerically the Caribs as an ethnic group are not the majority of teachers in the country. However they are disproportionately represented given their number within the country. They are "known" throughout the country as teachers (and now also as civil servants) because they have often been willing to migrate to the other non-Carib regions to serve as teachers and have been especially important in bringing education to the villages (see LePage and Tabouret Keller 1985:231). Thus in many parts of Belize the Carib have been the most visible group of teachers.

This increasing participation in education and subsequently the civil service has transformed the ethnic group in the last half century from an occupation of one class position to an occupation of two class positions within the social structure of Belize. I argue that the new class position has served to transform the group and has ultimately transformed the society of Carib communities. Thus the social conditions were

created by the class positions and the power distinctions of those positions have promoted the language shift among the group.

These social changes have redefined social boundaries and this transformation is evident in the new cultural productions of Carib intellectuals, drawn from the ranks of the "educated" class and in the symbols used by that class to constitute themselves and the ethnic group within the nation-state. Thus the processes promoting language shift occur on several levels of sociocultural organization: the nation-state which perpetuates the educational system and the bureaucracy it thrives on, the community or town or village which serves as social context for structured domains of speaking and the family which is the site of primary socialization within the authority conflicts between old and young.

The language shift is occurring within the last (or lowest) level of sociocultural organization, the family. The social context of children includes many associations of English and Creole language with power; these forms associate the English language with power and thus English and Creole are now spoken within the family where heretofore Garifuna had reigned, associated with the power and authority of elders. This

intergenerational change of language use reflects a new sociocultural integration whereby Carib are integrated into the nation-state and an identity connected to the nation-state through labor. Thus individual, family, community and region all become linked to the nation-state. Belize as a new nation-state must develop this integration to obtain a society which will perpetuate the state as a territorial and social unit. Education has been the social engineering with which the state attempted to link the diverse villages, towns and ethnic groups into a nation. Understanding the important Carib role in this process may serve to explain how this process has affected the Carib as an ethnic group.

In this dissertation I present case histories indicating the ways in which Carib are constituting themselves via languages and labor. For each individual this constitution begins within their own lifetime at the level of family and continues for other interactions at the levels of community and nation-state. Articulations of class and ethnicity for the Carib occur within a dominant ideology connected to the Belizean nation-state and beyond that to the United States which many Carib have migrated to.

Methodology - Sample Stratified according to Labor Pursuits

I have chosen to study the language shift process for the Carib of Belize utilizing a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. I chose initially to interview a sample of 79 Caribs in the town of Dangriga and the village of Numada. I selected Carib who were involved in diverse labor pursuits reflecting the current positions of Carib in the labor structure of Belize (see appendix for a total listing of all labor pursuits reported by Carib in the interviews). (I also collected this information for four Creoles involved in different labor pursuits as a type of control for the data on Carib but these cases have not been included in this study.) In selecting this group as a sample I managed to obtain data reflecting the social relevance of labor for the ethnic group.

Each individual was selected for the sample based on his or her current labor pursuit. However, I collected labor histories for past and present labor pursuits for each individual and also data on the labor pursuits of

their kin (grandparents (maternal and paternal) parents, sublings, and adult children). This collection resulted in another sample indicating changing labor pursuits over time for the ethnic group.

To understand language use relavant to labor pursuits through time I collected data on languages spoken in the workplace for informants. This information combined with data gained during participant observation allowed me to collect information on domains for speaking and to develop a schema of which languages are spoken in various social contexts and by whom. To understand patterns of language use through time I also collected langauge histories for each individual indicating the sequence in which languages were acquired and utilized or not utlized throughout an individual's lifetime. (While linguists necessarily view reported linguistic data with skepticism, the history of acquisition and use of discrete languages by an individual is not subject to the same sorts of misrepresentation as are linguistic phenomena such as pronunciation.)

I also gathered data on the languages spoken by kin of informants allowing me to represent labor pursuits over time for the ethnic group. Data on language use by

children (adult and non-adult) was added to this and the intergenerational nature of the language shift was clear.

In addition to this quantification of the data, which often obfuscates individual differences, I have summarized case histories of individuals in Chapter 3 and 4 for labor histories and Chapter 5 for language histories. Where possible I have added commentary indicating the relevance of particular cases for my theory of labor categories, and ethnic manipulation of language shift relevant to language attitudes.

However for many cases I have preferred to include information on the case history as it was told to me. Therefore some of the case histories may include information which the reader may not consider germane to the thesis; however I could not omit this information without affecting the veracity of these histories. Because of the current turmoil in Central America I believe it necessary to use pseudonyms for the individuals in the case histories.

Case histories of the labor of individuals and the histories of individuals represent patterned behavior of Caribs within the social structure of Belize. These articulate with past symbolizations of Carib ethnic identity determined by the history of the group. In Chapter 2 I describe these ethnic meanings as constituted within specific historical contexts of slavery, colonialism and nationalism.

In Chapter 3 I consider the history of Belize in terms of its economic and political structure and the place of the Carib within this. In Chapter 4 I discuss the history of the entry of the Carib into public sector labor and the formation of a new class within the Carib communities. I discuss the symbolizations of this class and the articulation of Carib ethnicity within an ideology, which includes a link of ethnic to national identity.

In Chapter 5, I describe the intergenerational language shift as it is occurring in Carib communities. I present individual language histories to indicate the intragenerational socialization among children in speaking Creole English and the intergenerational conflict in which Creole is contraposed by children

against parental authority. This language usage by children is derived from the social distribution of languages in the communities and the associations of languages with power. I provide ethnographic detail of the domains in which language and power associations occur in the community. In Chapter 6 I briefly excerpt the writings of Carib intellectuals as texts and the transmogrification of Carib ethnicity to a national identity as indicated in these writings. I conclude by comparing my research and theory to that of other researchers who have recently published a study of language variation and ethnicity which encompassed a district of Belize (see Le Page et al 1974, Le Page 1980b, Le Page and Tabouret Keller 1985). I also reaffirm the statements of Brudner-White (1978) and Ushari Ahmad Mahmud (1983) cited earlier which indicate the futility of linguistic research which reinforces ethnic nostalgia for a "dying" native language or a theory which correlates language with identity without an understanding of the social, economic, and political forces redefining social boundaries and changing languages.

NOTES

¹ In this thesis I have chosen to call the ethnic group variable known in the literature as the Black Carib, the Carib and the Garifuna as the Carib. I do so not out of any disrespect for the group but in the knowledge of the historical meanings of this name and their value.

² See Rossi-Landi (1983:113-115):

If we then go on to raise the problem of the relationships between the language and society as something that is added to the language and to the society, it is necessary to have already isolated that language as something exempt from these same relations; and the same for the society. But then to raise that problem is not contradictory, but also and above all, sterile: with things put in these terms, it is clear that no relationship can be found....

³ This is not to say that elements of language as a structure system (Saussure's langue) are determined by these relations. These, like commodities, may form their own separate system of relations but language itself as a means of communication must be affected by the relations of human labor which ultimately organize communication.

⁴ Note the relation of social scale in the matrix: both diglossia and bilingualism are to be found in large societies in the USA, and India whereas neither bilingualism nor diglossia is found in undifferentiated isolated "communities" with little contact with the outside world.

⁵ For a comparison of different definitions of the speech community through sociolinguistic scholarship of the past two decades see Hudson 1980:26-27. The recent emphasis on performance of this school departs from this unit of analysis to develop a new perspective on the ethnography of communication. Other sociolinguists have sought to use the symbolic-interactionist perspective to understand roles of individuals in relation to the social structure (see Nichols 1984:38).

Although there have been some attempts at Marxist sociolinguistics rejecting Weberian notions of class and role and arguing for a dynamic contextual theory these have been limited in terms of dealing with studies of language change around the world and have followed general aspects of Marxist theory, e.g. Leneck 1971 who stresses a dialectical analysis of language as a system of oppositions promoting change (see Dittmar 1976:160-161 for a summary of this work).

⁶ See Blom and Gumperz (1972), Gumperz (1976), and Saville-Troike (1982:62-63) for a discussion of codes, code-alteration or changes in languages according to domain, code-switching and style-shifting. Both situational code-switching (change in language with change in topic and participant) and metaphorical code-switching (change in language with a change in role relationships between participants) involve the social process of distinction of ethnic and class within a dominant ideology.

⁷ See also Doeringer and Piore 1973, Piore et al 1973 for theories of labor market stratification in relation to the labor structure of various countries and external migration.

⁸ These theories differ in their emphasis on the place of history and capitalism in a world based system, see Carol Smith (1976) on the regional analysis .

⁹ Dorian has placed importance on the distinction between loss of an indigenous language of a community through this process as distinguished from intergenerational loss among emigrants (see Meisel 1983, Gonzo and Saltarelli 1983) although I would argue that the social processes may be very similar. In the case of immigrants often the community has been moved for labor purposes whereas in the other case labor is becoming transformed in communities.

¹⁰ However the Creole language has not been adopted equally by the Spanish speaking areas of the country (Brockman 1979) and Creole, while serving as a national anti-colonial counterpoint to some segment of the nation cannot be said to do so for all.

CHAPTER 2

**"Carib" Being: The Semiotics of Names, Languages and
Cultures in the Determination of Carib ethnicity
within History**

This chapter is an examination of the history, language and culture of the Carib ethnic group from the earliest period of contact among blacks, Indians and Europeans to the present day. I present both a narrative history and a study of the system of historical distinctions out of which Carib identity was developed and transformed. The narrative history of the Carib will acquaint the reader with the circumstances of that cultural entity's formation. Following this, I provide a chart of the system of terms Carib have used for themselves and other groups in the Carib language. I next examine the European concept of the "Carib". This concept represents a European ideology about "Caribs" and "Caribness" that predates any concept of "Afro-Indians". By examining the system of distinctions in the Garifuna language of the Carib group as well as the European concept of the "Carib" in historical perspective we may begin to understand the evolution of Carib identity within the

system of distinctions (or semiotics) structured by the economic and political circumstances throughout history. This identity was formed and transformed within these semiotics.

The last portion of the chapter discusses the Carib language, Garifuna, an Arawakan Indian language. This language was adopted by Africans in the early formation of the group and has been maintained as an important aspect of Carib identity (especially as distinguished from other Afro-American groups) from the sixteenth century until the present.

A Narrative History of the Carib

The group known variably in the anthropological literature as the Black Carib, the Carib, and the Garifuna was formed from the fusion of African blacks with native AmerIndians in the Caribbean islands. Although the exact date of the mixture of the two races is unknown, the process may have begun at the beginning of the 16th century; the Spanish governor Ovando complained to queen Isabella that black fugitives were inciting rebellion among the slaves (see Davidson 1961:46). Gonzalez (1970) has described

the Carib as a "neoteric"¹ group because of their origin in the fusing of black and Indian groups. Yet this sort of ethnic fusion was common in the displacement caused by European expansion in the New World and is perhaps more obvious with the Carib due to the physical distinctions between their ancestors, blacks being unknown to the area before Europeans transported slaves to the New World (see Mintz 1971b).

It would seem that "Carib" as a group identification existed prior to the arrival of blacks in the New World and continued thereafter. Conquering Europeans were forced to deal with this identification, and the term entered their own discourses albeit modified by Europeans' reactions to these various groups.

The Carib element of the cultural forebears of the Carib of Central America came from the AmerIndian group who claimed St. Vincent as their homeland. The AmerIndian ancestors of the inhabitants of the Antilles are said to have invaded the Antilles from Carib lands in South America in preColombian times (Taylor 1951, Rouse 1948 and 1960, but see also Allaire 1980). The Carib were a seafaring people and they seem to have migrated frequently. Also groups

with affiliations to the Carib seem to have occupied various islands of the Caribbean. The group on St. Vincent and Dominica are variously referred to in the 16th and 17th century French and English literature as the Karipuna, Island Carib/Charib, the Callinago (the men's name) or the Calliponam (the women's name) (see Breton 1665, Taylor 1951, Young 1795). I shall refer to this group as the Carib and the group which resulted from their combination with blacks also as the Carib in this chapter. I will refer to the language spoken by both of these groups as the Garifuna language².

The Carib fought their enemies in the Caribbean, the Arawaks, until the arrival of the Europeans. Taylor (1977:26) and Rouse (1960) have proposed that in the series of Carib invasions of pre-Colombian times, Carib men killed the Arawakan men, taking the Arawakan women as wives and eventually adopting their Arawakan language (Taylor 1977:26). This was their explanation for the different linguistic origin of male and female words in the language, which are Carib and Arawakan in linguistic origin respectively. The theory was derived from Carib traditions reported by 17th century French missionaries (Breton 1665, Labat

1742, La Borde 1674). The archaeologist, Louis Allaire (1980:43) rejects this theory, suggesting that the men had acquired the pidgin Carib current in the Caribbean and Circum-Caribbean from their travels (see Biet 1664, Boyer 1654, and Hoff and Taylor 1979 on the widespread pidgin Carib in South America).

By 1493 a group of Carib allied with their enemies, the Taino Arawak, in Puerto Rico to fight the Spanish. During the 16th century the Carib continued to fight the Spanish, repulsing Spanish attacks in the Lesser Antilles probably with the fugitive black slaves. By the 17th century the Carib had retreated to St. Vincent and Dominica, these islands seemingly declared "Indian territory" by the French and English.

Other Indian groups were captured by the Europeans and used as slaves. English planters in Barbados were using Caribs and Arawaks as slaves, some being brought in from as far away as Guiana. The planters apparently used the Indians to gain provisions, valuing the women for their knowledge in making cassava bread and the men for their skills in fishing (Bridenbaugh 1972:30)³.

Hence in the first two decades of the 17th century Europeans enslaved some Indians, though the Carib of

St. Vincent and Dominica remained indomitable. They gained a reputation as fierce warriors. The Spanish added cannibalism to this characterization and the name "Carib" soon became associated with "indomitable savagery" for Europeans in the New World.

Enslavement of Indians was not very successful and for a period white indentured servants, primarily Irish, were used for labor by the English in the Caribbean (Bridenbaugh 1972:352,395). The first blacks may have been brought to the Caribbean as slaves by the Spanish as early as 1505 (Curtin 1969:268, Davidson 1961:57). By 1627 the first blacks had been brought in to labor in the plantations of the English in Barbados. Eleven years later black slave labor was brought by the Dutch slavers for the French of St. Christopher (Bridenbaugh 1972:29,32). Black slaves eventually came to replace white indentured servants as a labor source as the Caribbean economy changed to a plantation mode, processing and manufacturing muscovado sugar.

However both blacks and Indians threatened the early colonial settlements. The first slave revolt on St. Christopher occurred in 1639 when sixty blacks escaped to the hills to form a maroon settlement (ibid

:33). The Caribs constantly raided European settlements and never recognized European land rights; even conducting expeditions from St. Vincent for hunting wild hogs on Barbados (ibid:45). The fort at St. Christopher, built in 1624, was exclusively for protection against the Caribs (ibid 29,33,45).

In raids of European plantations the Caribs often stole the blacks held as slaves. This mixed group banded together to raid European settlements and carry off slaves during the Anglo-French war of 1666-1667. By 1672 Governor Stapleton of Jamaica estimated the Carib raiding party at 1500, with runaway slaves comprising 600 of the fighters. Blacks were reported on St. Vincent as early as 1635 (Calendar of State Papers, 1661-1668. no 1661 as cited in Taylor 1951:18) and these blacks may have been the shipwrecked group reported by several authors (see Young 1795, Rochefort 1658).

The nature of the relationship between the blacks and Indians who comprised the Carib group is unclear. Taylor (1951:22, citing Labat 1931) assumes it to be an antagonistic one as the black men, who had become more populous, were kidnapping the Indian women. Yet the French were disappointed in 1719 when their

expectation that the Indian Caribs would aid them in a military expedition to capture some Black Carib and return them to slavery was not met (ibid 1931: vol. 2, 167, as cited in Taylor 1951:23).

When blacks allied with the Carib, the adoption of the Carib identity by the marooned or runaway blacks seems to have been immediate. At the onset of the formation of Carib culture from the fusion of AmerIndian and African people the latter were a diasporic group with perhaps only a pidgin in common. In a consideration of the nature of African slavery (Miers and Kopytoff 1977), several scholars indicate that the ethos of African slave institutions would have created an expectation among enslaved Africans of absorption into another cultural identity. The behavior of the blacks who joined the Caribs would indicate such an expectation. Rochefort (1658) states the Island Caribs had accepted these blacks brought in as captured slaves as "full-fledged Carib"; hence the blacks dyed their bodies with a red vegetable dye (now called gusewe), spoke the Carib language, and participated in Carib expeditions. The blacks also practiced head deformation, tying their infants heads to produce a high skull with a flattened back as was

the Carib custom. Young's report to the British Crown Agent for St. Vincent giving advice on political policy toward the Carib indicates his English contempt for such "ethnic pretension":

Incorporating with these Negro outlaws, they formed a nation, now known by the name of black Charaibs; a title themselves arrogated, when entering into contest with their ancient masters. The savage [the black person], with the name and title, thinks he inherits the qualities, the rights, and the property, of those whom he may pretend [emphasis mine] to supersede: hence he assimilates himself by name and manners, as it were to make out his identity, and confirm the succession. Thus these Negroes not only assumed the national appellation of Charaibs, but individually their Indian names; and they adopted many of their customs..."(Young 1795:8).

Hence blacks may have arrived in the New World expecting to adopt an identity and on becoming part of the Carib group, they adopted a "Carib" identity and practices. This assimilative behavior by blacks, correct according to African and AmerIndian slave institutions, was perceived as "misrepresentation" by the English who were carefully distinguishing race at this time (see Martinez-Alier 1974, Curtin 1964:37-40, and Mintz 1971b on the history of the development of race as a social distinction in the Caribbean).

During the 18th century the Carib homeland of St. Vincent was gradually claimed by the British and French, both of whom vied with each other and the

Caribs for land. The British won St. Vincent in the treaty of Paris in 1763. By this time the proportional number of black to red Carib had increased (Edwards 1795:292-3) so that the remaining "Indians" were only a small minority. Young reports that the group by 1773 were mostly negroes (referring to them as "Black Charaibes"), indicating that they are relegated to the north of the island (Young 1795:18).

The struggle between Europeans for the islands of the Caribbean began in the 16th century and continued into the 18th century. Thus the Carib may have needed to distinguish between Europeans in these hegemonic battles and it seems that they did so early in Euro-Carib interaction:

They also express with their hands and arms how they consider and measure the goodness of nations. They point to their entire hand and a part of their arm and say to us that France is as good as this. For the Flemish or Dutch they show the hand and say "as good as this". The English are the worst in their estimation, and they only indicate them by showing the tips of their fingers. (Bouton d.1640:8)

Bridenbaugh (1972) has described the constant hostilities between the French and British as well as the conflicts and failed alliances among the various English colonies in the 17th century. The Carib were used by both the British and the French in hegemonic

conflicts over the Lesser Antilles during the 18th century. Pares (1936:202) has indicated that the Frenchman Caylus was organizing a French government on St. Vincent in 1749 by taking advantage of the good relations of the French settlers with the Carib chiefs. Gonzalez (1983:145) states that the British were struggling to prevent French utilization of St. Vincent as a base for operations of French Republicans in the Windward Islands. Thomas Young, an 18th century agent of the British monarch on St. Vincent, laments the naming and baptism of Carib babies by the French priests, declaiming that because of these ties "the Charaib will ever be French"; in the same eighteenth century publication (Young 1795:122), he also reports the failure of British attempts to "anglicize" the Carib. In their residence on St. Vincent both the French and English sought to ally the Carib in their struggles for domain over the island.

A part of these attempts at alliance involved trade. Beaucage (1970:41) has indicated the 18th century to be a period of trade for the Carib with European traders engaging the Carib with such commodities as European clothing, money, iron pots, and hoes. The Carib raiding of the 17th century had

given way to trade. As an indicator of the importance of this Euro-Carib trade consider this provision of the treaty⁴ of 1773 between the Carib and the British:

XVIII "All possible facility, consistent with the laws of Great Britain, to be afforded to the Charaibs in the sale of their produce, and in their trade to the different British islands." (Young 1795:94)

The British seemed to believe this commerce would result in a peaceful coexistence between British and Carib on St. Vincent:

1778 "During 5 years from the date of the Charaib treaty, the British Colony was undisturbed by the Charaibs; the chief intercourse with them seems to have been in the markets of Kingston, where the Charaib women brought their poultry, fruit, and casada [sic] bread, for sale; and it might be supposed that such habits of dealing would induce a sense of mutual advantage, and that the Charaibs were become domesticated with the English, and finally attached to them as fellow-subjects, and content with their government." (Young 1795:99-100)

But the British were disappointed in this expectation, for the Carib soon renewed their animosities against the British, perhaps due to contact with French Republicans. Victor Hughes was the messenger of revolutionary ideology throughout the West Indies and the French and their language became associated with the Haitian revolution (Searle 1984:5). War ensued and allied with the French, the Carib took over

the island. A treaty between France and England restored peace but only temporarily. War soon broke out again with the Carib leader's declaration of war on the English calling on Caribs and French to unite "as brothers and as countrymen" (Young 1795:118).

The resulting war, known as the Carib war, saw the Carib defeated by the great numbers of troops the British sent from England and a disease epidemic (Gonzalez 1983). In 1796 the British removed the Carib to the island of Baliseau, where they remained from July 1796-April 1797. From this island the Caribs were loaded on to ships and taken to the island of Roatan, an island off the coast of Honduras. Although 4,195 "Black Caribs", 41 slaves and 102 "Yellow Caribs" were evacuated from St. Vincent only 2,026 arrived, 664 men and 1,362 women and children (ibid:148).

(Approximately 100 Carib escaped deportation by hiding in the mountains and hence remained on St. Vincent.)

In deporting this fighting group to Central America, the English apparently intended to use the Carib against the Spanish in Central America. This was consistent with the policies of governor Trelawney of Jamaica in the eighteenth century who believed in breaking up the Spanish empire from within by

encouraging blacks and Indians to revolt (Pares 1936:97). The English aim was not achieved in Central America; instead, in 1799 the Spanish used the Carib and free black Frenchmen as soldiers to attack the British and Miskito settlement at Black River (Gonzalez 1983:152).

After settling in Central America distinctions between blacks and Indians among the Carib group seem to have disappeared. Although the population of the group was initially small, from the approximately 3,500 who arrived in Central America this number eventually grew to the present population of Carib in Central America of 75,000-80,000 (Gullick 1976, Gonzalez 1983, Crawford 1984:2). The small initial group of Carib was characterized by "an unusually large percentage of women of childbearing age" (Gonzalez 1983:148). Thus the ethnic group at this stage seems to have been comprised of a female core of individuals. This composition may explain the predominance of women in Carib religion and ethnic maintenance by Carib women discussed by several ethnographers (Kearns 1983, Foster 1981, McCommon 1982).

It is difficult to ascertain the extent and nature

of the interactions of the Carib with other black and maroon groups in Central America during the 19th century. Bard (1855) and Alleger (1965) indicate frequent interaction of the Carib with the Miskito. Gullick's (1976) reconstruction of the Carib culture in Central America to 1945 indicates several historical sources documenting contacts of Carib with other black groups but little information about the nature or duration of those contacts. Gonzalez (1969:26) posits intermarriage⁵ of some French negroes and maroons with the Carib and Taylor (1951) also posits frequent intermarriage of the Carib with the Miskito.

Davidson (1984) locates the majority of Carib in the Trujillo area of Honduras from 1797 until the Republican wars of 1830. Davidson characterizes Trujillo as the "national capital" and the mother settlement for the Carib of the circum-Caribbean area. From Trujillo the Carib migrated east to Nicaragua and west to Belize and Guatemala.

However, the Carib had begun migration to Belize in the years from 1802 -1832 to accompany British on expeditions for logging (Bolland 1977:110). In the years following the abolition of the slave trade in

1807 Carib men were recruited to work in the logging industry taking the place of former slaves. Eventually the Carib formed a permanent village at Stann Creek (called Dangriga in the Carib language). The population of Stann Creek further grew with Black Caribs fleeing Honduras after the insurrection in Omoa in 1832 in which the Carib sided with the Spanish loyalists. By this time Black Caribs were workers and soldiers in Belize and had migrated throughout the country to work (Kearns 1983:44). By 1840 the Stann Creek village had a population of 1000. The other prominent Belizean Carib village was Punta Gorda in the south of Belize with a population of 500 (Bolland and Shoman 1977).

Bolland and Shoman (1977) have described the land policies of the British government in Belize from the latter 18th century to the latter 19th century. Briefly summarized, most of the land of Belize was under control of the British government with large portions of the land owned by the Belize Estates Company, a conglomerate logging company. Laws regarding land tenure in Belize were written in the interests of the government allied with this company with the intent of controlling the labor force by

making land for agriculture unavailable. The Caribs were denied individual ownership of land, and they were only allocated leases on lots in 1857 (Bolland 1977:133,195). (This may have been a British attempt to use the Carib to establish sovereignty over Southern Belize as the Belizean settlement was officially recognized as a colony by Britain in 1862 with the name of "British Honduras".) In 1872 the Indian (for the Kekchi Maya) and Carib reserves were created in southern Belize. The Carib in the southern districts at this time seem to have pursued fishing and the cultivation of ground food (Bolland & Shoman 1977:28-29), though this was probably a combination of subsistence pursuits and wage labor such as that reported for the Carib of Honduras by Beaucage (1970).

The latter part of the 19th century saw the rise of the banana industry in this area of Central America. Gonzalez (1969:30-41) has discussed the emergence of this industry from small scale buying of bananas by individual entrepreneurs to the consolidation of United Fruit and the influence of that corporation on development in Central America. Although United Fruit had direct influence on the infrastructures of the states of Guatemala and

Honduras buying land, building towns and inducing the national governments to build railroads there, Belizean Garifuna as employees of United Fruit were also significantly influenced by the corporation and its labor practices. Belizean Garifuna migrated via mailboat to work for United Fruit in Guatemala and a few men returned with enough money to build Western-style homes in Dangriga and to invest in small shops. Others learned new forms of labor such as cooking American-style food, clerking in stores, or playing jazz music. The Carib were also recruited to labor on the third lock project for the Panama Canal and this was still another area where they were also introduced to labor practices of Americans. One of these labor practices was the Silver and Gold racial division for housing and eating which separated whites from blacks. In this division Caribs were labeled racially as blacks and lived in quarters with other West Indian blacks. The socialization process of these American enterprises on Carib laborers is evident in some of the labor histories reported in Chapter 3.

Carib identity and history

In this section I will examine Carib ethnic

consciousness through relevant distinctions made in Carib terms for others. These ethnic distinctions are evidence of the social semiotics within which the Black Carib constructed their identity and used their language. For the Carib, as for all humans, history has had a tendency to slip through the mesh that is memory yet it has not done so without leaving the marks of its progress. These marks often remain as important distinctions whose historical source may have faded but whose importance persists. Thus although the Black Carib may not have recorded their history in all its detail, the important distinctions of that history which informed their consciousness as an ethnic group have remained. I believe that these terms reveal crucial distinctions about the ways in which Caribs saw others vs. themselves and encoded these in the system of meaning within the Carib language.

I have attempted to reconstruct the social semiotics in which Carib ethnic consciousness was construed through an examination of the system of distinctions in the terms for people in the Carib language, Garifuna. I am here discussing only the terms for people which exist in the Garifuna language

rather than the terms in the other languages which the Carib may have used, because I am reconstructing Carib history from their language. From these distinctions in the Garifuna language we may discern how the Carib constituted themselves as an ethnic group relative to "the others".

Carib Terms for people

In the following chart (Table 1) I attempt a schema of Carib ethnic terms accompanied by an explication of their relevance to the history of the Carib and the social semiotics in which Carib ethnic consciousness was constituted. I have depicted the Carib terms for groups in categories according to similarities of terms and historical information regarding the interactions of various groups of peoples with the Carib. The categories of Carib terms for others to be described are:

- 1) names for people (blacks become Caribs as Caribs become people)
- 2) names for Europeans (past colonial powers)
- 3) general names for outsiders
- 4) names for Central American Black and Indian groups (groups with different linguistic and cultural characteristics)
- 5) names for Central American nationalities

(identities of Black Caribs with nation-states)
6)names for East Indians, Arabs, Chinese and
Americans (recent migrants in Central America)
7)color terms (identification of others by skin
color)

The sequencing of the terms in 1-7 is my attempt to relate various groups of terms to a historical sequence for Caribs. The terms represent distinctions at various periods of Carib history according to the following historical sequence: 1)the initial contact of Indians with blacks, 2)Carib involvement with European hegemonic struggles in the Caribbean, 3)the formation of a group identity subsequent to Carib deportation in Central America, 4)the identification of other Central American black and Indian groups by Carib, 5)the identification of Carib with nation-states, 6)post-colonial encounters with recent migrants into the Central American area as the groups as laborers or employers, 7)racial/color distinctions relative to the various ethnic groups described above.

Since I was intent on gathering all Carib terms for other groups still extant in the Garifuna language, I attempted to exhaust the category with my informants. Thus the number of Carib terms for other

groups which I collected was larger than that indicated by Breton (1665 and 1666), Taylor (1948, 1951, 1962, 1977) and Hadel and Stochl (1975). The attestation of a form by an author in the chart is indicated by "B" for Breton, by "T" for Taylor, and by "H" for Hadel and by "W" for Wright. This collection of terms from different sources has enabled me to posit changes and retentions of terms for people during different historical contexts.

To further clarify the process of change and retention of elements of Carib ethnicity I have indicated in the chart those terms that were known only to a few speakers over 50 years of age (with the symbol "**"). Terms have been distinguished in this way as an attempt to capture information relative to the time depth of their usage and the extent of the usage among different Carib speakers.

I have attempted to locate derivation models based on regular phonological correspondances between Carib forms and forms in European and Creole languages, and other languages where appropriate. In some cases more than one model is plausible; hence I have indicated both forms. In other cases the reconstruction of the phonological change or other evidence made the model a

tentative one. In these cases I have indicated this by prefacing the model with the symbol "?".

I conducted interviews with 40 individuals regarding these terms and queried a larger number about the terms in conversation. My sample was composed mainly from Belizean Carib and should be taken as particularly descriptive of this context. However, I have also queried Carib individuals from other parts of Central America and in the United States to determine the retention or change in terms in various contexts for the Carib, such as their dispersion throughout the nations of Central America and their migration to the United States.⁶ Following is an explication of the Carib terms in the order in which they are presented in the chart⁷ I will relate the Carib history connected with the different groups of terms.⁸

1) Words for people (Africans become Caribs who become people) - the initial contact between blacks and Indians

Although the Carib language, Garifuna, does not have an African substratum⁹ it did gain an African word: mutu, Bantu for person. While mutu is only one African word when compared to the large number of

European words incorporated into the structure of the Carib language, the many linguistic forms which contain this word indicates it is not insignificant. The name garigia, is probably derived from the South American group from which the Island Carib are descended, as there seem to be cognate terms among many South American Indian groups¹⁰. Hence garigia can be related to the terms Garifuna and Garinagu currently used as a name for the Carib ethnic group and also meaning people. Taylor (1977:25) reconstructs an earlier form of the group name as a clan totem name *|kaniriphuna|, the bitter manioc clan. Garigia now means person, and coexists in the language with mutu. However, unlike this alternate form mutu is used frequently in several forms referring to the group or in deictic references to persons or people:

mutu tuguya	female	lit. person she
mutu ligia	male	lit. person he
mutu hagia	people	lit. people they
soun mutu	everybody	
ni mutu	nobody	
numutu	my people	
nani mutu	my person	
mutu itara	such a person/people	
murusu mutu	not quite a person	lit. part of a person

Cognates for mutu do not exist in other Arawakan languages (see Noble 1965, Taylor 1977). Taylor has discussed the change which seems to have occurred in

Island Carib with the adoption of this form in the language:

The explanation for this...is to be found, I think, in modern Surinam Arawak, which has no word equivalent to our 'person' and in which one must choose between kakũtho 'living creature' and lóko (pl. lokono) 'member(s) of the tribe' (a Negro or a white man is not a lóko, understandable when one learns that a lóko also means 'in; inside'). (Taylor 1977:82).

Hence a new word for person was adopted into the Garifuna language at the group amalgamation of Indians with Africans as the Carib. This word then became incorporated in other forms used in referring to or predicating things about people¹¹. Therefore the "African" element of the Carib language is more substantial than the one word might imply.

In the early period of the formation of the Carib it is unlikely that the runaway slaves had a common language or dialect to share with the Island Carib. Thus it is particularly significant that we find this word mutu assuming such importance in the language after the mixture of the groups. Mutu may have been one word which had gained some stabilized use among the African slaves and hence was one of the few items which was further stabilized in early intercommunication between Africans and Indians.

In present day Garifuna speech some informants

distinguished between the two terms mutu and garigia as varying in degree of politeness, garigia being the most polite and mutu less polite. Some informants said the distinction came from an older meaning of mutu, one meaning a wild or savage person. It may have been the term mutu that Labat refers to when he described the early interaction of blacks and Indians:

The Caribs imagine they are far superior to the Blacks, while the latter, who are not a whit behind the former in conceit, despise the Indians and call them savages. This word invariably makes them so furious that they will go to any extreme to take vengeance (Labat 1970:83-84 as cited in Layng 1983:34).

Thus the dual terms for person, mutu and garigia may be representative of older distinctions, dating from the early interaction between the Africans and Indians and may have reflected the initially lower status of the former or the animosity between the two groups.

2) Names for Europeans (extraneous powers) - Carib involvement with European hegemony

Unlike captive slave populations the Carib seem to have been subjected to attempts at "alliance" by the Europeans with the aim of securing the lands the Carib occupied for their respective European powers. Hence the distinctions between Europeans have remained in the Garifuna language. Carib have two names which have

survived for the English, alundu "from London" and angleisi "English", and one for the French, furããsu "French". The Carib term for the Irish which Taylor collected, ahirichi was not remembered by my informants; the term has probably been lost as the Irish are not an ethnic group in the present context of the Carib. However, since many of the "British" settlers on St. Vincent were Irish (Pares 1963:202), it is not surprising that this term should have also been adopted by the ancestors of the Carib (modeled on the English word, Irish).

I have earlier mentioned the spirit of rebellion in the Caribbean and the association of this with the French language and ethnicity. Recent historical work by Gonzalez (1983) indicates that the Carib alliance with the French prior to the war with the British of 1795 may have involved a close identification of the Carib with the French. Indeed, Gullick (1984:42) reports some St. Vincent Carib who presently claim to be of "French origin". In the 18th century the identity of the Carib may have been intertwined with that of their French comrades. After their removal to Central America the Carib continued an association with French Republican blacks (Gonzalez op.cit.). Many

words in the language of the Carib are borrowed from French or a French Creole. Firschein (personal communication 1980) reported that in his visits to Carib villages in Belize during 1955-1957 Carib proudly indicated books which they possessed written in French. However the term furããsu currently carries no connotation of a black group for the Carib; and the Carib group in Central America seems to have shed any "French" identity.

One Carib name for the Spanish people, muladu, seems to be borrowed from the Spanish word mulato; this may have been a form of mimicry as "mulato", meaning of mixed blood, was a name the Spanish applied to the Carib. Taylor (1948, 1962) cited the form chumagu, also meaning Spanish in the Carib language, as having no plausible origin. Reference to Spaniards as distinguished from other Europeans would most likely have developed after Carib contact with other Europeans in the Caribbean. Hence, one possible origin I might suggest is borrowing through English of the term Cuban |k^yuban| (referring to the Spanish base of power in the Caribbean), and phonological adaption in the Carib language as |chubanu| to |chuban| + |gu| (plural suffix) then |chubãgu| and finally chumagu.

This would be a change of the palatalized |k| to |ch| and loss of the penultimate syllable (common in the language, for example singular garifuna when the plural suffix is added becomes garinagu) combined with nasal assimilation. However note the existence of a Cariban speaking group known as cumanagoto in the north eastern littoral areas of Venezuela. This derivation would also be consistent with the practice of referring to groups using the place name of their origin or metropolitan center of power. (Note in the chart Sihuiya, from Seville, and alundu, from London.)

The Belizean Black Caribs I interviewed were not aware of the term which Taylor attests for Jew, hurio. Both Taylor and Hadel list negative connotations associated with the term. I suspect that this term may have been associated with Catholic priests' representation of Christian ideology (Gullick 1976:48) or other missionary contact as there is no historical evidence for Carib interacting with Jewish people, although Sephardic Jews do seem important in the history of the Caribbean. This Catholic source would be consistent with the derivation of the concept from Spanish judio. Thus the term may not have been used to indicate any ethnic group of people the Carib were in

contact with but rather an element of meaning in a syncretistic Catholic cosmology. Kerns (1984:31) indicates a strong influence of French Catholicism on the Carib in St. Vincent. Since huriu came into the language as a part of Christian theology I have classed it with terms for Europeans, as the Catholic church was significant in promoting contact of Europeans with Carib and also promoted aspects of their system of distinctions.

I have attempted to represent the Carib system of terminology for Europeans in Garifuna. The last term I have included in these terms is baranagũle (from Carib barana "sea" with the instrumental particle -gũle. c.f. abinyaragũle, evil doer, and ahibagũle, sifter, from ahibiha to sift + -gũle.) This term is known only to older speakers of Carib, over 50 years of age, and therefore may now be an archaic term. This term refers to any European and has been glossed by Taylor (1951:40) as "white man". However, it is not properly a color term; the literal meaning of this term is "doer/instrument of the sea" but I would gloss it as "sea master". I would postulate that this term came from the initial interaction of the Island Carib with the first Europeans to reach their islands and

implies that the Island Carib, like many other native AmerIndian groups, may have initially identified the Europeans with their ships rather than with races or nations.

This generic term for Europeans, baranagŭle is disappearing while those which distinguish among Europeans remain. Thus for Carib these European terms came to distinguish Europeans and to associate them with their centers of power.

3) General Names for Others (Individuals who are outsiders) - the formation of a group identity subsequent to Carib deportation to Central America)

The term nasifu as used by the Carib designates any individual who is not a Carib. Informants contrasted nasifu with terencha, their word (borrowed from Creole English) meaning stranger or someone from outside the village or community. While terencha could be used to refer to a Carib person, nasifu would only be used to refer to someone who was not a Carib.

In contrast to the term nasifu, terencha is used more in the context of Carib villages. Carib identify strongly with the villages of their birth. Thus they will say of a person, "He belongs to this place." meaning the village where he was born. This claim is made even if the individual has left the village many

years ago and never returned. Among the Carib, villages have their own identity and individuals carry the identity of the village where they were born in their interactions with other Carib¹². Thus terencha is used to distinguish outsiders in a community or village irrespective of ethnic group while nasifu is used to distinguish those individuals outside the Carib ethnic group.

Taylor (1951:168) defined nasifu as "white man from overseas". Hadel also glosses this term as white man. However my informants found the combination nasifu wúriti "black non-Carib" acceptable¹³, thus negating any necessary color component in the term. Sanford (1971:15) indicates that at the time of her research the English word "nations" was used to refer to the various ethnic groups in Belize. The term may be derived from the archaic Spanish word nación, meaning foreigner (see Lerner 1974 Arcaismos Léxicos del Español de America:191). The term nasifu implies a Carib definition of themselves as a race or ethnic group distinguished from all other groups. Given the Spanish derivation of the term it could have been adopted in the period following the Carib deportation and interaction with the Spanish. Since the form is

attested by both Honduran and Belizean Carib it is likely that the form entered the Carib language in the period before the Carib diaspora into different Central American nations. Thus it is during this period that the Carib seemed to have formed an identity as an ethnic group. This is consistent with the recent work of Gonzalez (forthcoming 1986) who also sees the group as defining its ethnic identity during this period.

2.4 Names for Central American Black and Indian groups (groups with different languages and cultural characteristics) - the identification of other Central American black and Indian groups by Carib

The history of Carib contact with other black and Indian groups is not well documented. However the presence of Carib terms for these groups is particularly interesting as it is indicative of the distinctions Carib made between themselves, Indians, and other black groups.

Four of the Carib terms for other black groups are adopted from European languages and one is Carib. Taylor had collected two of these terms, megeru and gio. The term gungu is probably derived from gringo, a Spanish word used for English speaking persons. Megeru

may be derived from the French, negre with the French |rə| becoming |ru| in Carib and a change of the nasal consonant from alveolar to bilabial position (however, South American maroon and AmerIndian groups have a similar form¹⁴ meaning black person, indicating an early stabilized form of the word - perhaps in a trade pidgin).

Many of the younger Carib (under 50 years of age) I interviewed were unfamiliar with the term aginine, meaning "African", indicating that this is probably an older term and is no longer in use to describe black people who are not Carib. William Stewart (personal communication 1984) has suggested that this term came from the terms for slaves from the Guinea coast, "Guinea negro", "Guinea nigger", "Guinea bird". Young (1795) indicated the Guinea Coast as the origin for the African ancestors of the Carib. Curtin (1969) and Patterson (1978) have described similar distinctions made between slaves socialized and acculturated in the New World and new arrivals. Regardless of the exact geographical origin of the African slave ancestors of the Carib, the above terms were in use in the context in which they were enslaved and transported to the New World hence aginine is probably derived from that

context to distinguish Caribs from Africans.

Gio is another term used by Black Caribs to refer to blacks of the predominant ethnic group in Belize, known as Creoles¹⁵. These people are the descendants of early Europeans groups and their slaves and the most predominant ethnic group in Belize. Gonzalez (personal communication 1985) reports that most Creoles are the descendants of an early group of British infantry which was stationed in Belize. The Creoles speak a Creolized English and have claimed a higher social status than the Carib group, the Creoles considering the Carib to be less civilized than themselves (Sanford 1971). Given the phonological similarity of the Carib and Creole English words (|gio| and |krio|) it is probable that the Carib term is modeled on the Creole English word.¹⁶

Weweruguni¹⁷ (also used to refer to Creoles) is a Carib word meaning literally "stick people". Although many Carib people knew of this term for Jamaican blacks, no one could interpret this for me until one informant explained it referred to the practice of fighting with sticks (common throughout the Afro-Caribbean and called kalinda (see Abrahams & Szwed 1983: 233-234). Carib had witnessed Jamaicans perform

this stickfighting during their interaction with those Jamaicans imported for labor in the woodcutting in Belize and those who came to southern Belize during the banana boom in the 1930's (Lundberg 1976:66). This reference to a cultural practice which distinguished Jamaicans from themselves indicates one criterion Carib used in identifying other groups. The other terms Taylor collected for the Creole group, wadabu and dobu literally "conch" and "stone", were also used by his informants to refer to the Creole group in Belize (Taylor 1951:39). (I will discuss these terms in the next section on the use of the Carib language for concealment.) Carib terms for other black groups seem to be derived from the languages of those groups, the languages of Europeans or from a cultural practice of the other groups. The existence of so many different terms to refer to the Creole group by the Carib reflects the constant practice of distinguishing themselves from those blacks who had been slaves and were thus linked to their master's culture.

The Carib terms for the AfroIndian Miskito and the AmerIndian Mayans seem to have been derived from older Carib terms, passed down in myth and other lore. Taylor's (1951:40) derivation of the term for Miskito,

idudu from the past Carib etutu "enemies", would seem the only plausible one and consistent with diachronic phonological change. The term during Breton's time referred to the mainland Arawak, the arch-enemies of the Carib. Gonzalez (1983:52) indicates that the Carib were used by the Spanish in the War of 1799 to fight against the Miskito Indians. Hence the Carib and the Miskito may have initially been enemies and were labeled as such by the term from Island Carib tradition. Subsequent interactions with the Miskito seem to have been more amiable and the term idudu now seems to be merely a reference to the Miskito ethnic group, no longer carrying the connotation of enemy.

Taylor (1951:40) identifies waro as the Indian group found in the delta of the Orinoco. The Warau (the name means "boat people" in their language) do seem to have a history of interaction with the AmerIndian ancestors of the Carib, as is evidenced by their mythology (Wilbert 1964). Why the Carib should apply this ancient name to the Mayans is unclear. However, note that the Island Carib terms from which idudu and waro are derived referred to mainland groups; the Carib after their deportation to the mainland applied these terms to the groups they found

living on the mainland. Carib, Arawak, and Warau as names for Indian groups seem to proliferate in Northern South America. Beaucage, in his oral history of the Carib, indicates that after their deportation they attempted to return to St. Vincent from Central America by traveling east, believing that they had done so at an earlier point and hence could do so again (1970). This could mean that the Carib were attempting to retrace an earlier migration of their ancestors from the mainland of South America to the Antilles. Hence mistaking the Mayans for the Warau would be a similar orientation error, that is believing the Mayans and the Miskito to be those people their ancestors had encountered in the northern rimland area of South America.

Although Belizean Carib have often associated with Mayan groups (primarily the Kekchi) and may share some important symbols¹⁸ and some similar practices (see Cosminsky 1976a), many Carib insisted that they are not of the same "race" as the waro. Gonzalez (1983:161) indicates the same sentiment among Central American Carib. The Carib are aware that Mayan language and music exhibit no similarities to their own and constantly distinguish themselves from the

Mayan. The Carib also use the English word "Indian" to describe the Mayan group as do other Belizean ethnic groups. Some Belizean Caribs resent the term being applied to their group probably due to negative connotations of the term; the term as a label has only been applied to the group in more recent times.

These cultural differences combined with racial and historical differences distinguish the Black Caribs and Mayans in their present context. At various periods the legal status of these groups differed and labor pursuits were often significantly different between the groups. The Carib for example, have had a much more extensive involvement in marketing and wage labor with Europeans and Americans than many of the Mayan groups, particularly the Kekchi. The Carib habitats are mainly coastal while the Mayans pursue simple horticulture further inland. In Belize the Carib have often been used to administer "assimilation" to the Mayans as teachers or religious emissaries in Mayan villages. Consequently the Carib consider the Mayans "more primitive" than themselves in culture and customs. Given this history of distinction between Carib and Mayan "Indians" it is not surprising to find the Carib sometimes puzzled and sometimes outraged by descriptions which link them with an "Indian" past.

5) Names for Central American nationalities
(identities of Carib with nation-states)

After their arrival in Central America the Carib seem to have held an identity as an ethnic group which defied national boundaries, especially where they interfered with commerce (Gullick 1976:33). Travel and exchange among Carib villages along the coastline was common (Davidson 1984) and kinship links to various villages in different nations are still remembered even though these links are now less productive than in the past.

In 1832 the Caribs at Trujillo, Honduras sided with the Spanish against the nationalists in an attempt to reestablish Spanish domain over the area (Gullick 1976:31). Many were killed in this unfortunate alliance and others fled to Belize for sanctuary. These and other incidents have intensified a mistrust of state authority among Carib. Despite this history in the more recent years the Carib have begun to identify themselves with the nation-states to which they belong. In the following chapters I shall examine this new identification as it relates to the Carib entry into public sector labor and nationalism as promoted by Carib intellectuals and education.¹⁹ Carib living in Belize now distinguish the national origin of various Carib as balisinu, endurana,

wadimalunu, or nigaroen. These terms are borrowed from the English words for Belizean, Honduran, Guatemalan, and Nicaraguan respectively. Hondurans and Guatemalans, playing on common Latin American identity and rejection of British colonialism, may also refer to Belizeans with the Spanish terms such as colono, colonia, and colonial with pejorative connotations such as "bootlicker, flatterer" (c.f. University of Chicago Spanish Dictionary 1977) which in Garifuna become coloniana. This is not to say that the Belizean Carib accept these terms but they are merely part of the banter which constitutes interaction among the Carib of different nations. Many of the Carib from the other Central American nations regard the Belizean Carib as living well, with freedom from military and police persecution and many more opportunities for education than their own nations afford them. These distinctions at the present time mark the identification of the Carib with nation-states.

6) Terms for Arabs, East Indians, Chinese and Americans (recent migrants to Central America)

The Carib only recently came into contact with Arabs, East Indians and Chinese after the immigration of these groups into Central America, when the Carib had already settled into their respective villages and towns. Similarly American interests in Central America

developed during this period. Thus the terms for East Indians and Chinese must have come about relatively recently in the latter 19th century, while terms for Syrians and Lebanese (here grouped as Arabs) have entered the language with the arrival of this group in Belize in this century (Dobson 1973:250,254).

Áchũgũli, the term for East Indians, is probably modeled on the Creole English word for East Indians for indentured laborers, |kuli|. Another term for East Indians is nádari. The term nádari is most likely derived from a Tamil word nadar. Nadar is the name of a caste in Tamil-Nad (the former Madras) state. [-i] is a common adjectival ending. The caste was known as shanar, palm wine and liquor makers, but sought as an avenue towards upward mobility for the caste to be called nadar. The term would indicate that some of these caste members on migration to Central America identified themselves with this term. The Carib may then have borrowed the latter term (perhaps in the adjectival form), not modifying it phonologically as it is consistent with Garifuna phonology.

Belizean East Indians were imported to Belize to work on sugar estates in the 1880's (primarily in the Toledo district) (Grant 1976:13), but they also are found in other Carib settlements such as Livingston

(Gonzalez 1969:25) and on St. Vincent (Gullick 1976:91). Belizean East Indians are now small farmers in Toledo and are prominent in the local bus service.

In Central America and the Caribbean the name for migrant groups from the Middle East (primarily Syrians and Lebanese in Belize) is Turks, recalling the connection of this group to the Ottoman Empire in their entry to the Americas. All of the Carib I interviewed said that they did not have another name for this group; however they had incorporated this name (turku probably from Central American Spanish turco) into a verbal form a-turku-ra-hani meaning "to go about selling things". Informants told me that when the Arabs first arrived in Belize they had peddled goods from town to town; thus the Carib verb refers to this practice. Most of the Arabs remain merchants in Belize but now own their shops and are no longer traveling merchants.

The Chinese (who emigrated to Belize as indentured laborers at the same time as the East Indians) are the merchants of Belize, as they are in many areas of the Caribbean. The Carib term for Chinese is a calque on a Creole English word for Chinese. Mfriti gachũgũ means literally "shining knees". As the term is said in Creole English the final syllable of "shining" and the final |z| of "knees" would be dropped becoming "shin knee" the n of the first word in casual

pronunciation would be released at the second word producing [shai ni]; the Creole English word for the Chinese is [chaini] (sh and ch are in free variation in the Carib language), hence the homonym.

For these four groups the ethnic designation of the groups is often linked to the most common form of labor or a past form of labor for the group. Thus the perceptions by the Carib of these groups were shaped by the interactions of these groups as part of labor configurations within Belizean society.

There is no recorded evidence indicating when the term for American, which is either merigein or merigana varying with individual speakers, came into use for referring to individuals from the United States. However it is likely that the term was used extensively during the period in which Carib worked for the U.S. based fruit companies such as United Fruit in Central America (about 1870 to the present, see Gonzalez 1969:30-44) or in the period of Caribbean labor on the third lock project of the Panama Canal (Taylor 1951:40, Lewis 1980). The Carib became involved with Americans when working for wage labor in these projects under American supervision. This is consistent with the borrowing of the terms: merigana, from Spanish americana, and merigein, from English american.

7) Color Terms (identification of others by skin color) - ethnicity as related to race

The Carib possess a system of terms to describe racial types. These terms are used to refer to the color of a person's skin, as do color terms in the rest of the Caribbean and Latin America. However, the Carib system of color terms is not as complex a terminology as those reported for Brazil (Harris 1970) and elsewhere in the Caribbean. Instead the color term system is intertwined with ethnic associations.

My informants varied in their description of color terms for those shades in between "white" and "black". The translations of these terms also varies as is indicated in the chart. As it is often difficult to determine referents for color terms, I developed a methodology²⁰ to help refine "meanings" of these terms.

The methodology I employed for determining the meaning of color terms was as follows: I elicited all the terms for other groups from an informant. When I had obtained a gloss for the term, I then composed frames of a color term paired with an ethnic group term or a sentence contrasting two ethnic terms, e.g.:

megeru afaruti

lit. Creole brown-skinned (brown-skinned Creole)

nasinu wuriti

lit. non-Carib black (black non-Carib)

gio galati

lit. Creole clear-skinned (clear-skinned Creole)

*muladu galati

lit. Spanish clear or light-skinned (clear Spanish)

lenege nadari pero Garifuna le.

lit. He seems East Indian but Carib this.
(This man looks like an East Indian but he is a Carib).

lenege garifuna pero gio le.

lit. He seems Carib but Creole this.
(This man looks like a Carib but he is a Creole).

*lenege garifuna pero muladu le.

lit. He seems Carib but Spanish this.
(This man looks like a Carib but he is Spanish).

* Indicates combinations of terms or sentences considered unacceptable by Carib informants.

As represented above informants then indicated which color terms could be paired with which ethnic terms. If two ethnic terms were considered mutually exclusive in reference to one individual (usually due to physical appearance) then the sentence was unacceptable. If racial and ethnic terms were redundant or if the combination of two terms produced an uncommon or unrealistic combination then the pairing was unacceptable.

The association of terms for ethnic groups with color terms among the Carib is consistent with a racial typology for these groups common in Central America. This typology places ethnic groups on a color continuum with Europeans and Americans as "white",

Spanish (or Ladinos) as "less white", East Indians, Arabs, AmerIndians as "dark" and Creoles and Garifuna as "black".

The systematic study of these color terms and their ethnic distinctions indicated that the system of color terms in Belize is not a separate set of distinctions marking racial sectors of the population but rather a secondary set of distinctions often equated with the ethnic distinctions. Hence color distinctions interact according to patterns of power and economic position, consolidation and separation of the ethnic groups within Belize. The Carib system of racial distinctions differs substantially from the threefold racial division characteristic in the British Caribbean (Kuper 1976:50, Smith 1965, Curtin 1955), where racial sectors of black, brown and white are identified with class, labor and cultural distinctions. In Belize the colonial conflict between British and Spanish uniting the black slaves and masters as well as their common labor pursuits served to distinguish them from the Spanish. The Carib, arriving in the midst of this conflict belonged to neither group.

It is not surprising that racial distinctions among the Carib should play a minor role to ethnic distinctions as their original ethnic formation belied the social distinction that equated white with master

and black with slave.

European conceptions of the Carib

In the narrative history above I mentioned conceptions the Spanish held of the Carib as "cannibals". This notion is mentioned by several ethnographers of the Belizean and Central American Black Carib (see Kearns 1983:ff38, Taylor 1951).

Columbus' diary cites the Carib as people to be feared (Taylor 1977:25) and soon the name "Carib" was indelibly associated with the word cannibal. In Breton's (1665) dictionary his definition of the Carib is revealing of his attitude toward the Carib he lived among on Dominica:

Callinago, It is the true name of the Caribs they are cannibals and anthropages whom the Spaniards have complained of so much, as compared to people that they [the Spanish] were not able to dominate them [the Caribs] that they have devoured such a prodigious number of them [the Spanish] and of their allies (according to what they [the Spanish] say in their books). I don't want to discredit them [the Caribs] any more: as far as I'm concerned I have not known how to complain about their cruelty, on the contrary I would complain willingly of their kindness in my regard. (O the sweet cruelty to have been ground and devoured and torn for the battle of God). The women call themselves calliponam (Breton 1665:105) (translated from the French by Guy Deleonibus).

Lee Drummond (1977) has examined the naming labels attached to ethnic groups by early explorers such as the Spanish as well as later researchers such as im Thurn (1883). Drummond relates im Thurn's early

classification of the Indians of Guyana to stereotypes held by Europeans which divided the Indians of South America and the Caribbean into three groups: Arawak, Warau and Carib. Note the resemblance of this three way division to the ethnic semiotic in the Garifuna terms I described earlier as idudu, waro and garigia, respectively. This threefold division occurs in the mythology of South American Indian groups (described by Wilbert 1964) so it may have been a native distinction which the Europeans mastered.

Drummond (1977:79) describes im Thurn's equation of spatial distance with evolutionary origin, pointing out that im Thurn's system of categorization of the Indians took Carib as a basic type to which he appended subtype names. The Pomeroon Carib, whose only appellation was Carib, im Thurn categorized as "True Caribs". These "True Caribs" are better described as ex-Caribs according to Drummond, as the group have a long history of interaction with Europeans, being descendants of Caribs who fled Spanish soldiers in Venezuela or enslavement by Europeans in Guyana.

"Carib" as a type of Indian were distinguished from "Arawaks", the former's warlike nature and surly resistance were opposed to the latter's peaceful nature (ibid:78) in the writings of Europeans. These images of the Carib and Arawak spread throughout the 16th century entering into European ideological

discourse over the nature of man. Montaigne's essay "Of Cannibals" was a part of this discourse apparently informing Shakespeare's character of Caliban in one of his later tragedies "The Tempest". Indeed "Carib" may have been a term applied to any group which inspired fear in early European travelers anywhere in the world.

In Shakespeare's characterization of the slave Caliban in the Tempest he draws on the brutal characterization to which the term "Carib" had been applied in the travelers' descriptions. As with many ideological rationalizations of social differences, positive and negative evaluations of social differences were equated with physical differences so that during Shakespeare's time nobility were portrayed as beautiful and non-nobility were portrayed as ugly. Consistent with this ideology, Caliban's ugly physical appearance reflects his nature: he is ugly with a freckled skin. A similar stereotype was noted by Taylor of Caribs in the mid-twentieth century:

To the average Creole, the Carib is a sort of outcast or "untouchable" whose very skin is "spotted", whose morals are degraded ("a born thief") and whose language and customs are barbaric. (Taylor 1951:39).

Shakespearean scholars have debated over the source of Caliban's name, most favoring an anagram of the word for "cannibal". Chambers has also suggested cauliban, a Romany or Gypsy word meaning blackness (as

cited in *The Tempest*, 1954 ed. by Kermode:ixxxviii). If the mixture of Africans and Indians under the ethnic group of Carib was achieved at the time that Shakespeare penned this play then it is possible that Caliban represented a person who was both African and Indian.

In the symbolic complexities of "The Tempest" Shakespeare uses Caliban as the natural man, or man in a state of nature. Caliban is thus contrasted with both noble representatives of society, such as Ferdinand and Miranda, and evil, corrupt representatives such as Sebastian and Antonio. Caliban has been instructed by Prospero but his stance toward his master is one of bitter rebellion, the culmination of which is his attempt to rape his master's daughter.

Caliban is thus characterized as natural evil being the son of an evil incubus; but he is also sometimes given the voice to express the beauty of the natural:

Caliban:...isle full of noises, sounds and sweet
airs, that give delight and hurt not. (IIiii
133-135)

Caliban is resentful of Prospero's stealing his isle from him by his stronger magic. Shakespeare's conflict of characters in the play reflects the debate in European societies over the humanity of the "primitive" and the right of "civilized man" to colonize and depopulate the islands of the Caribbean

and later the Americas (see Wright 1936:533 who says that European discoveries of New World lands and peoples were greeted "paradoxically enough by a deepening of interest in the classical rather than the contemporary world"). The date of the performance of the Tempest coincides with the date at which England began trafficking in slaves, 1610.

Language is one aspect of Caliban's nature; his own language is portrayed as vile by Miranda who says:

Miranda:...[you, Caliban] would gabble like
a thing most brutish, I endow'd thy purposes
With words that made them known. But thy vile race,
Though thou didst learn, had that in't which good
natures
Could not abide to be with; therefore wast thou
Deservedly confin'd into this rock
Who had'st deserved more than a prison. (Iii
359-364)

To which Caliban's (now infamous) reply is:

Caliban: You taught me language, and my profit
on't
Is, I know how to curse. The red plague rid you
For learning me your language! (Iii 365-367)

Thus Caliban, whose speech was not considered language, now has gained an education in a European language. Though some 16th and 17th century writers allowed that education could alter a person's nature Caliban in the Tempest has only used his education to

evil ends and against his ruler, though at the play's end he resolves:

...to be wise hereafter,
and seek for grace. (vi 294-295)

Shakespeare's characterization of Caliban was alive in his time and remains alive in our own time (see Baldwin 1964:14 as cited in Mazrui 1975:77). The characterization is revealing of the conception of the "Carib" within the social distinctions of that time.

Such stereotypes of "Caribs" by Europeans also eventually shaped Carib concepts of themselves, especially as groups of "Caribs" entered into discourse with Europeans. Drummond has indicated how stereotypes of Arawak and Carib have structured differences between the two groups:

The stereotypes that the Arawak and Carib nourish about themselves and about each other form part of a larger myth of ethnicity that constitutes the most important element in the ideological life of Guyana, the multiracial emigrant society par excellence (1977:82).

Thus Drummond finally describes "Carib" and "Arawak" as different ascriptive ideologies which determine the type of labor, mating and marriage patterns, the level of interaction with outside groups and participation in national institutions such as schooling (ibid:86-88).

A Reconsideration of Carib Identity and the Carib Language, Garifuna

Carib identity, like that of any group, cannot be easily fathomed. In depicting the system of distinctions in which Carib identity was formed I have departed from previous anthropological literature which attempts to trace elements of Indian, African and European culture as traits adopted and maintained by indigenous peoples. Rather, in this chapter I have sought to indicate the various historical circumstances and interaction with other groups which shaped the ethnic consciousness of the Carib.

By providing a collection of Carib terms for others I have sought to capture distinctions Carib made between themselves and other groups. Derivations of the terms indicate sources of the distinctions between groups. Several historical strands seem to be woven into the tapestry that is Carib identity: the traditions of the earliest Carib who inhabited the Antilles, conceptions of the "Carib" in European ideology, the society of European domination and

slave-holding in the Caribbean, and the post-colonial social interactions of the Carib with other groups within the labor structure of nation-states.

For the initial group of blacks who became "Carib", their identity began as an alternative to the derogatory identity associated with black slavery in the Caribbean with the adoption of the Carib "Indian" language and customs by joining that group in fighting against the Europeans. One African element remains in the language, perhaps the remnant of an early pidgin. Carib identity became briefly intertwined with that of the French in the period of hegemonic struggle of French and English for the Lesser Antilles. Thus the Carib became allied with the French against the English, incorporating the distinctions between Europeans as a part of their culture.

In Central America the Carib, having been circumscribed in their deportation, began to define themselves as a separate ethnic group. Utilizing old Carib distinctions for mainland Indian groups, the Carib distinguished themselves from the mainland groups they were encountering. They borrowed European terms to name other black groups but made up their own whimsical name for Jamaicans (based on what they

considered a strange cultural practice). During this period the term nasinu was borrowed from the Spanish to define all who were non-Carib.

As the Caribbean area changed from a slavery mode of production the Carib were hired as wage laborers and Chinese and East Indians were imported to the area as an alternative labor supply. Following this, Americans began their investment in the area and often became Carib employers. The Carib thus distinguished these groups, again with borrowed terms or calques, forming distinctions based on cultural practices and labor forms.

Hence these relations with various groups in various economic and political configurations structured the distinctions which made for Carib identity through time. These ethnic distinctions existed in relation to a dominant European ideology under colonialism, a hegemony which increased in the post-colonial period as it was institutionalized and Carib became involved in the process of that institutionalization in the twentieth century. This process would ultimately result in the loss of the Carib language, Garifuna, among the younger generation of Caribs.

The Carib of Central America, in contrast to those Carib left on St. Vincent, have maintained a language that is phonologically, syntactically, and semantically an AmerIndian Arawakan language. Carib language has been an integral part of Carib identity, both for the Black Caribs and the anthropologists who sought to classify them. Throughout this language maintenance terms for "others" were constantly added to the language. The long tradition of language maintenance among this group may be due to the use of this language by the Carib as a language of concealment. I will discuss the use of the Carib language by the Carib for concealment and the significance of this for understanding Carib identity.

African and Indian: whence cometh culture?

In the sixteenth and seventeenth century Carribbean and Circum Carribbean several Indian groups were establishing contacts with Europeans and other groups. Schuchardt (1979:84) quoting Charles Dance (1881) indicates the use of Arawak and Creole English among Europeans, blacks and whites in British Guiana. Thus Arawakan languages may have been languages of wider communication and would not have been restricted

to indigenous groups. There may also have been a tradition of teaching the language to other groups, particularly if they were first absorbed into the group in a subordinate position (the first Africans seem to have been held as slaves).

Yet we have little or no information about initial relations between Africans and Indians which comprised these groups. For the Carib the initial number of Africans who merged with the Indians is unknown (Gullick 1975, Gonzalez 1983). Some scholars have proposed that this entry must have been gradual, with Africans absorbed into the group in small numbers. This claim has been made using the Carib language as evidence (Gonzalez 1984:53). I suppose the argument to mean that if large numbers of Africans had been absorbed into the Carib group they would not have learned the Carib language, which is Arawakan, but would have instead formulated a Creole or something similar.

It is this type of reasoning which has confused the study of African cultural transmissions in the New World. We must be wary in assuming that demography alone can explain the spread of a language. As there is little evidence as to the actual numbers of

marooned African slaves who joined the Carib (Young 1795) we must remember that at the onset of the formation of Carib culture from the fusion of African and AmerIndian peoples the former were a diasporic group with perhaps only a pidgin in common. Young (1795) indicates inter-marriage between blacks and Indians, sometimes through forceable actions. If Island Carib slavery (Kearns 1983) was similar to that of African groups involved in fighting and slavery (Meillassoux 1975, Miers and Kopytoff 1977) then the Africans and Indians would have expected absorption into another cultural identity: Miers & Kopytoff (1977:17) indicate that for the slave "...survival lay in attachment to a kin group, to a patron, to power" and describe African institutions as "strikingly absorptive of outsiders." (Kopytoff and Miers 1977:61). An important distinction made by Miers and Kopytoff (1977) is that between first and second generation slaves and the importance for the latter of being born on the soil of the group, acquiring the same language, and participation in ceremonies. Moreover, the importance of ethnic and language differences in maintaining a group as slaves is discussed by Tlou (1977) in the same volume.

specific history and unwilling to assume a phenotypically black group could assume a non-European non African language, have labeled the Carib language "a Creole" "an African pidgin" etc. This classification seems to be made with the assumption that a group with any African heritage, hence their black appearance, will speak an African language or a pidgin or creole. The language, as Taylor(1954, 1956) long ago confirmed, is properly classed as an Arawakan language related to those of Surinam, Brazil, and Indians of the Caribbean prior to European arrival (see also Noble 1965). The language of the Carib is related to the Island Carib language in morphology, basic vocabulary, syntax and phonology with substrate differences minimal and phonology as the most different. Speakers of Carib in Belize are able to understand many of the Island Carib entries in Breton's 17th century dictionary with only minimal difficulty. Carib is not a creole under the present criteria for a creole.

In contemplating why an African group would adopt an Indian culture and identity I would suggest that African slave groups were not tied to any "African" identity, as did Mintz & Price:

We remind ourselves and our readers that people ordinarily do not long for a lost "cultural heritage" in the abstract, but for the immediately-experienced personal relationships, developed in a specific cultural and institutionalized setting, that any trauma such as war or enslavement may destroy. A "culture", in these terms, becomes intimately linked to the social contexts within which affective ties are experienced and perceived. (Mintz and Price 1976:24).

This lack of a common "African" identity among the slaves combined with an expectation that they would attach themselves to a new group and adopt the identity of that group meant that the Carib could adopt an Indian language and culture while incorporating African elements into it. Yet for the Caribs of Belize the African elements cannot be said to form a base or substructure of the language, nor can they be located at a "deep level" of the culture. This is perhaps what Taylor (1951:43 as cited in Price 1973:14) meant when he referred to the Caribs of Belize as "an African cake with AmerIndian ingredients".

The retention of the language has differed among

the Carib of Central America and the Carib who remained on St. Vincent. In 1797 the blacks among the Black and Island Carib group were deported to Roatan, an island off the coast of Honduras; the lighter skinned Caribs remained (Gonzalez 1984). Blood genetic markers indicate that the Caribs of St. Vincent are more AmerIndian while the Central American Caribs are more African (Crawford 1984:331). In a converse relation to this physical typing the Central American Caribs have maintained the language into the present time while the St. Vincent Caribs have lost their language. Thus the genetically "more African" group has maintained the language and culture while the genetically "more AmerIndian" group has lost the language and much of the culture. This has been explained by a small number of Caribs relative to the larger St. Vincent society (Gullick 1984).

However I would suggest that these patterns of "acculturation" are more than demographic. The Carib language and culture provided a unified/unifying culture for Africans divided by culture and language.

It served the Carib well in their attempt to distinguish themselves from all outsiders including other slave groups and maroon groups and it provided the group membership and identity so crucial for Africans.

The extension of Carib language and culture as an ascriptive ideology for blacks seems to have been a tradition of Carib and would account for the growth and expansion of the group within Central America and the eventual "Africanization" of the group genetically while the "Indian" language and culture was maintained.

In the past the Carib in Belize insisted on distinguishing themselves from other African groups. As cited in Taylor:

The Carib's apprehension of his own mixed origin and his attitude toward it are expressed in the not untypical remark of a young schoolteacher: 'I could go and kill every Negro for having spoiled our race.' (Taylor 1951:39)

This deprecation of their African heritage by Carib has changed and now African clothing and other symbols are commonly displayed among younger Carib and

the educated elite as a symbol of "black pride". Thus the Carib have variably identified themselves as of African heritage through time. But I am suggesting here that in the early formation of the group the Indian language and customs were perpetuated and maintained by the group as an alternative identity similar to the way the Saramaccan and other maroon groups perpetuated a group identity.

It is my contention that an attempt to reconstruct African cultural transmissions for the New World on a "deep level" as an academic endeavor is fraught with difficulties and as a philosophical enquiry is basically untenable. ("Deep level" is a concept/term used in an early work by Mintz and Price 1976, based on previous work by Herskovitz 1941). Thus although I might accept a general statement that Africans brought central concepts and notions to the New World I do not believe these necessarily form an African substrate or deep level concepts or biases in Afro-New World

societies. The example of the Carib should indicate the contexts in which it was possible for Africans to assume an "alternative" language and culture in the New World. Maintenance among the Carib of their Arawakan language virtually intact (i.e. with morphological borrowings but no substrate influences) should also be a caveat to those scholars assuming that the Creoles of New World African groups can be taken as representatives of the pristine structure of language of the human mind (see Bickerton 1981).²²

Rather, retention of the Bantu word mutu in the language of the Carib and its importance in predicating things about people may represent a process common in group redefinition. In the early period of the formation of the Black Carib it is unlikely that the runaway slaves had any one language or dialect to share with the Island Carib. Thus it is particularly significant that we find this word mutu assuming such importance in the language after the

mixture of the groups. Mutu may have been one word which had gained some stabilized use among the African slaves and hence was one of the few items which was further stabilized in early intercommunication between Africans and Indians and hence becoming important part of the language. The Black Carib continued to borrow words, some coming from Europeans but many words are borrowed from French and English creoles and indicate that the group continued to borrow stabilized forms from black groups (not only lexical items but also forms of address and narrative forms see Taylor 1948:193). Therefore the "African" and "black group" introduced elements of the Black Carib Indian language are more substantial than the number of lexical items might imply.

When groups interact under circumstances of domination by others they may often exchange key

words. Among these are likely to be words for person and perhaps pronomial forms such as the words used in deixis indicating the relationships between speakers. One type of term such as these which Mintz and Price (1976:22) point out is indicative of such a deictic relationship (or to use their term "dyadic") is the Surinamese term sippi historically used to refer to a shipmate then extended semantically to refer to a fellow worker on a plantation, or currently to refer to victims of a parallel misfortune (i.e. women whose husbands have deserted them). I believe we must begin to understand these terms not as base levels of culture but as universal human concepts which are extended, borrowed and taken from others in response to social conditions.

Despite their cultural differences from maroons, I would argue that historical circumstances under which the Black Carib society and culture was formed were similar to that of maroon societies. Both maroons and Black Caribs united disparate groups to fight against Europeans. Both Black Carib and maroons sought to perpetuate a society learned from New World specialists including Africans of disparate origins.

Both Black Carib and maroon societies incorporated African elements in the language and culture. These elements were those that had become stabilized through a period of interaction among individuals among different groups and were useful in establishing personhood within group boundaries in the New World.

Language Disguise among Carib

The Carib have used their language to conceal information from outsiders, a practice Hymes (1974) has labeled an extrinsic use of language for concealment. A frequent comment by Caribs on finding that I was learning their language was "They can't talk about you anymore", followed by laughter. In addition to using the language for purposes of concealment the Carib also use what Hymes (ibid) has described as intrinsic forms of speech disguise; primary among these is veiled allusion.

Finding words with which a secret or closed discussion by Carib can take place within the hearing (but not understanding) of the referent is a favorite practice of Carib (see Wald 1985:137 for a similar practise in Swahili).

Scene

Six months into my fieldwork I attended a Carib party proudly demonstrating my fledgling fluency in the Garifuna language. "It doesn't matter if you learn to speak our language", one man told me. "We can still talk about you, we might call you something like 'this thing', fon to; we could have a whole conversation about you and you would never know that we were talking about you."

As an example of intrinsic speech disguise consider the strange Garifuna term used to refer to the Chinese, mřriti gáchũgũ, literally "shining knees". This term was collected in Barranco and was used by women in that community while shopping in stores owned by Chinese merchants in a nearby town. The term was primarily employed by the women in a discussion of practices of the merchants which they disliked. As I did not find the term used in other communities I assume it was coined by Barranco women as they desired a term for the Chinese other than the English or Creole term which they knew might be recognized and understood.

Although the Carib language is not widely spoken by other ethnic groups, in the course of my research I did find that there were individuals of other ethnic groups who spoke the language. Some East Indians and Creoles said they spoke the Carib language. For

example one Creole woman, who was a prominent merchant, claimed she had learned the language while working in her father's store as a child and dealing with the Carib customers. Another East Indian man claimed he had learned the Carib language as a child in Punta Gorda, playing with his Carib friends. Thus Caribs cannot always be sure that their conversation cannot be understood and often use veiled allusions to avoid being understood.

A Carib government official said that he and a friend often commented on the proceedings of government meetings in Garifuna taking delight at the annoyance this caused the non-Caribs in the meeting. Some Carib reported a belief that this use of a common shared code for veiled allusion alluding to the non-speakers was true of all languages. A Carib woman reported an instance of this:

When L. went with her Spanish-speaking cousin M. to Guatemala L. constantly demanded translations of the conversations of Guatemalans around her from M., assuming they were making references to her in Spanish. It took several translations for M. to convince L. that the Guatemalans were not making any reference to the two Carib women in their conversation at all.

In these ways Carib use intrinsic and extrinsic forms of language concealment, choosing between the

two forms depending on the auditors in the context. To "talk about others" the strategy of the speakers may require "different" terms than those which might be understood or known to the referent. In the words of a Carib woman:

We don't use gio if we want to talk about Creoles.
We use megeru or gunqu, they know gio means them.

Given this practise, we might surmise then that the terms dobu "stone" and wadabu "conch" which Taylor (1951:39) collected as referents to the Creole group were forms used for veiled allusion to this group. As the Carib man quoted above indicated, any noun can serve as a personal referent in veiled allusion. This usage of terms is similar to what Reisman (1970) has referred to as "passing remarks" in Antiguan Creole. Understanding the use of these terms among the Carib for veiled allusion is important for determining which terms might be selected for referents. Speech disguise may also be significant in determining the phonological changes which might be applied to borrowed terms in the language for linguistic disguise²³.

The use of the Carib language for concealment was probably formed at the inception of the group's

formation on St. Vincent as an amalgam of runaway slaves, Arawakan Indians and perhaps some French Republicans. Retaining a code not easily understood by Europeans was an integral component of Carib identity and explains the maintenance by Carib of their language. As the language shift among Carib children has occurred from Garifuna to Creole this function for the language has become obsolete as Belizean English becomes a language uniting Carib and Creole-speaking youth and associated with their national identity.

The Garifuna language as an anti-language

The use of the Carib language for concealment indicates an important function of the language, one which was perhaps instrumental in the retention of the language. Halliday (1976) has described the languages of the underworld and prison societies of Elizabethan England, Poland, and Bengal as "anti-languages" formed counter to the dominant language and meanings, serving as an inclusive group bonding to exclude outsiders (see Kress and Hodge 1979:70-76). Halliday has also designated Creole languages as anti-languages (see Wahabaugh 1983). Anti-languages are usually described as those languages which develop from a

language as meanings counter to that which predominate in the language. This type of social redefining of meanings between codes of dominance and resistance may also be said to exist for languages of subordinate groups in a society where a dominant group holds power, communicating in another language. Thus communicating in the subordinate language may be a form of resistance to the hegemony associated with the outside language group and perpetuation of the solidarity and "otherness" associated with speaking the lower language. This opposition is explicit in language situations such as that of the Basques where the language has become a revolutionary firebrand or in conflicts within nation-states where the national status of the language is seen as synonymous with the status of the minority group and legislation guaranteeing language rights also guarantees language status.

Changing Names

Carib have long had a tradition of changing personal names. Many of the Belizean Carib held Spanish names from their residence in Central America,

some Carib in Belize have since acquired English names. Nicknames are common and in the villages when using Garifuna, Carib still observe the etiquette reported by Breton and La Paix (1929:5) of using kin terms in place of personal names (see Hadel 1972:83-84 for a description of Carib teknonymy and nicknames). Taylor (1938:118) reported that before an important voyage a Carib would adopt a new name.

The Carib as an ethnic group in Belize have recently changed their name. In 1965 Carib intellectuals decided to agitate for recognition of the group nationally as "Garifuna" rather than "Carib", changing the name from the commonly used referent in English to the native name in the language. "Garifuna" is now used in all official government publications to refer to the group, although in the communities many Carib still use the two names for the group according to the usage described above. The reason cited for the name change was to dispel prejudice against the Carib within the nation-state by the other ethnic groups who used the term "Carib" with prejudicial connotations (connected with the older stereotypes I discussed previously)

such as "primitive" and "cannabalistic". The usage of the new ethnic name "Garifuna" is predominant among educated and younger Carib. This name change was perhaps the signal of a new journey for the Carib, one in which a significant transformation of identity would occur.

Carib ethnic consciousness

Carib ethnic identity has been an affirmation of an alternative to a derogatory identity based on race. At the onset of the group's formation this rejection involved a resistance to enslavement by Europeans and an establishment of native rights as Carib.

Despite their cultural differences from maroons, I would argue that historical circumstances under which the Carib society and culture was formed were similar to that of maroon societies. Both groups fought against the Europeans seeking to enslave them, then perpetuated an identity separate from the enslaved blacks.

The Indian language and customs of the Carib were perpetuated and maintained by the group as an alternative identity to that of enslaved blacks

similar to the way the Saramaccan and other maroon groups perpetuated an alternative identity. Thus although these ethnic identities have been labeled "Indian" in the case of the Carib and "African" in the case of the Saramaccan it is important to remember that both were culturally distinctive from slave identities in the social contexts of the groups.

In our conceptualizations of culture as traits or elements we tend to see cultures as complexes of these elements. In so constructing these culture entities we often miss the historical circumstances affecting and shaping all "cultures" of a period. The economic and political relations of power may structure the relations among groups and produce a dominant ideology in which meanings compete or coexist. The existence of black slavery as a dominant mode of production in the new World during the 17th and 18th centuries associated racial identity with slave bondage. During this period alternatives to that identity were sought and found by blacks, when they could find the political and economic autonomy to do so.

The Carib identity entered into European discourse as well as that of the New World contexts; this is

evident in Shakespeare's character of Caliban. The European stereotypes of the Carib have remained with the Belizean Carib and have been a concern of the Carib who addressed their anthropological ethnographers. In their present context some of the Carib have been concerned to address the stereotypes of themselves within Belizean society and indeed within the anthropological literature. They have been able to enter this discourse through their mastery of the discourse forms of advanced education and in the influence gained by their assumption of positions as civil servants and educators within Belize.

NOTES

¹ Gonzalez (1970,1983) has written categorizing the Carib culture as "neoteric" to describe a society which

...springing from the ashes of warfare, forced migration or other calamity, had survived by patching together bits and pieces from its cultural heritage while at the same time borrowing and inventing freely and rapidly in order to cope with new, completely different circumstances (1983:157).

Gonzalez has developed this concept in her writings and I believe her discussions have been significant in our understanding of how economic development articulates with culture and cultural formations. However by characterizing some societies as "neoteric" (she has identified as neoteric not only the Carib but other societies involved in migrant labor, favelas and squatter settlements, and those societies which Oscar Lewis characterized with the "culture of poverty" label) and others as nonneoteric I believe she has ignored a fundamental principle of culture change. All cultures change and their elements are reconstituted and added to intergenerationally shaped by the contexts of those generations. Gonzalez concept (by indicating these cultures as "new entities") does not recognize the extent to which all cultures go through this process of self constitution, change, and reconstitution albeit in varying degrees.

² See f.n.1 chapter 1. The recent name change of the group is explained and examined later in this chapter.

³ The history of the use of cassava as a provision food and the significance of Indians who supplied this has yet to be examined. Haring (1966:50) indicates cassava was a staple among bucaniers and so important that some demanded it as part of the ransom in their dealings. Indeed the early planters in the Caribbean may have needed ground provisions from Indian producers and small farmers, Pares (1936:202) claims that the sugar planters of the Caribbean imported ground provisions from St. Vincent and Dominica, the French needing these more than the English who were supplied from North America.

⁴ This treaty was signed by 28 Caribs and notably

all but 1 or 2 names seem French, a reminder of the Carib-French alliance (Young 1795:94).

5 Gonzalez has inferred intermarriage from surnames shared by two ethnic groups, and a cultural exchange resulting between these groups (Gonzalez 1983:154). During my fieldwork I found that children with a Creole father's surname were sometimes identified as "Creole" even if the child had never seen the father or the father's kin. This may be a way of "promoting" these children into the Creole ethnic group even though the children have been raised in a Carib household. Thus when we infer "ethnic intermarriage" from common surnames we cannot necessarily assume cultural or linguistic exchange unless we have evidence of this. Presently among the Belizean Carib few people remembered the Carib term for the Miskito, idudu, and many claimed not to know of the Miskito as an ethnic group. The present context of the Belizean Carib does not include frequent interaction with the Miskito and intermarriage between the two groups is probably more common in Honduras and Nicaragua.

6 A more systematic survey of geographical variation of all terms for ethnic groups would involve travel to the many Carib villages along the coasts of Central America. My fieldwork funds and time allocated did not permit such an extensive survey.

7 In this chart and elsewhere I have used an orthography developed by Roy Cayetano (1982). Generally this orthography can be summarized by all characters having their respective phonetic value under the American version of the IPA system with the high central unrounded vowel indicated by |ǘ|, the affricate represented by |ch|. I have chosen to represent nasalization with the diacritic |~| and writing |n| where it is pronounced (in contrast to Cayetano's representation of nasalization as |n| whether pronounced or not). Note that accents are indicated on all Carib words in the chart but are only indicated in the text for those Carib words which do not follow usual pattern of stress. The usual pattern of stress in the Carib language is stress on the second syllable of words of three or more syllables and on the first syllable in two syllable words.

8 Carib in their daily interactions may refer to other ethnic groups or individuals using a term common in the language of the nation or region in which they live. This duality is revealed in coordinate

typologies for their own and other ethnic groups. For example, the term for self-reference among the Carib varies according to whether the speaker is using the Carib language or the language of the country where he resides. Thus in Belize where English or Creole English is spoken, Carib when speaking English almost always use the term "Carib" to refer to themselves and their group. However, in intra-group communication in the Carib language Carib refer to themselves as Garifuna. Similarly, a Carib in Belize may refer to a person of East Indian origin as a "coolie" or a Carib in Honduras may call a person speaking English "inglés". For Carib, English or Spanish terms for others are shared with speakers of these languages; the terms for other groups in the Carib language are not shared and thus uniquely represent Carib history and identity.

⁹ Creolists have agreed that Creole languages are similar at a substrate level with syntax and semantics being influenced by retention of an earlier language, but they often differ as to what that earlier language influence was. For example some maintain that there was an African language influence on Creoles (Taylor 1963, Baudet 1981, Voorhoeve 1973) while others have maintained that the linguistic influence came from an earlier pidgin (Hall 1964, Whinnom 1956). Bickerton (1981) insists there was no retentive influence on Creoles at all. For Bickerton Creoles reveal a "deep structure" which is a universal structure of language within the human mind (for another perspective on the relationship of creoles to universals see also Kay and Sankoff 1974).

¹⁰ See Basso (1977:35) for names of Carib groups, who speak a Cariban rather than Arawakan language, but among whom we find names which are cognates of the term Garifuna and earlier Caripuna ex. Galibi, Carijona. Also see the entries in the Spanish dictionary under "carifonia" which refer to several groups in South America and is used to distinguish various groups of Indians (SantaMaria 1942:323).

¹¹ The borrowing of this term coincides with a historical period of great coalescence of groups as the Europeans dominated the the New World (see Wolf 1983:171). Hence in the same period a similar example occurred in Surinam of an AmerIndian group borrowing the same concept from a African group: It is interesting to note that in the Cariban language Galibi, spoken in Surinam, the word for person is suma, a loan from Sranan (related to the Jamaican

Creole smadi, person from English somebody: Taylor 1956:404. as cited in Holm (1978)

The addition of the African lexical item indicates an early and significant influence on the language, one perhaps filling a necessary hole in what was needed for the Carib language, such as that filled in English by the Creole unu for the second person plural you.

12 See Helms (1971:177) for a similar practice among the Miskito. Village identification may occur where this is a significant political division among groups.

13 See the methodology described for color terms in 3.7.

14 Other linguistic evidence indicates connections of the Carib with other AfroIndian and AmerIndian groups. Taylor has noted the similarity of terms used by the Carib with those used by other maroon and AmerIndian groups in the the circum-Caribbean areas:

...the French popeline or English poplin may have given Carib fabulla "mosquito net", with which compare, however Miskito and Sumo pabulo, with the same meaning...(Taylor 1951:51).

Though mabi "sweet potato" from earlier nabi and mibi "liana" from earlier nibi show a not unusual type of assimilation, I wonder why Sp. negro should have given loanwords with m - in IC megeru, (Araw.) Lokono mekuru, (Car.) Wayana mekolu, and Karina me:koro, all meaning 'Negro';...also Guianese kar. supaira (East) or sumba:ra (West) and Lok. Kas(i)para appear to have borrowed from Sp. espada, and to have undergone the same phonetic adjustment (r for Sp. d) and semantic evolution ('sword' to 'matchet') as in the case of the Island-Carib loanword. (Taylor 1962:150).

15 Edwards (1970:48) discusses the history of the term Creole.

16 Surprisingly, Taylor variably traces the derivation of this term as giaor "from Arabic through French meaning non-Muslim" (1948:192) or to Spanish chillado (? no definition cited). These forms may have historically preceeded the term in its original use in the Caribbean but this is of little consequence in determining the source of the Carib model.

17 Mahogany cutters were considered skilled workers as mahogany trees had to be searched for in the forest and skillfully cut down (Bolland 1977:57). Mahogany had cultural significance for the Carib, being used in kitchen items such as bolu, a large wooden platter, and hana, a large wooden mortar. Drums, extremely important for Carib music and ritual, were also made from mahogany. Mahogany also seems to sometimes be used to indicate skin color. Carib sometimes refer to themselves as gobanaruguni, or "mahogany people". Thus I had originally believed that the term weweruguni was a similar term used to refer to tree cutting labor by slaves imported from Jamaica.

Wewe may mean stick or tree but I find it implausible that Jamaicans would be distinguished with the generic "treecutters" while Carib would call themselves "mahogany cutters". On the other hand since kalinda has never been practised by the Carib it is likely that they should find this practise strange and thus label "the other" ethnic group in reference to this practise.

18 Esquipulas, one such symbol, is the Black Christ figure enshrined in a church in a town named after the shrine in Guatemala. The figure is an important symbol for both Mayan and Carib and is celebrated as an important religious figure in rituals held in many Carib villages (see Whetten 1961).

19 Evidence of this identity is found in novels, in Carib participation in national holidays and pageants and in daily conversations among Carib from different countries. In New York I attended a social function given to celebrate the national independence of Honduras hosted by a Carib family. In celebrations in the United States of Garifuna Settlement Day (November 19), a "Miss Garifuna" contest is held and each of the Central American nations is represented by a candidate who each compete on behalf of her country.

20 I am indebted to Jose Vigo and Ed Bendix who first developed such frames for eliciting Puerto Rican and Black American race terms.

21 See for example the Caribbean yearbook 1984:123:

The Garifuna, the product of intermarriage of African slaves and AmerIndian Caribs in certain West Indian islands centuries ago....speak a patois of their own..."

or Samarin (1968:665) describing Island Carib as an Amerindian pidgin, or Douglas Taylor's (1956)

critique of Norman McQuown's classification of the Carib language as "a pidginized or Creolized language".

22 Acceptance of the "mixed" cultures and further emphasis on black entry into and maintainance of these "other" traditions would provide a solution to the political dilemma which Herskovitz cited for his own assertion of an African cultural identity for black groups in the United States where those espousing a common African identity are linked with those who argue racial determinism.

Constructions of culture formulated as levels are common in the anthropological literature as well as historical literature. Yet in seeing one culture as still existing on a deep level and looking then for possible reconstructions of that level of culture we fail to see the semiotics of cultures as they existed in the past and have been transformed into the present. Juan Flores has indicated this in his critic of Jose Luis Gonzalez stratigraphic depiction of the stages of Puerto Rican cultural and national formation in his essay "El pais de cuatro pisos" (1980). He lauds Gonzalez depiction of important relations between material wealth and cultural wealth (Flores 1984:176). However discussing the Taino as a symbol of "persistent symbolical force as a component of a culture of national resistance and affirmation" Flores criticizes Gonzalez for reducing the "idea of cultural tradition to the visible presence of its bearers and folkloric remnants" rather than understanding the "residual" significance of Taino culture in Puerto Rican national history (ibid:179). Much of anthropology has been a sorting out of these cultural traditions through the folkloric remnants of culture and studies of the Carib have also pursued this endeavor, particularly with the interest of determining what contribution was made by the African versus the "Indian" element of the culture.

23 To date I have not determined any regularities of modification within the language (such as substitution, addition, deletion and permutation) for speech disguise; such modification has been described for the Saramaka by Richard and Sally Price 1976). However, in any considerations of terms which are borrowed from other languages into the Carib language and the possible phonological changes involved in the borrowing, the possibility of deliberate modification for speech disguise should be considered.

Chapter 3

The Belizean Nation State: Labor, Economy and Politics

In the previous chapter I discussed the formation of Carib ethnic identity within the semiotics of the economic and politic circumstances of European domination of the early Caribbean and later colonial formations. I suggested that Carib are beginning to formulate their identity in national terms. In Chapter 4 I will discuss the incorporation of the Carib into the Belizean nation-state and the transformation this effected on ethnic consciousness and language. Yet, to understand the effects of labor change on the group, I must first discuss the economic and political development of Belize as it affected the Carib in providing labor and social structure into which they were incorporated.

Belizean economic and political development

In Chapter 2 I described the early Carib settlements in Belize and the involvement of the Carib in subsistence production and in the mahogany trade. Nigel Bolland (1977) has described the British

settlement of Belize beginning in the mid-17th century by British bucaneeers. The bucaneeers originally pirated Spanish logwood ships but later turned to cutting logwood in Yucatan. Logwood was important in producing the dyes necessary for the woolen industry (ibid 1977:26). The British were formally given rights to cut logwood on the land but not sovereignty over the land in the Treaty of Paris in 1763. By the end of the eighteenth century mahogany had replaced logwood as the mainstay of the extractive economy. Mahogany was used in fixtures for ships and in European and American furniture. The settlers, forbidden any agricultural activity by the terms of the treaty with the Spanish, extended their wood cutting over the area that is now Belize. Stann Creek, or "Stand Creek", as it was called, was an important shipping point and cutting was extended south of the area of Punta Gorda reaching beyond the Sarstoon River.

The early Belizean society was composed mainly of slaves who comprised approximately three-fourths of the population of 3000 at the end of the 18th century (Bolland 1977:32). There were a few hundred free blacks or colored who possessed a little property and

a few slaves. A few white settlers were also in this position. These two groups as well as some wealthy whites had immigrated from the Miskito Shore in 1787. The baymen, who were the descendants of the bucaniers, were the wealthiest of the society owning many slaves and exercising dominant political influence in the settlement on the laws of society and the policy of the British government towards the settlement.

The mercantile element of the colony also developed into a significant component of the Belizean economy and society from the 1790's to the 1820's. The merchants sold provisions and European goods to the woodcutters but also established a quite profitable trade with Mexico and Central America. The Central American Spanish traded livestock and agricultural products for European goods through Belizean merchants despite Spain's attempts to prohibit the trade. Central American independence in 1821 saw the trade intensified, with British merchants finding Belize a safe haven to trade from in the turmoil of Central American wars. The trade proved so profitable that English commercial companies and commission houses were established in Belize in 1830. This trade

continued to be profitable until the Central American trade was shifted to the Pacific coast with the opening of the Panama Railway in 1855 (Clegern 1967:7-9).

Thus the Belizean settlement, based in this town called Belize City, was linked to the British metropolis via economic interests of merchants and timber dealers. The European representatives of these interests dominated Belizean society. The descendants of those who remained would later be called the "Creoles", and although there would be some miscegenation, they would be recognized as white. Their slaves would also be given this ethnic label, though within this term they would also have the racial distinction of "blacks". This racially mixed group was bound together by the first by the economic system of slavery and later by the society and Creole tongue which they shared. This Creole language was close to the English-based Creole spoken in Jamaica, the island from which most of the slaves had been purchased.

Under slavery many slaves made attempts at agriculture, both to feed themselves and their

masters. Prior to emancipation in 1838 the British crown had claimed all unclaimed lands in Belize. This effectively prevented freed slaves from cultivating land upon their emancipation. This labor practice was most probably accompanied by an ideology which placed differential social esteem on different forms of labor. Various reports indicate that agricultural labor has long been shunned by the descendants of the slaves:

...among people of African origin...farming activity has come to be devalued and is perceived, at best, as a part-time venture and a stand-by if employment opportunities become scarce...(Bolland 1977:135).

This attitude may have been held by the masters of these slaves who promoted wood cutting and disdained the life of a settled agriculturalist. Thus the social esteem of woodcutting, or the equation of this labor with a social or ethnic distinction between groups, may have been a feature common in the woodcutting society of 17th and 18th century Belize. The slaves, far from formulating this social evaluation of woodcutting as "good work" may have been socialized into it by their society as a part of the ideology of a social group devoted to this labor.

Distinctions between ethnic groups in labor

In the mahogany camps and later in the sugar industry employers made distinctions between the ethnic groups:

The laborers consist of Creoles (natives of the place) and Caribs, natives of Jamaica, and Spaniards from the neighbouring Republics. In the Northern Districts the Laborers are principally aboriginal Indians. Of the whole the Indians are the most docile, passive, and abstemious. the Creoles and Caribs come next in degree of patient submission and endurance, but the latter are clannish, cunning and dishonest. The Jamaicans are hard working but insolent, insubordinate, and dissipated -- The Spaniards bloodthirsty and revengeful. (Report of the Police Magistrate of Belize to the Lieutenant Governor in 1870 as cited in Bolland 1977:197)

Ethnic distinctions were reinforced by different payments to the different ethnic laborers and often with different punishments for failing to work or running away. This system of differential pay and punishment sometimes linked Creoles and Caribs (ibid:152) and at other times divided them.

In my interviews with Carib some older men remembered vividly these distinctions made between themselves and Creoles in their work in the logging

industry in the early twentieth century. For example one Carib man recalled his father working in mahogany and nutmeg along the Sarstun River shores from 1908 until 1923 with the Belize Estates Company. His father was a foreman and he states that many Carib were foremen as they "were more reliable than the Creoles." Carib men also recalled the food rations they received for pay and how these differed from the rations given to other ethnic groups.

The payment for labor in food rations created social distinctions between imported canned food and locally produced food among the Carib. Canned goods, especially canned meats, came to have prestige over local food sources. A woman of 65 spoke of her childhood in Dangriga where game meat could be hunted or obtained much cheaper in the market than tinned meats but was only purchased by those who were unable to afford the tinned meats. Hence sometimes people were unable to sell game, finding few buyers. Townspeople still look down on village folk who eat only local produce, such as breadfruit. Thus the labor of men in mahogany created a social preference for imported food among the laboring populations.

The Caribs although influenced by the labor in which they engaged were not yet a part of Belizean "Creole society". Hence prior to the 1850's the Caribs although employed as mahogany cutters and exposed to missionary influence were "independant, self-sufficient and unincorporated into the colonial social structure" (ibid:133).

This made the British uneasy as it contributed to their already tenuous hold on Belizean territory. The Crown surveyor leased the Caribs the lands they occupied in Stann Creek for the annual rate of one dollar in 1857. Although the Caribs could have been given title to the land they occupied earlier under the provisions of the Laws in Force Act of 1855 the British government did not do so. Bolland (1977:134) has indicated one intention in the leasing of the land to the Caribs was to maintain a body of laborers. The Caribs may have also served as a "human stake" on the southern lands of Belize; the British establishing their own claim on the land at the same time the Carib population's "lease" was granted.

In addition to the migratory labor of some men, both Carib men and women of southern Belize seem to

have been engaged in subsistence agriculture and small-scale trading of foodstuffs and poultry, sometimes marketing their produce in Belize. This labor pattern seems to have continued through the 19th century enabling Carib villages and towns where subsistence provided the mainstay of Carib culture. Through their wage labor during the latter part of the 19th century many Carib men were learning the English spoken in the lumber camps. A quote from Bard, alias E.G. Squier, who represented U.S. interests in Central America and may not have actually seen Caribs, indicates his impression of these practices:

...he returns from the mahogany works, to delight the eyes and affect the sensibilities of the Carib girls; nor does he fail to stuff his pockets with gay beads, and ear-rings and bracelets of hoop-like dimensions, richly gilt and glowing with coloured glass, where-with to follow up any favourable impressions which may be produced by his own resplendent person. He then affects to have forgotten his Carib tongue, and finds himself constantly running into more familiar English, after the immemorial practice of great and finished travellers. (Bard alias Squier 1855:320-321)

From a settlement to a State

Britain had long been reluctant to grant sovereignty to Belize. The question was left unresolved in the British recognition of Guatemala as

a republic in 1849. The United States had formulated the Monroe Doctrine in 1823 challenging British claims in Central America. In the international rivalry between the US and Britain over a transcontinental canal, Britain gave up the Mosquito Shore and Bay Islands leaving Belize as her legacy in the area, which she granted a formal constitution in 1862. Belize was granted official status as a colony in 1862 (Bolland 1977:189-190). In 1871 the colony became a Crown Colony with the full sanction of the Belizean legislature as the need for greater security against the Mayan threat from the Caste Wars was assumed by the British government. The colony was governed by a Governor-in-Council, the council consisting of five official and four unofficial members, all nominated.

From Forestry to Agriculture

Commercial agriculture was established in Belize during the nineteenth century. Sugar was developed as a cash crop in the north of Belize as the north district had been denuded of mahogany by this time. An influx of refugees from Yucatan made the northern districts much more populous than the southern

districts. The new immigrants were Spaniards and Mayan Indians who fled the Caste Wars of the Yucatan in 1848 (Reed 1964). These people began production of subsistence crops but eventually began production of sugar as a cash crop. Sugar production was encouraged by the superintendant of the colony in an attempt to find a replacement for mahogany in the Belizean economy. As the production of sugar for export continued it was dominated by five companies with steam machinery on extensive estates. Still as late as 1965, sugar only comprised 45% of the total value of exports in 1965 with timber remaining 19% of the total value of exports (Ashcraft 1973:65).

Sugar became increasingly important in the colony as the price of mahogany declined in the world market. This price decline prompted consolidation of land and capital so that by 1871 the British Honduras Company and the Young Toledo Company owned approximately one million acres each and together with a few other landowners (the largest, Sheldon Byass & Co., owning only 5% of that acreage) these companies owned almost all of the private land in Belize. The Belize Estate and Produce Company, the successor to the British

Honduras Co., retained approximately one-half the total land of the colony¹ (Bolland 1977:187). (This company is presently defunct; during the time I was in Belize the sale of company holdings was not determined).

Despite the development of commercial agriculture, forestry interests continued to dominate Belizean politics during the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. A representative from the Belize Estates Company frequently sat on the government council (ibid 1977:187-188) as the old control of the white settlers had declined giving way to the domination of the Belizean political apparatus by the mahogany companies.

The development of the Belizean nation-state: the trade unions and the political parties

In the 1950's the British government began to divest itself of its colonies. By 1964 Belize had been granted an internal self-government constitution. But the task of national consolidation necessary for independence was complicated by two factors: the lack of political integration between the colonial,

political, and administrative center of Belize City and the rural areas of the country; and Guatemala's claims on Belizean territory.

In 1949 the British decision to devalue the Belize dollar was ineptly administered and caused great hardship to many Belizeans though many of the merchants were spared. This prompted the formation of a People's Committee, which later developed into the political party known as the People's United Party (PUP). George Price, the man who has been the Belizean leader for 30 years, formed the PUP in September 1950 with John Smith, a cinema manager and a member of the Legislative Council, Leigh Richardson, a journalist and a former primary school teacher, and Philip Goldson, also a journalist and a former civil servant. Struggles for leadership soon developed and Price consolidated his control of the party in 1960 (Grant 1976:5-6). Since then, like many other small scale nations in the Caribbean, Belizean politics has been dominated by the PUP and the PUP has been dominated by Price until his recent defeat in December 1984 by the UDP. Price's PUP used much the same anti-colonial rhetoric that dominated Caribbean politics in the

1950's to rule the Belizean nation for 30 years.

Price is half-Scottish, half-Mayan (Thorndike 1982:7); his father was from a "colonial family of distinction" (Grant 1976:5). Price is sometimes identified with an old white colonial elite, known as "the Baymen", but more recently has claimed ancestry from all the racial elements of Belize. He attended St. John's College, run by the Jesuits in Belize City, and later aspired to become a priest, visiting the United States and Guatemala during his apprenticeship. After deciding against the priesthood, Price worked for a wealthy American entrepreneur in Belize City, Robert Turton, who was an elected member of the Legislative Council. Price eventually served in municipal government and later was elected to the Belize Town Board in 1947.

The opposition party began as the Honduran Independence Party (HIP) from a split within the PUP, another opposition faction was the National Independence Party (NIP) in 1958. The opposition parties to the PUP were identified as loyalists with the British. This identification arose as the PUP was initially identified as the Independence party and the

opposition party in the colonial period was allied to the pro-Imperial Conservative Party in Britain (Thorndike 1982:5). These parties were fragmented and it is only recently that an opposition party which could seriously threaten Price's PUP emerged. This party was formed in 1974 as the United Democratic Party (UDP).

The constitution of 1932 was accepted by Belizeans after the devastation of a hurricane. This constitution gave the British government treasury control and the British governor reserve powers. In exchange Belize received financial aid (grants and a loan) and a promise for a reimplementation of the elective system in the future. The 1954 constitution provided universal suffrage and an elected majority and new talks for a revised constitution were proposed in 1957. The 1960 constitution provided for ministerial and cabinet government, and the 1964 constitution granted internal self-government. Henry Bowman was the elected delegate of the Stann Creek district with the patronage of other Creoles and some influential Caribs. Also in 1957, Bowman was nominated as part of a delegation from the legislative assembly

emerged. The group included Albert Cattouse, a former civil servant in the Forestry Department and the only black in the delegation, Denbigh Jeffrey, a timber contractor, and George Price. These legislators were accompanied by the governor, Colin Thornley and the Financial Secretary of Belize, Mr. Tom Oates, an Englishman (Bowman n.d.:53-55, Grant 1976:188).

During these negotiations of the Belizean delegates with the British over the future of the constitution, Price invited the Belizeans to private discussions with a representative of the Guatemalan government. The Guatemalan representative, Jorge Granados, proposed that Belize sever the connection with the British crown and enter into an associate status with Guatemala. Belize would enter the Organization of Central American States(ODECA) under the aegis of Guatemala rather than as an Independent newcomer. Although Henry Bowman has claimed that he reported the Guatemalan negotiations to the British authorities (Bowman n.d.:54-55), Denbigh Jeffery (Grant 1976:188) was ultimately branded as the "PUP traitor" who reported the discussions to the British. The British sent Price home, dismissing him from his

quasi-ministerial office and the Executive Council, and a British frigate arrived in the Belizean harbor shortly thereafter. Price's dismissal did not harm him in the eyes of his Belizean followers. Thus despite the fact that the opposition party had long been suspicious of Price's trips to Guatemala prior to the negotiations in London, Price retained leadership of his party and his party remained in control though Price was not officially in office.

Like the political parties in many Caribbean nations, the PUP was often linked to the trade unions. Price was president of the General Workers Union until 1953 at which time he decided to devote himself exclusively to the political functions. The PUP was later linked to the Christian Democratic Union (CDU). The PUP drew on these unions for political support from the ranks and often chose political candidates from union leadership (ibid 1976:183). In 1961 the PUP fostered regional trade unions based on the regional industries: the Northern Cane Workers' Unions (NCWU) in Orange Walk and Corozal and the Cayo Labour Union for timber-cutting and cattle rearing and the Southern Christian Workers' Union (not a new formation but a

splinter group of the old CDU) in citrus in the south. These regional groups were federated under the National Federation of Christian Trade Unions (NFCTU) in 1962 and in association with the Christian Workers Union (CWU) headed and dominated by Pollard. Pollard remade the marriage between the PUP and the unions politically (Grant 1976:281-282). The unions have often been beset by financial problems. These were caused by the underdeveloped Belizean economy and the seasonality of agricultural work. Thus union demands were limited by the economy providing limits on what the unions could accomplish for the workers and the treasury of the unions was limited by the small amount of dues paid by the workers who were only employed on a seasonal basis. In recent years the unions have been divided in their support of the PUP or UDP parties (ibid :291).

The United Democratic Party has extended its Belize City base by gaining support in the outlying districts. This has provided new strength culminating in the ousting of George Price as premier in 1984. The election of his successor, Manuel Esquivel, as premier marked a major consolidation of political strength for

the UDP. The first UDP leader was Philip Goldson, a black Creole who became a Jesuit convert to Catholicism. Once a civil servant, Goldson later became a journalist for the Belize Billboard (ibid:116). The Guatemala issue was perhaps the only real issue of focus for the early opposition party under Goldson. The PUP had lost urban Creole support (primarily middle class professionals and civil servants) as early as 1957 (ibid:275). Dean Lindo, a lawyer based in Miami was the succeeding UDP leader. This leadership was lost in November 1979 to Dr. Ted Aranda (Thorndike 1982:8), a Carib who had received his doctorate in education in the United States. Aranda was the first non-Creole leader of the party.

Two left of center parties which developed in the country were UBAD (the United Black Association for Development) and PAC (the People's Action Committee), formed in opposition to the PUP insistence on guaranteed defence for the country as a condition for Independence in 1969, declaring this a "neocolonialist" position (Grant 1976:270). UBAD was linked to black power movements in the United States and the Caribbean and its leader Evan Hyde became a

popular black poet of Belize. (Hyde is now linked to the UDP.) The UBAD party had support among Black Muslims in Belize City, with good organizations in Belize City and Stann Creek. The PAC leaders had links to Latin American revolutionaries, specifically promoting Che Guevara as a hero (ibid. 273). Assad Shoman and Said Musa were members of this party and later became members of Price's PUP party and cabinet. All of these leaders mentioned were young men and many of the party leaders directed their efforts toward youth.

In the recent election one of the most important issues of political debate between the political parties has been their positions on the United States. As the United States provided arms and aid to the Guatemalan government for 24 years (1954 - 1978) and in the period since Reagan has been president, the US has been reluctant to grant recognition to Belize's independence. Forced to look elsewhere for allies the PUP has gained support from the socialist countries of the Caribbean: Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada (Thorndike 1982:6). Elements with socialist sympathies within the PUP have also promoted some cultural and educational exchanges with these governments. These actions prompted a new line of red baiting by the UDP and the party began to formalize an "anti-communist" pro U.S. stance in foreign policy terms equating Belizean

defense aims with this position. This position is evident in the following as an insert in the UDP bulletin of Amandala, a Belizean newspaper known for it's UDP support:

UDP POLICY ON BELIZE U.S. POLITICAL RELATIONS

1. In the view of the United Democratic Party, Belize-U.S. relations must be seen in the context of U.S. policy towards the region as a whole.
2. Following on this, the UDP sees the conflicts in Central America as being primarily the result of historical conditions, social and economic oppression of the masses of the people, ruthless dictatorships, and U.S. economic and political manipulation in the region. NEVERTHELESS, we share the U.S. view that the conflicts have taken on very definite East-West dimensions.
3. The UDP believes that the Soviet Union, operating through certain proxy states in the region, is actively seeking to exploit local conditions of misery and repression, to promote marxist revolution in Central America so as to expand its influence and gain new allies in its assaults on western democracy.
4. The UDP, as a believer in parliamentary Democracy and the private enterprise system - tempered with social and economic justice - feels that Belize ought to support, in principle, U.S. efforts to resist Communist penetration in the region.
5. The UDP has serious reservations about certain methods adopted by the U.S. in order to achieve its policy objectives. At the same time, the UDP feels that Belize ought not to take part in the public, ritual, one-sided denunciation of the United States as engaged in by the socialist bloc countries. Such use of rhetoric serves no positive purpose and tends to harden the very conditions we seek to change.

6. The UDP is convinced that because of the greatly heightened concern and attention which the U.S. is focusing on the region, Belize's support, in principle, of the U.S. can be of a critical strategic importance (out of all proportion to our small size), to the U.S. political and diplomatic efforts in Central America.

7. The UDP recognizes that all states, including the U.S. and Belize must maintain policies that put their own self-interests first. At the same time, we expect that the larger nations must exercise genuine concern for the well-being of smaller nations. Large states must pursue their own interests with a conscience, and must be ever mindful of justice and fair-play. In this regard the UDP seeks a concrete commitment from the US to promote the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Belize and to reject the false claim of Guatemala to Belize. This is an issue of paramount importance to the people of Belize. Any U.S. policy favouring Guatemala's pretensions would be a threat to our security and freedom.

8. In addition to the above, the UDP expects that the U.S. will adopt economic and trade policies favourable to our development. The political health of Belize depends on Belize's ability to trade with large countries like the U.S. on an equitable basis. No amount of aid can substitute for this, however welcome the aid might be.

(UDP Bulletin in Amandala May 20, 1983)

This political position had enormous appeal for that sector of the population which is U.S.-identified, primarily those who have kin working in the U.S. or are themselves return migrants. At the same time the UDP promised to pave the way for more entrepreneurial investment, claiming that this would develop the

country and provide more employment. Given that Belizean history has been a devolution from an entrepreneurial enterprise of British bucanears to that of American and British entrepreneurs it is surprising that entrepreneurs should be seen as promising a "new and bright" future.

Ethnic and Regional Dimensions of Politics in Belize

The ethnic composition of Belize has been determined by the history of migrations of populations into Belize from neighboring Central American republics and by labor groups brought into Belize. I have outlined above the history of the settlement and social formations of the "Creole society" in Belize. The descendants of the original English and Scottish bucanears turned woodcutters and the descendants of their slaves are both referred to as Creoles. The Creoles have migrated from Belize City to settle in other parts of Belize. Within this cultural group are racial distinctions of black and white. As I stated earlier the color/class distinction of "brown" is not as important in Belize as it is elsewhere in the Caribbean. It is common to hear both black and white

Creoles refer to their European descent distinguishing Scottish, German and Dutch almost as often as British. Both of these groups speak English and Creole English following patterns found elsewhere in the Caribbean where whites speak more Standard Caribbean English and blacks a deeper Creole, especially in the rural areas.

The Mestizos are the Spanish descendants of Mexican families and are equivalent to Ladinos in other South American literature. They share the northern most Corozal district and the Orange Walk District with Mopan Mayan Indians. Gregory (1972) and Koenig (1975) have indicated the assimilation of Mopan to a Mestizo identity through the adoption of cultural habits and the exclusive use of Spanish.

The Cayo District in the central part of Belize is inhabited by Mestizos, Indians and Creoles. The Spanish and Mayan Indians are on the whole migrants from Guatemala into Belize. The Creoles have migrated out from Belize City and established small farms. More recently the Mennonites have emigrated in groups from Mexico and Canada to settle in Cayo and Orange Walk during 1957 to 1959. The Mennonites received assurances of political autonomy from the Belizean government. They have established a dairy and a

poultry farm, providing fresh milk and relatively inexpensive chicken for those Belizeans with cash incomes enough to purchase these items regularly. Mennonites missionaries from other factions have immigrated from the United States and a community of black Mennonites exists in Cayo as well. The establishment of the capital of Belmopan in the Cayo area brought a central market to the area; which had only had small markets in the border area near Guatemala.

The Carib live primarily in the Southern Districts of Stann Creek and Toledo. As indicated previously Creoles have been migrating to the Stann Creek district for the citrus and other industries. A more recent migration has been that of the migrants from El Salvador. Second generation descendants of migrants from El Salvador are already major landowners in the Stann Creek district. The Zabaneh family owns not only vast citrus orchards but has other lands reserved for other important cash crops. Zabaneh also owns one of the offshore islands or cays and much property in town: the cafe, the dance club and motel and the cinema. The government program for settlement of refugees has recently established them as small

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farmers with land in the Stann Creek Valley, and Zabaneh has already established patron-client relationships with these refugees, primarily through his bus company in providing them free transportation.

The Toledo District also has Creoles and Carib population but has not had the commerce of the citrus or bannana industries. Small scale farming has been the norm there. There are also many Mayans in the district, primarily Kekchi. Most of the Mayans have lived in small villages rather than the main town of Punta Gorda but the PUP government has had a program of recruiting the Mayans into government service after educating them and thus a few Mayans now live in the town. Cattle ranching is becoming important in the district and a few American entrepreneurs are attempting to develop cattle raising in the area. Several Americans are also attempting large scale commercial agriculture in the area.

Belize City has always been the center of Belizean politics and the outdistricts have only recently become influential in national politics. The rural-based Latin elite had never established strong links with the national leadership (Grant 1976:176) but with the new UDP government this may be changing. The Creole elite filled a strategic function for the

British in the decolonizing period and the British favored them over the urban Latin elite (ibid:175). Grant (1976:102-104) has claimed that in the 1930's to the 1950's there was little interest in politics in the outlying districts which had a local elite based on small-scale mahogany and chicle contractors, sugar and retail store owners. The exception to this pattern of disinterest or non-involvement in national level politics was Stann Creek Town. Stann Creek continually produced its own elective representative under the 1935 constitution, unlike the other towns of the country which were represented on a "communal basis". William Bowman was the first such representative and his son Henry succeeded him. Henry retired from active politics in 1957 (Bowman 1979:56). Both men, citrus planters themselves, worked to insure the future of the citrus industry in Belize. Stann Creek by this time had attracted several Creoles from Belize City. These retired civil servants and established businessmen formed the basis of a Creole elite. The Carib were also apparently making their voices heard politically as the British government had suggested that a memorandum regarding the proposed 1932 constitution included "Carib ideas" and that the Carib seemed politically organized. (Governor to Secretary of

State CO 123/342, File 15539, April 1933 as cited in Grant 1976:102,104)

In its quest for nationhood Belize has become more politically and geographically integrated. The growth of the sugar industry drew workers and made for an increase in population and the development of the infrastructure in the northern districts accompanied this growth. Paved roads, new schools, and better water service were provided to the northern districts. Other districts have begun to receive such services but on a much slower basis. There are still no paved roads leading to Punta Gorda town in the Toledo District making road transportation from Belize City to the town slow and difficult. In contrast the boat service to nearby Livingstone, Guatemala and Puerto Cortez, Honduras is short and frequent. Goods from Guatemala are easily obtained and often cheaper than goods through Belize City. For this reason many merchants in Punta Gorda have been dissatisfied with the Belizean government's restrictions on importing goods from Guatemala and Mexico and promotion of local goods (usually produced in the Belize or northern districts). This dissatisfaction is one motivating force behind the Toledo Progressive Party (TPP) led by Alejandro Vernon. Vernon is a Creole but married to a

Black Carib woman. This party has constantly claimed a pro-Guatemala position desiring open trade with Guatemala and sometimes espousing union with Guatemala.

Thus although the regions of Belize have recently been more effectively integrated into the nation the spectre of division along racial, ethnic and regional lines still remains in Belizean politics. The settlement of the Salvadoranean refugees, who were given land and subsidies to establish farms by the government brought an outcry from those groups in the country concerned about maintaining the racial balance in the country. The government solution to this racial imbalance, importing Haitian refugees who were illegally in the United States, has never been carried out.

Another incident invoking alarm over regional and ethnic division within the nation came from within the UDP party. Evan Hyde, writing for the UDP in the newspaper associated with that party, accused a former UDP leader, Dr. Ted Aranda, of "tribal" politics. Aranda had been forced from the party leadership and was forming a separate party with Dangriga as his base. This must have been cause for alarm as the UDP had a history of fragmentation and had only recently

begun to consolidate its power and influence. The article also claimed that Aranda was allying with Alejandro Vernon and his TPP to form a new group which would then become a part of Guatemala. The article outraged many Garifuna and Joseph Palacio, an anthropologist currently the resident tutor for the University of the West Indies Belize division, wrote the reply which was the official response of the National Garifuna Council:

...the Garifuna have not responded to developments within the UDP in a tribal manner as Mr. Hyde suggests with "elders" laying down edicts that are followed humbly by the masses....The fact is that there are Garifuna who support Dr. Aranda as much as there are Creoles. In other words, he does not now have nor ever did have complete Garifuna support. The Garifuna exercised their choice for him not merely because he is a Garifuna politician. This indicates an in depth awareness of party politics within our democratic tradition, a credit which Mr. Hyde denies the Garifuna people.

With respect to the Belize-Guatemala dispute, it is most ludicrous to suggest that the Garifuna may be a main "factor" within that conflict....Indeed, the Garifuna in the Toledo District have long assessed correctly the role of politicians in their midst who have argued on the side of Guatemala. The Garifuna are affected because more than any other ethnic group they share blood ties, economic links, and a cultural bond among the countries of Honduras, Guatemala and Belize. There are regular visits from one country to the other that generate a critical knowledge of what each country offers to its Garifuna citizens. The Belize Garifuna have made their choice for their fatherland and they know best on what basis the choice was made. It is gross journalistic irresponsibility to imply that they would allow anyone to suggest that they be sympathetic to

Guatemala because of being an "oppressed minority" in Belize.

...There is no denial of the fact that historically in the divide-and-rule practice of the colonialists, they played one ethnic group against the other for their own benefit and that the Garifuna, like other minorities in Belize, were placed in opposition to others. However, in an independent Belize there must be a decisive attempt to erase these barriers and to place all Belizeans on an equal footing. In other words, at a time when, like other Belizeans, we are struggling to forge a new, liberated Belizean man and woman, do we allow Mr. Jekyll (or Mr. Hyde) to fan the evil fires of racial discrimination between the Creoles and the Garifuna?

(Reporter, Sunday, December 19th 1982:2,19)

Forstalling division along ethnic and regional lines and promoting unity has been an essential goal for the new nation of Belize. Education has been useful in this pursuit and the creation of a civil service, loyal to the nation, has also aided in this pursuit. The response of Palacio for the Carib to the separatist charge of Hyde is indicative of the extent to which education and work in the civil service has been successful in creating national allegiance among the Carib.

The Labor Structure of Belize

As I stated earlier, commercial agriculture had established a beginning in the nineteenth century. In sugar the growth industry in the north was extended to the south of the colony. The sugar industry saw great growth and brought some wealth into the northern districts until recently. Tate & Lyle had ownership of Belize Sugar Industries but in 1983 the company was proposing sale to the government and the cane farmers due to the poor sugar prices on the world market of 1981 and 1982. World production of sugar increased by 12% but consumption was stable. This development was reported with alarm by Belize (Anon Belize Sunday Times September 19, 1982). Far from aiding to this dilemma the Caribbean Basin Initiative, while providing \$10 million dollars in aid to Belize, set limits on the sugar which Belize could export to the United States. Quotas for sugar imports to the Central American countries after the U.S. cut Nicaragua's

quota were not increased for Belize, limiting the value of the sugar produced (see Table 1). In contrast, the U.S. bought 90% of Guatemala's sugar crop, an estimated 448 thousand metric tons. Sucden sugar firm in Paris, Belize Sunday times Sept. 19, 1982.

Although it is unclear what direction the sugar industry will take in the future as world prices fall with the use of corn syrup and artificial sweetners in recent years sugar has replaced mahogany as the chief item for export.

Commercial agriculture has been repeatedly attempted in the southern districts. Perhaps the earliest attempt was by disgruntled southerners from the United States who attempted to produce cotton and other products on land in the Toledo district shortly after the Civil War was lost to them in the United States (Dobson 1973). Despite the attempts by the Belizean government to aid the U.S. migrants their enterprise was unsuccessful and they abandoned the

country within a few years of their arrival.

A banana industry was established in the Stann Creek district in 1911 when United Fruit purchased the Middlesex Estate of 12,500 acres (Ashcraft 1973:58). Panama disease attacked the bananas in 1913. By this time however government had lent its financial assistance to the enterprise by providing funds for a railway leading to the pier in Stann Creek. After the railway was built the government taxed the owners of land around the railway, which proved prohibitive for the small producer. Bananas have never been commercially lucrative in Belize except for the period of poquitero production in 1930-1939, when small growers were able to grow bananas and sell them to American owned fruit companies, whose boats plied the shores of Central America buying up bananas. This period was especially profitable for Numada, when Jamaicans from Livingston and Puerto Barrios settled on Boyo Creek near the village, growing bananas. The influx of cash into the village made for an abundance

of luxury items such as formal style clothing, gramophones and imported foods. The village had its own jazz band, with drums, piano, clarinets, tuba, slide trombone, guitars and banjo. This florescence was ended by the devastation of Sigatoka disease in 1939 of the bananas in the area of Numada. Further attempts at small scale production of bananas in Central America were defeated by monopolization of the U.S. market by United Fruit (Lundberg 1978:63-65, Gonzalez 1969:30-44).

Following the failure of the banana industry, citrus was attempted in the Stann Creek Valley. Production reached a profitable peak in 1948 (Ashcraft 1973:59). Citrus only exceeded the value of timber in domestic exports in Belize in 1960 and although its value often exceeded or equaled that of sugar in the Belizean economy in the 1950's it has been protection within the Common Market which guaranteed citrus its foreign-exchange value. The combined value of sugar and citrus exports exceeded that of timber for the

first time in 1959. Citrus, like sugar, has become capital-intensive. In the late 1930's a cooperative company, the British Honduras Citrus Association was formed. This association later became the Citrus' Growers Association in 1966. Membership is limited to growers which can produce not less than 20 "contract" boxes (90 lb of oranges or 80 lb of grapefruit). Small growers sold their fruit to this company in which three large producers predominated. Currently approximately 10% of the associations members are Caribs and all are small producers (interview with member of citrus board 1983).

The two companies that now process juice are Belize Food Products (formerly Salada, Nestle) and the Citrus company of Belize. The companies themselves produce on an acreage equal to that of all the independant growers combined. One company supplies the British market with canned grapefruit and orange and grapefruit juices. Fresh grapefruit is protected in the British market. Prices per box of oranges varied

from \$2.00 per box to \$1.75 per box in 1965 with the market decline. By 1966 the price per box was \$.95 per box (Tripartite Report, 1966 as cited in Ashcraft 1973:76). More recently the price per box of oranges has fluctuated from \$1.70 in 1973 to \$5.73 in 1978 (Citrus Growers Association Annual Report 1980). The Citrus Growers Association generally negotiates with the two companies to determine which of the two companies will provide the better price for a set amount of citrus produce promised by the CGA. That price is then awarded to the growers for their citrus if they supply the negotiated amount. The processing companies often complain that not enough citrus is provided for them to efficiently process the fruit and they have sought to import Mexican citrus. This action has been prevented by the Belizean government in cooperation with local growers.

The citrus industry has not expanded as rapidly as expected and the output of the industry continues to be small on a comparative scale world wide to

producers such as the United States and Brazil. The plans to expand the acreage planted in citrus have not succeeded: although the goal was to expand the acreage under production to 10,000 acres by 1970 (Dobson 1973:271) by 1980 only 8,681 acres was under production (Citrus Growers Association Annual Report 1980:27).

Henry Bowman (1979:22) has claimed in his autobiography that his family was primarily responsible for the development of citrus in the Stann Creek Valley. His father, William Bowman, was of Scottish English descent. The family is locally identified as Creole. Through marriage he gained a store in Stann Creek which proved profitable enough to fund other enterprises. William Bowman, along with two other men, ordered budded citrus (grapefruit) trees to plant in the Stann Creek Valley. The Sharp family originally of Jamaica with interests there and in Honduras also began to plant citrus in the valley. Although William Bowman claimed not to have made any

profit from citrus cultivation in the valley, his son, Henry Bowman saw the acreage he owned greatly increased. Henry played a prominent role in the Citrus Growers Association, often acting as chairman. Indeed Henry Bowman's autobiography claims "my lattitude of business was to engross the twinkling town of Stann Creek" (Bowman 1979:21). Eventually Bowman became important in both local and national politics. He and his family established patron-client relations with some of the Caribs in the Stann Creek district, employing some in their hotel or other enterprises. But Bowman's relations with Caribs have not always been amicable; in interviews with Caribs in the area some reported that Bowman as a justice of the peace had used vagrancy laws to force Caribs into laboring.

In the Belize Development Plan of 1965 we have an indication of the intent of the Belizean state to develop agriculture, with an emphasis on changing the milpa system to one concerned with permanent crops.

Consistent with this aim the government guaranteed the price of corn, beans and rice to encourage the self sufficiency of the country in producing these staples. However, the government apparently saw foreign investment in agriculture as crucial to this plan, citing the British firm of Tate & Lyle's interests in sugar production and processing in the northern districts and United Fruit's interest in a banana plantation in the south as possible models for further outside investment. That agricultural production must be for export to produce foreign dollar earnings was stressed, as the population of the country was not a sufficient market to encourage local production for marketing.

Rice is increasingly becoming an important crop. Shifting cultivation of rice has long been practiced in the country although some rice had to be imported. More recently Belize has approached self-sufficiency in rice production. The government has encouraged mechanized cultivation of rice by establishing rice

mills, renting harvesters to small farmers, and setting a fixed price for rice. A private concern, Big Falls Ranch Ltd. in the Toledo district, is highly mechanized and cultivates the largest area of land in rice production.

Corn and bean production have steadily increased in the recent past. Although recently mechanized production of corn has produced more corn than the Belizean local market will support, making the production unprofitable as prices fell in the national market. This example indicates the difficulty of converting from subsistence to mechanized cash crop production in a country where the population and hence local demand for any food product is small and where the large scale production necessary for competition on the world market is not yet feasible.

The fishing industry is to date the most profitable industry in the country with fishermen exporting over 2,000,000 lbs of fish annually (West Indies and Caribbean Yearbook 1976-1977:137). Table 3

indicates present levels of production of various types of fish from the more recent government figures. Shellfish are currently the most profitable type of fish and the lobster is now in danger of being overfished to the point where the reproduction of the species is endangered. Government efforts to prevent this have been unsuccessful due to the lack of funds for government boats and employees to police the Belizean waters. There are six fishing co-operatives in the country, with varying degrees of success. Dangriga has not been able to organize a successful fisherman's cooperative and some fishermen there have joined the Belize City cooperatives. 95% of all fish products are exported to the United States. The Belizean government has fixed prices on fish for the local market assuring the Belizean population affordable fish. However, fish is much less available for locals in recent years than in the past; fish are sometimes not supplied for the local market when higher export prices are available. Lobster and shrimp

prices are not fixed and hence determined by the international market. Since the demand for these is high in the United States the local price has risen beyond the price most Belizeans can afford. Lobster and shrimp are now most often found in the restaurants that tourists frequent rather than in the local fish markets.

Table 4 indicates production levels of major crops in Belize in the years from 1965 to 1982. The Tripartite Report of 1966 on Belize has indicated that the small population is a problem for the development of Belizean agriculture as the labor force is too small to support large agricultural development projects. The present agricultural projects only provide seasonal labor for most Belizeans. For capital intensive agriculture the problem may also be not only that the labor force is small, but that as seasonal laborers, workers in Belize often take a "contract labor" approach to work and are not as easily compelled to labor in the same manner as a proletarianized worker who is dependent solely on a cash income to provide for his subsistence. Many workers in Belize alternate between cash income producing work and subsistence farming or fishing. From January to June people cut burn and plant rice

fields, from June to September they work for wages, then from September to October they harvest rice (Ashcraft 1973:90). There are individual variations on this work schema depending on the season for harvesting particular crops such as sugar or citrus or individual family circumstances.

Rise of the Public Sector Employees

As another goal indicated in the 1966 Tripartite development report, education is prioritized as a need for developing the country. Secondary education was subsequently developed and emphasis is placed on college education for teachers. Funds in the public sector previously devoted to forestry (the colonial legacy of Belize) are redistributed to education. The Manpower report of 1965 reports that a drop of 16.4% of public sector employment represents cuts in Forestry, Construction and Quarrying as well as Survey and Lands Dept. This gap was offset by hiring in education. In a labor survey of 1965 in the Stann Creek district public sector employees comprised 21.59% of all those employed. Since the only other major employer in the area, the citrus industry is a seasonal employer the public sector employees become more significant as a class when we consider the

stability of their employment and the security of their income.

Table 5 indicates employment by sector for Belize as a nation in 1983 as taken from the Labor Force Survey 1983-1984 at the Belizean Labor Department. Government employment for the entire country is significant compared to other sectors at 15.4%. The other large sector of employment is that of "community services" comprising 16% of the total employment. This sector includes legal services, churches, and other voluntary services, hotels and restaurants, cinemas, betting services, and hair dressers. By far the employers of the greatest number of people in this sector are the churches and of these employees most are teachers and support workers for the schools. In the Catholic Church some are foreign and local born nuns and priests while others are local workers paid by the church. The Protestant churches hire mainly local workers. The high schools are ecumenical and workers are paid by the government. Teachers are both government and church employees. If the figures for church employed teachers comprise a substantial part of the figure for community service employees and this is added to the figure for government employees we realize that teachers and government workers comprise

a sector of the work force in Belize almost equal to that employed in agriculture.

Labor in the public sector is even more common for women than men. If we compare the figures in Table 5 by sex we see that women's involvement in teaching and government work far surpass their involvement in any other sector as the figures for government and community service work add up to 54.7%. This figure represents the increasing involvement of women in this type of work.

Labor and Social Division in Belize

I discussed the extent to which the PUP political party was connected to the agricultural laborers and how the UDP arose counter to the PUP with a composition of professionals, civil servants and return migrants during the nationalist period. To understand the conflict between these parties it is important to understand the labor and class structure of Belizean society and the role this plays in social division.

As I indicated above public sector employees and church employed teachers comprise almost one-third of all those employed in Belize. In general most of the population seems to exist on a combination of

seasonal wage labor and subsistence production so that even though the sugar, lumber, and citrus industries may at times employ more workers than the government very few of these workers are employed full time year round. (Remittances from abroad are also an important source of income but for most are supplementary (Kearns 1983:51,53, Ashcraft 1973:164-165).) Hence the churches and the Belizean government are the largest employers of full-time year round workers.

Belize City and Belmopan, the largest city and the national capital respectively, also enjoy a small professional class: doctors, lawyers, accountants, and a very few technical professionals although most technical professionals are from other nations). These groups combined with the merchants and small entrepreneurs can be said to form an upper class in Belize, one which has a social reality in local representations. Newspapers in Belize often speak of

individuals of this group as "persons of wealth and professional distinction".

The professionals are distinguished from the merchants and small entrepreneurs by education. In fact, many of the professionals are the children of merchants and small entrepreneurs whose parents have invested in their children's education.

Education is a common bond between the professionals and the civil servants and in Belize the latter group outnumbers the former. Poulantzas (1974), Bourdieu (1973,1985) and Austin (1984) have indicated that education has become a "class ideology". Education has provided the system of "titles" by which civil servants and professionals distinguish among themselves and generically is the basis for a primary social distinction between the "educated" and the "uneducated".

Grant (1976:285) has indicated the important role civil servants play in the Belizean society, eclipsing that of the professionals:

When their numerical strength, local origin and bureaucratic skills are combined, civil servants are better placed than the other elite groups ...for fulfilling the social roles in the society.

The civil servants are beneath the factory owners,

large citrus and sugar growers, large land owners and cattle producers and other owners of the means of production in Belize in the class structure of the society. However in contrast to this elite, which is relatively small and less visible, the civil servants are numerous and widespread living in almost every community in Belize. Poulantzas has recently pointed out that class is not merely formed at the site of production but is also created by the state. Thus I have chosen to call the civil servant workers of Belize a class following this characterization rather than labelling them a bureaucratic elite, as do many other authors.

Because of their number and visibility (they more than other elites dwell in the public arena) and their subscription to and perpetuation of education as an achieved status legitimizing social position, civil servants serve to create the ideology which encompasses the state, making it a social reality and associating it with personal identity. That the civil servants are the representatives of the state and its legitimization par excellence can be seen in the example of the civil servants strike of 1966. In this

protest of 1966 and the proclamations of the civil servants prior to it the civil servants assert their legitimacy as representatives of the state over that of the politicians.

The Civil Servants' Strike of 1966

The class conflict between civil servants and those workers who straddle employment and unemployment was evident in the civil service strike of June 1966 (Grant 1976:285-291, 1966). The strike was a response to the negotiations over Belizean independence between Guatemala and Britain. Philip Goldson of the NIP reported that Britain favored the U.S. mediator's proposals to make British Honduras a part of Guatemala. No written records of the talks were available but Goldson's report in The Belize Billboard, June 19, 1966 was enough to prompt the civil servant's union, the Public Officers Union (POU), to declare a nation-wide strike and state as the catalyst:

Public officers as citizens had come to feel that their country was being lost to them and had been unable to secure adequate assurances. POU resume of a meeting held between the Governor and the POU on July 28, 1962 as cited in Grant (1966:37).

The loss of faith in the British Honduran government's role in the negotiations was perhaps the last straw in a process of conflict between the new political elite of the PUP, connected to the workers unions and with support based in the rural areas of the country, and linked to the various ethnic groups of those regions, and the educated elite of the civil servants. Thus as the PUP gained power in the national government, the civil servants felt their job security, social positions and ideals threatened.

The PUP politicians were from the rural areas and often possessed less education than the civil servants. These two characteristics were enough to denote a lower social status in the eyes of the Creole elite of the civil service. Moreover the Catholic, Jesuit-trained political elite (typified by George Price) with religious allegiances to the labor unions² were anathema to the Anglican and Methodist Protestants of the civil service. Social alliances of the civil servants were solidified by church memberships and memberships in social clubs (such as the Cricket Board). Government assistance to the Protestant schools was facilitated by the lay

leadership of important civil servants in those churches (see Grant 1976:286). Membership in social clubs also linked junior to senior civil servants.

Singham and Lewis (1967:139) have written detailing the resistance of economic and bureaucratic elites to regional integration in the Caribbean:

...the economic and bureaucratic elites..have vested interest in maintaining the present political orders, since these give them dominance in the individual units, while integration would on the other hand, weaken their 'power' positions....

The ascendancy of the PUP and the trade unions during the period of internal self-government from 1954 to positions of political power and the identification of these groups with Latin American politics and ethnicity threatened not only the jobs of the civil servants but the very nature of the Belizean "civil society" of which they considered themselves the architects and defenders. Education was at the very foundation of this society and was representative of their achievement and struggle as well as proof of their right to govern. This view of themselves was set forth in the Stann Creek Declaration of 1962:

The National Public Service embraces the cream of those sons of the community who, by virtue of the lofty idealism and sacrifices of our parents, have

achieved the highest average level of formal education that the nation has to offer or that the national government can provide funds for institutions of higher learning overseas.
POU 45th Annual General Meeting, 1-2 March 1963,
p.27 as cited in Grant 1976:286

On the basis of this legitimacy the civil servants had declared themselves the national protectors of "civil liberties". They seem to consider themselves not only functionaries of the state but as well vigilantes for those freedoms they believed the state to guarantee. This was perhaps a rather literal interpretation of their British legacy of "democracy" and a failure to correctly interpret their roles as civil servants in the British tradition of public service, whose prevailing moods were "dispassionate impartiality" and removal from direct participation in politics. This degree of removal and impartiality may have been impossible for the civil servants in a small nation where the level of bureaucracy did not yet remove the state officials from direct audiences with the public (ibid:291) and where personalization of politics was the norm of political interaction.

The PUP politicians deepened the antagonism between themselves and the civil servants. In the early formative years, they fanned hostility towards

the civil servants in the early formative years as part of the attempt to build a political base (ibid:38). The guarantee of advanced social status which the greater education, positional power, and regular income conferred on the Creole civil servants had created resentment of them by the other groups, particularly those workers whose lives they sometimes affected in the rural areas. This hostility was intensified not only by class differences but also racial, religious and ethnic differences between the groups. Many Caribs that I interviewed spoke of this hostility toward the Creoles who had monopolized the civil service in the past.

The strike was to be a 48-hour sitdown strike during which essential services would be provided. The advance reports of the strike generated great tension in Belize City with public meetings and sporadic acts of violence. Further violence was avoided by a nightly eight-hour curfew enforced by the police and British troops. News of Goldson's report had pierced the usual disinterest of Britain in the affairs of the British Honduras colony and an unfavorable rendering of Goldson's report was

broadcast on the BBC, prompting even further dissension over the issue in Belize.

The strike itself was short-lived, ending in 24 hours when the Jesuits of St. John's college sent their students in to replace the striking workers. Some of the senior officers had not participated in the strike. However many of the junior officers did participate and services such as the post office were particularly affected, causing some alarm within the country, where foreign remittances were significant.

The strike seems to have accomplished only the goal of bringing the negotiations over the nature of the Belizean state to the public. It is possible that Goldson, the NIP and the newspapers could have accomplished this without the strike actions of the POU. As I have indicated earlier the threat of incorporation into Guatemala or invasion by Guatemala has been the constant spectre in Belizean politics. However the strike is significant in that it reveals the schisms of the early Belizean nation-state and the place of the civil service in these schisms. These schisms were important in the attempt to define the nature of the society which would dominate the nation

and it is this goal that the civil servants clearly saw as the reason for their strike and part of their "civic responsibility".

The strike makes clear the cleavages along class, labor, ethnic and racial lines. The strike along with earlier pronouncements of the POU, makes clear the commitment of the civil servants to "Creole society". It also projected their view of themselves as an elite based on education, lacking political connections with laborers, especially those in the rural areas of the other ethnic groups.

The predominance of the Creoles in the civil service changed after the other ethnic groups especially Caribs and Mestizos entered the civil service. The Protestant base of membership in the civil service was eroded by the Catholicism of these ethnic groups and the top-most hegemony of Britain, fostered by the Protestant churches connections to a British home-base, was altered by the American-based Catholics (many of whom were Irish-American or German and held an intense dislike of British colonialism)(see Lundberg 1978:62,71, Grant 1976:130). However the civil service remains tied to the British

system of examinations (the Jesuits altered the American curriculum of St. John's College to promote qualification with the Overseas Cambridge Examination syllabus)(ibid:94-99). Many of the conceptions of an elite status based on education and a commitment to an English-associated state rather than a Spanish-associated state also remain tenets of the ideology of the Belizean civil service.

The Belizean Civil Service In Comparative Perspective

The Belizean Civil Service differs from that of other British colonies in that it was never called upon to act as extractor for any surplus from the peasant economy nor was it expanded to include hereditary chiefs or other ethnic leaders as in Uganda (Mamdani 1976:157; also see Foster 1965 on Ghana, Ogburn 1981 on Nigeria). The civil service began in Belize City and was expanded to the rural areas with national integration of these areas. Following this, the organization of the civil service was connected with location of the state apparatus in Belize City under colonialism and the support of the mahogany industry by the state rather than extractive agriculture. In

the next chapter I will attempt to trace the entry of the Carib into the civil service of Belize and the effect of this on their communities and their identity.

Two Carib Communities: The Town and the Village

For the purposes of my study I chose two Carib communities: the town of Dangriga and the village of Numada. Dangriga is one of the first sites of settlement of Carib in Belize and is still regarded as the mother settlement in Belize. The town was originally called Stann Creek, but the name was officially changed to Dangriga at the instigation of Phyllis Cayetano on behalf of the local Carib. The 1982 abstract of statistics indicates that Carib comprise 70% of the town's population as compared to 20% of the population who are Creoles. (10% of the population belong to other ethnic groups.) This percentage is a slight increase of Carib over the earlier percentage of 61% reported in the 1960 census. The 1960 census reported a total population of 5,287 for the town whereas in 1980 the population of Dangriga was 6,725.

Situated at a mean altitude of 3.5 feet above sea level Dangriga is only a bit more elevated than Belize City with a mean altitude of 2.5 feet above sea level. This makes both cities extremely vulnerable to hurricanes. The last hurricane, Hattie in 1961, completely destroyed most of the buildings in the town. One of the consequences of the hurricane was that people were discouraged from planting large coconut, breadfruit and mango trees near their houses. To provide for household food needs some have replaced them with dwarf coconut trees as replacements. However most women must now purchase the coconuts that supply the oil for baking their bread. Dangriga lacks the mangrove swamps and the open sewage canals of Belize City, making it a physically more pleasing place with clean streets and pleasing foliage. The Stann Creek valley is a beautiful area; large stands of tall rain forest trees and small areas of swidden plots alternate with larger fields of fragrant green citrus groves. Driving along the Hummingbird Highway (built by the government in 1950 (Dobson 1973:282), which links Stann Creek to Belmopan one finds clear streams and rivers and small settlements of Kekchi Indians and

Salvadorean refugees in thatched roof houses. The road from Belmopan, the Belizean capital, leads to Belize City. The total distance from Dangriga to Belize is 105 miles. Although the roads are gradually being improved travel is still difficult with bridges on the Hummingbird Highway passable by only one vehicle at a time. A bus trip from Dangriga to Belize City takes over four hours, yet people from Dangriga often make the trip to obtain goods and services not available in town. The previous trip by sea (only 36 miles) was shorter but passage by sea, once common, is now rare.

Stann Creek in 1879 had established a post office and by 1890 it had 2,500 Caribs as citizens; it was declared a town on February 15, 1895 entitling it to a Town Board in July of that same year (Bowman 1979:8). Stann Creek now boasts a hospital, a town hall, a community center and a market center. Two rivers run through the town: North Stann Creek and Havana Creek. The northern area of town near the banks of Stann Creek is the oldest area of town. Most of the shops of the town are situated along the central street which crosses Stann Creek. The north area of town has many "modern" homes but some are situated in the southern

area close to the beach and central street. The town water supply is from wells and many homes have indoor water in this residential area. In contrast in the south homes are smaller and water is usually provided through one spigot in the yard. The town river still affords some of the local women a place to wash their clothes, and an opportunity to socialize during these tasks.

Many of the town's place and street names such as Lemon Street, Mahogany Road Front Street and Princess Royal Park are English. Others reveal the efforts of local people to promote the Carib history of the town: Alejo Beni Ave., Goomagarugoo Street, and Chatuye Street. The new Community Center and the government sponsored development in the north west area of the town was named after Catarino Benguche, a prominent Carib and the first Carib to represent his district in the legislature. The social division of the town residents between north and south is often emphasized in the rivalry between the two Catholic schools: Sacred Heart in the north and Holy Ghost in the south. The schools compete in the scholastic achievements of their students and in the contests surrounding the

Garifuna settlement day celebrations of November 19 each year. The first Roman Catholic school in Stann Creek was established in 1898.

Besides these two large Catholic schools there is also a Methodist and an Anglican school. Other religious denominations also have small schools sometimes with only 5 to 10 students (see Ashcraft and Grant 1968, and Sanchez 1977 on the proliferation of church schools in Belize). These schools, besides providing education and religious indoctrination to the students, often afford employment to the female church members. There is one high school in the town, Ecumenical High School which recently graduated its first senior class. The high school is supported by tuition and the Belizean government and is not affiliated with any religious denomination.

The Occupational Structure of the Town

As stated earlier the majority of people living in the town are Carib. Creoles are secondary, having migrated from Belize City. Recently, migrants from El Salvador have come to inhabit the town. Locally these immigrants are given the ethnic label of "Spanish",

lumping them with the mestizos of the northern districts even though they have no connections to these people.

Catarino Benguche was one of the first Carib civil servants in Dangriga. He was a chief clerk to the District Commissioner for several years and eventually became a member of the town Board. His election to the Belizean Legislative Council was considered a major achievement for the Caribs. Thus Benguche achievements became a recognized path for Carib to follow. In Chapter 4 I discuss those Carib who did.

Just as many of the white Creoles such as Bowman and Kuylen expanded from store merchants into citrus growers using their accumulated capital to acquire land and plant citrus and eventually parlayed their economic positions into political influence, Carib men who were small shop owners sometimes attained political position. For example Benito Guerero owned a small store on the south side of town and eventually became the first Garifuna Justice of the Peace. Thomas Vincent Ramos, who established Garifuna Settlement Day, also owned a small grocery store in addition to his teaching. Many other Garifuna worked as clerks in

the stores owned by Creoles. When the Chinese arrived and took over the mercantile segment of the Belizean economy, very few Garifuna shopkeepers were left.

Other Carib men went to the traditional source of their sustenance, the sea. While for some years Carib men continued to ply the sea for fish, passage and trade in their small sail boats, other Carib men turned to working aboard the large engine boats for wages. Bowman (1979:37) cites four Garifuna men of Stann Creek, Edward Ramirez, Henry Servio, Tranquilino Lewis, and Justo Martin who were captains of the passenger boats that served as the transportation system of Belize prior to the building of the roads system that connects the regions with Belize City. These men who served as captains on motorized boats were proud of their prowess in handling these machines. They have developed their skills as boatmen in a more "modern" fashion. Justo Martin's son is now the bishop of the Catholic church in Belize and his coat of arms bears the emblem of a Carib boat recalling his father and the Carib men's traditional skill with these boats (see Fig 2.).

The citrus industry and other ventures have given

Dangriga enough commerce to afford it two banks. A few American, Canadian and English expatriates have settled in the town or nearby valley. Some have purchased land and are attempting to make a living by keeping bees and growing subsistence crops. Others have used small amounts of capital to set up small businesses (such as portable sawmills) or stores.

The government of Belize has not prioritized tourism as a source of income for Belize. The infrastructure of Belize has never been sufficiently developed to provide the services of water, power and roads to induce foreign capital to build the "Hilton-style" tourist development comparable to that in other parts of the Caribbean or in Mexico (see Howard 1980). Thus Belizean tourism is an "alternative" type tourism, with much of it run by locals who have built small hotels and restaurants on their own land. The draw for tourists is principally the cays (for scuba diving and fishing) and incidentally the small Mayan ruins and the natural forests, rivers and mountains. As Dangriga is not as easily accessible as Belize City for international guests it receives only a small portion of Belize's

tourists. Many of these tourists come on special package tours or college-travel-courses, staying at local hotels and traveling to the cays. Hence tourism is only an incidental part of the town life and provides employment for only a few people.

Nonetheless, as in other parts of the world the constant presence of tourists has shaped the attitudes of the local people towards the outside world. Many young American or Canadian travelers passing through Dangriga see their trips as "self-explorations" or "searches for other realities". These travelers have often been influential in promoting local artists in their quests for "native" symbols.

Town life in Dangriga is rather staid and sleepy. The town has a few clubs for dancing and drinking, and local men can be found in a few rum shops at night, but most Dangrigans agree that Dangriga does not share the "fas' life" (a Creole expression denoting a fast-pace life of excitement) of Belize City. The phenomena of gangs of young men who are unemployed and dealing in drugs and petty crime found in Belize City (as in many areas of the Caribbean) is not found in Dangriga.

The citrus processing factories and most of the citrus acreage are not located in the town but rather in the valley several miles removed from the town. Many of the citrus workers live in Pomona, a small village located near the citrus fields and factories. Those citrus workers who do live in town must find transportation to the fields or factories to work.

As there are no large employers in the town some people find employment in the shops and hotels of the town. The Chinese own most of the large shops and restaurants in the town and a few Creole families also own shops. Recently immigrants from El Salvador have bought a few local shops and restaurants. The Bowman family owns the luxury style hotel at the northern end of town in the area known as Pelican Beach Motel. They hire several people to service the hotel, primarily Caribs. The Bowman family still retains large land-holdings in the Stann Creek Valley. The above named groups of Creoles, Salvadoraneans, and Chinese comprise the upper class property holders in the town.

The social stratification system of the town is complex but white or light-skinned Creoles can be

said to comprise the uppermost stratum. Most of these people are citrus farmers, small businessmen, or a combination of both. They have associations and business dealings with the Salvadoranean Spanish and the few Americans (all white) who have bought farms in the valley. Their church membership is usually Roman Catholic or Anglican. The status and influence of these whites can be observed in the organizations which they dominate such as the Lion's Club and in local politics where their interests are well served.

The darker Creoles are not as prominent and constitute a small minority. Many are civil servants such as teaching supervisors, development agents or policemen who happen to be stationed in Dangriga. A few are local businessmen such as shop keepers, carpenters or construction workers. Some Creole fishermen have invested capital in fishing boats and sell fish to a fishing cooperative in Belize City.

Other cultural/ethnic groups constitute only a small minority. A few American missionaries from the Baptist, Mormon, Mennonite and B'Hai religions live in town. The Chinese run their businesses and tend to socialize only with other Chinese in town or in Belize

City. Throughout Belize the Chinese have networks connected to Hong Kong and other Chinese communities in the Caribbean and United States which allow them access to capital and merchandise not available to other Belizeans. Hence their social networks follow their business networks in being exclusively Chinese.

The Salvadoranean family of Zabaneh has managed to acquire extensive amounts of land. They own several of the best businesses in Dangriga and have connections throughout the country. The recent peasant immigrants from El Salvador have established client relationships with Zabaneh and many work for him on his land. On one occasion I witnessed Zabaneh's mother taking over the seats of two bus riders on the family-owned bus line. She did this without asking permission or offering to pay for the fare of the two individuals involved. When an old Carib woman demanded her seat a Salvadoranean man punched the Carib woman in the face. I fear this incident may tell of things to come, as the Salvadoraneans seem to share the contempt of some Guatemalans for blacks.

A few Kekchi live in villages near Dangriga but the only Mayans I knew of who lived in town were

students who boarded with an old Carib woman who lived near the school.

The Caribs live in all areas of Dangriga and the Stann Creek valley. Most Carib live in the town (70% of the town's population are Carib but only 24% of the rural areas of the district have a Carib population). The social stratification among the Carib was evident after I conducted interviews with Carib engaged in different forms of labor: those Caribs who have secured permanent employment through education and a job, primarily those in civil service are considered to have higher status than those who have not. Many of these Caribs, especially those in higher positions, have links with Creoles. Some Carib still work in the citrus fields or in the processing plant, but this type of employment has little status and pays very little. Still others seem to have no employment at all, and seem to subsist through simple agriculture or dependence on friends or family. Table 7 gives unemployment figures for Stann Creek district and it is clear that these figures represent the highest unemployment in Belize. Some Carib are small scale farmers, harvesting a few items for local sale or

producing citrus for the factories.

In choosing to study Stann Creek as a place for observing Garifuna in their new occupations of civil servants I followed Sanford (1974) who has spoken of the town as representing the "completion of acculturation" for the Carib. However in Chapter 4 I portray the process not as acculturation but as a change of class positions for the ethnic group and a transformation of ethnic consciousness.

Status in the town is often measured by the type of housing occupied by an individual and his or her family. Within Belize the indicator of the lowest social status is the wattle and daub style house. These houses are often found in villages and are relatively inexpensive to construct. The roof is often thatched with palm leaves and the outer walls of the house are made from palmetto pailings or sticks. The open spaces of the walls may be plastered over with mud or local cement. The Creole name for these houses is "stick house" and they are a mark of poverty. Very few people in Stann Creek still live in these wattle and daub houses. Even for the poorest families, wooden board houses are the norm. In these families, however,

up to ten people may be found sleeping in a house of only 100 square feet. Houses are usually raised on stilts with windows facing the sea, to catch the breezes which cool the nights and blow away the sand flies. Some houses still have separate structure kitchens, but the more modern houses have indoor kitchens. For the poorest families, all cooking is done on a fire under the home. Stoves are either gas ranges which run off butane tanks or small butane stoves. The largest houses have separate rooms: usually a bedroom for the parents, one or more for the children, a combined living and dining room, a kitchen and a bathroom. The marker of a family with high status is an indoor bathroom. Most homes in Dangriga do not have hot water although there are now several homes with indoor bathrooms.

Sand is brought from the beach and distributed by the town government to each house for the yard surrounding the house. The sand provides a clean yard and one free from mud during the rainy season. Many of the homes keep chickens in the yard to provide eggs. Farms are usually located at least a mile outside of town. A few women still grow cassava in the yards

around their homes. Cassava bread is baked on an iron griddle and bread made with wheat flour is still usually baked in a dutch oven made from an metal can on a wood fire in the open area underneath the house. Women often bake bread together as wood is increasingly scarce and often requires a trip out to the bush to secure. Most women bake bread once a week to provide for their families.

Most of the Carib diet now resembles that of the Creoles (see Jenkins 1982, Palacio 1983). Ereba, the traditional Garifuna name for cassava bread, is not baked as often as it once was, and when women desire some they usually purchase it from the few women who still bake it or from village women who bring it in to town for sale. Cassava is still important as a symbol for the religion and ethnicity of the group and is produced for important rituals and ethnic festivals. So, for example, during the week of celebrations of Garifuna Settlement Day held on November 19th, great quantities of ereba and marumaruti, two kinds of cassava bread, the latter being thicker than the former, are produced. Demonstrations of how to bake cassava are given. Cassava bread is also produced in

mass quantities for the religious observance known as adūqūrahani, or the rite of propitiating the dead. Yet for some Carib living in Dangriga, the November 19th holiday is the only occasion when they consume cassava bread, the food item assuming now only a ritual significance.

On a typical Saturday in Dangriga the main streets bustle with people buying in the shops and various street vendors who peddle their products. A Carib woman in a makeshift booth selling produce from her family farm occupies a space on the street. Several Carib women sell tickets to people who hope to win the local Belizean lottery, known as "boledo". The women sell "boledo" tickets and receive a fixed salary from the Chinese shopkeeper who has the concession. A Mayan or Spanish couple may be selling farm products off the back of a truck. An American farmer may be driving in to deliver his honey to the local honey cooperative that will export it to the United States. Women from the town and surrounding villages, usually Carib, stand along the sides of the streets accosting people with the eats they have to sell. These are a variety of products: panades (meat pies), tamales (corn mush

wrapped around beef or chicken wrapped in a banana leaf), and garnaches(beans on a corn tortilla with cheese and onions sprinkled on top). Some women offer a variety of sweets: wangla fudge (sesame seeds cooked in evaporated milk and hardened into candy) or coconut brut (chopped up coconut cooked into sugary candy) or pumpkin, ginger or honey cakes. Through this array of people comes the bus bound south for Punta Gorda, the other "Carib town" of Belize.

The Village of Mumada

Punta Gorda has an ethnic composition and stratification similar to Dangriga but the town is smaller and less developed. Punta Gorda with a population of 2,396 is roughly a third of the size of Dangriga with a population of 6,661. Not having had the commerce of Dangriga, Punta Gorda, or "PG" as it is referred to locally, looks less like a town and more like a boat stop. The town lacks a bank, so the local merchants often provide many banking functions. There is one large Catholic school, St. Peter Claver, a Methodist school, and a few small stores, hotels and restaurants. The stores and restaurants have been

aided recently by the military base nearby, where the British troops are stationed.

Looking over the town one can observe many more differences from Dangriga. Although the town does have electricity the current does not reach most homes. Many of the homes on the outer edges of town also do not have running water in the home. Water spigots are so scarce that women often have to walk many blocks to fetch their water supply. Several houses in the town are of the wattle and daub type with thatched roofs. Although many of the town residents are Carib, the Carib tradition of spreading sand in the yard is not followed by most home owners. Hence when the rainy season comes (and this area receives over 100 inches of rainfall a year) the town streets are all mud. The people wear tall boots to slish their way through their daily tasks. Most of the people of this town are Carib (48%) and the second largest group are Creole (24%), but unlike Dangriga this town has a substantial East Indian population and the Kekchi Maya who live mainly in the rural areas around the town are often evident in the markets and shops of the town.

Outside the town some Americans have begun

mechanized rice cultivation and an Inter-American foundation grant has allowed for small scale rice cultivation by some Carib in Punta Gorda on land owned jointly as the Carib Reserve. Thus far this project has been sucessful providing a small cash income to its Carib participants (Inter-American Foundation Report 1982).

From Punta Gorda one can reach the southernmost Carib village, Numada, by a boat trip of over one hour. This village is built up on a high cliff and was originally founded by settlers from other settlements in the 1860's (Palacio 1982:3). The site seems to have been inhabited both by Spanish and Caribs at prior to 1933 (Lundberg 1978:65). Presently the entire population of 250 people in Numada identifies themselves as Carib except for the policeman's wife, who is Creole. The village sometimes has a few hours of electricity at night when the generator is working (approximately 2 of the 12 months during June 1982-1983). Water is collected from the night's rainfall in the rainy season or in the dry season is dipped from by hand from a common well. Hence the village of Numada might seem the best site to observe

"traditional" Garifuna culture as it is not reachable by automobile and is serviced by boat only once a week. One might suppose it to be more isolated from social change. For this reason I elected to study this village in comparison to the town to see if the social processes I observed influencing the town would be similar or dissimilar to those in the village. Since the town of Dangriga was not nearby the village the town cannot be said to have influenced the village. I found, however, that Numada has experienced the same type of language change as Dangriga (despite the lack of frequent interaction between the town and village). Thus this small village was affected in language change in the same way as the much larger town.

Most of the Numada residents lease their land from the government. Most do not pay the \$2.50 a year fee for the lot as the government does not always enforce the lease. As with Carib in other countries, the concept of ownership of land is relatively new and ownership is conferred through use of the land, which, when not used, reverts back to the community (Beaucage 1970:229) or is allotted through kin ties or friendship (ibid 1970:214, Palacio 1982:4). During the

time I was in Numada there seemed to be a growing awareness of land ownership and several people had gone through the administrative procedure for filing for land ownership. One woman had sold a lot near the front of the village nearby the sea to an American man who was an absentee owner.

The only formal employment in the village is from the government which employs four teachers and 1 policeman and a few other villagers for small government functions such as acting as a postman or operating and maintaining the village generator. Traditional horticulture and fishing is still pursued by some villagers. However in gathering my life histories I found that only four of these villagers had not migrated from the village. Hence most of the older village males had done migratory labor. The village females had either accompanied them, migrated on their own for labor, or stayed behind to do farming. This is the cycle reported by Gonzalez (1969a) for many of the Carib villages in the Guatemala/Honduras area. Hence most of the younger villagers of Numada had migrated for work purposes and the older people were settled into the village to

spend their later years of life there.

The age structure of the village when I was there in 1982-1983 was little changed from the time when Palacio did his fieldwork during 1979-1980 (Palacio 1982:33). As he reported then, the village was made up primarily of older people and small children, and over half of the children lived with their grandparents (ibid:34). Grandparents offer three reasons for fostering children: as a way of raising the children in a more inexpensive way; the grandparents gain the services of the children and the parents are obliged to send money for the support of the grandparents and children.

Although there were no social segments of the population comprised of Carib and Creole, this social division was part of the social idiom in the small village. During the summer months several children were placed in the village by their mothers to be cared for by relatives. I discovered a number of children who claimed to be Creole. In asking other members of the community about these children I found that the children's mothers were Carib but the children had been fathered by Creole men. The mothers,

in accordance with the custom in Belize, bestowed their father's name on the children. However, these children who "identified" themselves as Creole had never lived with a Creole individual or family.

The village of Numada has large coconut, mamee apple and breadfruit trees. The villagers have also planted and harvest pineapple, rice, and the traditional cassava. Village men fish two or three times a week and sell their fish to the villagers. There is never enough fish for those who desire it. This is because the men with larger motor boats and the village fishing cooperative usually sell their fish in Punta Gorda, the nearby town, where they can get more money for it and sell it without regard to kinship obligations. Women harvest and process cassava, making the ereba or cassava bread more readily available than in the town. Women occasionally venture to Punta Gorda to sell their cassava bread or other food stuffs. Most of the village homes are small board houses or palmetto pailings homes with thatched roofs. Houses are generally smaller than in the towns, and almost all houses have detached kitchens. Only the three largest houses have indoor kitchens.

Numada men have worked in logging during the 19th century and have been working for United Fruit since 1915. However the period that Numada villagers speak of as "the golden days" is the period of "poquitero" or small scale banana production during the 1930's. Jamaicans from Livingston and Puerto Barrios moved to Numada from Guatemala in 1933 due to pressure over residency qualifications (Lundberg 1978:65). The Numada banana boom seems to have lasted approximately ten years and United Fruit became involved in the buying in 1938. By 1939 the Sigatoka disease had wiped out many of the banana plants. Then United Fruit began its own specialized production for the American market and stopped buying the Numada produce (Lundberg 1978:68). Numada experienced a brief spurt in agriculture during the fifties and several men attempted rice production of BG 79, a variety of rice. This was successful for a while but the rice mixed with local wild rice producing a brand that was unwanted by the government mill (ibid:74). However from the 1940's Numada villagers began to migrate in search of labor.

Lundberg (1978:71) has described the response of local Numada men to efforts by a Jesuit priest, Father

Herman Tenk, to promote education among them. These efforts were so successful that Numada is sometimes regarded as having distinguished itself among Carib villages by the attainments of its men in education.

In many ways Numada is removed from other parts of Belize. Numada is so physically remote from the transmitter that many of the villagers cannot receive the local government radio station, Radio Belize, on their radios. Neighboring Guatemalan stations are received much more clearly, yet it is common daily to walk past a village home to hear the static of Radio Belize. However Numada should be a good example to remind social scientists that many of the processes which connect or separate people no longer have much to do with physical distance.

Labor and Internal Migration among Carib of Belize

To determine the role of occupation in language shift I interviewed Carib about their labor histories in both the town and the village. I surveyed 79 Carib concerning their present and past labor pursuits. These informants were selected to provide a sample stratified according to occupation. I sought to

interview people involved in as many different labor pursuits as possible in both the town and village context. (All labor pursuits are listed in the appendix.) In addition to the labor histories of the informants I asked each informant to provide labor information for his/her siblings, parents, grandparents, and children. This information enabled me to indicate not only contemporary labor differences among the informants of my samples but also intergenerational labor change.

I derived two samples from the data gathered. The primary sample was composed of individuals interviewed, 29 villagers from Numada and 50 townspeople in Dangriga. The second sample was composed of the 79 Caribs interviewed plus their kin. This sample comprised 622 adults.³ By aggregating data on kinsmen I could compare the 622 individuals of this sample of adults for labor and language use relative to age.

In addition to labor histories information on migration within Belize, to the United States, and to other countries and was elicited. Understanding internal migration is important in determining the

intranational economic and political structure and the place the Carib occupy in this structure. When the data on the village and the town are compared 92% of the townspeople interviewed have migrated from the town at various periods and 93.1% of the villagers had also migrated, primarily for work outside their home residence. 68% of the townspeople had lived in Belize City and 41.38% of the village informants had lived in Belize City. These rates are indicative of the high rate of internal migration for Carib both for townspeople and villagers. Migration has long been a way of life for the Carib (see Gonzalez 1969, Taylor 1951) with migration for wage labor and return to subsistence pursuits in the villages a common pattern. The migration data which I collected are indicative of new labor and migration patterns for the Carib of migration to Belize City and Belmopan for civil service pursuits and migration to the United States for wage labor.

Another indication of internal migration patterns is the presence of family in other locations in Belize. Table 8 indicates the number of Carib who have relatives in other places in Belize. Note the high

percentage of relatives in Belize City for both the town and the village. Villagers have an even higher percentage of relatives in Belmopan than the townspeople. Belmopan, built with the assistance of \$6 million dollars from the United Kingdom in 1970 (Grant 1976:237), is the new administrative capital of Belize. Belmopan was located inland in order to encourage further development of property inland and to shelter the government offices from the hurricanes which had often ravaged the coast. Belmopan has little industry and most people living there are government employees hence the high rate of village informant's relatives living there indicates the high degree to which the Carib can be said to be integrated into the public sector labor dominated by the nation-state. Table 9 also illustrates a higher percentage of Caribs living in Belmopan relative to their total number in the country as taken from census data.

Table 10 indicates Internal Migration Data in Belize for individuals born in other districts who now live in Belize City drawn from the 1980 census. Note that the district with the highest percentage of immigration to Belize City (as indicated by the birth

place) is the Stann Creek District which includes Dangriga. This figure represents approximately 10 percent of the total population of Dangriga. (Toledo District, which includes the village of Numada, also has a high figure relative to the population of that district.) These figures are even more significant for women who have increasingly migrated to Belize City. In Belize City women find available work: primarily in nursing and teaching in the public sector, and in clerical or secretarial positions and some work in factories for those who are not educated. Figure 3, comparing female and male migration data relative to the total female and male population of the place, indicates that the rate of female migration to Belize City from the Stann Creek District is very high. Many women have migrated to Belize City to obtain education since many secondary schools, teachers colleges, and training schools are located there. After completing their education, women are often assured secure civil service jobs, primarily as teachers but also as nurses, social workers, accountants and development officers. A foreign education usually secures a higher position within the hierarchy of these occupations. I

have previously indicated the high rate of involvement of females in the public sector (refer to Table 5).

For international migration, Table 8 indicates that most (88.46% of the primary sample) reported they had relatives in the United States. When this figure was broken down for town and village more of the townspeople had relatives in the United States than the villagers. Also less of the villagers who had relatives in the U.S. reported that they were close kin (siblings, parents, or children). Fig. 4 indicates the percentage of sample B, n = 622, working in the United State relative to age. Note that most of these are in the 30-40 age range meaning that middle aged Carib migrate while elders and children remain behind.

Migration by Carib to the United States seems to have replaced an older international migration pattern reported by Gonzales (1961, 1965b, 1969) which involved frequent migration of Central American Carib across national boundaries for wage labor. This migration pattern was apparent in the data elicited in the interviews: Many men worked for United Fruit in Honduras and Guatemala as clerks or dock loaders, one older man reported working in the mahogany industry.

Some had worked on boats in Punta Gorda. Others worked in war industries in the United States during World War II or for the United States government agencies in digging the Panama Canal.

In recent years migration to neighboring countries such as Honduras and Guatemala for work has stopped among Belizean Carib, due to national labor restrictions in those countries (Lundberg 1978:65). Trips between the countries to visit Carib relatives are less frequent for Belizean Carib. Recruitment of Carib labor for projects by U.S. and British firms in the Caribbean and Circum-Caribbean areas has ceased. This has affected trans-national kin links. Thus although most Belizean Carib were still able to identify places in Guatemala and Honduras where their relatives were located, the faces and names of those relatives have begun to fade from memory for many.

Labor categories - methodology

To understand the changes in labor of the Carib over time I have used the following categories to type the labor of the Carib:

A Unemployed

B Public Sector Labor

C Informal Production and Services

D Formal Sector Production or Employment

In using these categories I am following scholarship which has distinguished formal from informal sector labor, even while depicting the dependent relationship between these sectors within a world system economy (Frank 1967, 1972, Latin American Perspectives 1974, 1977, Breman 1976, Davies 1980). The category of unemployed is a default category and is composed of those who are not currently engaged in any of the other three categories of labor. Most people who were unemployed were supported by those involved in the other three types of activity. The economic and political history discussed earlier and the level of integration in the world economy, determine the forms of labor available for men and women in the Belizean context.

Fig. 5 indicates the percentage of Sample A (only the informants n=79) involvement in the different labor categories. Fig. 6 indicates the percentage of Sample B (all the adult members of those Carib interviewed n=622), involved in the four different

labor categories.

In recent years public sector labor was prioritized for government funding in lieu of government development of forestry interests. Public sector laborers have become a visible class with a stable income, consumption patterns, and higher educational levels in an economy where most workers cannot hope to attain similar positions in the formal sector. Table 11 indicates the highest level of schooling attained by type of labor performed.

The only other type of labor with a similar level of education were those in the religious service. Since the churches have dominated the educational system in Belize they have also provided the pathways for many Belizeans to enter higher education. The churches and the civil service have provided the positions which legitimized the educational attainments of students within the educational system of the country. These positions represented the ultimate educational attainment and a relatively high social status. The lowest level of education for a type of labor was that of small scale agricultural producers and fishermen whose highest level of

education was Standard 6 or the U.S. equivalent of an 8th grade education.

This labor type is included in category C, Informal Sector Production and Services. In addition to fishing, subsistence agriculture, and small scale agricultural production, I have included small scale merchandising of produce or purchased products for resale. I have included these activities in this category because this type of vending is usually done with either locally produced foodstuffs or small amounts of capital by individuals. Most of this merchandizing is done by women but older men are sometimes engaged in this activity as well. Children have been important as vendors of this merchandise in the past and still do sell when possible but as with other tasks this labor by children has been effected by education. Khan (1982 and in press) has described this vending activity by Carib women in Honduras and Palacio(1982:48,195) has described the petty trading in bread, sweets, and pastry by Carib women of Lisurnia.

In addition to these types of food vending women in Dangriga often made trips to Guatemala to purchase

items such as soap, candies, hats, hammocks, and drink mixes to resell at a small profit in Dangriga. Women would reach Guatemala by local bus or a series of taxis. The profit from the resale of these items were small and for most women were only supplementary. One woman who traveled weekly to Guatemala, however, claimed she had made \$6,000 from her small scale vending to repay the mortgage on her land which her husband had borrowed money against.

Category D is what is usually called the formal sector. I have included labor in this category which is either wage labor for elements of the formal sector or production on a large scale for the formal sector. For example citrus producers are included in this category as they are producing on a large scale for an international market. As I stated previously the largest citrus producers in the Stann Creek District are not Carib however a few Carib men have been able to produce enough citrus to enter this market. The other producers in this category are rice farmers. Carib in Punta Gorda (Van Orman 1981) and in Dangriga are becoming involved in rice farming with the assistance of the InterAmerican Foundation. All of the

rice farmers in Dangriga that I interviewed were public sector workers who were engaged in the farming as a secondary activity. They had been able to buy enough land to begin the larger scale production of rice necessary to supply the national market. Therefore most of the Carib involved in the formal sector are not not owners of the means of production but wage laborers. Some of the Carib in the town work in the shops as clerks. Others are clerks in the banks. Women work outside the larger shops selling lottery tickets for the Chinese merchants, who pay them hourly to do so. Carib have long been the laborers of the citrus industry (see Gonzalez 1969a). Women work in the plant as sectioners and men work in the plant as peelers. Men also pick citrus in the orchards. The present composition of workers in the citrus industry now includes Spanish, Mayans, and Salvadoranean refugees. Carib currently view citrus work as low status or undesirable, and these jobs are taken only when other sources of income or food are not available. One type of work which the young men preferred was loading the citrus drums on the docks. This work pays well and is seasonal so that other

pursuits may be had after a good season of work.

There are no large scale industries in the town itself as the citrus industry is in the Stann Creek Valley and lumber, banana and other work is also located outside the town. The only employment in town (other than in shops, boledo sales and restaurants and vending) is in the public sector. I have also included in this category the migratory wage labor which was typical for Carib in the past.

In delimiting these categories I have deliberately departed from the literature in separating public sector labor from the other types of formal labor as it represents a distinct labor segment in Belize and indicates a transition from the wage labor subsistence pattern formerly occupied by the Caribs to a new type of labor strategy for many, one which has placed great emphasis on educational capital.

Occupational Multiplicity

Comitas(1973, orig 1964) introduced the concept of occupational multiplicity, arguing against the typing of labor of Jamaicans as "peasants". Comitas developed this notion to apply to fishing villages where most

males were engaged not only in fishing but

combine it with own account work such as cultivation, various forms of wage employment, or some combination of the three. Concentration on fishing varies primarily with the availability for wage employment, the regional demand for skills, and such factors as age and family responsibilities (ibid:165).

The strategy/necessity of combining many types of labor to make for support is common in Belize, where the local Creole name for it is "catch and kill". Most laborers are forced into using several strategies to support their families and it is not uncommon to find several different types of labor strategies combined in supporting a kin group or family. Public sector labor, however, provides the contrast of a steady income ostensibly not requiring other labor to maintain a reasonable standard of living in Belize. However public sector laborers also seemed to be pursuing various strategies to obtain income some are purchasing land for farming, others are maintaining small shops, and still others are selling cold drinks and frozen popsicles out of their freezers. These pursuits often necessitated investments of small amounts of capital which the public sector laborers acquired through salary savings, remittances from kin

working abroad, or loans which their jobs qualified them for.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted to portray the class and labor structure of the Belizean nation-state and the place of the Carib within this structure. I have chosen to portray the Carib as occupying an intermediate class between the owners of the means of production and the workers. They occupy this niche both economically and socially. Much of the work on the formal and informal sectors has demonstrated how the informal sector labor articulates with formal sector labor. In this chapter I demonstrate how the creation of the public sector workers by the state creates a mediating class directing social meanings for communities. This mediating function is critical in establishing the hegemony of the state; I will describe this process further in chapter 5. In a state with a small population and relatively simple labor structure this mediating function is perhaps more apparent than a more complex state with a more diverse

labor structure and other mediating labor (see Poulantzas 1978, Gordon et al 1983).

I have also described these forms of labor in both the town and village I studied and the places of the labor forms within that town and village. In the next chapter I describe the society of the town and village and in chapter 5 I describe the social distribution of languages in the workplace and other institutions.

In the following are labor histories for unemployed, formal and informal sector workers. These are grouped according to the present labor of the individual. I have reserved case histories of public sector workers for the next chapter in order to present social distinctions between these and other workers and to describe the history of the entry of Carib workers into this category. The labor pursuits of Belize are not as easily labelled as those of more complex, industrialized societies. However I feel that the reader can gain some insight into the structure of labor pursuits for the Carib through time by reading these histories. I will summarize the information in the case histories in text following them.

Case Histories of Unemployed, Formal and Informal Sector Carib Workers

Unemployed**Case 1**

Lil Tomas, age 23

Lil's mother and father worked farming as did her mother's mother and father. Her mother is now in California living with other kin.

Lil has no work at present and was extremely anxious to receive the fee for this interview. She has three small children and relies on her kin as well as her children's kin to provide food and necessities.

Lil has a Standard 6 education and says she wants to eventually find an office job or do school teaching once she obtains a primary certificate.

Lil's past work has been in the Pomona section plant, digging out fruit from the grapefruit for canning. 3 cans = 1 punch and 9 punches guarantee a wage of one dollar. During the three years that Lil worked at the plant the company sent a truck for the workers.

Including the men who peel the fruit, the company employs 100 people and all but 12 of these workers were Caribs. The other 12 were Creoles. Lil has given up the work because she doesn't like the 9 hours days which require constant standing.

Case 2

Roger Velasquez, age 30

Roger was unemployed during the period of my fieldwork. He often traveled to Belize City where he remained for weeks then traveled back to Dangriga.

Roger's father was a tailor with a shop located near the citrus factory, his mother lived in Livingston for many years, moved to Dangriga when he was 4 and now lives in Belize City. Most of Roger's siblings also live in Belize City. His oldest sister, 22, works in a drug store, his little brother, 21, is in the Belize Defense Forces, one sister, 19, is supported by the man she lives with and two younger sisters and a brother live with their mother. The younger brother Larry, age 9, sells the Reporter newspaper on Saturdays.

Roger has worked as a crane operator in Orange Walk at the sugar processing factory. Roger worked for 18 months at this job until the workers struck for higher wages. The Belizean government had to call in the army to stop the strike.

Roger is married but his wife and three children are in the United States. His wife, a teacher in Belize, is now a cashier and accountant for a jewelry store in

Manhattan. While his wife attended Belize Teachers College Roger had worked at the Public Works office in Belize City working a steel bender, tying steel. Roger's last job was working at the Dangriga pier loading citrus concentrate onto ships. This job requires 5 gangs of 17 men who load the large drums of citrus onto the ships around the clock for two or three days. The gangs are mostly Carib men, only two or three are Creoles. Given the physical nature of the work most of the men are young. Despite the fact that almost all the men are Carib they speak Creole while they are working. For loading the full drums the men make \$220/night, for offloading empty drums the men make \$3.40/hr or \$65-75/night. When they unload fertilizer they are paid \$125/night. Most of the citrus work is done in November and December. Roger is well known in the community and recently some who knew him had accused him of a local robbery and of disposing the merchandise in Belize City. Roger maintains steadfastly that he wants to go to the States and join his family and is constantly telling this to people in Dangriga. Since Roger has been asserting this for so long his assertions are often met with derision in the community.

Case 3

Mr. Pasiu Cayetano, 85, former woodcutter, in the village

Pasiu does not work now but stays near his house and relies on his children's remittances and/or the kindness of his neighbors. He cut mahogany and cooked food for the boss of a mahogany gang for 20 years. He says there were 8 men in the gang. They also cut log wood up the Moho River, the Timash and the Sarstun. The pay was \$1/day plus rations: 7 pounds of flour and 4 pounds of pork. The workers in cutting these trees were Spanish, Indians and Moskito. Mr. Cay, as he is known locally, spoke Spanish and Belizean English when working in lumber. He later taught school in San Pedro and in Punta Gorda for about 20 years but has received no retirement pay. Pasiu remembers well the books he used in his teaching: Caribbean Readers, Book One and Queen Square. He also remembers some Shakespeare quite fondly. When teaching he spoke Spanish, English and Garifuna. When he taught Mayans he used only Spanish and English.

Pasiu also worked for the United Fruit company for 20 years. His bosses were all Americans although most

workers were Spanish. Thus both English and Spanish were spoken.

Inez is the woman he lives with. They are both old and have no children in common but care and support each other in their old age.

Pasiu' children are a male teacher, now retired, a nurse 62, a Guatemalan housewife whose husband supports her family 60, and three younger children who have no work presently.

Informal Economy

Case 4

Gusinu Mendez, fisherman and drummer age 65 years
This man, Gusinu Mendez, was known in the community for his skills as a drummer and had played drums at many dũgũ. Medez' father had raised animals and had a plantation near Tela, Honduras from which he sold bananas to the United Fruit Company. His mother trained to be a nurse in Honduras and came to Belize in 1938 - 1951. She was well known throughout the community for her skills as a healer. As a young boy Mendez arrived in Belize at the age of 8. He studied in school but as an adolescent developed his skills as a cricket player with a Creole man, Gilbert Canton. Canton also attempted to train Mendez as a boxer but failed. Mendez did win some local notoriety as a cricket player and still recounts his triumphs to any available audience. He now occupies himself by fishing, usually fishing in the early morning and early afternoon by casting a net along the shore and hauling in those available fish. He does not have a boat. His wife prepares the fish and sells any that they may have left. Both husband and wife are considered to have skills as healers and prepare herbal teas, solutions for burns, and set broken bones. Neither are formally associated with the shaman though Gusinu may be hired as a drummer for a dũgũ. In the last few years Gusinu had worked with an anthropologist, he and his wife revealed several aspects of the traditional songs and culture to the anthropologist. The payment for this activity has allowed Gusinu to begin building a new house.

Case 5

Hero Ogaldez

Cartsman, 29 years old

Hero prides himself on his knowledge of languages. He

speaks Garifuna, Spanish, English and Creole. Hero was raised in Belize by an unrelated woman whom he now calls sister. His biological father worked as a Merchant Marine and his mother did subsistence farming in Honduras but also occasionally took in laundry work. His mother died when he was 14 and he took a series of 3 planes to reach her in Honduras.

In 1968 Hero applied for a teaching job then became applied to a high school. His uncle paid his high school fees and Hero repaid him by locally selling beans from his Uncles farm at from 40 to 60 cents a lb. He usually gave his uncle half of the profit which ranged from \$40 Bz. / week to \$160 Bz. week.

After taking a mail-order bookkeeping course from Chicago Hero started working for the citrus company during their production peak period.

He then moved to the Banana Control Board of Belize as the accountant first clerk where he made \$8,000 a year plus benefits. There were many different kinds of workers: migrants from Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras. Two Americans worked there briefly and the manager was British. There were Belizean technical advisors.

Hero married about 10 years ago and shortly after that he traveled to the U.S. for work. During that period he worked for a Jewish organization in W. Orange, New Jersey called the Cressman Country Club. By working 67 hours a week at \$350 U.S. per week he earned \$10,000 U.S. He used this money to build a small concrete home costing \$6,113 U.S.

When he returned to Belize he worked for the ministry of works for two years as a time keeper earning approximately \$84 a week. He has two small children. Perhaps the work of which Hero is most proud is his work as a translator at conference of soccer players and owners in the Western Hemisphere held in Honduras. Many of participants were monolingual so Hero provided Spanish - English translation services. For this work Hero was payed \$4000 as a fee for two month's participation and he also received \$2000 in tips.

Hero has also had other work such as diving for lobsters and working for an insurance company briefly. He has not continued with these jobs because he does not like the work for the pay. Similarly he turned down a job with the Bananna Control Board at \$48 week because it involved traveling and he decide the job would only net him \$60 per month.

So Hero has a small carting business. He meets the

local bus each day with a cart. He wheels the heavy luggage or other items to the travelers home for a small fee, at the most \$10 per trip. This combined with a little bookkeeping for individuals can make him about \$100 per week.

Case 6

Rana Simonle, petty trader, age 65

Rana has always lived across the street from the Catholic Church. Because of this she feels she has a special relationship to the church, that is the church has the same rights and obligations to her as would any neighbor. She often takes in children who need to room and board to attend school because their village is not close by. The room and board of the children are usually paid by the church.

Rana's true income is a mystery that only she holds the key to. Her children send her remittances but these may not provide her with all the income she needs. Rana makes monthly trips with other women to the town of Melchoir on the Guatemalan border. Here she buys several bags full of small articles: candies and gums of various sizes and colors, washing powder and dish soap, hats and embroidered bags. Thus Rana keeps these items for sale in her home. She makes the sale of large items to friends and the candy and gum she sells to the Catholic school children.

Rana often makes sweets and other delicacies which she also sells in the community. Thus Rana is able to provide an income for herself.

Rana's mother and father were farmers and were given lots in town under terms of the Carib Reserve by the British.

Rana's husband did various odd jobs for money. Rana had three children but all were born in her thirties. Rana had made the pilgrimage to the Esquipulas shrine before the birth of her first child and claims that this pilgrimage was responsible for the birth of her first child. Rana's first born daughter is now a teacher in the United States. Rana's son lives on a disability pension from the U.S. army in Seattle. He joined the United States army in order to gain U.S. citizenship during the Vietnam war at the age of 16. The birth of her last child left Rana with a heart condition and very high blood pressure. She had to be hospitalized for several months and was subject to fainting. Nonetheless she moved to Belize City when

her children were school-aged and took in washing to pay for their school fees. Rana also sews for money and specializes in making the traditional costumes worn by Carib for rituals and on traditional holidays.

Formal Economy

Case 7

George Mastro, a citrus-farmer producing for the citrus market, age 72

George went to Honduras at the age of 17 and worked at Tela loading bananas for United Fruit. He stayed at this work for 10 years then returned to Dangriga to farm with his father. His father raised plaintain, bananas and sugar cane on his farm while his mother grew cassava. She sometimes sold it in Dangriga at 10 cents per piece and in Belize City for 25 cents per piece (a large cassava cake is approximately 3 ft. in circumference). In 1940-41 George went to Panama to work on the third lock project. He was paid 30 cents an hour and worked 6 days a week for 8, sometimes 7 hours a day. The workers were Panamanian Spanish and Creole Blacks from the West Indies, thus Spanish, Creole and English (the language of the American bosses) were spoken. Mr. Pastor then returned to his farm where he has worked for 38 years. His farm is 100 acres but is not in full cultivation. He does produce enough citrus that he sometimes must hire workers to pick during the harvest season. Mr. Pastor also sells lottery tickets during the weekends and belongs to three farmers coops: the Bee Coop, the Farmers Coop, and the Starch Coop. He says he "doesn't keep friends".

Case 8

Joseph Reyes, bank teller, age 22

Joseph comes from a family of distinction in Dangriga. His father was once the mayor of the town and the older man can still command authority at local functions. His father had once had a shop in the older part of town where Joseph had waited on customers as a child. Most of the customers spoke in Garifuna so Joseph grew up speaking that language well. His father lost the shop as a result of his political career and the expenses involved.

Joseph's mother is a teacher at one of the Catholic primary schools. She also is highly respected within

the community. Joseph's father's brother is a chief inspector of police on the Grand Cayman island and Joseph's brother was able to gain a position there as a detective as a result of his uncle's influence. Before working at the bank Joseph pursued a brief teaching career, teaching two years at his mother's school. He had wanted to study engineering in school but found the obstacles of the educational program for such a degree difficult to pursue in Belize. He taught briefly in the local high school then despite acceptance at Belize Teachers College he did not pursue teaching, but went to work for the bank where he said a better salary and promotion was available. He says that were the Carib employees at the bank to use Garifuna in speaking with one another it would create a problem.

Case 9

Len Smithson, a fish seller, age 60
 Len says when he was a boy in Dangriga his parents bought only sugar and flour. They grew or harvested from the bush all the other foods they consumed. It is not surprising that Len should immediately recall the "foods" of his parents as Len now works in the fish market preparing and selling fish and other seafood for the residents of Dangriga. He is also proud of his abilities to prepare American style foods. He learned these skills when he worked in Panama for the American canal enterprise there. He got a job working in the Gold mess - the eating place for whites. A Jamaican man, Larry Nelson, taught Len the American and English breakfast terms. He worked for 45 cents an hour, 8 hours a day. He was able to finish building a house with the money he had saved. For 9 years Len worked in Pomona peeling grapefruit. He began doing peeling in 1946/47. He made \$2 per peeled basket of 15 grapefruit. Len claims that if a man is a fast peeler he can make \$100/ week. He was elected shop steward for the union. Len had a 14 foot "dorey" or boat in which he fished by traveling out to the keys and returning to sell the fish in town. He fished for nine or ten years. Now Len prefers to sell fish in the market for the other fishermen. Len has learned how to butcher large sea creatures such as sea turtles and manatees. He butchers these creatures for 12% of what the meat sells for. He sells fish primarily for one Creole

fisherman with a large motorized boat who brings in large amounts of fish with some regularity. However Len will sell fish for others on commission. Len and his wife are separated. She now lives in the United States. Len says they separated over religion as his wife is a Seventh Day adventist. Len says 5 of the 7 men who sell fish at the market are Carib and that Carib and Creole are spoken at the market. When I asked Len what type of work he would prefer his answer (in Creole) was "no kind of work".

What should be evident in indicating the type of work being performed or not performed at the time of the interview for these cases is that these forms of labor are not distinct and that as we examine the case histories of many of these people they combine several strategies of work and non-work (or leisure). Labor in the United States is also a strategy to obtain cash, particularly for items requiring large amounts of capital such as houses.

Most of the labor of these histories has been performed by Carib through their recent history. Long term migration to the United State is perhaps the exception but as we shall see this is also linked to public sector work and education. Where relevant I have included some information on languages in these histories but in Chapter 5 I isolate language histories and quantify language information for analysis of the language shift process in relation to age and labor.

Chapter 4

Public Sector Labor for the Carib: The Carib become the Garifuna in the Belizean Nation-State

In this chapter I will consider the entry of Belizean Carib into public sector labor as a result of their participation in the educational institutions in Belize. How has this change of labor created a new class within the ethnic group, and what are the social aspects of these class differences? Who are the intellectuals of the new class and how do they direct social meanings?

In the previous chapter I discussed the Carib involvement in various forms of labor, primarily seasonal agricultural wage labor and subsistence labor. Only in the last forty years have a significant number of Carib become involved in full-time intellectual labor, primary through employment in the public sector of the Belizean nation-state.

Public sector labor afforded different material conditions for the Carib such as the stability of employment and the security of income. The Carib gained entry into public sector labor when a few Carib

men were recruited as teachers. From this initial group of teachers, succeeding generations became increasingly involved in public sector labor, see Fig. 7 indicating the relationship of age to public sector labor. In addition to becoming teachers, others have become policemen, firemen, development agents, nurses, and social workers in the Belizean civil service. This has been accompanied by a corresponding decrease by age in labor in the informal economy (see Fig. 8) among the Carib. These graphs utilize Sample B of 622 Carib from families of Carib interviewed. The graphs indicate type of labor pursued relevant to age. I have indicated age categories from 16 to 123 years, as data is for three generations of adult kin, both living and dead. Fig. 9 indicates the average age of those informants engaged in A Unemployment, B Public Sector Labor, C Informal Economy and D Formal Economy for males and females.

The social meanings assigned to forms of labor are transformed as civil service positions are seen as "intellectual" labor among the Carib and are preferred to "manual" labor. "Intellectual" labor becomes a new distinction among the Carib and one pursued by the

younger generation while the older generation pursued "manual" labor. Thus types of labor are identified with generations and the group perception of the "new" or "modern" against the "old" or "traditional".

In Belize the Carib have entered civil service positions initially established during the British colonial domination of the colony. Grant (1976:99) has indicated that the civil service was dominated by the Creole ethnic group and the Anglicized values of that group that saw power and status as residing in the government; he points out that Mestizos were only induced to enter the civil service in the 1930's when the business interests they otherwise pursued failed. Sanford (1971:27) has indicated that with the granting of internal self-government to Belize in 1954 Creole domination of the civil service ended and other ethnic groups were admitted into the ranks of the civil service of Belize. Thus the civil service was first established as a Creole domain to which other groups were then admitted. Though both Creoles and Caribs emphasized their ethnic differences, for the other ethnic groups of Belize they shared a racial category. Thus vis-a-vis the Spanish, Mayans and Europeans both

groups were identified as "blacks", or "negroes". In sharing the same occupational designation the Caribs and Creoles became further identified versus the other ethnic groups in the nation, who have entered business or have remained in agriculture, albeit in different forms (Mazarelli 1967). Hence this form of labor has become linked to ethnic identity. This type of ethnic /racial identification combined with a type of labor identification is common in stratified labor markets (see Piore 1973). The Belizean stratification is similar to that in Guyana (Bartels 1977) where Creoles distinguish themselves from East Indians by the civil service labor of the former versus the agricultural labor of the latter. Grant (ibid:90) indicates that although the educated Creoles sometimes challenged the business elite over political issues, occasionally dominating local politics in Belize City, their middle class aspirations frequently left them subject to domination by the business and British colonial elites.

In the last few decades, education has been promoted by the Belizean government as offering opportunity to the native groups in developing Belize.

Many of the Carib civil servants were recruiters in this task. Yet education has done little to advance the position of the Carib ethnic group as a whole within Belize. Belize is a country with no industry and the unique characteristic of having more land than people. It has been repeatedly stressed that the future of the nation lies in the development of commercial agriculture, yet education does little to realize this goal. The Carib, lacking capital to develop other ventures, have pursued the labor for which their education has certified them. At present the civil service positions are the most predominant positions in Belize available for which education confers certification. However many Carib have found their educational training useful in qualifying them for lower level service positions in the United States: secretaries, clerks, form processors, bank tellers, teachers and accountants. Hence education becomes the impetus in securing these kinds of labor and in migrating to the United States. Presently in Belize it is the Creole and Carib ethnic groups that have migrated to the United States. The other ethnic groups have remained, and within the nation their

power has increased. But as the Creoles and Carib leave, non-nationals and their capital are becoming increasingly significant in developing agriculture and cattle in Belize. For instance, U.S. emigres in the Toledo district have begun raising cattle and developing large areas of land while in the Stann Creek district migrants from El Salvador have brought in capital to develop extensive areas of land in the district. Hence, rather than aiding in developing Belize for the Carib, education has been a pied piper, luring them away.

Belizean Education and the Carib

Certification for "intellectual labor" comes from the educational system. Education was introduced to the Carib through the Americans and British who originally controlled that system through their control of the Methodist, Anglican and Catholic churches established in Belize under British colonialism. The Belizean nation has only recently begun to take control of the schools and to date the primary schools are still under church control (Ashcraft and Grant 1968). The Carib were recruited

into teaching positions by the Catholic and Methodist church schools in Belize. The Catholic church established a Vicarate of Belize in 1893 and in that same year the English Jesuits were replaced by the Jesuits from Missouri Province. The Pallotine Sisters, the Holy Family and the Sisters of Mercy have aided Catholic efforts, some of these orders accepting local blacks in their ranks, while others did not.

The Methodists began recruiting the Caribs in Stann Creek in 1838 when 50 Caribs were beginning school there. By 1848 the Methodists had 4 chapels, 400 church members and 5 teachers and had greatly increased the number of boys and girls admitted to the schools (although education was stressed for males rather than females) (Dobson 1973:163). Several Carib men became teachers and lay ministers in that church. However by 1826 the Catholics had founded St. John's Cathedral in Belize City and soon extended their influence throughout the colony. The first two Jesuits arrived from the second Vicar Apostolic of Jamaica in 1851 and by 1856 the Catholics were the second leading denomination in the country (Dobson 1973:317). Currently the Catholics claim 60% of the total

Belizean population as their followers.

The Catholics eventually became the leaders in education with the establishment of St. John's Teachers College in Belize.¹ The Catholics found the Carib to be suitable teachers because of the ethnic group's traditional affiliation with the Catholic church in a nation where Protestants dominated. The familiarity of the Caribs with small village life and their ability to travel to the remote sites of villages to establish schools was another factor in their selection as teachers.

Prior to 1947 the Jesuits had sent out Carib men to the Mayan villages and in 1947 the Jesuits began sending Carib young men to secondary school in Belize. These young men were to repay their scholarships by doing some labor in the school during the period of their studies and teaching for agreed upon periods of time after graduation. This advanced education meant that when secondary schools were opened in each of the districts at least some Carib were qualified to teach in these schools. As the Carib became teachers they became agents of ideological influence as well as conveyers of literacy. Initially only males were

required as teachers. The churches required of the teachers that they be fluent in English, "respectable" in character, and legally married. The nature of teaching meant that the teachers were subject to the scrutiny of their employers for their life styles as well as the cultural and ideological content of the education that they propagated. Thus the "hiring practices" of the church seem to have been important in influencing the male teachers to maintain a "stable legal/ religious marriage". These forms of marriage were in contrast to a more fluid marriage form which Gonzales and others have described for the Carib. In Belize religious marriages were not always the norm. Dobson (1973:160) indicates that prior to 1830 "leading white men usually lived with colored women and did not marry them". The church missionary societies waged a constant battle to impose the norm of a religious and legal marriage on Belizean society. My own close examination of the Catholic records in Stann Creek dating from 1890 to 1972 indicates a practice of religious marriage late in life, often after the birth of several children for both Creole and Caribs (as indicated by names common to the ethnic

groups).

Some of the early male teachers did have "outside" children (a local term for children born to women other than their legal spouses), but most remained with their legal spouses in sharing a residence and contributing regularly to the maintenance of the household. These marriage forms became prevalent among those Carib who were teachers and became part of the socialization of their children.

Wives of the teachers were sometimes required to accompany their husbands to the teaching site which was often located far from the native town or village of the Carib. Unlike the seasonal labor of earlier times, this full-time labor interfered with the seasonal cutting and planting of the milpa and both husband and wife were forced to abandon milpa agriculture. Teachers were paid not only monetarily but also with allocated foodstuffs which they took to the villages with them. These early teachers created education in the towns and villages of Belize, spreading it from the prominent towns in each district to the smallest of villages. Thus the pattern of combining wage labor and subsistence for maintenance

of the family was transformed by this labor.

The lifestyles of the teachers in the towns reflected their steady wage income as well as their new socialization. Many maintained Western style housing, with electricity and plumbing. In the villages the largest homes and sometimes the local shop was that of the teacher. Hence this class eventually was distinguished in Carib communities by increased wealth and cultural differences.

But if the church dominated the lives of the Carib teachers some of the Caribs also resisted that domination. In the excerpts of a publication in honor of Garifuna Settlement day compiled by a teacher and the chairman of the Settlement Day committee (this will be described shortly) several poems appear that indicate the resentment and rebellion against this domination. Following are excerpts from some of these:

ALL IN THE NAME OF GOD

Among the Garifuna people there is a belief
and for decades now it has given them relief
along came the colonizers with Christianity
forcing it down our people with certainty

ALL IN THE NAME OF GOD

They associate our religion with the devil
indoctrinating our children that it is evil
But is it?

Our people still gather for the ritual

ALL IN THE NAME OF GOD

Today over a century and a half later not much has
changed

Neither have they met with the devil Christianity
claims

Then I conclude

OUR RELIGION IS IN THE NAME OF GOD

poem by G.J. Martin

A story, When Will I Get Out of This by Felicia

Hernandez protests the exhaustion, travel
difficulties, and loneliness of the itinerant life of
the rural schoolteacher, and the threat of this
lifestyle to the wellbeing and happiness of the
teacher's family. Following are excerpts of this
story:

He had gone to San Ignacio Town to buy some cough medicine for his one-year-old baby Tom, and five-year-old daughter Cella. Don Raul and Miss Toni, the only two grocers in the village had sold all the Vicks, cough medicine, and aspirin that they had brought from town the Saturday before.... He was so mad that he felt like saying a bad word--the worst four letter word he knew but he would very much like to say it to Father Bell. Father William Bell - the General Manager of Schools had spitefully ordered Castillo to go to Santa Rosa. Castillo had accepted without any qualms because he was broke and with five mouths to feed. The year before he had quit his job as a teacher, broken his contract with the government and went to the United States. "I will be able to make a lot of money and really live", he told his friends at a party before he left, "and damn Father and government." Those words had reached Father Bell's ears. Castillo was in the United States for two years before Immigration caught up with him. He was an illegal alien so was sent home. He didn't have any choice but to apply for his old job. "The only vacancy we have is in Santa Rosa," Father Bell told him, smiling all over until he was red in the face. His big ears which were like

that of a rabbit was like an addition to his mean look.

...He woke up two hours later and felt ashamed. His wife who was three months pregnant had had a miscarriage.

"Why didn't you call me, honey," he asked her. She didn't answer and instead puckered her lips and turned her face to the papered wall of the room.

Castillo got the message and sat on the board chair that was by the foot of the bed. He sighed as he thought of everything that he knew his wife was feeling. Just two weeks before she had begged him to look for another job elsewhere; even if he had to teach for another denomination. She didn't see the sense of his staying in Santa Rosa and working for Father Bell. Just the month before he [Father Bell] had gone to visit the village while she was very ill and she had written him [Father Bell] a note to explain to him that she needed a loan to get a jeep to go to town to see a doctor. He had answered her: Dear Alice, Join the Credit Union. She told him he was inhuman....

This story indicates the resentment of the Caribs towards the difficulties of their jobs and the priests who administered them. It also indicates the undesirability of the rural outposts to which Caribs were regularly assigned and the sometimes punitive nature of teaching assignments for those Carib who exhibited insubordinative behavior.

However, many times the Catholic priests and nuns were instrumental in securing scholarships for various Carib to continue their educations in the United States. Hence the Carib began to follow tracks laid down for their migration and labor in the United

States. Although both educated and uneducated Caribs migrated for work in the United States the latter were often illegal immigrants' visas being more readily obtainable by the educated who already had a viable employment. Fig. 4 illustrates the relation of age to migration for labor in the United States, indicating that younger generations have migrated for work in the United States. Among the young Carib civil servants that I interviewed, many had siblings working in the United States in service positions such as: hospital workers, secretaries, bank clerks, and security police. Current figures indicate that approximately one-half of the population of Belize has migrated to the United States and most are either Creoles or Caribs.

The links between the Carib civil servants of Belize and their kin working in the United States are evident in the cultural constructions utilized by the class of civil servants among the Belizean Carib. This includes elements of British and American culture associated with education (such as reading English novels in leisure time) but also includes other cultural elements which are developed into class aesthetics.

For example among female teachers I observed in Dangriga, much of the clothing worn to social functions and in religious services was from the United States. The favored style was that of short-sleeved polyester crepe dresses in various shades (usually pastel) with various trims. The dresses are usually obtained from kin in the United States who send the clothing to Belize. Although similar dresses are available in nearby Guatemala and Honduras these dresses are rejected by the teachers and only worn by women who are not civil servants.

Another import favored by women of this class was beauty products. I was astounded by the popularity of Revlon's Flex shampoo among female teachers. During most of the time I was in Belize, this brand of shampoo (which is imported from the U.S. and not produced in Central America) was rarely available in the few Belizean stores which imported it because of the demand for the product. When I traveled to the village of Numada I was amazed to find the local nurse using the same shampoo on her hair. In Dangriga I knew female teachers who refused to use any other shampoo on their hair, claiming that only this product would do. When I queried them as to their source of this

product they replied that friends and relatives brought over supplies of the shampoo to them from the United States, 3 or 4 bottles at a time.

Cultural practices were imported along with the products used by this group to articulate class and status within the Carib community. Some of these were then reinterpreted according to Carib culture in the Belizean context. For example, a "birthday party" at the Hernandez house:

Scene

The Hernandez household consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Hernandez, their daughter, and another daughter's two children. The mother of the two children was working in the United States and had indicated that a birthday party was to be given for her children. In what I observed of the form of this party, it seemed much like that of an American child's birthday celebration. Children, dressed in their Sunday-best clothes, attended the party at which cakes and treats were served. Most of the children were of roughly the same ages from 5 to 7 years of age. The colorful paper items for the birthday party such as festive napkins, party bags and hats were purchased at a cost of \$60.00 Bz.² Most of the children who attended the party were those whose parents were of a similar class, with the exception of a few children who lived in the neighborhood.

However the cultural aspects of the birthday party did not fit the American cultural form. Two types of cakes were made, a dark ginger and a pineapple cake with white and blue icing. All the children received balloons and bubble gum, but only those children who had brought gifts received cake. The cake was not given to the children to eat but wrapped up and distributed for the children to take home to their parents. At home, the parents would then distribute the cake according to the normally observed rules for food distribution practiced in the household. This meant that the child would receive only a small portion of the cake if he received any at all.

Hence the cultural practice "a birthday party" was

borrowed from an outside culture (enhancing the social status of the family in the community) while the content of that form was supplied from Carib culture, where distribution of food is measured and reciprocal, marking important relationships of age and friendship.

The educated class has not only used these forms of an "outside" culture to maintain and articulate their status within the community but has also utilized symbols of the "inside" culture to redefine the ethnicity of the group. The schools as institutions have given the class a forum from which to direct ethnic consciousness. Thus the direction of ethnic symbols by teachers is especially evident on Garifuna Settlement Day⁴ Garifuna Settlement Day is an "ethnic holiday" held on November 19 to celebrate the arrival of the Carib in Belize. This holiday involves a week of celebrations of "Garifunanness" culminated by a reenactment of the Carib landing from Irumei, their homeland, on the Central American shores.

The holiday celebrations are run by a committee, composed almost entirely of schoolteachers. The committee organizes parades, food fairs, and a beauty

contest. The beauty contest links a borrowed cultural form to ethnic symbols. The beauty contest struck me as particularly anomalous for Carib culture as it is a public display of adolescent girls, who have traditionally been confined within the private domain of the home and family while older middle-aged women have dominated the more public spheres (Kearns 1985, Khan in press). The judges award the distinction of "Miss Garifuna" for the contestant who represents her town or village best in contests of speech-making, traditional dancing and in answering questions about Garifuna history and culture. All of these performances lack the traditional arena for their occurrence and have thus been transformed into "individual ethnic displays" of adolescents rated by the judges. The beauty contest was hosted by a young Carib male (a student teacher) and featured a Carib dance group, Igameri "The Light", composed of young men and women, several of whom were teachers. The judges were all Carib civil servants in the 30 - 40 year age range. The prize in the past had been a trip to the United States with airfare donated by a local airline. This year some Carib objected that this prize indicated a certain irony in that the prize for

excellence in native culture was a trip to the United States. However a new destination was not easily found.

Versions of the contest occur in every village and town that wishes to participate, and most generally do. Hence the contest links⁴ the Carib towns and villages and is a symbolization of the direction of ethnic consciousness by the "educated" class among the Carib and the association of this with youth. In recent years the contest has gained national significance and is broadcast over the national radio station, Radio Belize. It is thus part of the increasing media displays of "ethnicity" in a national forum. Another example of these "ethnic" displays is a radio show broadcast weekly over the national radio station. Called the "Garifuna Half Hour", the show is run by Carib teachers and nurses and involves the playing of songs of "traditional" Carib music. The songs are dedicated to Carib in various villages and towns by other Carib (usually relatives) who write in to request the dedications. Often the dedications are from Carib living in towns to their relatives "at home" in the village. The song dedications are usually accompanied by declarations on current topics by the announcers.

By directing the ethnic consciousness through these forms in the media and in rituals the intellectuals perpetuate their authority and promote a general consensus that this authority belongs to them as ethnic leaders. These ideas permeate all aspects of Carib life and this authority articulates with other forms of authority in the local community.

Some Carib found subordination of their authority to the "educated" class lent a legitimacy to their own endeavors. For example, at the beginning of my field work I attended a traditional Carib ceremony to placate the dead ancestors, adūgūrahani.

Scene

The ceremony was performed according to a traditional ritual sequence. The buye or shaman was reknown among Garifuna of several nations for her ritual knowledge and healing powers. At the beginning of the ritual, following the blessing of boats sent to the cayes, the buye gave a speech exhorting the people to follow her directions in the course of the ceremony. She emphasized that she was the paramount authority and that her authority as a buye was sanctioned by two important men in the community: she named two men who were teachers and had high levels of formal education.

In doing so she legitimized her power and ritual knowledge by drawing on the consensus among the group that education was a superior and modern form of knowledge.

I have discussed the recruitment of the Carib into

a class of "intellectual laborers" within the Belizean society. In this civil service labor the Carib have helped to create and maintain a civil society legitimizing the state. Within this new class of Carib I have discussed the rise to leadership of a group of intellectuals within the class. Gramsci's essay "The Intellectuals" in the Prison Notebooks describes as "organic" intellectuals those that arise from the class formation and he distinguished these from "traditional" intellectuals with a historical basis in the group. I am labeling the individuals who begin to articulate the group ideology among the Carib as "intellectuals" following Poulantzas (1974:252) definition as:

...that of a specific grouping of agents who fulfill particular social functions in relation to the elaboration of class ideologies.

The Carib intellectuals thus result from the new class of mental laborers among the Carib.

Education and educational advancement by these intellectuals is often represented as advancement to prominence and power for the entire ethnic group. I have illustrated how status symbols associated with the United States are combined with symbols of youth, ethnicity, and authority in the cultural constructions

of the "educated" class. These cultural constructions form a significant part of a new ideology among Belizean Carib linking them to the U. S. and to a new place in the division of labor within Belizean communities.

Aspects of the ideology created by intellectuals among this new class of Carib are reflected in the cultural productions of that class. These were evident in the speeches and behaviors of the Carib class which I discussed previously but were also articulated by the intellectuals speaking for that class in their writings. In a culture whose traditions had long been created and preserved orally it is significant that the Carib intellectuals in the 1960's are now producing written cultural productions defining "the Garifuna" or "Garifuna culture", or commenting on "Garifunanness". It is significant that the forms that are utilized in these productions are not the traditional "song" forms of the past used to communicate pain, emotion or rebellion (see Hadel 1972), but rather styles of discourse and forms of poetic expression and narrative that Carib learned and perpetuated in education. And in most forms the code that is used to communicate this information is

English.

The following are excerpts from a Carib publication, published in 1977, entitled "Chulua Dan", (literally "arrived has time") which the authors chose to translate with the English phrase "It's About Time". In this first Carib literature E. Roy Cayetano's poems are written in English and utilize a style of free verse poetry common among English writers of the current period:

NAYUMAHA

Why shouldn't I grieve, Chatoyer?
I see our men turn soft and weak,
And easy prey to strangers' wills.
I see our men disown themselves;
Why shouldn't I grieve, Chatoyer?

Our children lose their tongues, Chatoyer;
No, they're not born with them.
They speak with grafted tongues
So they won't speak like us - they can't.
Why shouldn't I grieve, Chatoyer?

Our ancestral dead, our bold forebears,
(How many pine and starve in death!)
Rarely receive their ancient rights.
Faradiu's dressed in foreign rites.
Have I not cause to grieve?

No wonder! for the Garifuna Da
Who hoed the fields, subdued the gani,
Baked it to ereba -
Her untiring majesty, irrespressible soul
Is now defunct; and so I mourn.

Yes I must grieve, I really must -
At least on her account. For she's
My bride though just the husk of what
she was to you.
But your fiery spirit sleeps in her blood!

Baba! Stir it alive in our sons.
 E. Roy Cayetano

VEILED EYES

A little child was born last night.
 Another Carib.

Just another.
 A Carib teacher died today.
 Another Carib.

Just another.
 A Garifuna rose to fame; you heard?
 What? A Carib?

A Thirty Six?
 A Garifuna mind will lead us soon.
 A Kerobi?

Impossible!

E. Roy Cayetano

These poems illustrate a mode of discourse utilized for expression of "Garifunanness". In the first poem Cayetano may be construed to be speaking only to Carib despite his use of English as he uses some words which would only have meaning to Carib speakers: Chatoyer - the leader of the Carib revolt in the 1790's, Faradiu - Father or God, and Da and Baba - terms for the spirit of the Caribs. The poem also refers to the demise of the dūgū, the ceremony for the ancestors. The second poem however, contains no exclusive references but instead is filled with references to the names used by non-Carib for Carib: "Carib", "Thirty Six", and "Kerobi". Thus the audience for this poem might well be Belizean society as the code used and the meanings contained would be clear to

all members of that group. In the conclusion I will reexamine the poem "Nayumaha" in terms of its message and relevance for language shift.

These excerpts illustrate the more "artistic" publications of Carib literature but a more didactic publication, commemorating the Carib Settlement Day of 1975 is perhaps even more illustrative of the definition of "Garifuna identity" which the intellectuals are creating and spreading. This redefinition of a "Garifuna" involves an attempt to separate out and define what "culture" is, as well as what were markers of "Garifuna culture". Theodore Palacio, then head of a secondary school defined "culture", pointing out that people were only conscious of the existence of culture from "contrasts between our society and some other with which we happen to come in contact....":

Many times instead of direct force, subtle pressures compel a minority group to try to be like the dominant group in order to be capable even if still not accepted. This striving for acceptability, however, means that the minority group will have to shed most of its original distinguishing characteristics. In the case of the Garifuna, he is being forced to sacrifice the properties that make him a Garifuna, his Garifuna culture....

Culture borrowing takes place sometimes without pressure and at other times under pressure of some sort. There is in their country a subtle pressure urging all racial groups to become part and parcel

of the dominant socio-linguistic group, the Creoles. In a way this is a good trend. In a small country like ours we cannot afford to have too many strong divisions. There is virtue in the idea of one country one people. In another way this tendency in Belize toward cosmopolitanism, the principle of one country one people, is not good because it tends to deprive the country of its richness that comes from a variety of cultures, a variety we naturally have. Worse yet, it gives the various peoples an inferiority complex, a feeling that their culture is not good enough, that it is something to be ashamed of, that it should be done away with as soon as possible.... Certainly there should be no inconsistency in our being full blooded Garinagu and full blooded Belizeans at the same time.... This is for the good of every cultural group in Belize, for the good of the Garifuna culture, for the good of Belize.

Theodore Palacio "Garifuna Culture"

Symbols of nostalgia for a "dying culture" and emphasis on the importance of "preservation of a dying culture" abound in these cultural productions. One author uses the symbol of the gadori, a basket once used for carrying things on the back but now no longer used or made, as a nostalgic metaphor to represent the "Garifuna" people and their cultural demise.

But if symbols of a dying culture are put forth in these productions so also are remedies. One article "Where To from Here" by A. Flores claims that in order to preserve Carib culture a "leisure class" must be created, one which will have time to study and revive the culture. The pathway to this "leisure class" is through education:

...More education, higher education, professional and vocational education and then a generation of leisure class who can take time out to revive the good things that are almost lost to a people whose past was once rich. This is not an attempt to advocate a generation of idlers, but men and women who are Garifuna at heart, who are eager to see their past given that attention and respect that it deserves by all their countrymen.

These so-called idlers can study Garifuna music and help refine it. They can make the Garifuna drum better known and appreciated. Our Garifuna music can become part and parcel of the Belizean cultural heritage. They can retell in print many of the stories, the legends, the folklore and the practices and rituals of their people that are fast becoming library materials. Unless we get this done in a hurry, a Garifuna will have to go into a library and learn from others about himself and ancestors....The religious rituals, so rich with our African heritage and which abound with the history of a people will become something for "back-a-town"....(ibid ibadan)

These passages clearly indicate the definition of

a class of "educated intellectuals" who can articulate the symbols of Garifuna culture not only at a local level but also at a national level. Perhaps the Carib at this time were in part responding to a need to articulate the "Garifuna" ethnic heritage because of the exegesis which had occurred after several anthropologists had arrived with the goal of studying Carib "culture" (see Gonzalez forthcoming on the number of anthropologists who have worked with the Carib). Anthropologists may have been the harbingers of a nostalgia for a "dying culture".

As well as increasing educational

capital Flores states the need for Carib to become part of the national bourgeoisie by accumulating economic capital:

There is another area where the battle must continue to be waged. The Carib in Belize, Honduras, and in Guatemala must begin to see himself as a part of the economic structure of his homeland. As a Public Officer, teacher, policeman, or a 'small-time' farmer, he cannot hope to wheel the kind of influence that they ought to have earned after two hundred years. If we are to contribute to the development of Belize, for example, we must begin to take the struggle into the money section of the Belizean life. This will be probably the most difficult task our peple must undertake for money, it is said is only earned by money....Since Garifuna have no roots in wealth, it is expected that becoming a part of the economic community will be a difficult undertaking.

In order to raise capital, we must become pennywise. We must only spend on those things that are necessary - our needs. The rest of our pennies must be put aside. Yes we must save. Our savings must earn more for us.

The author then argues for the formation of cooperatives, particularly fishing cooperatives. He concludes his article by lauding sucess, hard work and independence.

Finally, may I suggest that one of the ways to independence is independence. Become independent. Work for yourself. Learn a trade or a craft, open any form of lucrative business. Work for yourself but work conscienciously, diligently and sincerely. If you do you are bound to succeed.... You will set the stage for a new breed of Garifuna whose goal will be the planets and whose ambition will be to make Garifuna and Belize number one in the Caribbean Basin.

...and by focusing not on tradition but the future and change:

Let us review and celebrate the past, but that will not do if we do not look into the future, plan for it, and set up a blue print for tomorrow. Tomorrow is more important than today. Let us unite for economic, social and aesthetic purposes and we shall soon overcome. A. Flores
"Where To From Here".

These passages indicate an awareness of economic power and a realization that their own power was subordinate to that of the large landowners and wealthy businessmen in the community. These passages indicate the transformation of the Carib identity and the association of it with an ideology based in education. Education is held to be a mark of achievement for the group as a whole. The intellectuals cited above are clearly speaking for the Carib as an ethnic group within their communities and within the nation of Belize. Thus the intellectuals are important in promoting a society in which education is significant and the ethnic identity is connected to that of the nation-state.

Conflict over the power and authority of the civil servants

Gramsci (1971) distinguished between political society, or the relations of power accorded the state,

and civil society, the ideological consensus within the state. He characterized different forms of hegemony by the degree to which the ideology of the civil society provided fortresses for the power of the state. In the preceeding I have indicated the ideology which was perpetuated by the civil servants and around which there existed some consensus in Carib communities.

Not all Carib were content to subordinate their authority to that of the civil servants or to acknowledge that the "educated" Carib had a right to leadership in the community. Thus this authority was not without conflict. Conflicts arose over the control of ethnic consciousness, and traditional cultural precepts of egalitarianism, the common kinship and the elevated status of elders were challenged by the adoption of a new socialization among the civil servant class. These conflicts were apparent to me as the participant observer in the community in the following events:

Scene

When I reached the town of Dangriga I had settled in to live with a teacher and her family. However I was soon accosted by a local labor leader who took me to the house of his sister's husband (they were not legally married but had lived together many years). This man, Gusinu Mendez, was 65 years old. He was known in the community for his skills

as a drummer and had played drums at many dūgū. Gusinu has recently come into a new awareness of the value of his skills as a drummer. He has formed a Garifuna dance troupe of drummers and men and women who dance and sing traditional Carib music. Aided by his wife's brother, who through his position as labor leader has political connections, the dance group often performs at political events, usually held in Belize City for "ethnic shows" which accompany these events. Mendez has developed a set of demands which must be satisfied before he will play for cultural events: he must be provided transportation and must be assured of a certain fee. Although he once played for the Garifuna Settlement Day events for free he now will play only if paid and the teachers of the committee claim his services are overpriced.

At the time I encountered Mendez he and his wife's brother were attempting to convince me to work with them (assuming I was there to study "traditional culture"). They explicitly cautioned me that "those educated people don't know everything" and "we know the real Carib culture". To prove their point they cited Mendez' work with another anthropologist and the fact that they had succeeded in getting the government to designate their dance group (over one composed of "those educated people") to Carifesta (a regional conference involving cultural displays from several Caribbean and Circum-Caribbean nations) as the Belizean "Garifuna" representatives.

Hence Mendez was challenging the authority of what he clearly designated as "those educated people" over the symbolizing associated with the Carib ethnicity. At the time of my fieldwork ethnic displays were extremely important in political rituals as Belize as a nation attempted to forge a unity among the regions which were divided ethnically. Hence these dance groups have become politically important and each of

the political parties seeks to enlist them both for performances and political alliance. During 1982-1983 Mendez' group was linked to a faction within the PUP but it has recently become allied with a young female teacher, who was previously a central organizer of a student group and is now linked to the current governing party of the UDP. She has relabeled the dance group as a "woman's movement" group and has assumed a role of leadership along with Mendez in the group.

My assessment of Belizean society was that a growing but "minimal hegemony" of the state over the life of the masses was occurring during 1982-1983, LePage and Tabouret-Keller have described this social process as "national focusing" (1985). This "minimal hegemony" is comparable to the early period of nascent political and cultural integration which Gramsci described for Italy in the period from unification until the turn of the century (Femia 1981:46). Gramsci depicted this form of hegemony as one in which the state incorporated popular leaders into the political system and the masses did not have the cultural sophistication to fit their grievances into a common dissent.

The power of the state and the authority of others over their lives is a grievance heard in Carib communities. In addition to challenges to the control of ethnic consciousness among the group there were also challenges of the power over others which some state controlled offices delegated to individuals, primarily civil servants. When these individuals were members of another ethnic group the Carib opposed that ethnic group. As one woman, 28 indicated:

When I was a little girl all the teachers were Creole and Garifuna. The older Garifuna women were always afraid to speak to the teachers about their children because they did not speak enough English or enough proper English. So when I became a teacher when the women would approach me I used to say to them in Garifuna "You can speak to me in Garifuna. I am not a Creole." and they were glad to speak to me.

But this harmony between Carib teachers and Carib mothers did not last for long. The authority of teachers over children was not readily accepted by parents and there were constant disagreements over the treatment of the children by the teachers in the schools:

Scene

One particularly volatile incident occurred in the town of Dangriga while I was there. A young male pupil of about 9 years in age had repeatedly showed up for school wearing no shoes. His teacher had sent the student home each time he entered the class with no shoes. The mother had come to school to discuss the matter with the teacher claiming

that she was working in the local bakery and could not earn enough money to provide proper attire for all her children. The mother also declared that the teacher had no right to dictate the appropriate clothing for her children. The women had a heated verbal argument but the issue remained unresolved. The child did not show up in school for a few days then appeared, again with no shoes. The teacher sent the boy home. That afternoon the mother appeared and accosted the teacher on the street, wielding a knife. The mother chased the teacher around the street for about a half hour then the police intervened. This incident is illustrative of the class conflict between teachers and parents and the imposition of standards of dress by the teacher on all her students. Although most conflicts in the schools are not so violent, conflicts occur frequently. This might be expected in a culture where authority over children is absolute for parents. Most of the conflicts tend to be about authority and discipline with conflicts over grades secondary.

Another civil servant whose authority and power was resented was that of policemen. In the labor history interviews I conducted I asked individuals if there were any type of labor or occupation which they preferred or any type of labor/occupation they would not perform. Many people seemed uncomfortable with the question, those with the most education seemed to best respond to the intent of the question indicating those occupations which they would be inclined toward or

decline. In general most people in answering the question indicated that their choices of labor were limited and they were often confined into accepting what was available. The common social preferences for forms of labor which were expressed in other ways were not revealed in response to this direct question. However many people did respond that they would not accept a job as a policeman. When I questioned them further some civil servants and those in seasonal employment, declared other policemen as their friends and drinking companions. This was most probably due to the social sanction in the form of isolation imposed on policemen by the community.

Following are labor histories of some of the public sector workers. In comparison to the histograms which indicate quantitatively age in relation to labor pursuit these case histories portray different individuals' lives in terms of different socialization and labor pursuits and attitudes through time.

I begin with an older teachers wife (Case 1) and an older teacher (Case 3) to indicate aspects of becoming a Carib teacher during the early part of the century. Teachers were accorded respect in the communities and this social status was given to the

male teacher and also his wife.

In Case 2 we see an individual who has attained a political position from a career of teaching. For all these early teachers, however, teaching was not a steady employment but an occupational strategy combined with other wage labor and subsistence where possible. Only Candido Artimo (Case 3) was able to retire on a government pension. Some older Carib men who had expected government pensions did not receive them due to technicalities in the requirements. In include informaiotn of the children of these individuals to indicate intergenerational aspects of class and occupational mobility.

In the cases of younger Carib involved in public sector labor we can see the entry of women into this type of labor. Women who are able to secure these jobs bring in a steady income for the household. Like the first male teachers, however, they are expected to maintain a stable marriage to teach in church schools.

Labor Histories of Public Sector Workers

Case 1

A teacher's wife, age 67

Carmella Lambey lives in the village of Numada and works her "plantation". She speaks a creole English,

Garifuna, and Spanish. Her parents were residing in Puerto Barrios, Guatemala when she was born but her mother traveled back to Niduhanya to give birth to her. Carmella lived in Puerto Barrios where her father was a timekeeper for the United Fruit company until she was 7 years old. Carmella's mother often travelled back to Numada to work her farm at 2 or 3 month intervals. She said that the family should not be dependent on the company for all their needs. Carmella's father also worked as a Catholic teacher in Niduhanya and in the Spanish village of Progreso. He later worked at the post office in Punta Gorda. Her mother and father spoke English Garifuna and Spanish, disdaining Creole as a language. Carmella did speak Creole as a child and only spoke Garifuna as a second language when she moved to Numada at the age of 7.

Carmella had 1 child, a daughter. She married a widower when she was 32 years old. Her husband was a teacher and she moved with him to the place he was teaching, a small settlement 19 miles outside of Stann Creek. Her husband taught there for two years. They then moved to Mullins River, a Creole settlement, for 1 year.

The couple came back to Numada in 1951 and worked their farm called Lidisei, meaning "it is far" for ten years. During this time she sold some of the produce from her farm in Punta Gorda and she would occasionally travel to Belize City or Corozal to market her yams, cassava bread, and potatoes. She never made much profit from this sales as she had to pay passage on the boat and housing once she was there. Her husband often fished in his sailboat and when he brought in a large catch she would sell his fish for him in the village.

Her husband then went to teach again and Carmella accompanied him. He taught in the village of Aguacate (a Kekchi Maya village) for a year and a half then moved to the village of Dolores for one school term. At this point her husband developed high blood pressure and the couple was forced to go back to the village. He built a house with a concrete floor, wooden sides and a tin roof. By Garifuna village standards the house is very large; it has 2 bedrooms a large common area and a tiny indoor kitchen. In addition Carmella has a separate outdoor kitchen and a hen house located behind her house. Carmella's husband built the house with money he had saved and by the

sale of some family land he owned located near the oceanside in the village. He worked his farm in the village until he died several years ago, seemingly of a heart attack. Carmella has been working her farm alone ever since.

She grows cassava, yams and potatoes out in the fields about one-quarter mile away from her house and she grows pineapples in the fields around her home. From the trees around her home she harvests mamee apples, coconuts, breadfruit and cashew fruit. She consistently buys small amount of sugar and flour to make sweets with and sells these within the village. Occasionally British soldiers will pass through the village and she will insist that they also purchase some of her sweets.

Several of the villagers pass by Carmella's house on their way to the cassava fields. She sometimes accompanies one or more women to work in her fields but more often she works in the fields near her house. A frequent visitor to Carmella is Mrs. Arzu. Mrs. Arzu's husband was also a teacher and is now retired and a fisherman. This association often brings fresh fish to Carmella, who has no male relatives who are fishing.

Carmella usually travels once every 6 months. She usually goes to visit her daughter in Belize. Her daughter's husband is a district supervisor of education. Carmella's daughter is also now studying to become a teacher. Both the daughter and her husband are involved in several Catholic organizations: marriage encounter groups, choral groups, and the lay ministry association. Carmella's only complaint about her daughter and son-in-law is that they had not fulfilled their promise to Carmella made at their marriage. Carmella, following Garifuna tradition, had asked that they send one of their children to live with her at the farm and help her. The couple had never sent one of their children but had instead raised all of their children at home.

When Carmella travels she often makes it a point to stop by those villages in which her husband has taught and where she resided. When she does she is often greeted with respect by the villagers who still address her as "Maistra", just as they once addressed her husband as "Maistro".

A town board member
Case 2

Franco Alvarado, town board member, age 67
Franco is a man of 67 years of age who lives in the town of Punta Gorda. He speaks Garifuna, English, Spanish and a little Kechi. He is currently a town board member in the town near Numada but was in Numada for a ritual.

Franco's father was a mahogany bank worker on the Northern river of Masgall. His father worked as a hunter man cleaning around the mahogany tree and making a trail then blowing a conch shell to let the cutters to come and cut the tree. The workers in the mahogany were mostly Creoles from Belize City with a few Spanish and Garifuna men. Franco claims that often Garifuna men were the foremen of the mahogany works. His father did become a foreman for the Belize Estates Company supervising the cutting of wood at Guinea Grass and on the Sarstun river from 1908-1923. At that time the company ceased cutting mahogany and nutmeg on the Sarstun. His father returned to Punta Gorda and starting working a family farm on the Timash river. Franco Martinez became a pupil teacher when he was 19 years old. He was a principal at Santa Theresa and taught at Crique Sarco, Monkey River and Santa Elena. While teaching he also helped work on the bridge at Santa Elena. He was then transferred to San Antonio. World War II broke out and he went to Guinea Grass to work for the war effort in the lumber industry.

During the war years Franco joined a number of Belizean men who were transported via American navy ships to work for various industries in the United States. Franco worked in a sawmill in Florida and in an automobile factory and aviation factory in New York. He worked in the United States until the war ended for a total of one year and 2 months. The men were transported home again by US ships. When Franco reached Belize he did not want to teach again. He went to Puerto Barrios, Guatemala to work for United Fruit in merchandizing and as a clerk typist. At United Fruit the employees were blacks from the French Caribbean islands (Haiti, Dominica, and Guadelupe), Jamaicans, a few Belizean Creoles, and Caribs. The Mayan Indians worked on the plantations. Caribs worked mainly in the company stores or in the docks area. Franco worked for United Fruit for 14 years but did not receive any retirement benefits from the company.

Franco returned to Punta Gorda and resumed teaching. He taught for a short while at the Catholic school

then moved to the Methodist school where he taught for ten years from 1962-1972. At that time there were four teachers, one was a Jamaican, two were Creoles from Belize and himself. (Presently all the teachers in the school are Garifuna.)

In 1972 he retired from teaching and became involved in politics. Franco's political involvements include serving on the town board, as a justice of the peace, and as a manager for the PUP office in Punta Gorda. He is also an officer in the local Credit Union. The Town Board is composed of 5 Garifuna, 1 Creole and 1 individual of mixed Chinese and Indian descent. Franco has attended school to a Standard 6 level. He has passed some examinations by attending evening classes. He also took a correspondance course from Britain.

Franco is legally married and also has another set of children by his outside wife. His wife has always acted as a housewife, traveling with him to teach in the villages and never cultivating although Franco does own some land from which he gathers coconuts. Franco's children are government workers, teachers, a boat worker, and housewives.

Case 3

Candido Artimo, CA retired teacher, age 65
Candido left Numada, where he was born, at the age of 9 to live with his uncle who was a justice of the peace in the village of Aguacate. From there they were sent to Corozal for three years and afterward to Numada for two years. At that time he was 15 and was hired as a pupil teacher by the principal of the Catholic school in Punta Gorda. The principal was a nun and 6 of the other teachers were nuns. Candido was one of four young Garifuna men who were teaching with the nuns. The nuns were all German. He taught for two years.

After that Candido traveled to Guatemala to Bananera, the headquarters of United Fruit where he worked as a butler for \$50/month for two years. He then went back to Numada where he worked farming and selling bannanas to United Fruit from the Timash Valley. He sold bananas to the UF boats which came up the Timash river averaging 50 bunches per trip every week for 3 years, this earned him approximately \$25.00 per week. As the bananas declined Candido went back to teaching in Libertad, San Asiso and Sarteneja villages in the Corozal District . At first he taught alone but as the

school populations grew the government allocated money for assistants. Most of the assistants he had were Garifuna but he did have one Mayan Indian assistant who translated from Spanish to English for him. His salary was \$42 dollars per month and during the war years it rose to \$59 per month. He taught for 9 years then he resigned to work for United Fruit company again.

He worked for United Fruit for three years, initially in the material supply department and then as a clerk in the engineering department. Although he was paid little more than his teaching salary he also received rations from the company. As rations he received rice, beans, corn, oil and coffee.

Candido taught for many years with a pupil teacher certificate as his highest degree. He says this was the equivalent of 3 years in high school. During his years of teaching he insisted that children speak English at school and Garifuna at home. Candido has always detested the Creole language and demanded that his children speak either Garifuna or English. His grandchildren (who live with him) were born at Cayo. He says they don't know how to speak Garifuna but that they understand it. They speak Creole.

Candido returned to teaching, working two years in Orange Walk before settling to teach in Numada for 14 years. After this period he went to the Teacher's Training College at Belize City for one year. He was paid \$98 month while at the college. Afterward he returned to Numada where he taught for another 7 and 1/2 years. He is now retired, with a government pension of over \$200 per month. With this pension he is able to afford a large boat and an outboard motor. This enables him to set nets to catch large amounts of fish. Most of this fish is salted and sold in Guatemala for the Lent season. He doesn't sell fish in the village.

Candido married his wife when he was 23 years old and she was 18. Candido also has two sets of children. One with his wife and one with another woman. Four of his children are in the US. His son works for an electronics corporation in Los Angeles. His son's wife is the secretary to the mayor of the city. One daughter is teaching in Arizona; her husband is studying for his doctorate at the university there. Two daughters live in New York city, one is a secretary and the other is a private nurse. The second set of children are all in Belize. One son

who is a customs officer works in Belmopan. Another son is a civil engineer and also works in Belmopan. A third son works in the Development Finance Corporation of the Belizean government. One of his children is in Canada pursuing his education and another two are at the University of the West Indies pursuing their education. Another child is now teaching in Punta Gorda and plans to enter a university in Miami soon.

Case 4

Frances Arzu, a high school principal, age 51
Frances is the principal of the local high school in the town of Dangriga. Frances is 51 years old and his position in the town is considered very prestigious. He is a member of the local Lion's club and is often called upon to speak at public functions or visits of British royalty or other dignitaries. Although Frances is a Catholic he rarely attends church (although his wife does attend).

Frances speaks English, Garifuna, Spanish and a little Creole. He learned to speak Creole in primary school soon after he learned to speak English. His mother spoke Garifuna only with a few words of Spanish. Frances's father combined many pursuits to obtain cash and subsistence. He was a tailor, a carpenter, a barber and a farmer. He had two sewing machines, a barber chair and carpentry tools. His father died and mother raised him alone. His mother baked bread and also made cassava bread.

At 17 Frances went to high school at Concepción. He graduated at age 21. He had a partial scholarship to go to St. John's Teachers College through the alumni association of St. John's which paid for his tuition and lodging and the remainder of his expenses were paid by his older brother who was working in Benque Viejo as a policeman. Among the students of the university at the time were individuals who would become the minister of trade and industry and other important government figures. Approximately 10% of the student population of 250 were Carib. Most of the Carib were on scholarships. The majority of the students were Mestizos, whose parents were paying for their education. He graduated from the college with a trained teachers diploma.

After graduation he taught with his wife for two years in the village of Hopkins with six other teachers, all of whom were Carib from Hopkins. He taught a year at Sacred Heart in Dangriga. Most of the teachers at that

time were Carib but the Holy Family sisters held the top positions and two of these were Creoles. Frances then went to the University of Manchester in England to study teacher training. He then returned to Belize and taught at St. John's College for 2 1/2 years training teachers. At this time the mestizos still predominated at the majority but Creoles comprised 20% of the population and Carib another 20%. He then emigrated to the United States to go to school at St. Francis in Brooklyn, N.Y. He worked while he was in school to pay for his expenses though part of them were paid by the Belizean government. He spent 4 years attaining his B.A. and graduated in 1969. He came home and taught at Belize Teachers College until 1972 when he went back to New York for two years to obtain his master's degree in English from an Catholic university. Following this, he resigned from the Belizean college and settled in Dangriga at his wife's request. He took a position as the vice-principal at Ecumenical high school. In two years he succeeded an East Indian Guyanese man as principal. He supervises 21 teachers including 3 Americans (2 nuns and 1 farmer), 1 Chilean, 2 Trinidadians, 7 Carib, 7 Creoles and 1 Mayan.

Frances has 3 sister and 4 brothers. 2 brothers are civil servants, one a retired policeman, one brother is working in the United States and one is working in Honduras. One of his sisters is a teacher in Belize City, one is a housewife in Hopkins and one is a nurse in Saudi Arabia.

Frances makes \$18,000 and above per year as a principal. He would prefer a position which would give him at least \$25,000 a year. Frances's position makes him subject to the demands of all the classes and ethnic groups in Dangriga that their children be given advanced standing, recommendations or scholarships. In Frances' attempts to remain "impartial", Carib of the ethnic group often claim he has betrayed his own kismen and promoted other groups ahead of them. He would prefer to do farming full time but this would require a large investment. Presently Frances does have some land and is attempting to farm it in the hours when he is not working in the school. This means his weekends are taken up with working his farm. He and other Carib who are attempting commercial farming lack the farm machinery to make this work profitable. The government had loaned them a tractor periodically but this machine was plagued with mechanical problems.

Attempts by the government to provide a mechanical harvester for the rice were often ill-timed and caused the loss of the rice crop.

Case 6

Alice Hopkins, A young female elementary teacher, age 33

Alice speaks Garifuna, English and Creole and understands Spanish. She stated that Creole was her first language. She was born in Belize City and only came to Dangriga when she was six or seven years old. She learned Garifuna and English at that time. Her father cut logwood at one time and became a driver for the United Fruit company in Honduras; the entire family moved to Honduras when she was 8 years old and stayed there for 3 years. Her father is now a driver for the government and her mother is a seamstress. Her parents now live in Belmopan, where her mother maintains a garden. Her mother sends her vegetables every week to eat.

Alice went to the Methodist college at Belize City and boarded there with a family for 4 years. She returned to Dangriga and went to Austin high school graduating from there in 1966. She was a Methodist until 1967 when she became a Roman Catholic. Shortly thereafter she began teaching at Holy Ghost Catholic School. She taught school there for 5 years then went for 2 years training at Belize Teacher's College. In 1974 she returned to Dangriga and in the nine years since then she has taught at the Holy Ghost school.

She has one brother and 4 sisters. Two of her sisters are housewives, one in Belmopan and one in Dangriga. One of her sisters works in New York as an insurance clerk. Her brother is also in New York and works for a construction company. One sister works as a nurse in Canada. Her husband is a carpenter and is now a foreman of works for the town board. Her husband is not Garifuna but a Creole man and she speaks Creole with him.

When she went to school there were few Garifuna in the school, so noone spoke Garifuna at school.

Case 7

Kenny Cayetano, assistant principal, age 34

Kenny was born in Punta Gorda and still travels there frequently. He is building a house for his parents with another brother. Although he is the assistant

principle of a Catholic school in Dangriga and has taught there for several years he is often identified by the townspeople as a "PG person". Kenny identifies his first language as Creole and says he learned it from the children that played around his home. He learned English in school. Although Garifuna was spoken in his home he did not begin speaking it until he was 10 years old and only mastered speaking Garifuna at the age of 18 when he went to live in Numada. His grandparents spoke Garifuna, Creole, English and Spanish but mainly Garifuna. His parents spoke the same four languages. Kenny's father was a cook in restaurants while his mother was a teacher. His mother eventually became the secretary to the Catholic Mission.

Kenny's first job as a teacher came after high school in Numada where he stayed for 3 years. At that time there were 6 Garifuna teachers in that village: 3 from the village and 3 from the neighboring town. Four of the teachers were men and 2 were women. When the teachers were together they spoke either Garifuna or English. At that time no one spoke Creole in the village.

He next went to Forest Home, a Creole settlement near PG, whose population was mainly East Indians. He taught there with 6 teachers: 2 nuns, one a Creole woman and the other a Mestizo woman and 3 East Indians, two women and one man. He taught here for one year then went to Belize Teachers College in Belize City. The college had 22 or 23 teachers, all of whom were nuns. The principal of the school was a Creole nun. The majority of the students were Creoles and the mestizos were next in numerical predominance. He remembers only 4 Garifuna who were in school with him. Everyone in the school spoke English so the Garifuna only spoke their language outside the classroom. He finished school at BTC and was awarded a teachers diploma.

In 1977 he came to Dangriga to complete a teaching internship at Sacred Heart Catholic School. At that time the principal was a Creole woman. In 1980 he became the vice-principal under a Garifuna woman who was principal. As the vice-principal he still has teaching duties although the principal does not. He has now taught at Sacred Heart for six years.

Kenny has 7 siblings from his father and 5 "outside" siblings. Two of his brothers work for the government in Orange Walk while two other brothers are in the

United States: one in Chicago working and the other in the Army. His three sisters all live in Belize City: one does domestic work and two work for the government. Of his "outside" siblings, all of whom are younger, one sister is with the Belizean army while another brother works for the water authority in PG and one sister teaches there. The remaining siblings are still in school.

Kenny's maternal grandmother had a farm and was also a seamstress in PG. His paternal grandmother also had a farm and practiced midwifery. His paternal grandfather was a buye, or shaman. His grandfather never headed the dūgu ceremony but served as an assistant to another shaman during the ceremony. He did conduct lesser ceremonies such as the chugu. Kenny says as a child he looked down on his grandfather's training but now he regrets this attitude and wishes he had acquired more of his grandfather's knowledge.

Kenny has maternal relatives in Guatemala, Honduras and Mexico but he has never seen them. Most of his relatives in Punta Gorda are from his father's line as his mother's great grandfather migrated from Stann Creek to Punta Gorda.

Kenny now has a two year old son with a woman but he has not married her. With this woman he speaks either Creole or Garifuna depending on the circumstances. He identifies four men as his friends and drinking companions, they are an extension officer, a construction worker, a teacher and a consumer protection officer. All of these men are Garifuna but when he is with them they all speak Creole.

Case 8

Maria Guerrero, village nurse, age 69

Maria is known in the village as "Nurse". She and her husband run the village store and sell various things in the village. Nurse is also responsible for running the village clinic. There she treats any medical conditions which she can or arranges to have the individual taken to the nearby town for treatment. Both her parents farmed and her mother often sold cassava bread.

Maria trained in a three year program after high school to become a nurse. To obtain money prior to obtaining her nursing training she sometimes worked baking bread. After becoming a nurse she worked for the government health service and was stationed at several villages. She met her husband as a child.

After she finished her nursing degree he accompanied her to a Kekchi village, Crique Sarco, where they remained for three years. Her husband cut the trees and made a plantation that enabled them to save more of their funds. When the nurse was transferred to Seine Bight her husband bought a boat and motor and started a ferry service for passengers.

The nurse after some years of this village health service decided to emigrate to the United States. She went first and obtained a job then sent for her husband. He was able to obtain a job with the electrical supply company owned by the old man Maria was nursing. They remained in the United States for about five years when Maria decided it was time to return to their home village of Numada. Her husband was not easily convinced so Maria went home alone. Eventually she returned to the United States and laid claim to her husband again, finally convincing him to return with her to the village.

Maria often speaks at village gatherings. She carries great authority within the village. Often the themes of her speeches at village gatherings are that villagers must return from their migrations for education or work to contribute to the village. Maria and her husband provide the example of her exhortation.

Maria's husband was not happy with the present political situation in Belize and believed that the village interests were not served by the PUP. In discussing the language shift with Maria, unlike most Carib, Maria expressed no nostalgia over the dying of the Garifuna language. She stated that she did not prefer her children to speak Garifuna over English or Creole but wanted them to speak whatever language they wished to speak. Her daughters aged 18 and 15 understood Garifuna but spoke only Creole and English. Both were attending high school in Punta Gorda.

Case 9

Lorna Flores, social security clerk, age 22
Lorna has attended high school and spent two years in Belize City at a technical school where she learned accounting and bookkeeping.
Her father did miscellaneous jobs for the public works department and her mother was a housewife.
Lorna is recently married to Tony Flores who is a manager on one of the large citrus estates. Lorna is

very shy and does not speak to many strangers. When her baby was born recently she observed a Carib custom of not allowing anyone except her mother and husband to see the child for several days to ward off any evil that might come to the new born. Lorna says that she primarily uses Creole in her position at the Social Security board but may occasionally use Spanish should someone who speaks only that language seek to apply for Social Security benefits.

Note that some husband and wife couples are both able to find employment in the public sector. In Case 4, Frances Arzu is concerned about passing on the benefits of his class status to his children feeling that their educational opportunity may be more constricted than was his. This indicates a process of class reproduction.

Also note in the case of Kenny Cayetano (Case 7) we see the nostalgia for his grandfather's knowledge which he had earlier disdained. His use of Creole with his friends is a common occurrence examined further in Chapter 5. Case 8, Nurse Guerrero, illustrates the authority given to the "educated" in the village. This is comparable to the authority of education I discussed earlier in by teachers in Dangriga. In contrast however note that Case 9, Lorna Flores, does not seem to have much authority in her position. This may reflect the "ranking" of the position as one requiring only a technical schooling. Interestingly

Lorna still practices some Carib customs disdained by other Carib who consider them "backward practices".

Earlier in this chapter I discussed the formation of a class of public sector workers and their symbolizations of class and status within Carib communities. I described the rituals of Garifuna Settlement Day created by the intellectuals of this class and the use of this ritual to direct ethnic consciousness. In this part of the chapter I discuss a more traditional Carib ritual, a beluria, and describe the symbolizations expressed within and via the rituals for various Carib communities and families. In addition I examine one beluria in the village of Numada for its significance in understanding differences in intergenerational signification, redefinition and change.

Scene

I have come to Numada for my last trip before I leave Belize. Several of my interviews were completed this time and I was able to interview relatives of villagers who had come from Punta Gorda. These kin had made the trip from town to village for a beluria or wake to be given on Saturday.

"Beluriahawama?" the women had asked me earlier in the week, inquiring as to whether I would stay to celebrate the beluria with them. "Aiye, numada, nebuga beluriahama." I replied assenting that I would. I was grateful to have a chance to participate in this ritual as an affirmation of my

regard for the villagers and the village.
Most people indicated their pleasure that I would attend the event and indicated that this would be "a big beluria, even people from PG will come".

Belurias are considered part of traditional Garifuna culture and are usually organized by women. I had attended several belurias during my year among Carib. Belurias are the proper ritual response to a recent death (see kerns 1985). They are the beginning of the placation of the dead kin, followed in time by the chūgū and the dūgū (the abbreviated name for adūgūrahani). Although many Carib still hold beluria for deceased kin, Carib who are active advocates of the Western missionary religions are not likely to do so, also many "educated" Carib also disdain the practice.

I had attended several belurias in Numada, Punta Gorda, and Dangriaga and each of these had significant differences. One beluria in Dangriga was for a child who had recently drowned. Some people of the town were scandalized at the giving of a beluria for the death of a child and indicated that this was never done in the past. They implied that the mother's motivation in giving the beluria was to elicit money and sympathy for relatives. Yet another beluria in Dangriga was

given for a relative long deceased whose kin decided that they had erred by not giving him a beluria when he died.

Scene

A beluria I attended in Punta Gorda was given according to the full traditional sequence. In one area male drummers were drumming the lively beat of the punta and dancers were starting to respond. In another area women were cooking the coffee, beans and rice, and sugar pudding (lab or farinya) to be served at a midpoint of the evening. As they stirred the thick pudding they called out sexual puns and joked with other women as they jabbed the stirring sticks repeatedly into the thick pudding. In another area a card game was going and men were gambling. Inside the house of the deceased the traditional altar draped with crepe paper, containing a picture of the deceased and a religious icon of the sacred heart of Jesus, around this altar sat the female kin of the deceased. Other women sat on long benches. As a group these women recited the rosary for the deceased. On this night a teacher who was visiting kin in the town brought in versions of the rosary translated into Garifuna on mimeographed sheets. The group eventually attempted to read the Garifuna translations for their recitations, although many of the women made it clear that they were much more comfortable saying their "Our Fathers" and "Hail Marys" in English. Later in the evening during a pause in the prayers a man came in to relate uraga, or stories. Some stories were humorous, others were not. After the stories had ended, the prayers resumed, often accompanied with breaks for peppermint or ginger wine, the drink of the women inside the house (the men drank rum). Just outside the house, seated around a table, another group (including both men and women) was singing hymns from a hymnal; the hymnal seemed to be from a Protestant church, most likely Methodist.

These groupings are traditional aspects of a beluria

indicating the syncretism and complex symbolism of this ceremony. It is possible for all these groupings and activities to be present at a beluria although many of the belurias I attended did not always have the number of people necessary for a particular activity or those people competent or willing to initiate the hymnal singing or listen to the uragas, folktales, thus that activity was not present in the beluria. Aspects of the beluria represent different meanings, meanings which I will not attempt to explore as texts here.

At this particular beluria however, there were approximately 150 people and all the activities were occurring. Later in the evening however an odd occurrence developed, another group of drummers set up at the opposite end of the yard and began to drum their own punta apart to the first group, who was still drumming. No one seemed to know why this was occurring and I asked a local Garifuna scholar why the two groups were competing. He replied in amazement that he didn't know and that he had never seen this occur at a beluria before. Later we discovered that the two drumming groups were attached to two different political parties, the PUP and the TPP.¹

Thus the beluria ritual differs in form and content in different Carib communities and can assign differential meaning to the death of child or elder or to the alignment of political or religious factions with ethnicity (this is similar to Williams' 1984

descriptions of weddings in Guyana). I was however most fascinated by the different meanings symbolized in the ritual of the beluria held in the village of Numada as this seemed to embody much of the intergenerational conflict and reinterpretation that were the processes I was beginning to recognize as the source of language shift.

Scene

The beluria in Numada was not as large as that of the one in Punta Gorda. There was some gaming and the prayers and recitations were going on around the altar of the deceased. This was a simple altar with a cross and no pictures in the home of the woman who had died.

Perhaps the most interesting event took place around the dancing. Here again there was competition concerning the music, but the competition was not between two traditional adult drumming groups but rather between young and old aesthetics. As the evening began a young teacher gathered together a group of young men who comprised a rock band. This band performed songs written by the teacher. Some of the songs were written in Garifuna, some in Creole. These were not the traditional songs of punta but a variant popular among young people known as "punta rock". The older people of the village listened politely to the songs, (after all this was a "son of the village" performing) but after a while they moved on to the other activities of the beluria.

The band of youngsters finally ceased playing puzzled at the lack of enthusiasm for their performance. Meanwhile an elderly female had begun beating the punta on a tin can and an older man began to dance the sashaying hip motion of punta. This immediately elicited some comments of enthusiasm from the surrounding onlookers.

Punta, as traditionally danced, is a contest.

Dancers enter into a circle of onlookers performing for the onlookers as individuals exhibiting their strength and sexuality counterposing this against the strength and sexuality of others. Each dancers entry into the arena of performance was an exhibition of these qualities to the group. The individual may be challenged by another dancer who jumping into the circle counterposes his or her strength and sexuality against that of the first dancer.

Scene

After the original dancer had begun dancing, a second male jumped into the arena and began to punta. By this time another older woman had taken the drum of the rock band and she beat the counter-rhythm necessary for good punta. Eventually punta dancing became the traditional arena common in most belurias. Soon after the initial dancer retired and the older man was dancing alone. Villagers began to call on women to dance with the man. Most women were refusing when an older woman jumped into the circle and began to dance. She danced never looking at the man opposite her but with an air of dispassionate concentration on her own movements. The man danced close to the woman holding out his arms containing the space around the woman. During this "competition" the onlooking villagers were shouting "She's too strong for you, Alfonso." or "He can't beat her."

I was somewhat amazed by the turn of events in this beluria. I was delighted to see the performances of the older people as my experiences with them earlier had not revealed these facets of them as people. Their advanced age had led me to negate their sexuality which was quite clear in their dancing.

I had also never seen women drum punta. Carib had constantly told me "women do not know how to drum" and this was supported by all of the musical performances I had witnessed. But here women were clearly drumming out the complex polyrhythms of punta. When I asked why the women were drumming the villagers replied that the village had no "drummers" and had not been able to afford to pay to bring in "drummers" from the nearby town thus women were drumming so that the people could dance. The younger members of the community did not participate in the dancing and left the event early.

As the night wore on the dancing ceased as did the gamblers and the uraga telling. Most of the villagers had gone home by 1:00 a.m. and the beluria which was to have lasted all night now was contained in the house of the woman who had died. Ten older women continued the prayers and recitations and lit the candles before the altar to the dead woman, their friend and neighbor. Many of the prayers recited in English but some were in Spanish read by a woman who was the retired teachers wife. She was the only woman in the village who read Spanish.

The women's prayers and recitations were interspersed by comments about the woman who had died, Norales. The circumstances of her death were strange, she had died while baking cassava in her kitchen (a thatched roof hut separate from her house). While Norales was preparing the wafer-like cassava bread on the hot iron griddle over the fire a minor earthquake occurred causing a central beam of her kitchen to fall on her, trapping her in the hut. She was dead before the other villagers noticed the fire.

In the house, the women of the beluria commented on how productive Norales was in her lifetime, how she had faithfully worked her cassava fields and how much effort she had put into growing food and raising her chickens. They wondered about the timing of her death since a man had recently come to live with her, and they wondered whether he would stay in her house and take over her property now that she was dead.

The old women of the beluria maintained their

vigil until dawn when they returned to their homes, their cassava fields, and their tasks.

The Numada beluria represents a dynamic within Carib society, the conflict of a new aesthetic associated with youth conflicting with an older aesthetic associated with the elders. While the new aesthetics are being articulated by young men it is often the old women who attempt to maintain the older traditions.

In Chapter 3 I discussed the increasing entry of women into public sector labor, which is currently the most viable labor pursuit for young women. As young women enter this domain they are acquiring the forms utilized by that class. This means that few Carib women are acquiring the songs, symbols and celebrations of their mothers. Also few Carib girls are now acquiring the language of their mothers. Thus the symbolizations of ethnic consciousness vary according to the education, labor pursuit, political affiliation, and generation and conflict over the direction of ethnic consciousness is to be found in many places in Carib communities as nationalism develops in the Belizean nation state.

NOTES

¹ The Catholics have been the most numerous denomination in Belize since 1856 and have been the largest denomination in every administrative district in Belize except for that of Belize city. Sixty percent of the population is currently Catholic.

² This is an approximate figure based on local prices for such items in the stores. This sum would be considered an exorbitant expenditure for most Carib as children are rarely "treated" and for many families this sum is equivalent to their food budget for the month.

³ The holiday was established in 1959 by T.V. Ramos, a Garifuna subsistence farmer and shop keeper who had formed an informal school for adult education. He seems to have been aided in this endeavor by H.T.A. Bowman, a wealthy Creole planter and legislator from the district (Bowman 1979).

⁴ This regional emphasis is more evident in the previous title of the contest "Queen of the South" rather than the present title of ethnic emphasis "Miss Garifuna". In Stann Creek town not only were the contests held for adolescents but a "Mini-Miss Garifuna" was held for younger girls (as young as 6 years) in primary schools, and the candidates from schools competed for the town title.

CHAPTER 5

The Intergenerational Language Shift

In the previous chapter I discussed the entry of Carib into public sector labor and how this change effected the society of the Carib communities. In this chapter I will examine the ways by which this change in society produced a social context that promoted a language change among the children of the community. This language change has occurred not among the adults who have produced the new social context. It is, rather a product of that social context which has induced a change in the next generation. Hence in the present context of the Carib in Numada and Dangriga a change is occurring: the children are not speaking the Garifuna language. Because the language shift is occurring solely within the younger generation, this language shift phenomenon occurring among the Carib of Belize must be seen as an intergenerational change. This was evident in the data from the interviews I conducted regarding language use of adults and children. It was also a phenomenon apparent in the Carib communities since it was a subject of common

discourse among Carib and a theme in the literature of Carib intellectuals (the reader may refer to the preface to the first chapter for some examples).

The discussion in this literature of the language shift indicates the bewilderment of the older generation at the increasing use of Creole among children. My data also indicate that the language change is occurring among the Carib intergenerationally. Fig. 10 indicates the percentage of age cohorts speaking Garifuna and the demise of the Garifuna language among the younger generation is evident. Fig. 11 presents the corresponding increase of Creole English intergenerationally. This data set was produced by aggregating information from adult informants about their language use, that of their parents, and that of their children. All of this information combined resulted in a dataset of 693 individuals of various ages¹ (sample C). Fig. 12 indicates the percentage of age cohorts speaking standard English which has not changed. The aggregated data present a much clearer picture of the change across generations than that of adult informants alone, see Fig. 13 which indicates the percentage of

adult informants speaking different languages.

Approximately the same percentage of the age group, 31 - 45, speak Garifuna and Creole while approximately 40% of the 16 - 30 age group do not speak Garifuna though almost all speak Creole in Fig. 14. . Only 10% of the 3 - 15 age group speak Garifuna while all speak Creole. These figures clearly indicate the dying out of the Garifuna language and the rise of Creole among the younger generations.

When age is correlated with speaking Garifuna and Creole the intergenerational change is also apparent. For the aggregated data set (sample C) the Pearson product moment correlation is $r = .477$ $p = .0001$ $n=693$ between speaking Garifuna and age, the correlation for speaking Creole and age is $r = -.497$ $p = .0001$ $n= 693$. The correlations were also significant for the primary informant sample (sample A) the respective figures were $r = .27339$ $p = .01$ $n = 79$ and $r = -.36743$ $p = .01$ $n= 79$.

After examining closely the language shift of Garifuna among the Carib in relation to other factors such as occupation, ethnicity, education and network it was clear the language death was occurring

intergenerationally and that any factor which was influencing the language shift must also be a societal phenomena affecting the relations between the generations. Fig. 15 indicates the percentage of labor type speaking Garifuna compared to the percentage of labor type speaking Creole. In Chapter 3 I indicated the Carib have experienced an occupational change through generations with younger Garifuna becoming more involved in public sector labor. Yet statistical analysis of my data did not reveal the type of synchronic correlations between any one factor such as labor and the language spoken within one generation that are often cited by sociolinguists to indicate possible causes of social phenomena (see Fishman et al 1977,Tabouret-Keller 1972). Rather I believe that the phenomena of language death of Garifuna among the Caribs can only be understood when the the language change and occupational change are considered diachronically. That is, changes in labor structure a social context which then structures a new social input for the next generation.

Intergenerational language change phenomena have been examined as a part of theories of pidgin and

creole languages (see Hymes 1971, Andersen 1983), transformational theories of language change (Kiparsky 1965, 1968, King 1969), second language acquisition (Valdman 1983), and in situations of language death by Dorian (1983, 1977, 1973). Creole languages represent an extreme example of intergenerational language change, a "birthing" of a new language among children from the social changes in their parent's generation. As a process of creation of new languages, creole languages are thought to be languages "created" by children from their intragenerational social interaction with the pidgin language (a rudimentary contact language limited in form and function) of their parents. Andersen (1983:3-4) defines it thus:

...The traditional account of the origin of a creole is that the children of speakers of a pre-pidgin create a new language from the inadequate pidgin spoken by their parents.

Dorian (1983:159) has spoken of semi-speakers of languages who are created by failure of one generation to utilize the language of the previous generation and thus interrupt the language transmission across generations:

Because they usually learned what is now their weaker language first, or at least in intimate settings such as their parents' or grandparents'

home, and used it for private as opposed to public functions, many of them consider it their mother tongue.

My research on the language shift of the Carib children in not acquiring Garifuna and acquiring only a Belizean English is a contribution to the understanding of the social context of intergenerational language change. Should this language shift continue in its present course it will result in the language death of the Garifuna language among the Carib of Belize. This phenomenon and its intergenerational nature has been described for Africa by Mazrui (1975). Moag (1983:271-273) in a study of Fiji depicts the institutionalization of English among a colonial elite who are defined as part of a process whereby English through institutionalization via education becomes "indigenized":

The second phase of the indigenization process comes when members of the local colonial elite (and/or the cadre of menial servants) begin to use English for communication among themselves. This happens in two distinct though not necessarily disconnected ways. First, English may begin to be used as a *lingua franca*, in addition to or instead of local link languages, enabling those of different language backgrounds who may work or live together, due to the new colonial system, to communicate with each other in a more intensive way than was customary in the pre-colonial situation. Second, English often tends to become the preferred

medium for discussing topics associated with the alien, but now in most senses dominant, culture.... Moag (1983:273).

This discussion is part of a model Moag has proposed for the "life-cycle of non-native Englishes" which follows Hall's (1962) life cycle of pidgin languages. This model attempts to depict the process by which English becomes a foreign language, then becomes a second language and finally in some cases is restricted to a foreign language again. A later phase of "indiginization" involves a "more native-like language acquisition" where :

...With English occupying a broad range of domains in the ESL, post-colonial society, many children acquire some active competence in the informal variety of English before entering school. Further learning of this variety continues in school, through playground activities, and in informal socialization, shopping, and other activities outside of school (ibid:285).

For Moag this process involves "an expansion of the use and function of English with a decrease in the use and function of the vernaculars" (ibid:285).

In the preceeding chapters I have discussed the social dynamics in the Belizean society and the new social distinctions introduced by a new class of public sector laborers in Carib communities. In this chapter I discuss the social distribution of language in the town and village and how this distribution associates the various languages with power. I argue

that the association becomes a new semiotic of the signalling of power and authority through the language use and children adopt a new language counterposing it to kin authority within the family. In the next chapter I will describe the language use in the writings of the Carib intellectuals and the ways in which their writings have redirected Carib ethnic consciousness.

Thus rather than suggest one social or economic factor which can be correlated with language shift in one generation I am indicating the ways in which a change of labor has introduced new social distinctions in the Carib communities. Certainly the move to full time labor in the public sector has promoted the mastery of English through education among the Carib who have attained these positions as the bureaucratic system of employment for these workers requires a system of educational certification to attain many of the positions. Yet an explanation of language change which proposed that the labor pursuit alone transformed an individual from speaking one language to another does not account for the language shift among Garifuna children who are not laboring in these

positions at all. Rather it is necessary to understand the role the ethnic groups and classes play vis-a-vis one another within the nation-state. In Chapter 3 I attempted such a description for Belize. In his analysis of the French revolution (Class Struggles in France 1848-1850) Marx suggested the significant role played by the petty bourgeoisie as a transitional or liminal class between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. This class then directed social meanings of the state and the democratic revolution of France. I am here suggesting (as has Poulantzas 1974:206) that the public sector workers (particularly in post-colonial states) play a similar role to that which Marx described for the petty bourgeoisie in France.

Poulantzas (1974:259) has also defined the role of the petit-bourgeoisie in relation to education:

The particular place of this new petty bourgeoisie in the mental/ manual division is directly reflected in the training and qualification of the labor-power of its agents within the educational apparatus, an apparatus that also plays a role of its own in the reproduction of this division and in the distribution of agents to the various places of social classes....

In the early period of autonomy of the Belizean government the function of the educational system was

in training mental labor for Belize was that of supplying its own ranks of civil service workers. Having now filled these rank, education becomes superfluous as training for mental labor in an underdeveloped nation. Thus "mental labor" becomes a more suitable training for the service economy of the United States than for that of an underdeveloped nation seeking to develop its agricultural sector production for a world market.

Thus it is not surprising that a constant question faced by Belizean educators is "How can education promote national development?". This question, (actually a conundrum) was the source of many conferences, speeches and newspaper articles in Belize. Kathleen Tillett's "The Education of Primary School Teachers and Its Implications for National Development" (1978) is a recent dissertation produced in the Cornell School of Education in New York. Tillett is a Belizean educator who studied the "attitudes of educators to the importance of developing the Belizean nation". Yet the question itself, "How can education promote national development?" is rhetorical, merely perpetuating state

hegemony, stating "national development" as a goal which education should serve and individuals should strive for. As Tillet's study points out there was little consensus among teacher trainers, and teachers themselves as to the specific meaning of "national development":

From responses received there was no clear indication that the role of teacher education as a component of national development is clearly understood or identified. (Tillett 1978:219)

Yet the creation of a class of state workers via education serves the interests of the state itself as the group reproduces the state socially in the communities in which they operate.

Occupation as a New Social Identity: Connections between Creoles and Caribs

In the previous chapter on labor I have described how public sector labor is entirely structured by the state and how this labor segment was dominated by Creoles. I have also described cultural characteristics of public sector laborers and aspect of the civil society which they structure. Carib civil servants received much of their socialization in educational pursuits with Creoles and the two groups

have continued their association in the labor pursuits which their occupation certified them for. This, combined with their racial identification with this group, has resulted in Caribs counting Creoles as friends and developing close associations with them. Intermarriage among the two groups is now more common than in the past and seems to occur with equal frequency for men and women.

I have indicated the distinctions made between Creole and Carib in the early periods of Belizean history when both groups were woodcutters in Chapter 2. Cosminsky (1976, 1984) has described the ethnic distinction between Creoles and Caribs in Belize which persists as an emotionally charged distinction. Zee Edgell, a Belizean novelist writing within an emerging West Indian literature, discusses the Creole attitudes towards Caribs in her novel, Beka Lamb:

...in his youth, Maskman had been a handsome 'sweet boy' who, during a sojourn in Stann Creek, a coastal town south of Belize, compromised the daughter of a Carib man who had befriended him. Maskman could not marry the girl, though he loved her, without losing face in the creole community, whose members seldom married among the Caribs, although these two groups shared, in varying degrees, a common African ancestry....
(1982:31-32)

"Mama, is it the obeah why creole and Carib don't mix too much?"...

"To tell you the truth, Beka, I don't rightly know. I doubt if many creoles could tell you. Nobody really remembers the reasons.... We creoles are so different, one from the other, that it's hard for us to mix properly amongst ourselves, let alone among Carib people who have a lot more things in common. Maybe it's because Carib people remind us of what we lost trying to get up in the world. See, in the old days, according to Granny Straker, the more you left behind the old ways, the more acceptable you were to the powerful people in the government and the churches who had the power to change a black person's life... (ibid p.69-70).

Taylor (1951:39) reports the same stereotypes of the Carib by the Creoles and discusses the animosity between the two groups in the 1940s. This antipathy between the two groups was still evident during the period of my fieldwork during 1982-1983. Within Dangriga some Creoles associated freely with Caribs while others did not.

Cosminsky (1976) has reported that there was no intermarriage between Creoles and Caribs in Punta Gorda during the time of her research. Random interviewing of 8 Creoles in Dangriga revealed 4 marriages to Caribs (all were Creole males married to Carib females) and interviews with 80 Caribs revealed 4 intermarriages, one in Belize City, 2 in Dangriga and 1 in the village (all were Carib males married to Creole females). I was not able to do a complete

survey of intermarriages in Dangriga but this data should indicate that intermarriage does exist. Among the subgroup of Creoles in the community regarded as "white" I found no evidence of intermarriage with Caribs although there were a few friendships. Intermarriage was not yet so frequent as to be commonplace in the community and liaisons between Creoles and Caribs were considered "risky" by Carib parents, particularly for daughters:

Scene

A mother warned her young daughter not to continue her relationship with a Creole man because he would not marry her. Her daughter protested that her sister had married a black man from the United States. "Yes," said the mother, "in America all black people are the same but in Belize, Creole will always be Creole."

Thus although the Creole and Carib had some occupational and educational similarities the ethnic antagonisms between them had not yet faded away. Sanford (1971:19-21) has also described Creole prejudice against Caribs but has equated the ethnic distinction between these two groups with a class distinction which during the period of her study referred to a labor distinction as well.

Intermarriage between Creoles and Caribs was a significant factor in introducing language change as

all of the children whose fathers had married Creole women did not speak Garifuna. Many Caribs counted Creoles as "friends". Some of these were people with whom they shared a common labor pursuit. In general labor pursuits did seem to be influencing the formation of friendships among Carib in Belize. Fig. 16 shows the occupation of those designated as "friends" for informants. The graph indicates a higher percentage of friends involved in the same occupation than not. However, note that were the other categories of occupation combined they would comprise a higher percentage than those involved in the same occupation. Thus among Carib, although friendships are developing along occupational lines they are still also bound by kinship and other community-based relationships². This is to be expected in small scale societies which are not fully incorporated into the capitalist mode of production and do not have the type of political economic structure in which networks and voluntary organizations have replaced kinship. However, what Belizean society represents is the early stage of a society in transition from a kin-based society to one with networks based on occupation.

Education and Parent-child relations among Carib

I have earlier discussed the development of education in Belize from 1965 among the Carib. Much of the sociolinguistic discussion of the effect of education on language shift has been focused on the school as a socializing agent, a deus ex machina which has the power to transform the society. Yet increasing educational levels occur in many nations and cannot always be correlated with language shift phenomena. My statistical corelations using x^2 indicate that the probability of rejecting the null hypothesis is not significant for education : speaking Garifuna related to level of schooling $x^2=5.48$ $df=2$ $p=.06$, speaking Creole $x^2=1.824$ $df=2$ $p=.4018$. Among the Garifuna education is significant in removing some of the ties of children to parents or elder kin and structuring a social context for the children to socialize themselves and develop their own signification.

To understand the way in which education has transformed the relationships among generations, it is necessary to describe the parent-child relations among Carib.

Traditional Carib culture prescribed authority to be vested in the elder kinsmen. The children of a person, her/his children's children were subject to the authority of the elder. Within the nuclear family the children are entirely subject to the parents' demands. The importance and authority of elders is encoded in Carib religion where dead kinsmen are believed to retain power and influence over the health and well-being of the living. Many of the religious rituals of the Carib then are rites of obligation to the dead or are concerned with propitiation of an ancestor for some wrong committed against that ancestor. Bourgignon (1976) has discussed religions which perpetuate kin authority by worshipping the ancestors and many ethnographers have commented on this among the Carib (Gonzalez forthcoming, Taylor 1951, Foster 1983).

In the past the authority of elder kinsmen has included rights to allocation of the children themselves so that children have been distributed to elder kinsmen and to other people who could provide for them. In Margaret Sanford's study of child loaning among the Carib she characterized the practise as

follows:

Thus, the keeping of children is part of the pattern of sharing in several respects. Lending a child... is sharing his usefulness with a neighbor or a relative who has none. Childless women take or are given one of their grandchildren. Elderly or incapacitated women are given a girl or boy to help them. Bush school teachers are frequently loaned a nephew to take with them to their jobs. An aura of lending and ceremonial bestowal surrounds the presentation of a child to a rich city dweller....Sanford (1971:118).

Gonzalez (1965 :273,277) has also discussed the redistribution of children by Garifuna to those most able to provide for them, whether to kinsmen or non-kinsmen in other areas in Central and North America. Children were a resource providing labor and comfort both to parents, other kinsmen and sometimes other people. Some of the African studies of the domestic mode of production have discussed this view of children as a resource, albeit a resource often belonging to the elders of a corporate kin group.

Children's labor is not an insignificant contribution among Garifuna. Within the community, children act as porters for any adult who wants the child to fetch something. Children provide their mothers with helpers for many household tasks. Girls prepare food, fetch water, and bake bread while boys

beat the yams and plantations into a paste for serving, clean fish and run errands. Often the Garifuna have only small amounts of money available and therefore purchase small quantities of various foods and other commodities. Children serve to make this as convenient as shouting out the instruction and laying the money on the table. On mornings in Dangriga or Numada one finds small children scurrying about buying matches, kerosene, pats of shortening or butter, small bags of flour or the fish for the noon meal. Children are often sent as well to communicate important news or borrow items from neighbors or kin. Children may also perform types of wage labor either in formal or informal labor. Sanford (1971:115) provides a survey of useful labor performed by Carib children.

Although the Carib seem to have a great deal of affection for their children they do not often purchase toys, sweets or other luxuries for them. At Christmas in Numada children are usually given one toy if the family can afford it for that year. This toy is then nailed to the wall of the house for a year and at the end of that year the toy is given to the children.

The Carib believe that this makes the child appreciate the gift more and learn its value. Moreover it is only recently that the death of a child was accorded the ritual significance of that of an adult (i.e. a *beluria*) and the spirits of children are usually not significant in Garifuna rituals of propitiation for the dead, or adũgũrahani.

Many anthropologists have indicated that children in other societies are part of the labor system. Arensberg (1968) has described the Irish rural agrarian economy with the family seen as a productive unit, the elderly making decisions while the children are ultimately the lowest in power in the family running errands and doing chores. Among the Carib, children also have little power or influence in the family or in the larger community as any adult Carib may command a child to do errands or be obedient (Palacio 1982:34).

In general the structure of the Carib family is as follows: The Carib elderly often work at some form of food production. Wage earners are the middle aged members of the family, predominantly the males. Within this labor structure the elderly make fewer of the

decisions than the wage earners, however the wage earners are still bound by kinship obligations to provide cash for both the elderly and the young as a supplement to their subsistence activities, particularly when the wage earners are absent from the home performing wage labor. In recent times cash income has become primary for the Carib and subsistence production only subsidiary to cash income (Palacio 1982:58). M. Nash (1960:319,325, 1974:207-208) has described the preservation of the family structures for wage earners in factories in Cantel, Guatemala. Parental dominance and control was maintained in the transition from "peasant production" to wage labor as long as the household structure continued and the differential productivity of generations was not great or was not given symbolic and social recognition. Among the Carib the increasing importance of the wage earner in the household seems to have reduced the power and influence of the elderly among the group. This seemed especially true for the public sector laborers who tended to have nuclear families and retain almost total control over their wages. Thus these workers families resemble not the

sharing kin networks which Stack describes for a neighborhood of Midwestern blacks but the kinship behavior and ideology which Batteau (1982) has discussed for white families in Appalachia, who limit sharing by excluding capital from these networks.

Sanford (1971:119) has characterized the cultural conception of a child among the Carib as follows:

In many respects a child is considered as an adult in a small-sized body. He is an individual and he has rights as such which are similar to the rights of a grown-up. Further, he is expected to make his way as a person, initiating relationships with other persons which will be noted and respected by the community. He is expected, moreover, to adjust readily to strange people and strange situations. A child does not develop -- he simply is. And what he is has little to do with what happens to him as he grows, but rather what was innately himself from birth.

And Gonzalez (forthcoming:125) has stated:

By the age of eight or ten, the Garifuna child is expected to work, to obey, and to repress most childish fears and/or happy fantasies.

With the advent of education and the influence which the churches have brought through education the role of children as a resource has been transformed.

Particularly among the public sector workers, families invest in children as repositories of kin savings and dreams in the hopes that their child's education will provide a future for the family. In addition the power

that the parent once held over the child is shared with the school.

Schools have preempted the child's time and deprived parents of children's labor, at least for part of the day. Sanford (1971:112) describes the rage of Carib parents in 1941 when children were required to spend their mornings in school rather than confining their school time to afternoons by quoting a complaint to the Daily Clarion, a newspaper in Belize City from a writer in Stann Creek:

Personally I hate the very mention of it [the new rule] because it is a monster that seeks to deprive us of the intrinsic help we get from our children which brings sweetness and light to the home. Teachers might argue to their own comfort that the children can toil in the evening hours, but from early childhood on we had learnt to sing that practical hymn, "Weeping may endure for a night but joy cometh in the morning." This early duty to the home I say comes first, the evening's task is a secondary matter. Threats have been flung out that the parents and guardians refusing to send their children to school at 8:00 a.m. will be prosecuted in court and fined by law, well let the Stann Creek Teachers pay the fine from their nice salaries. Truly it can be said that some one had blundered.

(Daily Clarion n.d. as cited in Sanford 1971:112)

But by 1982 (although the disputes between parents and teachers were still evident) schools were an important part of a child's life in Belize and the socialization

of the child was shaped by attitudes of the Western oriented schools towards children.

Language, Power, and the Family

Ochs and Schieflen (1984) have described different modes of interaction between children and caretakers in different societies which structure the child's learning and use of language. They have contrasted these with the type of orientation common to middle class white parents towards children, which has been represented as universal in many studies of child language acquisition. They label the orientation of white middle class parents in the United States and England towards their children as one in which the model is to "adapt situation to child" and they contrast this with another type of orientation to children present in many cultures where the model is to "adapt child to situation". Table 12 is adapted from Ochs and Shieffelin (1984) and characterizes features of these different orientations in the language learning situations between caretakers and children.

Bernstein ³ (1971.vol 1:152-153) has also analyzed

differences in family orientations toward children and the different type of communication patterns into which children are culturally trained although he is concerned with class differences. The first family type he characterizes as "positional", where decision making is invested in a family members status within the family as defined by age and sex. In the case of working class positional families the child's relationship with his peers would be

relatively independent of the parents' regulation....[and]....the socialization of the child might well be through his own age mates (ibid ibadan).

Bernstein labeled this family communication system a "weak or closed communication system". The contrasting family type he defines is the

person-oriented family ...where the range of decisions, modifications and judgements was a function of the psychological qualities of the person rather than a function of the formal status..."(ibid:153). [In this family the child achieves a role in a system that is]"...continously accomodating and assimilating the different intents of its members....[and]....the role system would promote communication and orientation towards the motives and dispositions of others...."(ibid:154).

He argues that the child in the working class

positional family is socialized toward a "communal" role while the child in the middle class

person-oriented family is socialized toward an "individual" role. Exploring social control in families, Bernstein distinguishes between the

"imperative" mode of control and control based on appeals. In the former the child receives a series of "abrupt" commands and is allowed only the options of obedience, withdrawal or rebellion. Control by appeal is a more subtle, psychological form of control and allows the child more discussion of alternatives with parents. Controlling by appeal to emotions locates control within the child who responds to the appeal. Bernstein believes that in post-war England there has been a change toward the more "individual" role in family systems (ibid:162). He cites numerous social conditions which have favored this: a change in income, settlement in areas of low population density, acceptance of education as a value, a change of the power position of the wife in the family as a result of her earning power, and a change in the type of labor of the class members. Bernstein does not explore the ways in which economic changes might be producing these new social changes.

Earlier I cited work by Sanford and Gonzalez on attitudes toward children within Carib culture. My own observations confirm their findings. Traditional Carib cultural practices involved the orientation characterized by Bernstein as "positional" where age clearly specified the family role and the "imperative mode" characterized much of the interaction between

parent and child. Social control by appeal was rare, as were parent-child conversations about the child's feelings or emotions. Although Carib children sometimes entertained adults by their antics, an action by a child did not often draw praise or comment by an adult. Two-party communications between adults and small children were rare, except on topics of necessity such as household chores or items necessary for school or neighborhood gossip. Children were often allowed to monitor conversations between adults, even those regarding licentious behavior by adults, but the children were not allowed to interrupt or participate in the adult conversation. Both the analysis by Ochs and Shieffelen as well as that of Bernstein have significance for an examination of the intergenerational language change among the Carib. However their characterization of types of families and cultural variation in differences of a of a child language socialization need to be viewed with respect to the relations of power in the family, as these relations articulate with those in the larger society.⁴

Because the authority of parents and elder kin over children is so clearly prescribed in traditional Garifuna culture the language of authority parents (and most especially mothers⁵) use with children is

Garifuna. English and Creole, not having these associations with authority of elders, are rarely used for the imperative mode. On any morning in town or village one may hear mothers admonishing children in Garifuna:

"Beiba chaparugu."
Go to the shop.
"Chibabaun banũgũn."
Wash your clothes.
"Beiba leskwelarugu."
Go to school.
"Beiba yagiffa."
Get away from here.
"Agimiti bonu."
Shut up.
"Oftaba!"
Hurry up.

This association of Garifuna with kin-based authority, particularly that of mothers was evident to me in my own usage of Garifuna with children. My usual admonitions or commands to children in English often had no effect but the same words uttered in Garifuna were immediately obeyed within my household as well as outside. Following is one such example:

Scene

I was attending a high school fair celebrating Belizean independance. At the close of the fair I caught a ride home with a priest and some nuns. As we approached the pickup truck about 30 children were playing in the truck or around it. Not wishing to endanger the children the priest asked the children, in English, to get off the truck. The children ignored his request. Next the sisters and I joined in this endeavor entreating then commanding the children to leave the truck. Again we were unsuccessful. Finally I decided to use a Garifuna command I had heard utilized every day by the Garifuna mothers I

knew. "Iguru beil!" (you leave it alone) I shouted. Immediately all the children moved away from the truck.

If then authority of elders was clearly signalled by the use of Garifuna the children were signalling something else in their use of Belizean English, primarily the Creole forms. Many younger people reported that they always used Creole when addressing their mother:

In an interview with Maria Martin, a young Garifuna woman of 21 years, I asked what languages were spoken in her home. She replied that Garifuna, Creole, and English were spoken. Her father always spoke Garifuna at home, as did her mother. She said her mother also spoke Garifuna at home but Dash always answered her mother in Creole. This is so even though Dash sometimes speaks to other Caribs in Garifuna.

Teresa Ogaldes, aged 24, works as a postal clerk and lives with her mother and her two children. Her father is dead but when he was alive both he and Yvette's mother spoke both Garifuna and Creole. They almost always spoke Garifuna to Yvette. Yvette says she never responds to her mother in Garifuna but always uses Creole when speaking to her.

Tomasu Cayetano is 25 years old and fishes for a living. He lives on a cay outside of Dangriga most of the time and comes into Dangriga occasionally. He speaks Garifuna, Creole, English and a little Spanish. When he was a child his father left his mother (a Carib woman) and married a Creole woman. The children spent their time going between the two households depending on economic circumstances. Although Tom's mother always spoke only Garifuna, all her children always answered her in Creole.

These case studies were born out by observations of discourse for these individuals and other young people

who consistently used Creole in opposition to their elders who spoke in Garifuna. Hence Carib adolescents and children seem to have adopted Creole as their language in contrast to that of their parents.

Children are using Creole in opposition to parents' Garifuna as a way to defy the strong kin authority that their parents hold over them. The use of Creole language for children is in defiance of parental authority. Occasionally mothers will speak to their children in English or Creole (for example to explain a mathematics problem or comment on their children's conversations about events of the day); however the language of commands or authority is always Garifuna.

In cases of language shift then it is important to consider the type of authority which exists within the family of the group being considered and the extent to which this authority is associated with the native or vernacular language. For groups such as the Carib with strong traditions of kin-based authority and where this authority is inextricably linked to the native language and culture the abandoning of aspects of culture and the selection by children of an "outside" or nonvernacular language for their own use should be considered in light of the struggle between elder and child over this authority. For if we consider how humans define themselves via power through language we

should consider that within the life cycle they do so first in that adjudication of power within the family and secondarily as adults with their relationships to other social groups.

To understand language shift in relationship to how people constitute themselves via language we must understand language use in relation to the life-cycle. Nancy Dorian's work (1977,1978,1980a,1980b,1983) has utilized this approach, but her work is concerned not with characterizing the social relations in which language death occurs but with what happens to the language in the process of language death: i.e. what morphemes and allomorphs are reduced, substituted or generalized. This informs us about language death as a linguistic process but tells us little about the dynamics of language death as a social process.

Following are case studies illustrating aspects of the social process connected with language shift. Common patterns of language use and acquisition patterns in Carib language histories. The first 5 cases illustrate labor migration (primarily of public sector laborers) which introduced the child to other languages (in most cases the child accompanied a male parent who was a teacher). Cases 6-7 indicate the influence of the intermarriage among Caribs and Creoles in further introducing Creole in Carib

communities (again all of these cases are drawn from the town as the only Creole in the village was the policeman's wife). These cases parallel Moag's (1983) stages of English spread as English becomes a second and then first language in third world countries. During the first of these stages English binds together groups with different ethnic backgrounds who are working together in national institutions.

Cases 8-13 indicate the process of Creole becoming a children's language in residential groupings or in the schoolyard. For some Carib children at this point then Creole became a first language (Cases 8,9) but for most it became a second or coordinate language. Case 11 indicates the additional factor of American English which has occurred among those Carib who have migrated to the U.S. Notice that children who have learned American English are now acquiring Belizean English. Cases 8-13 represent the second stage of the process of English spread described by Moag (1983:285) where the institutionalization of English and "indigenized" varieties of English become input for a generation of children.

These cases then serve to indicate aspects of the social process of language shift as represented by language histories of Carib of different ages and in somewhat different family situations. Cases 8-13

indicate the development of their own signification by children within the context of the neighborhood and school in Creole. The bilingualism of the 31-45 age group in Creole and Garifuna indicates the adoption of Creole as a coordinate language in child interaction between Creoles and Caribs. The aggregated data indicate however that this is followed by a period of monolingual usage of Creole by younger users accompanied by a receptive capacity in Garifuna but no productive or expressive capacity. The situation I found for young children in Dangriga and Numadas was that they understood the commands of their parents uttered in Garifuna but they could not produce anything other than isolated phrases and memorized utterances in Garifuna.

Following are language histories for several individuals. These cases indicate aspects of language acquisition and maintenance of various individual's lives and the influences on this process.

Language Histories

Case 1, Ben Arana, district supervisor of teachers, 45 years.

Ben could not remember what language exactly he spoke as his first language as a child. He speaks Garifuna, Creole, and Spanish. "Probably Garifuna", he said "although we were living in the the Cayo District and in Corozal when I was a small child and I remember speaking Spanish with the other children". Ben's father was a teacher and taught in many villages, many of these were Mayan and Kekchi village so the father

eventually learned to speak Mopan and Kekchi.

Case 2, Daria Credes, housewife, age 41
Daria Credes is 41 years old and loves being a housewife. She claims Garifuna was her first language but she also learned Creole as the children on San Pedro, Ambergis Caye where her father taught school spoke Creole and Spanish. Daria's husband is now in the United States as are her three oldest daughters, aged 19 and 17. Daria speaks to her youngest daughter, who has a different father from her older children, in Creole only and the child age 2 speaks Creole only. Her older daughters spoke some Garifuna. She says when she got very angry at her children she would curse them in Garifuna.

Case 3, Ian Thomas, bus conductor, age 21
Ian Thomas was born in San Luis village in the Cayo district. His mother was teaching with her father in that village. He claims Creole as his first language and also learned Spanish as a baby in that village. His grandfather taught at Corozal where Ian attended school. They moved to several other places teaching. Ian has never spoken Garifuna. He has no children.

Case 4, George Datano, principle, age 36.
George Datano is a principle of a Catholic primary school in a village near Dangriga. He spoke both Creole and Garifuna as his first language because his parents spoke Garifuna to him and they were living in the Creole town of Monkey River where his father was teaching school at the time he was a small child. His father eventually taught in Mayan villages of the southern districts were George also acquired the Kekchi language.

Case 5, Sara Rogelia, primary school teacher, age 33.
Sara's father worked cutting logwood near Belize City. It was here that she acquired her first language, Creole; she lived in Belize City from her birth to age six. At age six the family moved to Dangriga where she learned both Garifuna and English at school. Her husband is an accountant for the local citrus board. When they are at home she and her husband speak Creole. Sara's children

Speak only Creole.

Case 6, Bob Martinez, teacher, age 22

He speaks Creole and English and has a receptive competence in Garifuna. His mother was half-Creole half-Spanish and spoke Creole to her children. Andrew learned English at school. When Andrew was in his teens he went to live with his father's mother in Punta Gorda. This grandmother spoke only Garifuna but Andrew spoke to her in Creole. Andrew's sister remarked that, unlike her brother, she had eventually learned Garifuna but only at "age 10 when she grew up".

Case 7, Tony Chavez, a teacher in the Dangriga high school, age 23

Tony's mother is half-Creole half-Spanish and speaks Creole, Spanish and English. His father speaks Garifuna, Spanish, English and Creole. When a child his father was loaned by his Carib parents to a Spanish family who lived in Belize City. In his father's later life he worked on the Panama Canal for the United States speaking Spanish and English. When Anthony was a child his father and mother would speak Spanish when they did not want the children to understand what they were saying. Andrew spoke Creole as a first language learning it at home and among neighborhood children. He learned English at school and Spanish when he taught school at Orange Walk. Andrew says he is embarrassed that he does not speak Garifuna as he regards himself as "Garifuna" and has belonged to several Carib cultural organizations (in the past in college in Belize City as well as presently in Dangriga) and speaking Garifuna is often stressed in these clubs.

Case 8, Kenny Cayetano, assistant principle of the Catholic primary school, 38 years old

Kenny was born in Punta Gorda and his first language was Creole, which he learned by playing with the other Creole-speaking children in his neighborhood. He learned English at school. At the age of 10 or 11 he began speaking Garifuna but only became really fluent in the language when he taught school in Numada at the age of 18 years. All of his fellow teachers at that time, 1970, were Caribs and they spoke Garifuna or English

because "Creole was unheard of in the village at that time."

Case 9, Cindy Martinez, primary school teacher, aged 28

Cindy's father worked loading a ship with logwood and other products. Her first language was Creole which she learned from the other children in Dangriga. When she was 3 years old her father got a job in Livingston, Guatemala and at that time she began learning both Garifuna and Spanish. She returned to Dangriga at age 9 when she learned English at school.

Case 10, Ana Garcia, a nurse at the local Dangriga hospital, age 48

Ana learned Garifuna as a first language at home but also as a baby was talking Creole with the neighbors and playmates. With her own children at home she speaks Garifuna and Creole but more Garifuna. Her husband is a local politician in the town and also a Carib but he speaks only Creole although he understands Garifuna. Her children speak only Creole although one of her daughters recently won the primary school contest for "Miss Garifuna" in her school.

Case 11, Eva Martin, club owner, age 60

Eva and her husband own a local bar/club in Dangriga. Although she is 60 years old, she is active in many civic charities. She claimed Garifuna and Creole both as first languages as her mother would say things to her children first in Garifuna then translate them in Creole. Her daughter is now in the United States and speaks American English, Garifuna, and Creole. Her grandchildren have recently arrived from the United States to live with Mrs. Dean and she remarks that they have recently begun learning Creole English in place of their American English.

Case 12, Felix Melindrez, a fireman of Dangriga, age 35

Felix also claims Garifuna as his first language but says he also spoke Creole very young which he acquired in his neighborhood. He learned English at school and spoke Spanish after working in the sugar factory at Corozal when he was 16. His

children speak Creole.

Case 13, Evelyn Ciego, farmer and petty trader, age 53

Evelyn spoke Garifuna as a first language and learned Creole along with English in school. Her mother never learned English, speaking only Garifuna and Creole. Her father died when she was very young and she does not remember him. Evelyn's husband speaks English, Garifuna and Creole. Her children speak Garifuna, Creole, and English but her grandchildren do not speak Garifuna speaking only English and Creole.

Case 14, Betty Talaces, boledo ticket seller, age 31

Betty sells boledo (or lottery tickets) for a local Chinese merchant. She is 31 years old and spoke Garifuna as her first language. Her parents spoke Garifuna, English and Creole though her mother raised her alone by working at the citrus factory in Pomona. Betty has also worked at the citrus factory but doesn't like the work. Betty learned both Creole and English at school. Her husband speaks Garifuna, Creole, and English. Although she would like her children to speak Garifuna they speak Creole and occasionally use Garifuna words.

The different historical contexts of socialization for the different generations have affected their language socialization differently. For an earlier pre-nationalist period Caribs did not acquire the informal Creole code (or acquired it late) and only used the formal standard Belizean English. As I have mentioned in Chapter 3 during this period the public sector was dominated by Creoles, and this was a major source of ethnic antagonism. Sanborn (1971:20-21) has described the promotion of this attitude towards

speaking Creole by Catholic priests who urged Caribs not to speak Creole. In Chapter 2 I have described the early disdain of the Creole language as a "broken English" rather than a separate language for Caribs in the past as part of their distinction between themselves and other blacks. Thus an older generation often disdains the use of Creole despite the current association of the language with nationalist sentiment. Note this in Cases 15 and 16.

Case 15, Keith Olgaldex, minister of the Jehovah witness church, age 74

Keith claims Garifuna and English as his first languages remarking that his mother was a schoolteacher at the Methodist school and taught them English at an early age. He was encouraged by his parents not to speak Creole though he had learned it from the neighbors and throughout his life he speaks Creole only when he has to. He learned Spanish working in Guatemala for the United Fruit Company as a waiter and a musician and maintained the language in later years working in Mexico and in the sugar factory at Corozal. As a minister for his temple he is required to speak English and to read it well. He married a Creole woman from Belize City. She learned a little Garifuna as did their three daughters. The daughters, who live in the United States now mainly speak English.

Case 16, Casper Flores, forestry worker, age 46
Although Casper learned both Garifuna and Creole as first languages, Garifuna in the home and

Creole in the neighborhood, his father prohibited the children from speaking Creole. He also speaks Spanish. These days he speaks Creole or Spanish "if the company warrants it, or if he has to (in the Western Districts), or if it is easier to get things done that way." His younger Creole-speaking Carib neighbor has described Tony as speaking "the Queen's English", this is probably due to Tony's university education in Greece with several other scholars from British colonial countries. Tony's wife speaks Garifuna, Creole and English and his children speak Creole although his oldest daughter will speak Garifuna when she visits her grandmother in a nearby village.

The phenomenon of elder siblings speaking Garifuna in some families while their younger siblings spoke only Creole mentioned in Case 17 was not uncommon and occurred in several of the families surveyed. This may indicate an early pattern of socialization of the child by adults followed by a later period where the siblings develop their own communication patterns, distinct from those of adults.

Note that in Case 8 and for the sister of the male teacher in Case 6 Garifuna was acquired at about age 10 despite the fact that Creole was the first language. Thus children, despite the fact that they have not begun to speak Garifuna at an early age, could do so at a later stage. However, consider the following cases:

Case 17, Jay Fontana, age 33

Jay is a young Carib man of 33. He is married to a teacher and both take great pride in their Garifuna heritage. Jay was a former chairman of the Garifuna Settlement Day committee and takes pride in the efforts that have been made on a national scale to elevate the status of the Caribs.

Jay is uncertain what profession he will follow. He has worked as a manager for the local citrus company but was laid off as a result of a dispute. He attended technical college in Belize City in an attempt to gain his accountant certification but failed to complete the course. He has worked his rice fields faithfully but this has provided only a limited income for himself and his family. Jay is deeply committed to the future of his country and his ethnic group. He has recently traveled to the United States for five months to secure some capital for an enterprise in Dangriga. This attempt was unsuccessful and he returned to Dangriga, taking up his former position with the citrus board.

Most of the associations Jay belongs to are politically oriented. These clubs are also "future" oriented and their membership includes younger Caribs with a few Creoles. Jay perceives himself as a new type of Carib without the mystifying values of the older Carib. He laughs at the "temple-goers" claiming "I only believe in what I see."

Scene

Jay has been asked to attend a local meeting of the Garifuna Council, a group of Carib who seek to promote the image of the Carib within the nation. The meeting is held in the "living room" of a local teacher. Once all the members of the council are assembled and have exchanged greetings and news (in both Garifuna and Belizean English), the meeting begins and all switch to speaking in Gariufuna.

As participants discuss several issues Jay becomes agitated. Jay clearly understands what is being said but when he attempts to speak Garifuna he stutters, then utters a few words and finally switches into English. Jay would like to speak

Garifuna but he can not.

Case 18, Atunura Linya, nun, age 29

Atunura Linya is 29 years old and a nun in the Catholic church. She learned English, Spanish and Creole as first languages as she lived in Corozal where her father was teaching until she finished high school at the age of 15 1/2 years. She says her Creole is "not good" as her parents forbid her to speak Creole at home so she only spoke Creole when her parents were not present. She learned Garifuna at the age of 16 when she came to live in Dangriga. Since most of the Carib women spoke Garifuna she wanted to learn it; she "made it a point to learn the language". Her bother, who became a Catholic priest never did learn the language and this has been problematic for him with Carib congregations where they expected him to know the language.

Thus the language change in Case 17 has occurred outside the consciousness of the individual and though he would now like to speak the language, it is not an easy task especially when compared to the many obstacles which confront his everyday existence. In Case 18 the woman has managed to learn the language of her ethnic group albeit at the age of 16. Her work with the Catholic church has perhaps given her the time and structure to do so but the task itself was begun under her own initiative.

These case studies detail the intergenerational language change which is resulting in the language death of Garifuna and the acquisition of Creole. They represent a process whereby the Carib as an ethnic group undergo a replacement of the vernacular

language. Thus the language histories of some older individuals reflect a period of multilingualism in Standard English, Garifuna and sometimes Spanish. Younger individuals' histories reflect adoption of Standard English, Creole and Garifuna while the youngest indicate only English and Creole. Thus for the ethnic group as a whole the language shift may be said to be a replacement of Creole English for Garifuna as the vernacular. (This process is similar to what Moag describes as "nativization" of English. He indicates that among a group who possess no vernacular variety features of Creole English may be adopted for this function. Indeed it is questionable whether the Carib speak a "true" Creole English or simply a "nativized" standard, particularly for those Carib who acquire both Standard and Creole varieties simultaneously in the schoolyard (see Escure 1979 on "Carib" Creole versus "Creole" Creole)).

Thus this process of changing from a vernacular Garifuna to a vernacular "Creole" English indicates an extension of Creole English into domains which it had not previously occupied. This language change is the result of a socioeconomic process which saw its beginning in the change of labor among Garifuna, the increased emphasis on education and the new social

distribution of languages in the society created by these new laborers. Thus the language shift of Garifuna is evident in a Carib society where the Garifuna language (despite its association with ethnic sentiment) is no longer associated with the power and solidarity it once held for the ethnic group.

The Social Distribution of Languages in a Carib Town and Village

In the following I have attempted an analysis of the social distribution of languages in the town and village I studied. In doing so I am following earlier scholarship in sociolinguistics which utilized the concept of "domain" to delimit different social contexts for speech. However I have expanded the notion of domain from an earlier use by Fishman in an ethnographic way to detail the institutions and labor structuring each of the domains as it influences the language use in each domain. Fishman has used the concept of "domain" as a construct derived from an analysis of congruent combinations of a particular kind of speaker and addressee in a particular setting, with a frequently occurring topic (Fishman 1965, 1972d:42, Hudson 1980:80). Fishman's domains were labeled as 'home', 'school', 'religion' and 'work'.

Fishman's domain is a mental construct dictating when and where it is socially proscribed to use language X or Y. Thus he does not deal with the ways in which the "domains" are structured by the nature and origin of the institution dominating the domain in "the school" and "religion" or the type of work and the implications of this for the class relations of the ethnic groups involved in the labor for the "work" domains. Table 13 indicates the social distribution of language use in Dangriga and Numada respectively in various settings. The reader may peruse this table for an overview of the semiotics of the associations of languages with power. This is the present social context for children who are now extending the association of Belizean English with power into the family domain where previously Garifuna had predominated. This information was obtained both by observation and by interviews asking informants in asking questions such as: Which language do you use in the market? Where do you buy flour, rice, oil, etc? What language do you use in government offices, in the bank, in the doctor's office, etc.?.

In the following I have provided ethnographic detail regarding each of these domains and the institutions which structure the relations between

people in them and hence their language use. The information on language use in these domains was obtained from the interviews and observation in the domains.

Ethnographic Description of Domains

The Social Distribution of Languages in the Town

Home I have discussed the use of language in Carib homes in this chapter and include it in this chart to distinguish that language use from other settings in the Carib communities. As I have described the critical aspect of this language use is the differential language use between parents and children within Carib society, parents using Garifuna while children use Creole.

Fish Market The fish market in Dangriga is perhaps the only public place one can visit on weekdays and be assured of hearing Garifuna spoken. Creole is spoken as well but as both buyers and sellers of fish are Garifuna, Garifuna is spoken. The market itself is publicly owned, the manager of the market is a Carib man, and stalls are rented by sellers of various products. Most of the fish sold in this market is produced from boats owned by Creoles, very few Carib are able to afford the large motorized boats used for fishing. Carib have tried to form a cooperative which would enable them to purchase boats and equipment jointly but to date have been unsuccessful. Thus what seems to have taken place is that Carib are no longer fishermen⁵ but "fishing" itself has been restructured both materially and societally as the large boats dominate the production of fish for both the local and international markets. Fishing in the traditional way, in a small sailboat fashioned from a hollowed log with two sails, is no longer socially valued in Dangriga and rarely done. Many young men gave negative responses when asked whether they would consider pursuing fishing as an occupational pursuit.⁶ Carib who did remain in "fishing" became "fish sellers" selling fish in the market for Creoles, who brought in

fish for them to sell.

Shops Table 14 is a survey of shops in the town of Dangriga listing the ethnic group of the shop owner and that of the people who work in the shops. As I mentioned previously most of the mercantile sector in Dangriga is dominated by the Chinese and secondarily by the Creoles. Only one Carib man owned a shop but many Carib served as clerks in the stores of other ethnic groups. In interviews with Carib clerks they indicated that because the owners of the stores regulate the commerce of the stores they forbid the Carib clerks to use Garifuna in their transactions so it is rare that more than a word or two of Garifuna will be heard in the shops. Since Creole is the code most common among all the buyers it is the language used in the commerce of these establishments.

Government offices Since English is the official language of the Belizean nation it is the language prescribed for official use. Since most government offices involve formal negotiations between officials and citizens Standard English as the more formal code of Belizean English is used rather than Creole. Exception to this include instances where a citizen does not speak English (such as the Salvadorean immigrants who speak only Spanish) or conversations between an official and a citizen who have an informal relationship (such as that of friend or neighbor) or informal conversations among the workers in the place.

Church I have previously discussed the connections of the institutionally organized religions in Belize to the United States and Britain, and most of the supervisory personnel in Belizean churches have established English in these institutions. English is the official language of the Catholic church in Belize although priests in the northern districts speak Spanish. The Protestant denominations adopt English as their language as well, and in both Catholic and Protestant churches the missionary ministers and priests speak American English and British English respectively rather than the British West Indian English of Belize. Sermons are always in English, never in Creole. Informal conversations may take place in Garifuna, Creole or English. Recently the Catholic church has adopted the position that local languages and symbolisms should be

respected and incorporated into the liturgy of the church. Hence in certain masses the Garifuna guitar, drums, and rattle were played and hymns written in the Garifuna language were sung. For many Carib this is their first experience in reading their language and many find it a confusing experience. Traditionally all of the Catholic liturgy that has entered into Carib religion was in the Spanish or English language (except for the period on St. Vincent when the language of the Catholic priests was French). Many Carib women said that they found it almost sacrilegious to say a "Hail Mary" or "Our Father" prayer in Garifuna rather than the language in which they first learned it. Other Carib found it a source of pride to have their language and culture finally recognized by the church. Some Carib teachers were active in the endeavor to translate hymns and liturgy into Garifuna. As well some of the Carib teachers had been among the first in Belize to begin the translation of church liturgy into Mopan and Kekchi Mayan though Mopan and Kekchi are now directly involved in this endeavor themselves.

Bank English is the primary language spoken in the two banks. Creole, Garifuna and Spanish are also spoken by the employees among themselves but as the bank is considered a formal context these languages are rarely spoken with the customers. Light-skinned Creoles and Spanish were the managers of the banks and Carib were employed as clerks.

Temple Garifuna is the paramount language of adūgūrahani, the ritual performed in the temple with an buye or shaman present. The shaman speaks almost exclusively in Garifuna, if she wishes to underscore a point she may repeat it in Creole or English. However in the rest and eating periods of these rituals it is not uncommon to find Carib speaking in Creole or English as well as Garifuna. In Chapter 4 I gave an example of the shaman speaking in English when establishing her authority relative to the "educated".

School In the school children use English in the classroom and Creole in the schoolyard. The adult teachers and employees of the school use English in the classroom and they use Creole and Garifuna in their own discussions. The most significant phenomena regarding language use in the school context is the interaction of children in the schoolyard. There

Creole and Carib children associate freely and possess their own context for language socialization.

Hospital and Doctor's office The local hospital has 12 employees, two of the nursing heads are Catholic nuns. There are 4 staff nurses, 3 practical nurses, 1 nurse's aid and 2 auxiliary nurses. Of these twelve employees, all of whom are women, eight are Garifuna and 4 are Creole. Generally English is used with patients and Creole is the common language of the employees among themselves. With patients English, Creole, Garifuna and Spanish are used. Of the two doctors in Dangriga one is Guyanese and the other is Belizean Spanish. Informants stated that they would use English with the Guyanese doctor and Spanish or English with the Belizean doctor. Although most people had never made a visit to a doctor, most stated that they would speak to them in formal speech, some older men stated that they were proud of their ability in Spanish and thus would utilize it in the discourse with the Spanish-speaking doctor.

Media The paramount language of the media was English. This was true of film, radio, recordings, video tapes and television, which only arrived in Belize via satellite near the end of my fieldwork period. Films from the U.S. and Mexico were distributed in Belize, most films were in English and Dangriga received only those Spanish films with subtitles in English. (Films were attended mainly by males in Dangriga.) The government radio station, Radio Belize broadcasts 80% of its programming in English and the rest in Spanish. (In Chapter 4 I mentioned the two programs in Garifuna and Kekchi and the popularity of the radio station throughout the country.) Occasionally poems or plays may be done in Creole on this station and an announcer may occasionally use a Creole phrase in reporting an event.

By March/April 1983 Belize was receiving American television programs via satellite and one company began rebroadcasting these (with their own commercials added) to the environs of Belize City. The programming consisted of reruns of many older American television programs: detective, cops and robber shows and black "family" programs. Belizeans in general were fascinated by the appearance of this media form in

their midst; however there were some Belizeans who raised protests against the potential harms of the foreign influence of this media form. Debates in the Belizean government halls sought to introduce government and "Belizean" programs to the programming. The PUP government made a video entitled "This is Belize", describing the country and another entitled "Street Heat" recording the celebration of independence day September 21, 1984 shortly before their defeat. A video of Garifuna Settlement Day has been made by the UDP in 1985. The use of American English in this telemedia, combined with the effects of migration to and from the United States, may be a future source of language influence but it is too early to assess the effects of this recently introduced media form.

The more affluent Dangriga families had acquired video recording technology prior to the arrival of broadcast television. There was a video tape rental store in the town and those families who had acquired the video cassette recorders (VCRs) could rent tapes from the store. I was only able to identify one Carib family who had obtained a VCR, though several Caribs had brought back televisions from the United States or were able to purchase them in nearby Chetumal, Mexico. The Carib family who possessed a VCR were a husband and wife both involved in education as administrator and teacher respectively. The VCR was sent to this family from relatives living in the United States. The other families who had VCR's were Creoles, American emigrants and wealthy Salvadoran emigrants. The possession of a VCR marked class status within the town.

Clubs and Rum Shops

Rum shops are the local "bars" in Dangriga and are frequented only by men. Men considered "respectable" do not frequent the rum shops, although they may drink with other men at home.

Clubs are more "respectable" though again "respectability" varies inversely with a man's attendance at clubs. Women have even more sanctions against their attendance in these clubs, particularly if they are married or associated with the churches. In clubs and rum shops one may hear all of the languages spoken. Older Carib men may sometimes use

Spanish or Belizean English as a mark of status rather than Garifuna, their command of those languages reflecting their work experience in positions where those languages predominated.

Political Rally

During my time in Dangriga I had the occasion to witness several political rallies by the UDP and the PUP parties. The language used was primarily Belizean English, of a formal rhetorical English common in politics. Creole was used when the politician desired to switch into a more informal style. Garifuna was used only in words or phrases.

Police Station

English and Creole were used in the police station. English as the most formal code was preferred but it was not unusual to find Creole used. Use of Garifuna was rare despite the fact that some of the policemen were Caribs.

Citrus farms and factories

Creole is the language used most frequently in the citrus farms and factories though as more Spanish-speaking workers enter the work force Spanish is becoming more prominent. Garifuna seems to be spoken incidentally, occasionally among Carib workers who are now in the minority in terms of the total workforce.

Language Distribution in the Village

Home

As in Dangriga, in Numada children use Creole in opposition to the use of Garifuna by their caretakers. Unlike children in Dangriga, Numada children were able to translate many more Garifuna words, phrases and sentences. When asked to speak Garifuna however many children resorted to formal recitations of songs, exhortations, or poems which they had been taught (usually in school) rather than conversational usages.

Buying Fish

This activity goes on near the shore when the

fishermen come in from a morning or afternoon of fishing. Buyers of the fish begin soliciting the fishermen in Garifuna almost as soon as they reach the shore. Kin terms are often used to underscore the kin relations (real or fictive) between the purchaser and the fisherman. This strategy has become more and more necessary as fish become scarce in the community and because the village fishermen sell in the town. Thus fishing for the community is usually not profit motivated but is a way to supply kin and neighbors with the fish, ǎdǔful, they desire.

Rum & Meat Shop

Both Garifuna and Creole were used in this context. This edifice served primarily as a shop out of which the owner sold rum. As such it was a local gathering place for the men of the community. The primary circle of men who gathered to talk in this place involved the owner of the shop, the owner of a dry goods shop and a retired teacher (now a successful fisherman). The men would switch from Garifuna to Creole depending on the topic.

Dry goods shops

There are two dry goods shops in Numada, one is much smaller than the other and has only relatively small quantities of goods. The other is owned by the nurse and her husband who regularly replenish the stocks of the store with weekly trips into the nearby town. Both Garifuna and Creole are used in these stores although Garifuna may be used to grumble about the price or to recall the friendship between the store owner and buyer when goods are desired.

Church

Numada possesses a small church building and Catholic masses are held here. The only other activity by organized religions had been that of some Seventh Day Adventists who had recruited some villagers then left. The village did not have a priest during the year that I visited it. When possible a priest was sent to conduct a mass once-a-month for the village but this did not occur during many of my visits to the village. Thus the ceremony without the sacrament is often conducted by lay ministers in the village, usually the school principal or the nurse. The masses I attended

were all in English though occasional prayers may be said in Spanish by members of the congregation who desired it and songs sung in Garifuna (due to the new emphasis in the church on ethnic symbolism).

Ritual

The celebration of Esquipulas or the Black Christ in December was held not in the church but in the community center with a final mass celebrated in the church indicating that the ceremony still has more legitimacy for the community than it does legitimacy for the church theocracy.

The village had held an ritual of propitiation or adūgūrahani prior to the time I was there. Although I had not witnessed this ritual villagers told me it was conducted in Garifuna. The temple or dabuyaba which had been built for the ritual had been burnt afterwards. Villagers explained to me that this was the "correct custom" but had not been followed in places such as Dangriga where resident shamans allowed for frequent rituals. One male villager was being trained as a shaman but had not conducted any rituals.

School

As in the town village children speak English in the classroom and Creole in the schoolyard. One village teacher often took one school time period to speak to the children in Garifuna, often about the history of the ethnic group or issues pertaining to the ethnic group. Whether this will be maintained when the teacher is transferred to another school is unclear as this practise was the teacher's innovative contribution to the curriculum rather than the school policy. Older children who described this teacher's practise to me seemed to have a sense that this was directed toward language maintenance and to respect that goal. They did not however seem to speak in Garifuna any more frequently than other children.

Infirmmary

The nurse and a medical assistant run the infirmmary, dispensing some medicines and treating minor ailments and cuts and burns. The nurse speaks Garifuna and English. Her assistant speaks Garifuna, Creole, and English. All languages are used in the clinic with the patients, though the nurse gives most of her health

lectures and instructions in English.

Media

The village also listened to Radio Belize despite the fact that they received the signal from the Guatemalan and Honduran radio stations more clearly. Numadans spoke of attempts by a Guatemalan radio station to broadcast in Garifuna on Radio Amatique disparagingly and maintained that they refused to listen to the program.

The satellite-transmitted television was not available to Numadans but only one household possessed a television anyway. This household occasionally watched programs transmitted from Guatemala when the generator in the town was functioning.

Unlike Dangriga the newspapers from Belize City were not as available in Numada though some of the village men obtained copies in their weekly trips to Punta Gorda.

Political Meeting

The only formal political meeting I attended in Numada was an impromptu one held on the occasion of the unexpected visit of the then prime minister (George Price) to the village. A political meeting was held in the community center and the prime minister spoke. The prime minister's speech was in English and the villagers who attended the meeting also spoke in English to the prime minister.

Police Station

English, Garifuna and Creole were used in the police station. English being used generally in the most grave or formal situations (though not in the most spontaneous situations where Garifuna or Creole was used).

On Subsistence Farms

I only observed men working alone on farms and therefore cannot comment on what languages are used when men work together on farms. Women however in their planting and maintenance of their cassava plots sometimes work in groups of two or three and speak in Garifuna. Young daughters who accompany their mothers into the fields may speak in Creole.

Conclusions

An examination of the social distribution of languages indicates the semiotics of the environment in which children are being socialized relative to language. In the town it should be evident that the use of Creole and English for power and authority occurs in all environments except for home and temple. This is also evident in the village although Garifuna is more frequently used in the village by adults because there is less interaction with non-Carib. (It is important to remember that children circulate from town to village via migration of their caretakers and child loaning and thus village children have also been exposed to town contexts.)

It is not surprising then that children should extend the semiotic of the use of Belizean English as authority counter to their parents' or caretakers' use of Garifuna as authority within the home.

Other writers have discussed similar situations of a language of authority significant outside the home or family in competition with a language spoken by a family, some have used a public/ private dichotomy to distinguish the realms of language use (see

Elis-Olivarez 1984, Dorian 1983:159, Mazrui 1975). In the above I have indicated specifically the arenas for the use of the different languages. The public/private dichotomy does not explain adequately the difference in the social distribution of the languages in the community. Although Garifuna is used predominately in the family, it is used in other public domains as well (such as the temple, in the fish markets and in public conversations anywhere in the town). The Catholic church is beginning to incorporate the Garifuna language into the masses and this domain as well can be labeled public. However consider the many realms which preclude the use of Garifuna and their associations with power: the government and bank offices where Garifuna is rarely spoken, the town shops where clerks who speak Garifuna must use Belizean English to customers who also speak Garifuna. In all of these situations the institutions demand that a form of Belizean English predominate and the labor structure of the institutions places Carib workers in a position in which they become muted (in terms of their own language). These relations of power and language then become a social semiotic of power

associations with language for the community.

I would argue then that to understand the distinctions between languages as a public/ private one is to obfuscate the power relations of the societal groups associated with the different languages or codes within the social structure. Children grow up with a perception of this power relationship and often as they grow, in attempting to attain power within the family, they use the language most associated with power in their environment.

Moag's notion of the extension of languages into domains which then make for indigenization of a language leaves out these associations of languages with power and the articulation of these relations within the family to those outside. As I discussed earlier Bernstein attempted to depict these relations within the family and to relate them to class and education. Ochs & Schiefflen are also attempting to examine language socialization cross-culturally within culturally defined notions of child as person, family, and social realtions of dominance and subordination within the family. It is useful to think of power as constituted within the family versus power outside the

family as constituted within the social structure in situations of language shift (see Foucault 1980 for a discussion of power as constituted within social relationships; Gilligan's (1982) idea of nurture as power and Kramarae et al's (1984) discussion of language and power in general).

If we, as social scientists or linguists, wish to understand how individuals are constituting themselves through language then we must understand that this process first begins in the family and then continues to be played out within that realm among kin. In this sense then the family can rarely be a safe haven from those power relationships which are constituted in the larger society.

NOTES

¹ Ages of kin were indicated by informants or in cases where informants did not indicate ages, age was calculated based on that of the informant.

² Despite the current emphasis on networks in sociolinguistic study (see Milroy 1980) I found "networks" a particularly unviable construct to detail connections among Garifuna at the present time as Garifuna society is in transition from a kinship-based society. Hence close social relationships for most Garifuna are still primarily kin or secondarily compadres (umagumerunigu, or colloq. "compa") or neighbors (ubecinagu). Thus kindreds are more salient than networks for investigating domestic cooperation. When these categories overlap the social ties of the relationships are strengthened. The previous practice of cross cousin marriage is no longer practiced but a remnant of this may be the way of determining "relatives" (iduhenyu) from others. Thus especially in the village kin are not said to be "relatives" unless they are related to the person "two ways", that is through both the mother and the father. Similarly Garifuna in the town would indicate to me when they were related to a person through both parents and indicated that this was a stronger kinship tie exclaiming that obligations were especially owed to them by these kin as they were related to them "two ways", and often reciting a litany of family services provided to these kin. Given the increasing involvement of the at least some members of the group in forms of wage labor, they cannot be characterized with Fortes (1962) characterization of domestic groups. Nor can they be seen as similar to the Flats population which Stack (1970:94) describes as "kin-structured domestic networks". I have described some class differences in kin and family relationships.

Hence "networks" were often comprised of kin. Some people did name individuals as friends and identified them as such in response to my questions in the interviews. However on some occasions I witnessed Garifuna chiding their kin for distributing food or clothing on the basis of friendship rather than

kinship. The primary obligation, they claimed should be to kin and only secondarily to friends. To obtain information about networks I asked "Who do you drink beer or rum with?" for men or "Who do you bake bread with?" for women for this sharing of resources was important in linking people. I would then ask whom they might identify as their friends. Many said they had no "friends" but identified a relative as very close, others did identify people as their friends (sometimes members of the Creole ethnic group). This was of course true only for the town as the village had only one Creole person living there.

However on some occasions I witnessed Garifuna chiding their kin for distributing food or clothing on the basis of friendship rather than kinship. The primary obligation, they claimed should be to kin and only secondarily to friends. To obtain information about networks I asked "Who do you drink beer or rum with?" for men or "Who do you bake bread with?" for women for this sharing of resources was important in linking people. I would then ask whom they might identify as their friends. Many said they had no "friends" but identified a relative as a very close associate, others did identify people as their friends (sometimes members of the Creole ethnic group). This was of course true only for the town as the village had only one Creole woman (the policeman's wife) residing there.

³ See Cazden 1970 and Halliday 1976 for a critique and defense respectively of Bernstein's work. While I find Bernstein's work problematic in an ostensible location of "restricted" codes with the lower classes his work is significant in locating the language codes of the middle and upper class in relation to education and the identification of this forms of language with varying family organization and control.

⁴ The design of my study and the time limits of my fieldwork did not permit an extensive study of early adult/child socialization through language among the Carib but I was able to frequently observe mother-child interaction in the home in which I lived in Dangriga (with a child 10 months old who aged to 22

months old during the time I was there) and in several other homes where I made frequent visits in the town and in the village. Although the mother in the home where I lived spoke exclusively to her daughter in Garifuna the child's siblings spoke to the child only in Creole as did her babysitter. The child's first word was [gã], gone, clearly an English utterance. Mothers often addressed their children by name and many mothers I observed spoke to their children in Garifuna almost exclusively. However some mothers told me that they spoke to their younger children in English as it was "easier to learn". This was a common folk belief comparing Garifuna and English and some of the younger Carib stated to me that the reason they had never learned Garifuna was that it was "too hard" to learn. As Garifuna is an agglutinative language, stringing together several morphemes to form one word, Carib often complained that the words of Garifuna were "too long" in comparison to English, where the words were "short". As English is an isolating language where one meaning is often contained in one word, English words are often shorter than Garifuna words but as with many folk beliefs about language this one merely reflected other social attitudes about the language rather than any inherent difficulty in learning the language (see Bloomfield 1964 on folk beliefs about language.)

Some older Garifuna customs reflect a strong tradition of the model proposed by Ochs and Schieffelin of "adapt child to situation". Young babies may not be addressed directly after they are first born by people other than the mother and are often hidden from view for several days after birth. Mothers often addressed their children by name or with the second person pronoun, however some Garifuna still followed a tradition of addressing young children with the third person pronoun, and more "modern" mothers still used this form to sing lullabies to their children. Thus instead of "Go to sleep" mothers would address the child as tarumuga irahu to, lit. "this child is sleeping" or hingi tao, lit. "she is smelly", but addressed to the child, "you are smelly". According to informants, this form of address changed as the child became older and was recognized as a person by kin.

⁵ This pattern is in distinction to the pattern reported by Gal (1979:112) and Gumperz (1977:28) and described in Fasold (1984:204-205), who points out that an escalation in seriousness of threats or commands of parents to children is accompanied by a switch from the vernacular or lower language to the higher language (German in Gal's case and English in Gumperz's Indian and Mexican-American cases). In the Carib case the reverse is true if English is considered the higher language and Garifuna the lower language then as Garifuna is associated with kin authority rather than Belizean Creole or English.

⁶ As I indicated in the case studies of Chapter 3 some informants did use net fishing for small quantities to support themselves and their families). As well (in a society where once males boasted of their prowess in the sea) many mothers forbid their children from "bathing sea", a Creole expression for swimming in the sea. Mothers explained that this was out of fear that the children would drown.

Drowning was not uncommon for fishermen who worked in small boats. During the one year period of my fieldwork two men drowned after venturing alone into the sea in these boats. Older people spoke with fear of the past when they had to travel in the boats and faced the possibility of drowning and virtually all older people had stories of relatives and neighbors who drowned or tales of their own narrow escapes. Thus it is not surprising that when other safer means of securing fish were introduced the Carib should have sought these means rather than clinging to the more "traditional" fishing methods.

Preface to Conclusion

Mahuchuragudun lumutina mariei, nati (ne)
 Beli, nati (e), bagu, nibiri
 Beli, nati
 luagine ninurau nadauraguni

Marriage does not excite me, my brother
 Veil, my brother, ring, my brother
 Veil my brother
 I have been wearing from my youth
 (Translation by R. Hadel and R. Zuniga)

Mama niabina adaraduhaina ya (a)
 Niabina ya (u) nadagimein
 Hama kompeni (e)
 Luagu nawiwandun (ni--u)

I am not coming here to make love
 I am coming here to work
 With the company
 for my living
 (Translation by R. Hadel and R. Zuniga)

woman's punta song #18 in R. Hadel 1972:302-303

Chapter 6

Conclusion: Language Death, Language Sentiment and Sociolinguistic Analysis

English was introduced to the Carib on St. Vincent in the 18th century and at least from the time of their immigration to Belize (1802-present) many of the Carib have been bilingual in the Carib language and forms of English and Creole English. Most Carib men became fully bilingual in their interactions with the English when the Carib worked for them as woodcutters in the 19th century. At the present the Carib are undergoing a language shift from speaking in their native language, Garifuna to speaking in a Belizean English, which includes both a Standard and Creole English. With the increased levels of education among the group there has been an adoption of forms of discourse associated with English introduced through education. These have replaced older forms of expression such as the song forms described by Hadel (1972) some of which are utilized in the Carib ritual of adugurahani (or propitiation of the ancestors) while others are used in less ritualized contexts such as the punta song in the preface to this chapter. In community gatherings these songs are not only

expressive forms but forums for redress of community or kin complaints. The punta song cited was one collected by Hadel in the seventies and indicates that such forms were often used to express attitudes about wage labor in traditional song form.

Studies of language shift are studies of the processes promoting a change within communities from one language to another. These are usually studies of communities where the indigenous language is changing and being replaced by another language, usually one of another group within the same political unit. However in the preceeding account I have discussed language shift as it relates to a larger social change within nation states, the language shift indicating the completion of a redefinition of social boundaries. I am here speaking of social boundaries in relation to language; social boundaries have been emphasized in research in sociolinguistics (see Labov 1980:xv, and review by Gal 1982). I have portrayed the new labor category by which many Carib are redefining themselves and their "ethnicity". The entry of some Carib into this labor category makes for new class boundaries in Carib communities. Thus the previous ethnic solidarity has been redefined and new social boundaries demarcate the classes among the group. The language shift among

the group (and if present processes continue the imminent language death) is perhaps the final stage in this redefinition of social boundaries.

An understanding of the forces promoting language shift come not only from an understanding of language use within the community but from the forces of economic production and their determination of classes within the Belizean nation state.

For the Carib, it is not the transformation from peasant to worker status, or proletarianization which has been the change of labor status for the group but rather the adoption by the Carib of first teaching as a profession then other forms of public sector labor which has created class differences within the group. Education was established as a domain for English when the British first established the bureaucratic institutions of the civil service and structured the educational system to fill those positions in Belize as in their many colonies worldwide. The educational system has been maintained as a domain for English by the independent Belizean nation-state (see Ogbu 1981, Zuengler 1985 for comparative data on African countries).

The steady income of the civil servants makes for differences in the lifestyles of the civil servants

and is a basis for social distinctions between themselves and the other Carib who are seasonal agricultural workers and subsistence producers: the civil servants possess larger homes, electric appliances, manufactured or imported clothing, and sometimes automobiles. As well the civil servants possess the authority delegated to them by the state in their respective positions. These elements combine to confer status on the civil servants over the other Carib workers. Employment in the civil service has afforded some Carib class mobility and many have taken this route as the Belizean economy affords little else for those with no capital.

The route towards attaining these positions has been through acquisition of education. Austin (1984) has described education as an ascriptive ideology for Jamaicans replacing race as a social division among Jamaicans. Bourdieu (1979:149, 1984:23,72) has described how education provides the system of titles that promote the social division of labor. The Carib have placed great value on education and although the majority of the group have not been able to attain the highest levels of education, the level of education has progressively increased among the younger Carib. Civil servants have the highest levels of education

among the Carib and the Carib have been entering the public sector progressively in the younger age groups.

The civil servants have been responsible for establishing a new society in Belize, one which buttresses the power structure of the state. To understand the increasing involvement of Carib in this civil society we must understand the integration of communities within the Belizean nation-state. Steward, as part of his consideration of the levels of sociocultural integration, also emphasized the importance of understanding ideologies connecting these levels as constituted by "formal institutions" (Steward 1977:232). Understanding the role played by leaders of these institutions such as the schools, the media, the churches and the unions in perpetuating ideology develops our knowledge of the forces shaping language shift.

In Chapter 4 I discussed the formation of a class of civil servants in the Carib communities, the adoption of new class aesthetics, and the use of education as a source of authority for the class. I depicted other authority figures in the community such as the shaman, who defers to the authority of the "educated". I provided examples of new cultural expressions of a group of intellectuals drawn from

this class. The new forms of expression are both oral and written poems, speeches and songs. These are used by a group of intellectuals to establish themselves as the speakers for the ethnic group. The intellectuals have also emphasized that the ethnic group now be known by the name Garifuna. Thus the intellectuals are redefining the group and its directions or interests.

This new direction of ethnic sentiment invokes the old forms through nostalgia for a disappearing past. Those I have excerpted are written and occur in the first publications made by Carib intellectuals in Belize. Examples of this occur in these excerpts of Garifuna writings, some of which I have cited earlier. In the following I examine the language use in these writings for the messages which this use conveys (see Hymes 1974:13 on this method of analyzing messages).

NAYUMAHA in Chulua Dan (It's About Time) 1977
 Why shouldn't I grieve, Chatoyer?
 I see our men turn soft and weak,
 And easy prey to strangers' wills.
 I see our men disown themselves;
 Why shouldn't I grieve, Chatoyer?

Our children lose their tongues, Chatoyer;
 No, they're not born with them.
 They speak with grafted tongues
 So they won't speak like us - they can't.
 Why shouldn't I grieve, Chatoyer?

Our ancestral dead, our bold forebears,
 (How many pine and starve in death!)
 Rarely receive their ancient rights.
 Faradiu's dressed in foreign rites.

Have I not cause to grieve?

No wonder! for the Garifuna Da
Who hoed the fields, subdued the gani,
Baked it to ereba -
Her untiring majesty, irrespressible soul
Is now defunct; and so I mourn.

Yes I must grieve, I really must -
At least on her account. For she's
My bride though just the husk of what
she was to you.
But your fiery spirit sleeps in her blood!
Baba! Stir it alive in our sons.
E. Roy Cayetano

Consider the paradox posed by this poem, that is the form and code utilized often contradict the topic and intent. That is, their ostensible purpose is to communicate to the Carib regarding the laments or current concerns of the ethnic group but in choosing English as the code of communication and in framing these messages in forms common to English literature, the communications are rather speaking for the Carib to a much wider audience.

This contradiction between topic and code is most evident in the second stanza of Cayetano's poem where he grieves in English for the loss of the Garifuna language among Carib children; however, it occurs elsewhere as well when the poet addresses the Carib leader Chatoyer in English. Some of the words of the poem are in the Garifuna language: the title of the poem is a Garifuna word, nayumaha my crying, and there

are some Garifuna terms (gani and ereba for the ritually significant cassava and cassava bread, Da and Baba for the female and male soul of the Garifuna respectively, and Paradiu God). These are ancient and ritually significant Garifuna words with profound meaning for Garifuna speakers; however they occur embedded in an English message and form which gives the poem its rhetorical force.

I believe the above examples illustrate the place of English in the cultural constructions of the intellectuals in the current society of the Carib. The recasting of old symbols in new language and forms of discourse means that the language shift among young Caribs is not a conscious choice of an alternative identity but rather a generational response to new social contexts. Thus Carib children are socialized in a context where an English education confers status and authority and where Carib identity can be affirmed in a poem written in English.

Yet in some of the writings of the Carib intellectuals, it is clear that Carib identity is linked to another identity, that of the nation-state, Belize. For civil servants, in addition to their role as spokesmen for their own ethnic groups, also maintain a sentimental and an instrumental attachment

to the state (Kelman 1971:23-26). Sentimental because they maintain an allegiance to the state as an identity and instrumental because the state as their employer provides income and positional authority.

Thus another Carib author, Augustine Flores speaks of the necessity of the commitment among Carib to "the economic structure of the homeland", indicating that this will separate the trans-national ethnic group of Carib.

...There is another area where the battle must continue to be waged. The Garifuna in Belize, Honduras, and in Guatemala must begin to see himself as a part of the economic structure of his homeland. As a Public Officer, teacher, policeman, or a 'small-time' farmer, he cannot hope to wheel the kind of influence that they ought to have earned after two hundred years. If we are to contribute to the development of Belize, for example, we must begin to take the struggle into the money section of the Belizean life.
 "Where To From Here" in Luwani Garifuna Augustine Flores

Still another Carib author, Theodore Palacio, offers this statement, conflating ethnic with national unity in his discussion of Carib culture:

Certainly there should be no inconsistency in our being full blooded Garinagu and full blooded Belizeans at the same time. In other words Belize should be large enough to accomodate fully all the racial groups and each racial group should be large enough to be fully itself and to be appreciative of every other.
 This is for the good of every cultural group in Belize, for the good of Garifuna culture, for the good of Belize. "Garifuna Culture" in Luwani Garifuna Theodore Palacio.

Hence these intellectuals are directly promoting identity of the ethnic group with the nation state. This linkage of ethnic identity with national identity is extremely important in the new state of Belize. I have discussed the other ways in which ethnic identity is being linked to national identity in chapter 4. Celebrations of national independence in Belize are often accompanied by forms of ethnic display.

The language shift then among Carib children indicates new social boundaries for the group linked to a new set of social distinctions within a Belizean identity. It marks the establishment of a Belizean class and social structure and the assumption by Carib of a place within this structure. The creation of a state identity or nationalism and its replacement of other ethnic and kin identities is not a new phenomena (see Mazrui and Tidy 1984). Socrates spoke of Plato's attempt to link kin identity to that of the state; to convince children that

their country being their mother and also their nurse, they are bound to advise for her good, and to defend her against attacks, and her citizens they are to regard as children of the earth and their brothers. (Socrates The Republic p.303 Jowett 1914 as quoted in Diamond 1974: 178).

In the writings of the Carib intellectuals, the state becomes not mother, but ethnic group or to use

Cayetano's term perhaps both, Da.

There is much more to be said of the ironies of these texts¹. However these writings should indicate the dual function of communicating an identity to the outside world as well as the local ethnic group among the Carib which Moag (1983:278) has described for local nativist writers in the South Pacific who are writing in English.

If we relate these communications to the language shift process, old symbols of ethnic identity and language are reformulated for nationalism. Simultaneously, as Carib identity is being reaffirmed in English, children are socialized in the semiotics of associations of languages with power described in Chapter 5. Language change is not a conscious choice by individuals but rather a generational response to new social contexts. Children thus extend the semiotics of the associations of languages with class authority into the family in opposition to kin authority as they speak Belizean English and refuse to adopt Garifuna.

Intergenerational language shift may always occur outside conscious choice, following the associations of languages with power for particular social groups in historical dimension. Richard Rodriguez is a Chicano,

or a child of Mexican immigrants born and socialized in the United States. He has described his own language loss of Spanish for himself in his book, Hunger of Memory, The Education of Richard Rodriguez, an autobiography. Rodriguez portrays his own language loss of Spanish and monolingualism in English as bringing in the public language of an outside world into his family context:

But there would be times when I sensed the deepest truth about language and intimacy: Intimacy is not created by a particular language; it is created by intimates. The great change in my life was not linguistic but social. If, after becoming a successful student, I no longer heard intimate voices as often as I had earlier, it was not because I spoke English rather than Spanish. It was because I used public language for most of the day. I moved easily at last, a citizen in a crowded city of words. (Rodriguez 1984:32)

Rodriguez clearly indicates the significance of the acquisition of new forms of self expression in education:

My teachers gave me a great deal more than I knew when they taught me to write public English. I was unable then to use the skill for deeply personal purposes. I insisted on writing impersonal essays, and I wrote always with a specific reader in mind....Today I can address an anonymous reader. And this seems to me important to say. Somehow the inclination to write about my private life in public is related to the ability to do so. (Rodriguez 1984:188)

Rodriguez is left with his hunger for memory of a language, forms of discourse, and traditions he no longer remembers. Thus like the language loss which

the Carib lament, Rodriguez' language loss is also a language change which occurs outside conscious choice.

In formulating the concept of language shift Weinreich indicated that language loyalty prevented language shift, yet I would argue that loyalty to the ethnic group may be maintained even while language shift is occurring and hence the language shift, far from involving a conscious maintenance of group identity, often involves an unconscious loss of a language which remains in the environment of the individual but is not acquired by the individual. The cases of Jay Fontana (Case 17) and Atunura Linya (Case 18) in Chapter 5 indicate the discontent of Carib over their loss of their native tongue and the potential for transforming this situation which still exists in the community.

Language Sentiment

I have argued that the social changes which have occurred among the Carib have profoundly changed their lives. The Garifuna language, while it still has emotional significance for the Carib, is no longer a "working" language but instead has come to be ritualized and associated with older forms of power

and authority. These older forms while often evoked and associated with new forms have been marginalized as the Carib undergo processes of class formation which undermine the ethnic solidarity of the group.

Yet the traditional Carib song with which I began this chapter perhaps indicate the circumstances of their lives which have forced the Carib to forfeit their language just as the woman of the song is forfeiting a "marriage". The value of the Garifuna "language" is perhaps equal to that of the woman's "marriage". Both romantic and language sentiment are things which must give way to the everyday material needs of life and the structured alternatives within the Belizean society which are available for Carib to meet those needs.

In this dissertation I present the place of the Carib within the social structure of the Belizean nation-state and the material relations of groups within that social structure. I have demonstrated that the processes which affect the town of Dangriga also affect the village of Numada. Thus, isolating them as a units of social analysis limits our understanding of

the social, political, and economic forces within which the people of those units are constituting themselves and their social identity.

During the time of my research other researchers, primarily R.B. Le Page and Andree Tabouret Keller (see Le Page 1972, Le Page et al 1974, 1980b for preliminary reports, and Le Page and Tabouret Keller 1985 for a summary), had already undertaken a massive study of children's language as spoken in the Cayo District of Belize . This study involved a series of recordings of children's speech of various ages and follow up interviews. This study (1972, 1977, 1985) examined phenomena similar to those I researched with the Carib in the southern districts. However the hypothesis with which the Le Page and Tabouret Keller study began was much different from my own:

Sociolinguistic Problem

In this situation it would appear that today's children are offered a choice of identities, and that choice is likely to carry linguistic implications. Identity as a Creole or a Maya or a Spnaiard or Lebanese or Carib living under British protection must dissolve as full independence approaches, and with it the insistence of external modes of verbal behavior; to be replaced, the political leaders hope, by a new cultural loyalty as 'Belizean', with internal models (Le Page 1972:161).

Thus Le Page and Tabouret Keller sought to redefine linguistic variation for creole societies rejecting the approach to variation in the work of Labov (1966) which had assumed a social class division of society and then related linguistic features of the population to this analysis by attempting no prior analysis of groups (see Le Page and Tabouret Keller 1985:114).

Instead Le Page (1972) attempted to determine the predominance of certain linguistic features in Belizean children's speech and associated these with a social identity: either Spanish, Creole English, or Standard English. Le Page et al identified these linguistic features, typing them according to the ethnic labels above and, utilizing a statistical method known as cluster analysis, they attempt to indicate the direction of language change and social identity in Belize. Thus Le Page asserts that the changing social identity can be determined by the percentage of Spanish, Creole English, or Standard English features in the children's speech as these features cluster in the data.

The cluster method is the method chosen by Le Page and Tabouret Keller of indicating individual variation within group signification:

...the technique of cluster analysis appeared, and still appears, to us to offer a useful analogue for the social processes we are concerned with, those by which individuals locate themselves in the multidimensional space which is the social universe as each perceives it and the focusing or diffusion of the rule-systems by which they define their position in relation to each other, so providing the foundation for those concepts such as "a language" and "a group or community" with which we are concerned (Le Page 1985:4).
The cluster method has received criticism in

statistics; a primary problem is when to stop the computations that result in the various clusters:

There are no satisfactory methods for determining the number of clusters for any type of cluster analysis (Everitt 1979, 1980). The number of clusters problem is, if anything, more difficult than the number of factors problem. (W.S. Searle, CLUSTER in SAS Statistics manual 1982, SAS Institute).

This methodological quandry is problematic for ultimately claiming to "define" a social identity via language features which are grouped with social variables utilizing this method.

Le Page and Tabouret Keller differ in the way in which they see individuals in relation to social groups and the last publication adopted Le Page's

formulation (Le Page and Tabouret Keller 1985:4-5):

For Le Page it is essential to stress that groups or communities and the linguistic attributes of such groups have no existential locus other than in the minds of individuals, and the groups or communities inhere only in the way individuals behave towards each other.

Locating these differences between individuals in the minds of individuals negates any social input into this process. The difference then, in this work and my own is that I have attempted a class analysis of Belizean society based on labor categories and the social distinctions drawn from those categories. In addition I see individuals as constituting themselves, albeit in various ways, within a hegemonic ideology of a larger society. William's (1984 and forthcoming) work depicts the ways in which East Indians and Creoles are asserting ethnic identity utilizing symbols of power and authority derived from their social contexts. Similarly, Carib are constituting themselves in their rituals and their language within a dominant hegemony.

I have painstakingly compiled labor histories and language histories of various Carib individuals and

located these within an analysis of the class structure of Belize. Thus like Le Page, I have proceeded from an analysis of individuals and their language usage to relate individual usage to socioeconomic regularities and data. However I have also depicted the semiotics of the associations of languages with power and authority as structured by class relations which children are responding to in the community. Thus unlike Le Page I have not portrayed language change as a process of "focusing" for individuals in social groups but as a process which is limited by social boundaries of what individuals can become given the material relations which structure power relations between groups.

Some Carib have attempted to wield whatever authority and power was available to them in the society and education and civil service positions were a clear avenue to do so. Throughout their history in Central America, the Carib have been able to escape to the land when necessary to pursue subsistence. As the Belize Estates Co. has now been dissolved in Belize and entrepreneurs are immigrating to Belize to

purchase land, the land that had been an available resource is being lost to Carib. Thus the Carib find themselves in need of capital to purchase and develop the land near their homes. Those who are aware of their problem solve it as best they can, either by migrating to the United States in an attempt to secure some capital through employment there or through consolidating capital from diverse occupational pursuits in Belize. Therefore the Carib, forced to migrate at earlier points in their history, find it a necessity once again.

I have attempted to portray Carib ethnic identity as a complex phenomena constituted by Africans and Indians within the domination by Europeans of the Caribbean. This identity like all "ethnicities" has been renegotiated within the ethnic group and between ethnic groups throughout time. Now increasingly, this ethnicity articulates with class and with a national identity for the Carib. My own awareness of this came from a dialogue with a Carib woman. She, through a program of medical training had begun an "education", consequently she was considering migrating to the

United States.

Scene

Naraguta To and I have climbed aboard the boat to leave the village. It is 4 a.m. and the morning mists are rolling across the sea. I shiver and think of the distance across the sea and how fear is usually a companion on these rides. The Carib man starts the motor and we ride the waves, spray wetting our bodies and causing us to shiver. Naraguta and I huddle together under the tarpolin, provided by the boatsman.

"What will you tell them about us?" she says to me in English. "What?" I answer, somewhat taken aback by the question. We feel our mutual warmth in the boat. I begin an explanation of the appreciation of anthropologists of ritual, and other aspects of Carib culture. I add that I believe the labor histories I collected will be valuable for historical purposes. Finally I say that people in the United States find these things collected by anthropologists interesting.

Naraguta pauses, then she says "They won't understand all those things about us. You will show them our pictures and the only thing they will understand is that we are poor."

This for me was a profound observation, one verified in my experiences shortly after my return. Naraguta's statement indicated to me an important aspect of Carib identity, one which I shall call "class awareness".

This awareness is a stigmatization associated with poverty and indicates that Carib identity is constituted in a relationship that extends beyond Numada, beyond Dangriga, to the United States. This

identity constitution is for me clearly a social phenomena which follows the labor patterns of the Carib, which also extends across these geographical places.

Initially my research design in the field was based on research such as that of Gal (1980), Brudner-White (1978), and Tabouret-Keller (1972) which sought to correlate language shift with labor directly, that is a labor change produced a social change which then produced a language shift in various communities. The pioneering research of these studies, primarily the detailed analysis of Gal (1980), prompted me to examine labor and categories of labor in relation to language shift. I collected my data hoping for a direct correlation between labor and class categories, networks, and language shift.

I did not find such easy correlations. Rather I found a labor change which produced a social change in one generation and served as input for a second generation. Thus I have called the language shift an intergenerational change. The language shift occurs as meanings assigned to languages, power, and ethnic

identity are transformed by the social context of one generation and passed on to another. It is only by understanding language shift in relation to social and economic change through time that we can truly explain language shift as it occurs in most cases; that is, outside of consciousness and self-ascriptive ethnic identity and within history as structured by material processes.

Le Page and Tobouret Keller end their account by discussing language in the Cape Keerweer region in Australia where "...language is emblematic of clan identity in a system of clan totemism." (1985:241) and in the Vaupes Indian "multilingual communities" described by Jean Jackson (1974:57 as cited *ibid*:242) where Vaupes languages are not differentially esteemed or stigmatized. They compare these communities to:

...Belize, where people speak of themselves as a-typical, not being aware that this a-typicality, the most common feature referred to in that community (emphasis mine), is in fact a type in itself..."

and to "London Jamaicans", who generally prefer to "talk black". With regard to this community they discuss Milroy's view of a vernacular language as a

positive force, offering counter-examples of black parents who prefer to socialize their children with whites so that the children forget how to 'talk black'.

These examples lead to the conclusion of Acts of Identity:

It is possible that the best way to achieve cultural and linguistic and ethnic uniformity is through internal 'benign neglect' coupled with an external threat; but within any society various kinds of groupings will develop and will, if buttressed by vested interests or functional properties of any kind in their maintenance, prove, like the caste system of India, to be extraordinarily tenacious. Similarly, within any society linguistic groupings will develop and focusing will take place within them which may well lead to stereotypes about language coming into being which become reified, institutionalized, and totemized and again extraordinarily tenacious. Thus both linguistic and non-linguistic groups will form; stereotypes will jell, and subsequently may decay; and the roles played by each kind of group in the formation and maintenance of the other are complex and of great variety (ibid:249).

I assume that the examples of linguistic diversity are part of a cumulative argument leading to this conclusion. This type of argument leads the reader to assume that the linguistic diversity in egalitarian societies such as the Australian Aborigines and Vaupes Indians are comparable to that in Belize

"mix-up societies". In this view, linguistic diversity relative to ethnicity as it exists in any society is equated, yet the social, political and economic circumstances of the Vaupes Indians can not easily be equated with those of Belizeans or blacks in London without disregarding entirely the concept of political and social evolution in which anthropologists have delineated different types of societies (see Fried 1968). For Le Page perhaps all that is necessary is "focusing" for the diversity to dissolve, linguistic groups to form and stereotypes to jell. Le Page by reifying "linguistic groups" which "form" and "stereotypes" which "jell" seems to be again equating an individual's social experience with clustering, he has done this both in early work (see 1972:13) and in the most recent reanalysis:

The recently-developed statistical and computational techniques of cluster-analysis seemed (in 1969 at least) to offer a convenient method of judging which children behaved most alike linguistically. It was felt that the clustering process itself provided a reasonable analogue for what we supposed to be happening in real life. This view has since been challenged (see e.g. Labov 1980; McEntegart 1980) but remains our view. What we cannot dispute is that owing to faults both in the design and execution of the survey, the statistical results have been meagre

and inconclusive (LePage and Tabouret Keller 1985:153). What Le Page has eliminated from this easy equation of "clustering" and "acts of identity" is the controllers of the clusters, those operators who own the computers or have access to them and who sit carefully monitoring the clusters in membership, size and relation to socioeconomic factors.

I offer my own analysis of the intergenerational language shift among the Carib as an alternative to that of "clustering" and "acts of identity" of Le Page and Tabouret Keller. My analysis represents the changing ethnic identity of the Carib in relation to their change of labor (which I have documented qualitatively and quantitatively). I have also discussed the significant role of the state in creating a class of laborers in Carib communities. I have described the role of intellectuals from this class who link ethnic to national identity. (These processes are lumped by Le Page under the term "focusing/focused", a metaphor which he adopts from cinema projection and applies to "tightly-knit and closely-interactive communities" (ibid:5), nation

states of the Caribbean (ibid:47), writers as a "focusing influence" (ibid:73), and physical and ethnic "focusing" in a community (ibid:228). With the term applied to so many different social processes it is difficult to know what it might mean. In the introduction I indicated the difficulty of confounding social units such as community and nation-state; lumping these social processes of identification under the term "focusing" confounds social units as well as several social processes associated with identity.

My analysis distinguishes social units such as family, community and nation-state. Thus the processes of national identity, ethnic identity and individual linguistic development within the family can be related without equating them. The Carib have maintained their language for over two hundred years. It is this type of social analysis which can account for processes such as language shift among the Carib and account for their location in present history rather than the past.

NOTE

¹ I analyzed these texts with the knowledge of the direct and indirect usage of language among the Carib described in chapter 2 and the note of caution sounded by Lilith Haynes (1985:210):

The encouragement of individual expression within and across these small societies does not permit the forms and functions of Caribbean English to fit the schemas defined for other societies....

A more detailed analysis of the contradictions and complexities of these texts could be done but for purposes of this work and the relevance of these texts for the social processes which I describe herein this analysis should be sufficient.

Appendix 1

Types of Work Done by Carib

Postal Clerk
Government Clerk
Policeman
Nurse
Petty trader
Student teacher
Teacher
Merchant
Bank teller
Mother's helper
Receiving government pension
Fish seller
Tailor
Construction worker
Community health worker
Citrus picker
Fireman
District Supervisor of teachers
Boledo Seller
Beautician
Club owner
Boat worker
Seamstress
Nun
Forestry Officer
Pottery Maker
Sells Cassava Bread
Ice Factory Worker - Corozal
United Fruit worker
Netmaker
Domestic worker (cook, maid, laundress)
Secretary
United States army
Customs officer
Finance officer
Surveyor
Church worker
Temporary work for Belizen government
Citrus factory (male peelers female sectionizers)
Government agency labor
Cutting trees
Union leader
Transporation provider (boat owner)
Musician

Appendix 1 Continued

Water authority clerk Belize City
Electric authority clerk Belize City
City Council Belize City
Basketry maker
Bartender
Machinist
Tourist industry/ hotel worker
Subsistence planting and harvesting
Wage labor in Guatemala and Honduras
Spraying in Malaria program for government
Hospital worker
Truck Driver
Semiskilled labor in the United States
Supervisor of citrus farm
Sugar factory worker Corozal
Electrician
Town Board officer
Lawyer or legal officer
Credit Union
Creole fisherman
Bus worker
Bee keeper
Belize Defense Force army worker
Sawmill worker
Store clerk
Agricultural officer
Midwife
Worker on banana plantation
Copra Processing Plant worker
Truck driver for Belizean government
Bakery employee
Rice farmer
Cabinet/ furniture maker
Panama Canal worker for United States
Small citrus farmer
Cart transporter
Translator/ worker for anthropologist
Movie theatre worker, projectionist, photographer
Automobile mechanic
Assistant principal
Cook in restaurant
Dock loader for citrus
Road construction worker for Belizean government
Attorney in the United States
Animal raiser
Superintendent of Belize Teachers College

Appendix 1 Continued

Tailor's Apprentice
Lighthouse keeper
Newspaper seller
Seamstress in factory
Dock worker in Belize City
Airport worker in Belize City
Minister/ Religious Service
Insurance Salesman
Domestic worker in the United States
Construction worker in the United States
Tree cutter in Scotland for WWII Allied Forces
Teacher in the United States
Sign Painter
Chicken Processing Factory Belize City
Housewife in the United States
Clerk for citrus company
Coconut oil seller
Hospital worker in the United States

Appendix 2 Questionnaire

Name	Address
Age	Sex

Language History of Family

1. How many languages do you speak?
2. What was the first language you spoke as a child?
3. What was the second language and where did you learn it? Third? Others?
4. What languages did your parents speak? What types of work did they do? Who did you live with as a child? What language did they speak?

Migration Data

5. Where were you born?
6. Did you ever move from the place where you were born? Why ?
7. Have you moved other places? Why?
8. Do you expect to move other places? Why?
9. Where do your parents live?
10. Where do your brothers and sisters live? What types of work do they do?
11. Where do/did your grandparents live? What types of work did they do? What language did they speak?
12. Do you have relatives (parents, siblings or others) living in other countries? (U.S., Great Britain, Guatemala, Honduras or Mexico)
13. Do you have relatives living in Belize City? Belmopan? Dangriga? Punta Gorda? the villages (Hopkins, Seine Bight, Georgetown, or Barranco)?

Family & Household Data

14. How many people live in your household? How are these people related to your?
15. Where did you meet your spouse/ companion and when?
16. What is the work of your spouse/companion? What language does he/ she speak? Does he/she sell bread, cassava, fish or other things?
17. What are the ages of your children? Where do they live? What are their occupations? What language do they speak?

Educational Background

Educational Background

18. When did you learn to read and write? Where
19. What language did your teachers speak at school? Did your teachers forbid you to speak Garifuna in school?
20. Who paid for your school fees, your school books etc.?
21. What level of school were you able to finish? Do you have plans to continue your schooling?

Language Use in the Workplace and Other Social Domains

22. What kinds of jobs have you held and what languages have you used in those jobs?
23. What kind of work do you presently do and what language do you use in this work?
24. What ethnic groups/s are your coworkers from? What languages do they speak?
25. What type of job would you like to have? What types of work would you prefer not to do?
26. What languages do your children speak? What do you speak to them in? What language would you prefer them to speak? What language do you speak to your spouse? What language does he/she speak?
27. What language do you talk to your doctor in? Government officials?
28. What language do you use when buying fish? flour and lard? vegetables? Where do you buy these?

Networks and Social Associations

29. If you received a large amount of food (coconuts, fish, cassava etc.) who would you give some of this food to?
30. Who do you drink rum or beer with? What language do you speak with them?
31. Do you belong to any clubs, associations or auxiliaries? What language is spoken in these?
32. Who are your close friends? What is their occupation? What language do you speak to them?

Table 1
Carib Terms for People

Domain & Term	Attested by	Meaning / Gloss	Suggested Derivations
1) People			
mutu	T,H,W	person	Bantu mutu
garigía	T,H,W	human, member of tribe	Garif. Garifuna, Garinagu
2) Europeans			
alundu	T,W	people from London; English	Fr. Londres Eng. London
angleísi/	T	Englishmen	Fr. anglais
úngüleisi	H,W	"	Sp. inglés
furáásu	T,H,W	French	Fr. France
ahírichí	T	Irish	Eng. Irish
sih ^w iya	B	Spanish	Sp. Sevillano
muladu	T,W	Spanish	Sp. mulato
chumagu	T,H,W	Spanish	? Eng. cuban
huríu	T,H	Jew	Sp. judío
*baránagüle	B,T,W	white man (T), sea master (W)	Garif.

Domain & Term	Attested by	Meaning / Gloss	Suggested Derivations
3) Outsiders			
násifu	T,H,W	non Carib person	Sp. nación
tereíncha	H,W	stranger; outsider	Cr. Eng. [treinja] < Eng. stranger
4) Black & Indian Groups			
gúngu	T,W	Creole	?Sp. gringo
mégeru	B,T,H,W	Creole	?Fr. negre Taylor:Sp. negro
*aginine	W	African	Fr. La Guinée Eng. Guinea
gío	T,H,W	Creole	Cr. Eng. [krio] < Eng. creole
wéweruguni	W	Jamaicans, lit. stick people	Garif.
*idudu	T,W	Miskito	Taylor:Arawak etutu
wáro	T,H,W	Mayan Indian	Taylor:South American Warau
5) Central American nationalities			
balísinu	W	Belizean	Eng. Belizean
endurana	W	Honduran	Eng. Honduran
wadímalunu	W	Guatemalan	Eng. Guatemalan
nigaróen	W	Nicaraguan	Eng. Nicaraguan
*coloniana	W	colonials	Sp. colón, colonia, colonial

Domain & Term	Attested by	Meaning / Gloss	Suggested Derivations
6) East Indians, Arabs, Chinese and Americans			
nádari	W	East Indian	Tamil nadari
achúgūli	H	East Indian	? Cr. Eng. [kuli] < Eng. coolie
atúrkurahani	W	Turk sellers	Garif. incorporating Sp. turco
miriti gáchúgū	W	Chinese	Cr. Eng. [chainí] < Eng. Chinese
merígeln/	H,W	American	Fr. américain Eng. american
merígana	H,W	American	Sp. americano

7) Color terms

háruṭi	H,W	white	Garif.
gálati	H,W	clear, light-skinned	Garif.
áfaruti lúra	W	brown or light-skinned	Garif.
funáti	H,W	red or brown	Garif.
wúriti	H,W	black	Garif.

(forms given here are the masculine adjectival forms)

* terms known by only a few older people

? of unknown derivation or alternate derivation possible

B form attested by Raymond Breton, T form attested by Douglas Taylor

H form attested by Richard Hadel, W form attested by Pamela Wright

Table 2
United States Sugar Import Quotas for Central America

Country	Old quota	New Allocation	Total
Costa Rica	42,000	15,600	57,600 tons
El Salvador	72,800	9,360	82,160 tons
Honduras	28,000	27,040	55,000 tons
Nicaragua	58,000	-52,000	6,000 tons
Belize	18,480	nil	18,480 tons

source Sucden sugar firm Paris in Belize Sunday Times
Sept. 19, 1982 and Reporter May 15, 1983

Table 3
Fisheries Export
From Annual Labor Report, 1983

Fisheries	Amount Exported in lbs		Value (Bz \$)	
	1982	1983	1982	1983
Fresh Fish	463,652	623,000	770,412	996,800
Dried Fish		7,843		15,686
LobsterTails	610,110	631,520	10,066,815	11,051,600
Conch	314,350	399,580	1,335,988	1,698,215
Shrimps	7,550	7,100	75,500	81,650
Fish Filet	35,010	25,580	121,763	89,530
Aquarium Fish	8,325	9,553	12,488	14,330
Stone Crabs	1,475	400	9,588	2,600

Table 4						
Major Crops Production						
1965 - 1982 (from Abstract of Statistics 1982)						
	Corn 1m lb	Rice 1m lb	Beans 1m lb	Bananas 42 lb box	Oranges 90 lb box	Grapfruit 80 lb box
1965	12,051	6,252	1,507	-	856	243
1966	6,742	3,130	2,787	-	952	248
1967	14,800	3,561	1,667	-	699	236
1968	15,473	6,338	2,809	-	734	233
1969	17,000	7,650	3,419	-	849	281
1970	35,000	7,700	5,174	-	558	257
1971	35,000	10,026	4,050	-	925	376
1972	32,209	12,785	2,490	-	894	421
1973	35,500	18,000	2,500	NA	971	390
1974	28,200	16,600	2,750	NA	1,101	427
1975	23,000	10,700	2,500	30,780	801	535
1976	40,000	13,798	2,400	357,736	802	407
1977	37,600	18,935	2,210	547,812	633	238
1978	43,000	14,000	2,160	519,668	686	301
1979	34,000	14,700	2,240	842,419	568	108
1980	41,500	19,000	3,073	784,885	1,109	408
1981	47,000	23,809	3,800	549,000	1,063	586
1982	47,000	17,500	3,900	524,000	1,058	703

Table 5

EMPLOYMENT BY SECTOR IN BELIZE (LABOR FORCE SURVEY 83-84)

Sector	Percent		
	Total	Male	Female
Total Employed	40700	29045	11655
Agriculture	30.00%	38.00%	10.10%
Forestry	0.80%	1.00%	0.10%
Fishing	1.30%	1.70%	0.50%
Quarrying	0.20%	0.40%	0.00%
Manufacturing	10.30%	10.80%	8.90%
Electric, Water	1.50%	1.90%	0.30%
Construction	4.90%	6.60%	0.80%
Commerce	11.20%	8.50%	17.90%
Transport	5.00%	5.90%	2.70%
Banks, Insurance	1.40%	0.80%	2.90%
Government	15.40%	9.90%	28.90%
Community Serv.	16.00%	12.10%	25.80%
Other Services	2.00%	2.40%	1.10%
TOTAL	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Table 6

RURAL / URBAN RESIDENCE IN CARIB DISTRICTS

DISTRICT	TOT. POP	Creole	East Ind.
Stann Creek Dis.	14181	32.90%	2.00%
Dangriga Town	6661	21.60%	1.40%
Stann Creek Rural	7520	43.00%	2.70%
Toledo District	11762	11.90%	8.60%
Punta Gorda Town	2396	23.60%	4.40%
Toledo Rural	9366	9.00%	9.60%
DISTRICT	Ketchi	Garifuna	White
Stann Creek Dis.	0.20%	45.60%	0.50%
Dangriga Town	0.00%	70.00%	0.40%
Stann Creek Rural	0.40%	23.70%	0.50%
Toledo District	31.50%	12.70%	1.00%
Punta Gorda Town	1.10%	48.30%	0.90%
Toledo Rural	39.30%	3.40%	1.00%
DISTRICT	Chinese	Maya	
Stann Creek Dis.	0.10%	5.20%	
Dangriga Town	0.30%	0.30%	
Stann Creek Rural	0.00%	9.70%	
Toledo District	0.00%	25.40%	
Punta Gorda Town	0.40%	3.30%	
Toledo Rural	0.00%	31.10%	

Table 7

UNEMPLOYMENT IN BELIZE (LABOR FORCE SURVEY 83-84)

% UNEMPLOYED DISTRICT	PERCENT 1983-4		TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	
Belize District	13.00%	21.00%	16.10%
Corozal District	3.10%	23.90%	8.40%
Orange Walk Dis.	6.60%	23.00%	9.80%
Stann Creek Dis.	13.60%	38.80%	23.70%
Toledo District	12.40%	32.10%	1.89%
Cayo District	12.40%	32.10%	17.90%
Total	9.10%	24.10%	14.00%

PERCENT DISTRICT	1981 CENSUS		TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	
Belize District	18.40%	25.10%	20.60%
Corozal District	6.70%	34.10%	10.60%
Orange Walk Dis.	4.00%	21.10%	5.70%
Stann Creek Dis.	13.30%	23.40%	16.00%
Toledo District	7.70%	27.00%	10.20%
Cayo District	8.60%	15.60%	10.00%
Total	11.30%	24.40%	14.30%

MIGRATION OF CARIB - TOWN AND VILLAGE COMPARED

		Informant
Migrated Outside	Residence	
Res.	Town	Village
Migrated	92.00%	93.10%
Remained	8.00%	6.90%

		Migration Data
Migrated to	Belize C.	
Res.	Town	Village
Migrated	32.00%	58.62%
Remained	68.00%	41.38%

Residence of Kin

In Belize

		Belize C.
Kin in	Town	Village
Res.		
Yes	82.00%	86.21%
No	18.00%	13.79%

		Belmopan
Kin in	Town	Village
Res.		
Yes	57.58%	52.17%
No	42.42%	47.83%

		Dangriga
Kin in	Town	Village
Res.		
Yes	90.91%	91.30%
No	9.09%	8.70%

		P. Gorda
Kin in	Town	Village
Res.		
Yes	48.48%	58.70%
No	51.52%	41.30%

		Villages*
Kin in	Town	Village
Res.		
Yes	54.00%	28.57%
No	46.00%	71.43%

		O.W. & Corozal
Kin in	Town	Village
Res.		
Yes	94.00%	86.21%
No	6.00%	13.79%

Residence of Kin

Other Nations

		United States
Kin in	Town	Village
Res.		
Yes	91.84%	82.76%
No	8.16%	17.24%

		Close Kin in U. S.
Kin in	Town	Village
Res.		
Yes	75.51%	46.43%
No	24.49%	53.57%

		Other Countries
Kin in	Town	Village
Res.		
Yes	64.00%	68.97%
	36.00%	31.03%

*Villages Other Than Numada

Table 9

ETHNIC GROUPS IN BELIZE BY DISTRICT (FROM 1982 ABSTRACT STAT.)

DISTRICT	TOT. POP	Creole	East Ind.	Chinese	Maya
Belize District	50801	75.10%	1.50%	0.30%	0.70%
Belize City	39771	76.00%	1.50%	0.40%	0.30%
Belize Rural	11030	71.80%	1.50%	0.00%	2.10%
Corozal District	22902	16.90%	2.90%	0.10%	13.80%
Corozal Town	6899	30.50%	1.80%	0.50%	0.00%
Corozal Rural	16003	11.10%	3.30%	0.00%	19.70%
Orange Walk Dis.	22870	11.30%	0.20%	0.00%	6.80%
Orange Walk Town	8439	19.70%	0.40%	0.10%	3.80%
Orange Walk Rural	14431	6.40%	0.20%	0.00%	8.60%
Stann Creek Dis.	14181	32.90%	2.00%	0.10%	5.20%
Dangriga Town	6661	21.60%	1.40%	0.30%	0.30%
Stann Creek Rural	7520	43.00%	2.70%	0.00%	9.70%
Toledo District	11762	11.90%	8.60%	0.00%	25.40%
Punta Gorda Town	2396	23.60%	4.40%	0.40%	3.30%
Toledo Rural	9366	9.00%	9.60%	0.00%	31.10%
Cayo District	22837	31.00%	1.10%	0.00%	4.60%
San Ignacio Town	5616	28.10%	1.50%	0.10%	1.00%
Cayo District	14286	26.90%	0.40%	0.00%	6.90%
Belmopan	2935	56.80%	3.20%	0.00%	0.50%
TOTAL	145353	39.70%	2.10%	0.10%	6.80%

DISTRICT	Ketchi	Garifuna	White	Mestizo	Other/MS
Belize District	0.10%	3.20%	1.10%	13.10%	4.80%
Belize City	0.10%	3.50%	0.90%	12.20%	5.10%
Belize Rural	0.10%	2.30%	1.60%	16.40%	4.10%
Corozal District	0.30%	2.30%	1.70%	58.40%	3.60%
Corozal Town	0.00%	3.20%	0.30%	59.20%	4.50%
Corozal Rural	0.40%	0.60%	21.30%	61.90%	0.70%
Orange Walk Dis.	0.20%	45.60%	0.50%	10.50%	2.90%
Orange Walk Town	0.00%	5.10%	0.20%	68.90%	1.80%
Orange Walk Rural	0.30%	0.60%	21.30%	61.90%	0.70%
Stann Creek Dis.	0.20%	45.60%	0.50%	10.50%	2.90%
Dangriga Town	0.00%	70.00%	0.40%	1.80%	4.20%
Stann Creek Rural	0.40%	23.70%	0.50%	18.30%	1.70%
Toledo District	31.50%	12.70%	1.00%	5.90%	3.00%
Punta Gorda Town	1.10%	48.30%	0.90%	8.90%	9.50%
Toledo Rural	39.30%	3.40%	1.00%	5.10%	1.30%
Cayo District	0.40%	1.90%	8.00%	49.00%	3.80%
San Ignacio Town	0.50%	1.20%	1.10%	59.00%	7.50%
Cayo District	0.40%	0.70%	11.60%	50.50%	2.50%
Belmopan	0.10%	9.30%	3.90%	22.90%	3.30%
TOTAL	2.70%	7.60%	4.20%	33.10%	3.60%

Table 10
INTERNAL MIGRATION IN BELIZE (FROM 1970 CENSUS)

FEMALES	Place of Birth				
Residence	TOTAL	B.C.	B.D.	C.D.	O.W.D
Belize City	19404	80.35%	4.33%	2.84%	2.06%
Belize District	4664	14.13%	76.01%	1.76%	1.78%
Corozal District	6988	3.36%	1.77%	86.58%	3.45%
Orange Walk Dis.	6721	4.21%	1.70%	5.22%	82.29%
Stann Creek Dis.	6213	4.70%	1.14%	1.19%	0.76%
Toledo District	4403	1.04%	0.30%	0.25%	0.25%
Cayo District	6882	4.75%	1.25%	1.02%	1.64%
New Capital	5	20.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Not Stated	33	15.15%	12.12%	3.03%	18.18%
Total	55313	31.53%	8.67%	13.00%	11.63%

FEMALES	Place of Birth				
Residence	S.C.D.	T.D.	CAYO D.	CAPITAL	N.S.
Belize City	4.29%	2.84%	3.28%	0.00%	0.00%
Belize District	2.64%	1.69%	1.99%	0.00%	0.00%
Corozal District	1.66%	1.40%	1.77%	0.00%	0.00%
Orange Walk Dis.	1.71%	1.47%	3.39%	0.00%	0.00%
Stann Creek Dis.	81.41%	9.05%	1.75%	0.00%	0.00%
Toledo District	1.27%	96.48%	0.41%	0.00%	0.00%
Cayo District	2.03%	2.09%	87.21%	0.00%	0.00%
New Capital	20.00%	0.00%	40.00%	20.00%	0.00%
Not Stated	3.03%	18.18%	30.30%	0.00%	0.00%
Total	11.65%	10.46%	13.06%	0.00%	0.00%

MALES	Place of Birth				
Residence	TOTAL	B.C.	B.D.	C.D.	O.W.D
Belize City	17356	83.63%	3.46%	2.24%	2.05%
Belize District	4948	13.58%	76.07%	1.98%	2.00%
Corozal District	7364	3.99%	1.90%	85.17%	3.07%
Orange Walk Dis.	7398	4.30%	2.22%	4.91%	81.82%
Stann Creek Dis.	5797	5.78%	1.26%	1.14%	1.09%
Toledo District	4111	1.31%	0.51%	0.32%	0.32%
Cayo District	7452	5.46%	2.07%	0.95%	1.78%
New Capital	4	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	25.00%
Not Stated	28	28.57%	0.00%	14.29%	7.14%
Total	54458	30.49%	9.03%	13.36%	12.75%

MALES	Place of Birth				
Residence	S.C.D.	T.D.	CAYO D.	CAPITAL	N.S.
Belize City	3.70%	2.22%	2.70%	0.00%	0.01%
Belize District	2.41%	1.50%	2.45%	0.00%	0.02%
Corozal District	2.16%	2.16%	1.94%	0.00%	0.00%
Orange Walk Dis.	1.61%	1.41%	3.73%	0.00%	0.01%
Stann Creek Dis.	78.92%	9.16%	2.66%	0.00%	0.00%
Toledo District	1.78%	95.06%	0.71%	0.00%	0.00%
Cayo District	2.98%	2.16%	84.57%	0.01%	0.01%
New Capital	50.00%	25.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Not Stated	10.71%	28.57%	10.71%	0.00%	0.00%
Total	10.86%	9.74%	13.76%	0.00%	5.00%

Table 11

EDUCATIONAL LEVELS BY LABOR TYPE

SCHOOLING	LABORTYPE NO. UNEMPLOYED	PERCENT
STANDARD 6	7	77.78%
SOME HIGH SCHOOL	2	22.22%
PUBLIC		
PRIMARY CERTIFICATE	1	3.45%
STANDARD 5	1	3.45%
STANDARD 6	2	6.90%
SOME HIGH SCHOOL	2	6.90%
GRADUATE HIGH SCHOOL	4	13.79%
TRADE SCHOOL	1	3.45%
NURSING SCHOOL	3	10.34%
TEACHING CERTIFICATE	1	3.45%
SOME TEACHER COLLEGE	5	17.24%
GRAD TEACHER COLLEGE	5	17.24%
US/BRITISH COLLEGE	4	13.79%
INFORMAL		
NO SCHOOLING	1	3.70%
PRIMARY CERTIFICATE	2	7.41%
STANDARD 3	1	3.70%
STANDARD 4	2	7.41%
STANDARD 5	3	11.11%
STANDARD 6	15	55.56%
SOME HIGH SCHOOL	1	3.70%
GRADUATE HIGH SCHOOL	2	7.41%
FORMAL		
STANDARD 4	2	16.67%
STANDARD 6	5	41.67%
SOME HIGH SCHOOL	1	8.33%
GRADUATE HIGH SCHOOL	2	16.67%
SOME TEACHER COLLEGE*	1	8.33%
US/BRITISH COLLEGE*	1	8.33%

*Employed by
Organized Religions

Table 12

adapted from p. 305 in Ochs, Elinor
and Bambi Schieffelin 1985 "Language acquisition and
socialization: Three developmental stories and their
implications" in Richard Schweder ed. Mind, Self and
Society

Two orientations toward children and their corresponding
caregiver speech patterns

Adapt situation to child	Adapt child to situation
Simplified register caregiver to child (baby-talk)	Modeling of (unsimplified) utterances for child to repeat
Topic and propositions negotiated between caregiver and child	Topic and propositions indicated by caregiver as they arise in social context
Utterances respond to child- initiated acts	Utterances directed by caregiver
Typical communicative situation: two-party	Typical communicative situation: multiparty

Table 13
The Social Distribution of Language Use

Domain	Language Use
Town	
Home	Adults G, C, E, S Children C
Fish Market	G, C, E
Shops	C, E, (G)
Government Offices	E, (C), (G), (S)
Church	E, (C), (G)
Bank	E, (C), (G), (S)
Temple	G, (C), (E)
School	Adults E, C-G Children E, C
Hospital & W/ Doctors	E, C, (G) E, S
Media	E, (C), (G)
Clubs & Run Shops	C-G, S, E
Political Rally	E, C, (G)
Police station	E, C (G)
Citrus farms & factories	C, S, (G)

E= English, C= Creole, G= Garifuna, S= Spanish.

Languages are listed in ordinal frequency of use.

(X) indicates only incidental use

X-Y indicates equal frequency of use

Table 13 - Continued
The Social Distribution of Language Use

Village	
Home	Adults G, C, E, S Children C
Buying Fish	G, (C)
Rum & Meat Shop	G-C
Dry goods shops	G, C
Church	E, (C), (G), (S)
School	Adults E, G-C Children E, C
Infirmary	E, C, G
Media	E, (C), (G)
Political Meeting	E, C,
Police station	E, G-C
Farm	G, C

E= English, C= Creole, G= Garifuna, S= Spanish

Languages are listed in ordinal frequency of use.

(X) indicates only incidental use

X-Y indicates equal frequency of use

Table 14
Survey of Businesses in Dangriga
Ethnic Group of Owners and Workers

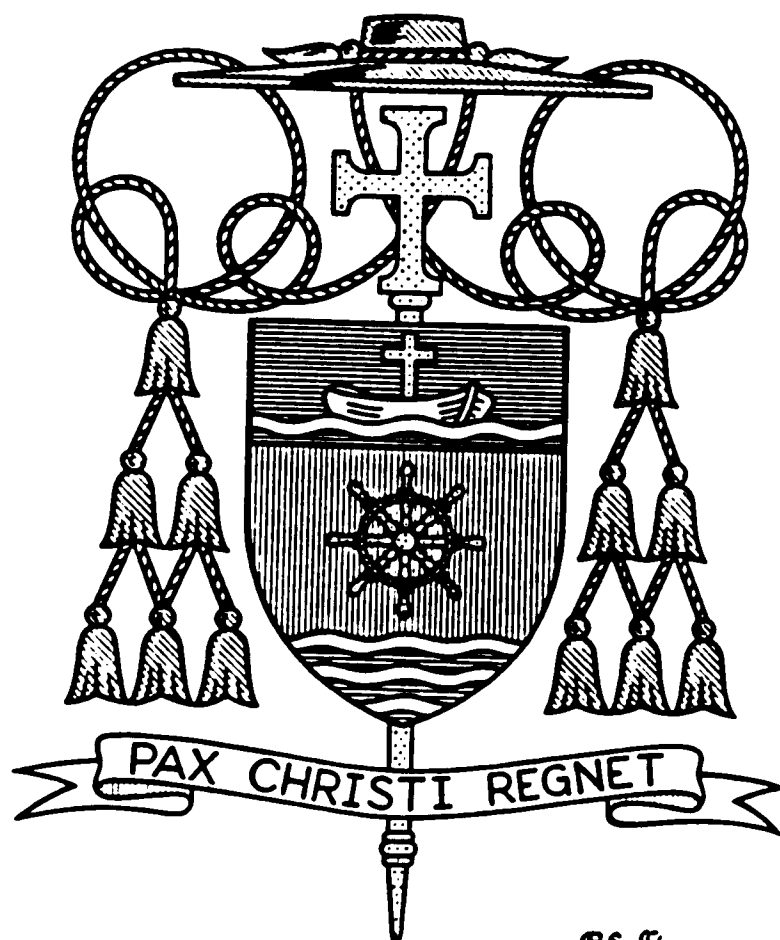
Type of Shop	Ethnic Group	
	Owners	Workers
Book Shop	Creole	
Bread Shop	Carib	
	Creole	
Hotel & Club	Creole	Carib
	Spanish	Creole, Carib
	Spanish	Carib
	Arab	Creole
Dress Shop	Creole	Spanish, Carib
Meat Shop	Creole	
Rum Shop	Creole/Carib	
Newsstand	Carib	Carib
Restaurant	Chinese	
	Spanish	Carib
	Spanish	
	Chinese	
	Creole	Creole
Raffle Stand	Chinese	Carib
Small Shops	Creole	
	Creole	Carib
	Creole	Carib
	Carib	
	Carib	
	Carib	
	Creole	
	Spanish	
	Englishman	
	Creole	
Pharmacy	?	Carib
Club	Carib	
Gas Station	Creole	Carib, Creole
	Creole	Carib, Creole
Battery Shop	Carib	
Video Store	?	Carib
Bar	Carib	
	Creole	Carib

? indicates property being sold or ownership unknown

Table 14 Continued
Type of Shop

	Ethnic Group	
	Owners	Workers
Large Shop	Creole Arab Chinese Creole Chinese Chinese Spanish Spanish Chinese Chinese Arab Arab Arab	Spanish Carib Carib, Creole Creole Carib, Chinese Carib, Creole Carib Creole
Lumber Shop	Arab	
Bus Station, Film Shop, Club	Spanish	Arab, Creole, Carib
Theatre	Spanish	Creole, Carib
Tailor	Carib Carib	
Disco	Creole Spanish	Carib Creole, Carib
Electric Shop	American	
Total	Owners 18 Creole-owned businesses 11 Carib-owned businesses 10 Spanish-owned businesses 5 Arab-owned businesses 1 American-owned business Workers 23 businesses employ Carib workers 11 businesses employ Creole workers 1 business employs an Arab worker 2 businesses employ Spanish workers	
Total Shops	55	

Fig. 2
Bishop's Coat of Arms



P. Sullivan
25-VIII-82

Fig. 3

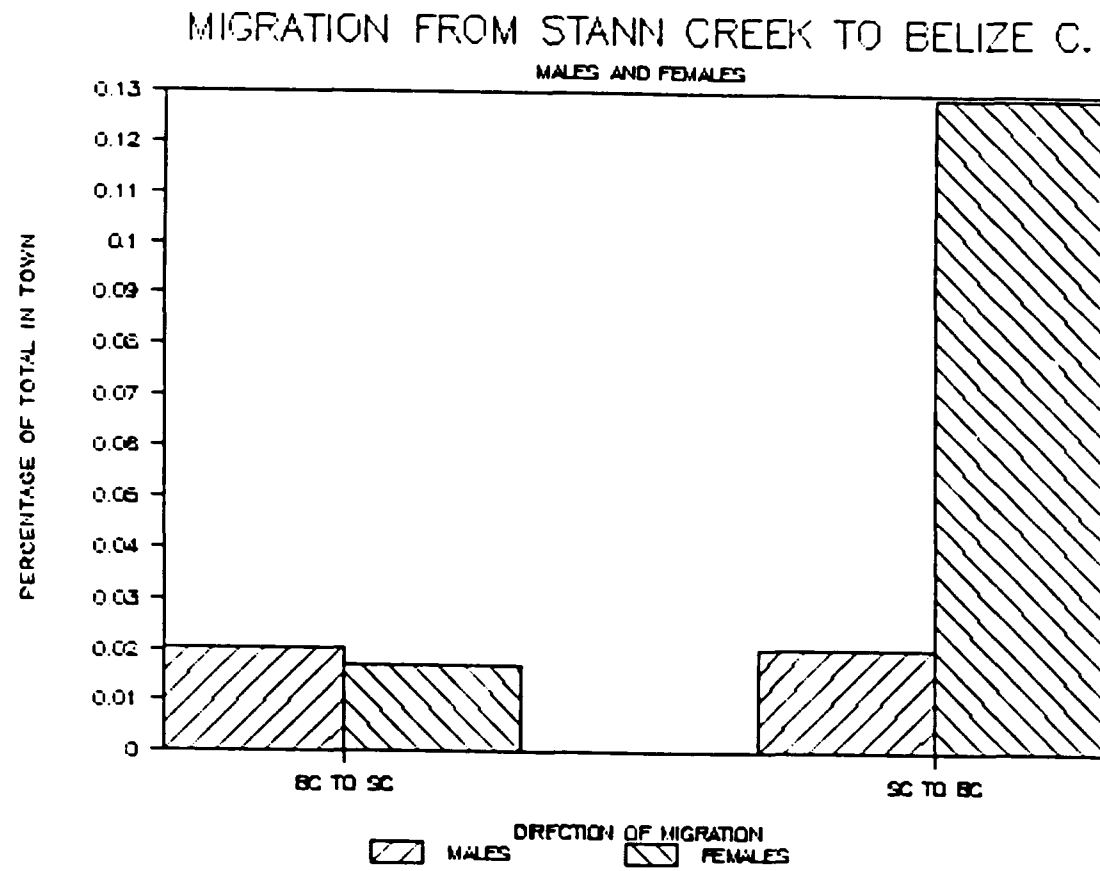


Fig. 4



Fig. 5

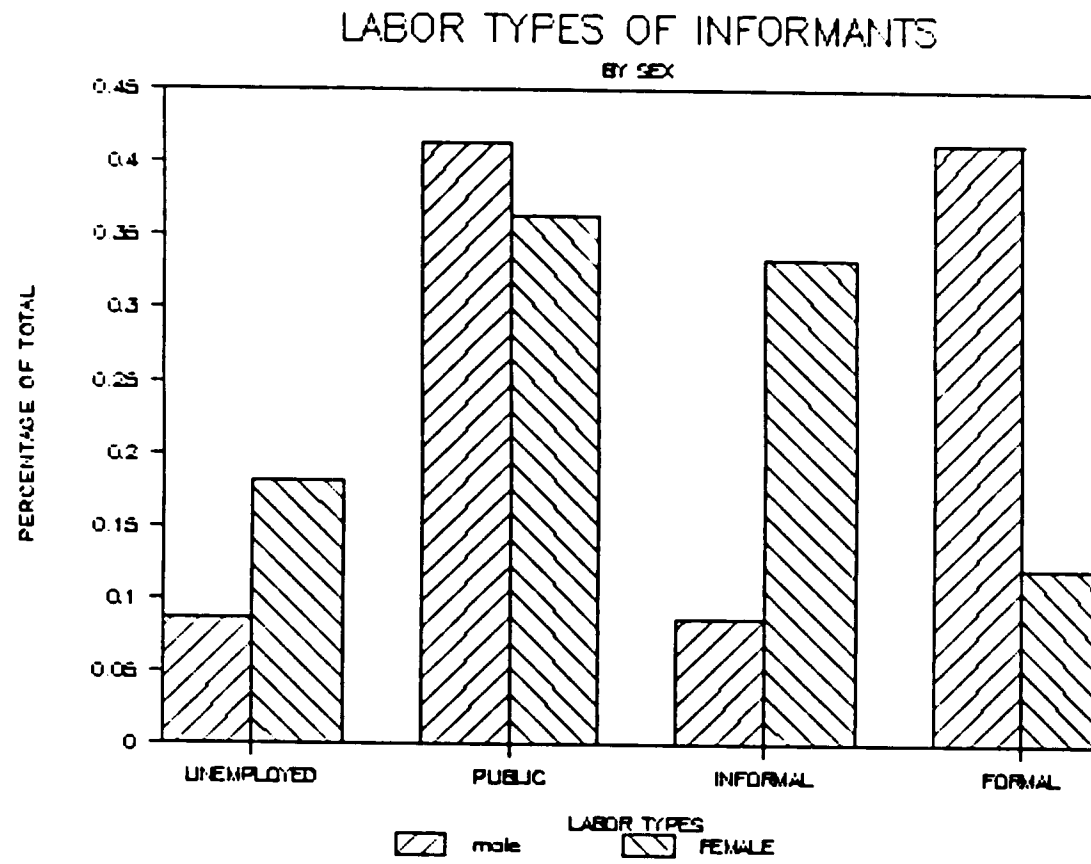
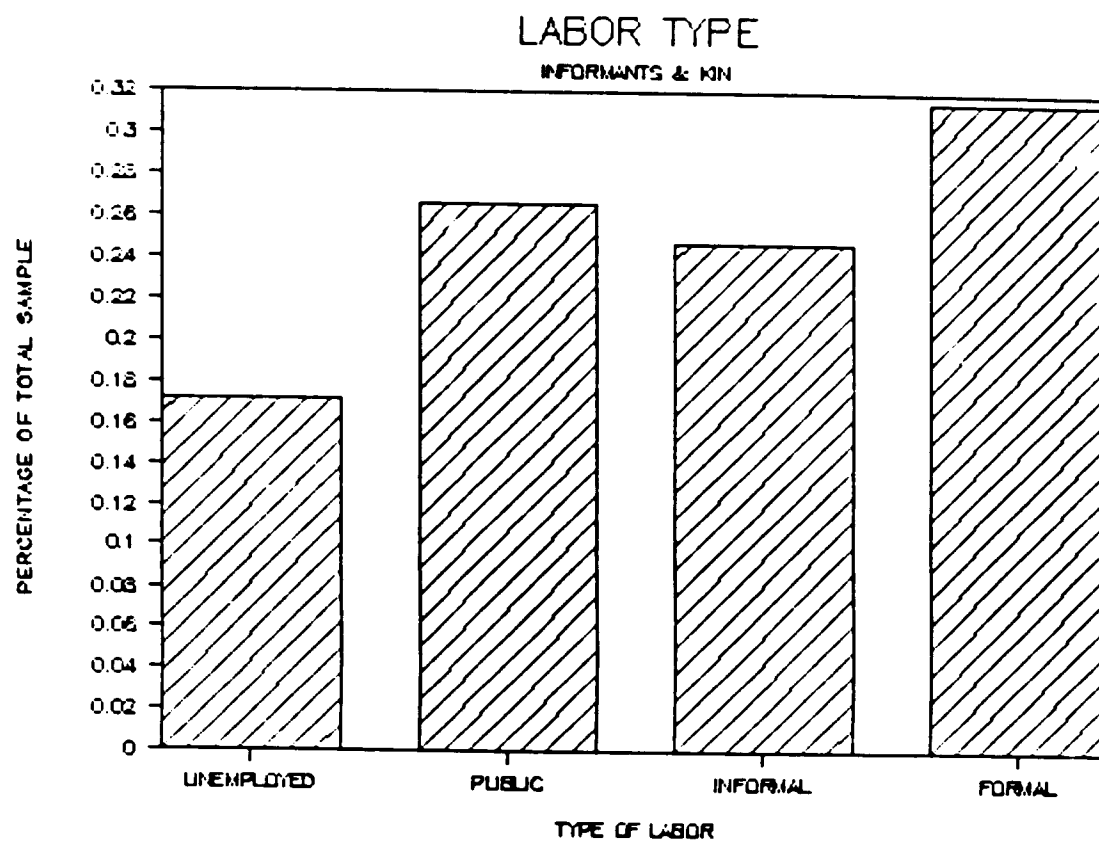


Fig. 5



PUBLIC SECTOR LABOR BY AGE GROUP

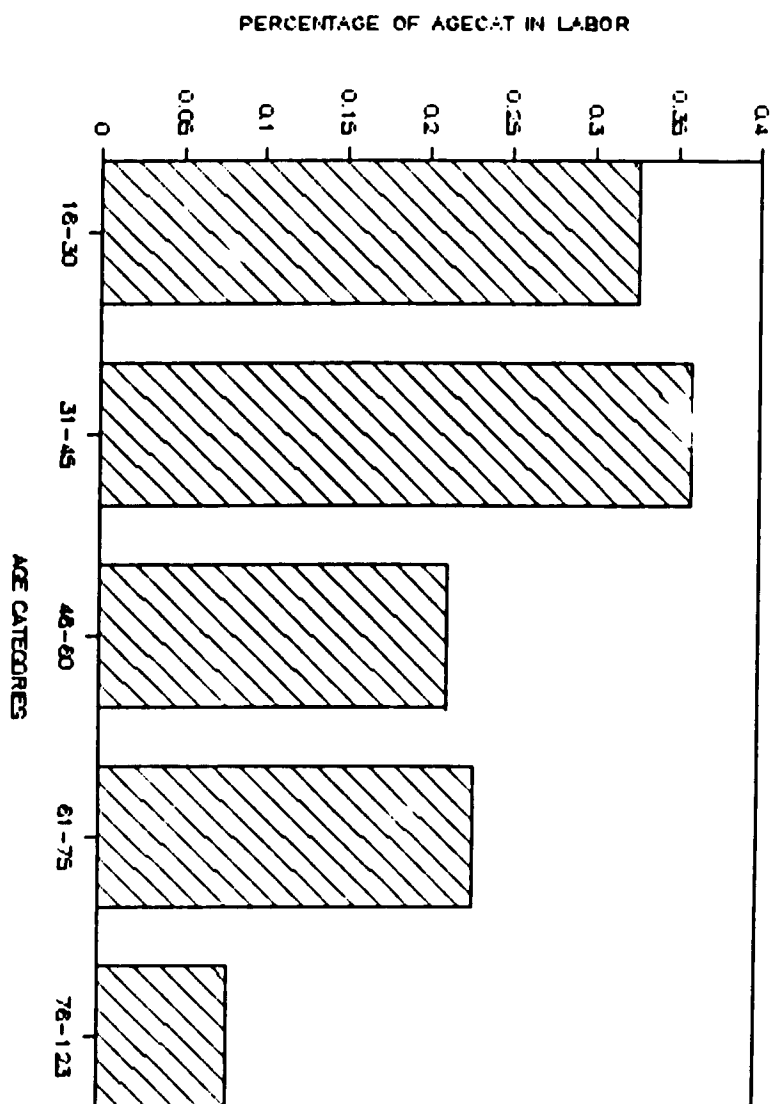
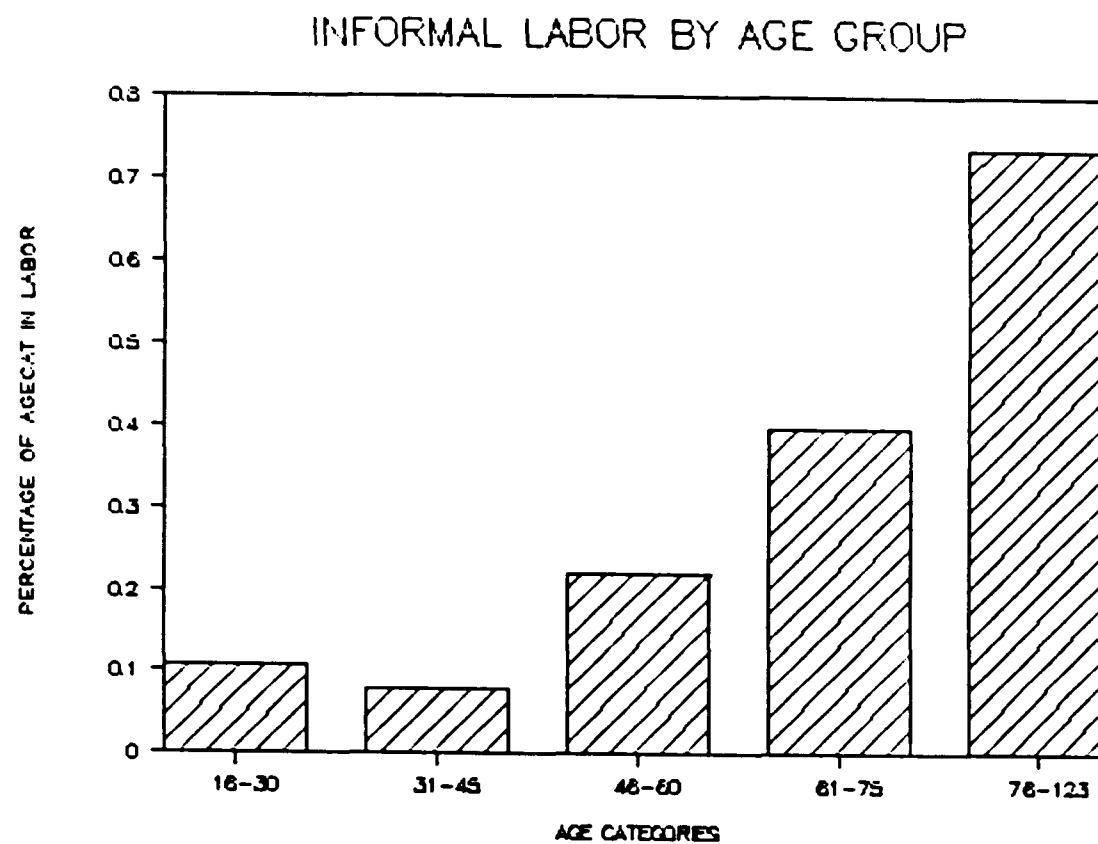


Fig. 7

Fig. 8



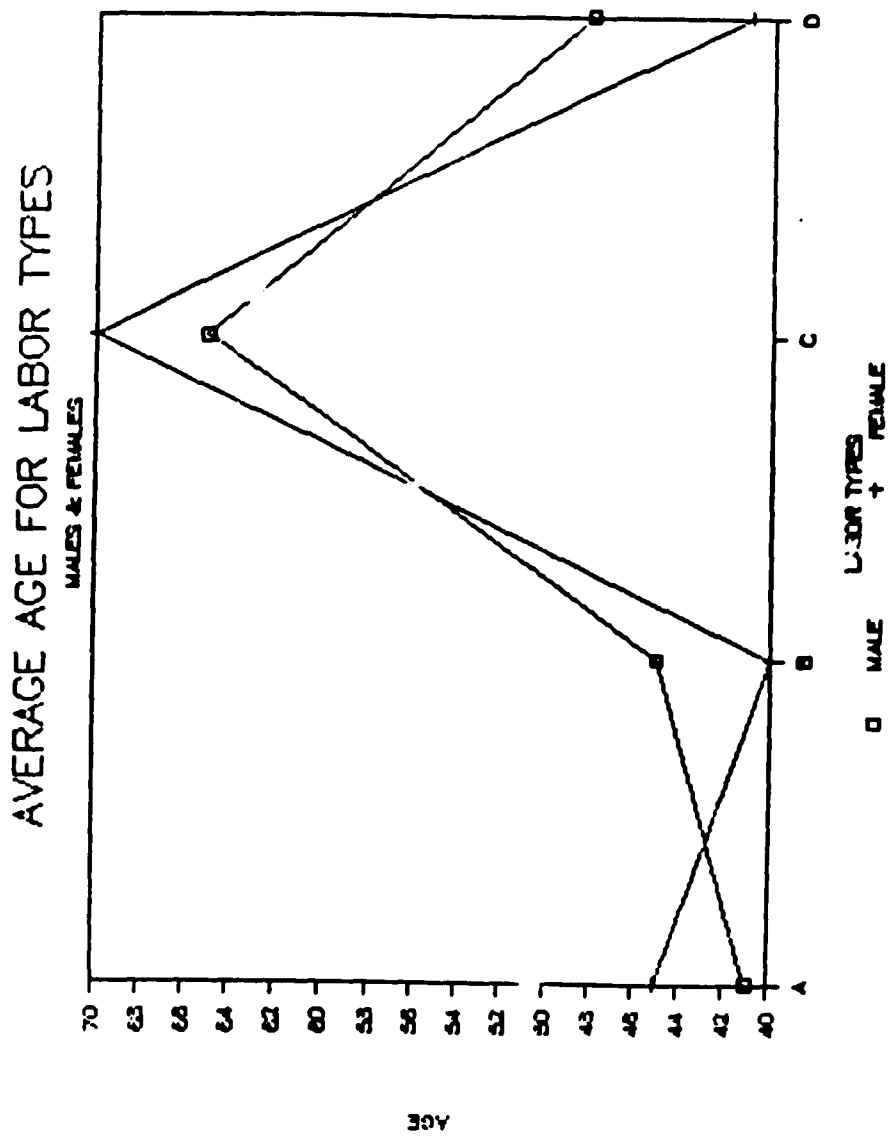
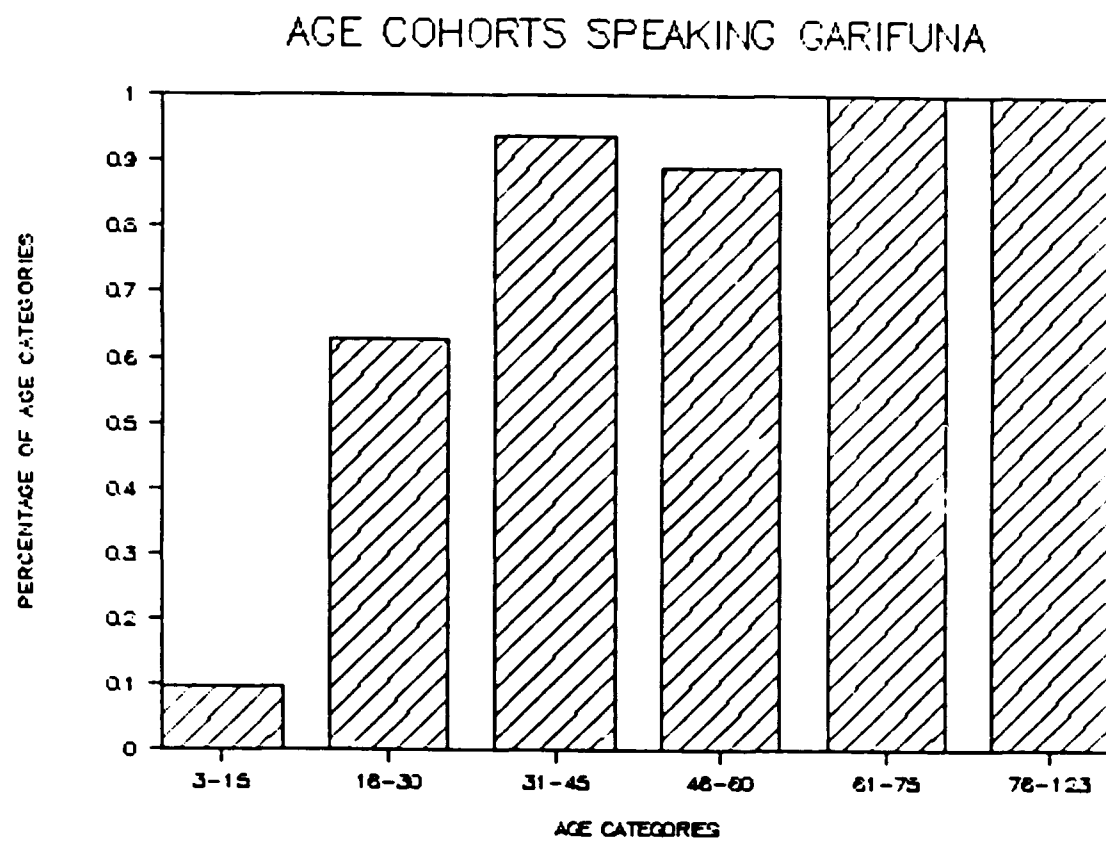


Fig. 9

Fig. 10



AGE COHORTS SPEAKING CREOLE ENGLISH

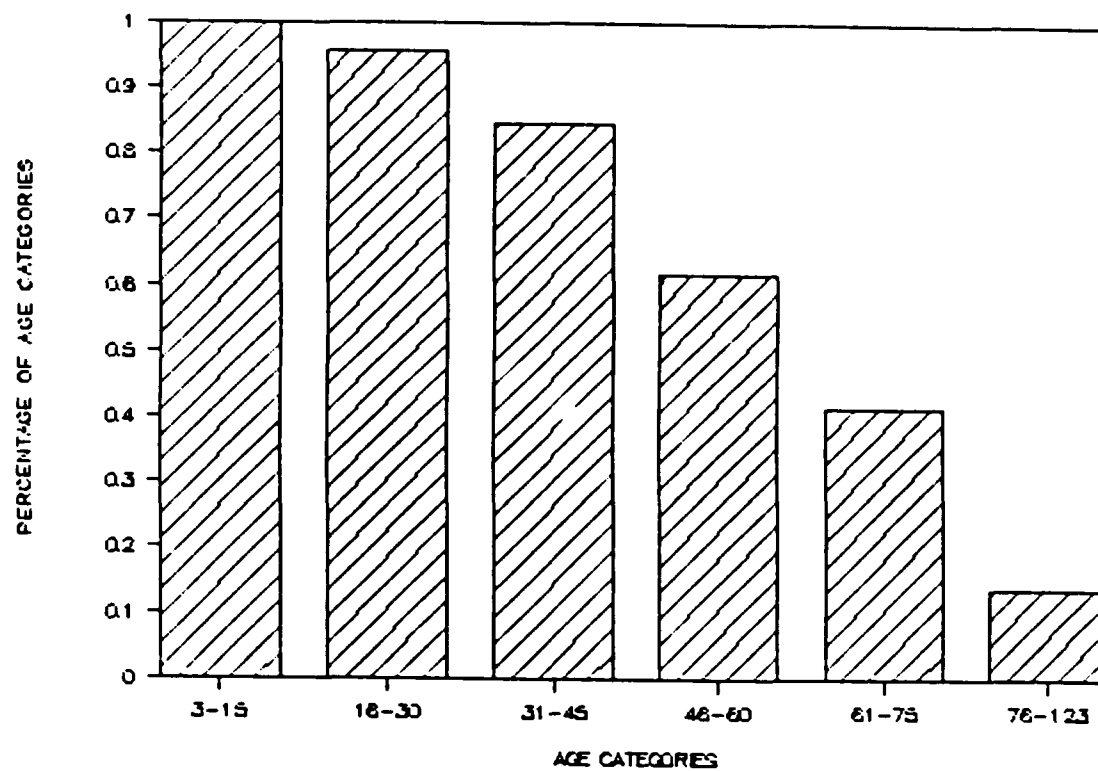


Fig. 11

Fig. 12

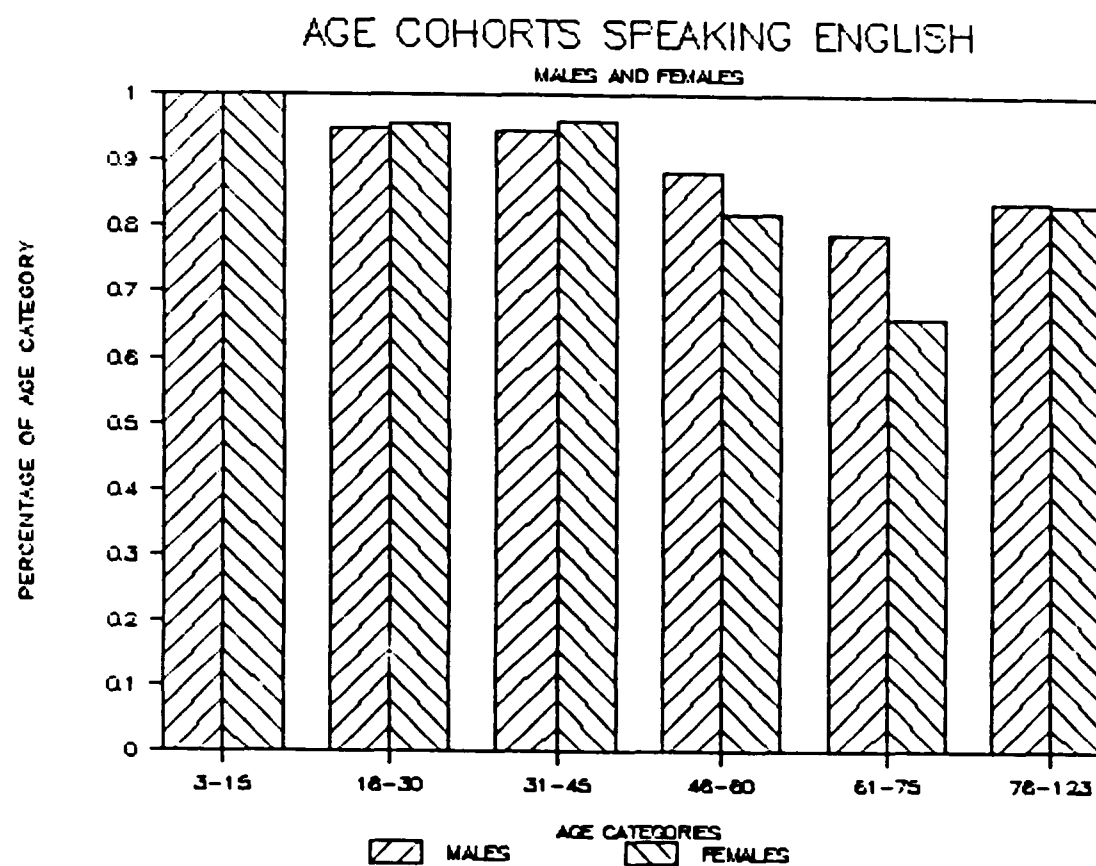


Fig. 13

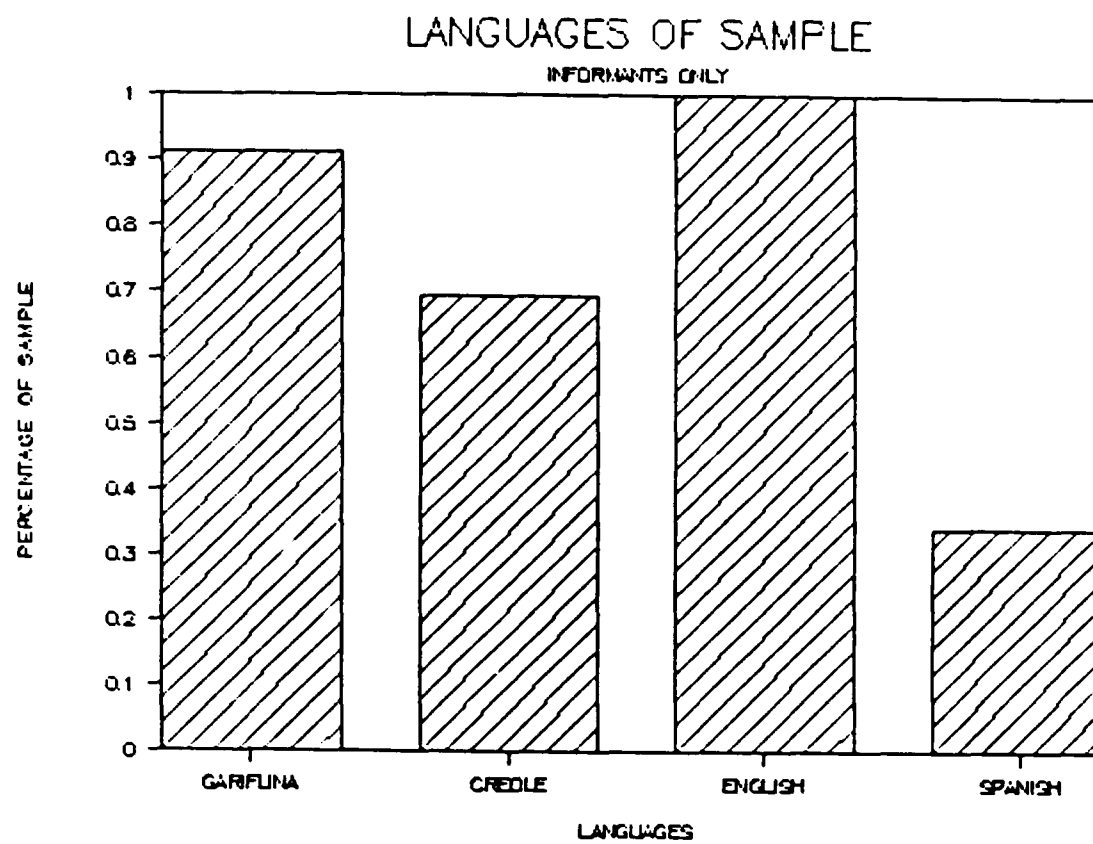


Fig. 14

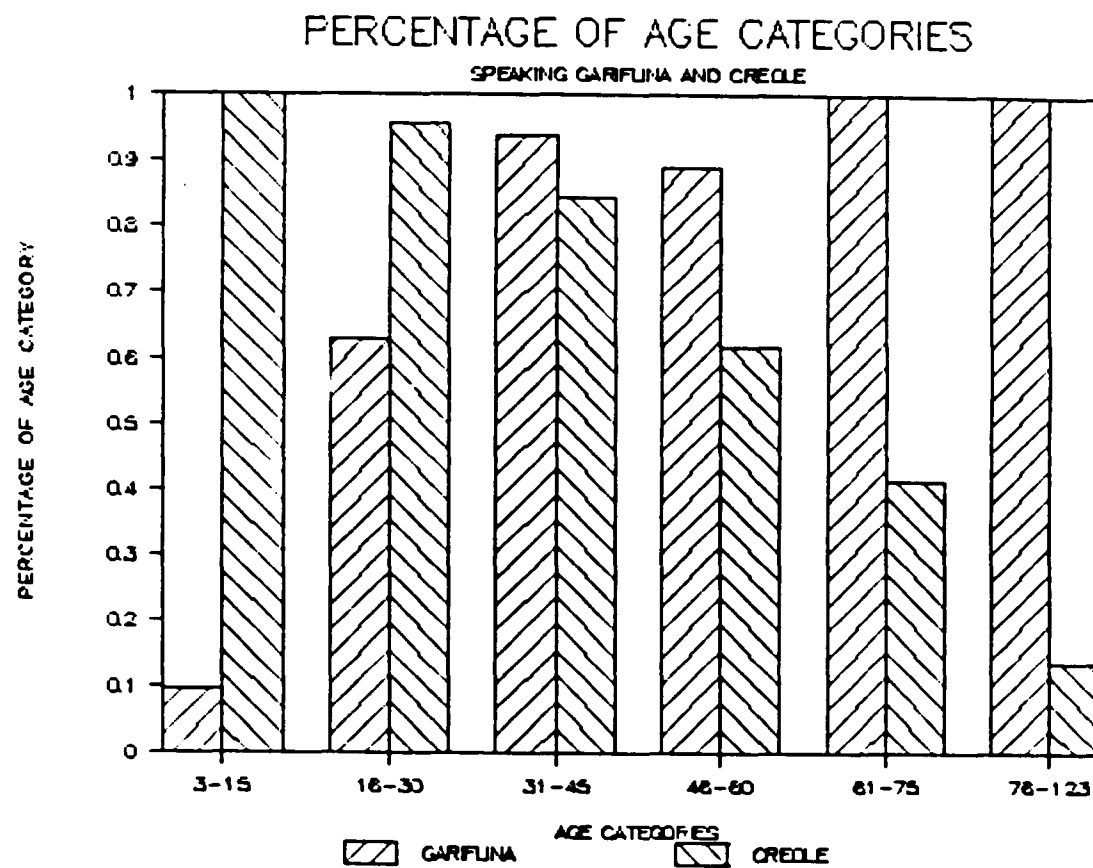
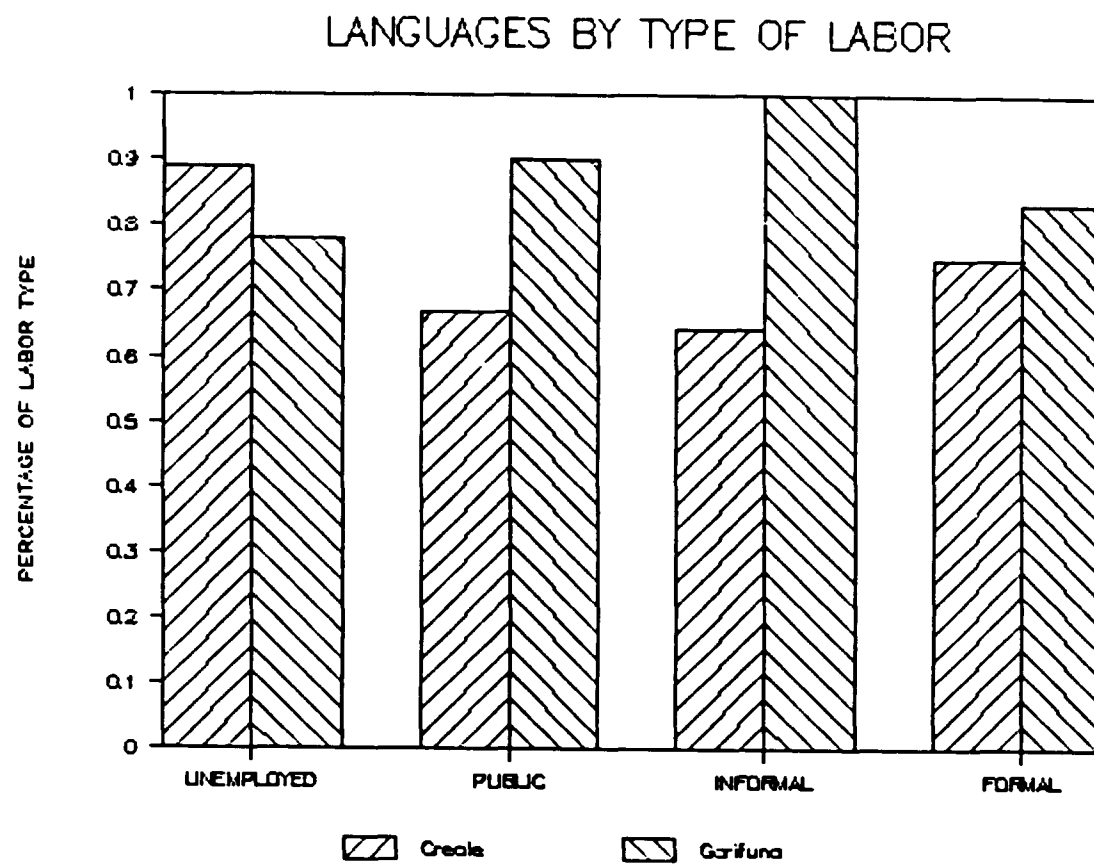


Fig. 15



FRIENDSHIP BY OCCUPATION TYPE

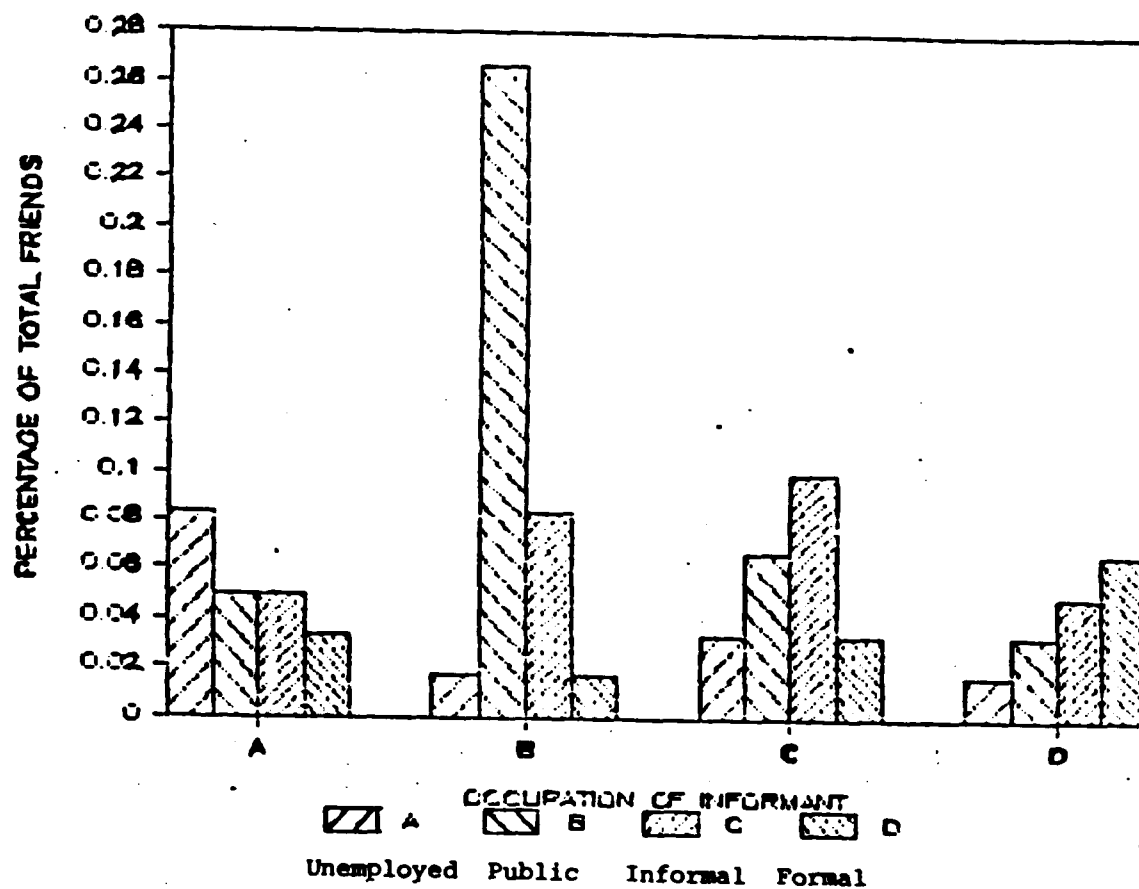


Fig. 16

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