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The term creolization describes the process of acculturation in which Amerindian, European, and African traditions and customs have blended with each other over a prolonged period to create new cultures in the New World. Creole cultures are found in the southern United States, parts of Latin America, and in the Caribbean. These regions share a similar history that includes long periods of European colonial rule, a history of slavery and resistance to slavery, and the cultivation of sugar cane by forced labor. The creolizing process that accompanied these events has created rich forms of cultural expression that have been woven together like the diverse strands in a tapestry to create new cultures. These traditions may bear a resemblance to the older forms from which they derive, but they are distinct in the varying ways they blend with one another. The term Creole was used initially in the sixteenth-century Caribbean to designate people of mixed race also called mulattos who were born of African and European parents. By the seventeenth century, it came to be applied to anyone of European and African descent born in the New World. Since the colonial period, the term has been applied to many aspects of culture. In the culinary arts it designates a highly seasoned type of food cooked with ingredients like okra and tomatoes. It refers to styles of dress that is reminiscent of the colonial era, and in the arts certain musical rhythms and dance steps are identified as Creole. The Creole languages derive from earlier pidginized tongues that developed during the colonial period to allow African slaves and their masters to communicate. Pidgins evolved into more sophisticated languages with more complex grammatical and syntactical structures. Modern Creole languages make extensive use of words from the European languages and may also include some African and Amerindian words. Most Creole grammatical structures are based on the languages native to West Africa, and their forms vary depending on which ethnic groups were brought from Africa or Europe to which regions of the New World. Their linguistic and literary forms, oral or written, express distinctive cultural and social realities that are unique to each region. Religion Creolization has influenced many indigenous religions in the New World. Like the Creole languages, the creolization process combines religious traditions from the peoples of Africa, Europe, and the New World. Creole religions are found in the Brazilian state of Bahia, the countries on the northern coast of South America, and in the Caribbean, Central America, and the southern parts of the United States. These regions share common historical and socioeconomic circumstances related to colonialism, the plantation system, and slavery. The religions that developed in these regions are divided by scholars into several categories. Roman Catholicism In various parts of Central America, Amerindian and African religious traditions have been intermixed with Roman Catholic beliefs and practices, including many of the local rituals associated with various saints and the Virgin. These practices are found in various parts of Brazil and in the Spanish-speaking countries on the western shore of the Gulf of Mexico. Neo-African The Neo-African religions developed within the context of slavery and preserve a considerable number of African religious traditions and some Amerindian traditions, combined with Roman Catholicism. Ancestral religions The ancestral religions have preserved fewer African traditions and derive from various forms of Protestantism imported from the United States to the Caribbean by Christian missionaries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Revivalist religions The Revivalist religions are nineteenth and twentieth century phenomena, and are related to charismatic Protestant movements imported from the United States. Asian religions Another set of Creole religions were brought to the New World beginning around by indentured laborers from Asia. They include Hindu sects in Trinidad, Tobago, and Guyana. The divisions that exist between these categories are merely theoretical, for in reality these religions are not mutually exclusive but take diverse local forms, and the theology of one region may influence that of another. These religions are shaped by their devotees, who may give their allegiance to more than one tradition simultaneously. Creolization as Religious Acculturation The process of creolization that resulted in the blending of various religious traditions began shortly after the establishment of the first European settlements

in the late fifteenth century. The new settlers encountered native Amerindian peoples who possessed their own religious traditions. The colonists, obsessed with the need to acquire land and the prospect of finding gold, enslaved the indigenous peoples and forced them into hard labor. The work was so onerous that by the seventeenth century the number of Amerindians was reduced by more than half. The rapid decrease in the indigenous population necessitated a new source of labor, and Amerindians were replaced with African laborers. Africans were first brought to the Caribbean around 1492, and the total number transported to the New World since then has been estimated at more than twelve million. In their contacts with each other, they shared their religious traditions and succeeded in fashioning religious amalgams that have left indelible marks on the cultures of the New World, and eventually engendered a process of creolization that combined diverse African, Amerindian, and European religious traditions. Creolization varied from region to region and depended upon a number of variables. The ethnic mix and historical circumstances in different regions of the New World are important considerations in the process of creolization. The uneven demographic distribution of various ethnic groups in the colonies resulted in the prominence of some cultures and the preeminence of their religious traditions. The unique mixture of ethnic religious traditions in each colony contributed to the marked diversity in beliefs and practices in different regions. Africans brought from Benin and the Congo had a significant impact on the theology of vodou in Haiti and Louisiana. The African names of these ethnic groups were preserved in many of the Creole religious traditions of the New World. But they now characterize different pantheons of African spirits who function as sustainers of the cosmos, providers, or healers. They developed to fill the needs of colonial societies and include Amerindian spirits from Taino, Arawak, and Carib religions. The length of the period of colonialism and the extent to which Europeans exercised a strong cultural presence in various regions had a significant impact on the process of creolization. In Haiti, however, where European colonial domination and cultural contact ended following the slave revolt in 1804, the people managed to maintain many more African traditions than most other nations in the New World, which remained colonies well into the twentieth century. Catholic traditions The way Creole religions incorporated Christian traditions into their theology is a further consideration. The prominence of Christianity in these religions varies from region to region and especially from Catholic to Protestant colonial territories. Catholicism in these religions is visible in both theology and in ritual. Theologically, the slaves in these areas created a system of reinterpretation in which symbols associated with saints in Christian hagiology were made to correspond with similar symbols associated with the gods in African mythology. Saint Peter, believed to hold the keys to the kingdom of heaven, becomes Elegua or Legba, who in Yoruba and Beninese traditions is the guardian of human destiny. Catholic symbols also found a home in the religions of the New World, which make extensive use of crucifixes, missals, incense, holy water, and lithographs of various saints and by extension of African or Amerindian spirits in their religious rituals. Protestant traditions The mainly British Protestant colonies present a different picture. By and large, the British possessions tended to be less syncretic than the Catholic, mainly because the Protestants undertook the evangelization of the slaves at a much later period. The British thought that Christianity was too sophisticated for Africans to understand, and therefore considered their slaves unfit for it. The Anglican Church of England did not make any systematic efforts to evangelize the slaves in the Caribbean until the 1800s, shortly after the arrival in Jamaica of Moravian and Methodist missionaries from the United States. In contrast, the French began to convert their slaves to Christianity as early as the sixteenth century, and redoubled their efforts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Evangelical influences Protestantism was relatively rare in the Catholic colonies until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Some Protestant denominations flourished in Latin America and the Caribbean in the twentieth century thanks to their evangelical nature. The number of Pentecostals and Baptists in Latin America and the Caribbean today probably exceeds those of the other established Protestant denominations, not only because of their religious zeal but also because of their ardent recruitment methods. The Pentecostals and Holiness groups believe in engaging directly with the spirit world through spiritual trances and glossolalia speaking in tongues, akin to the African ritual styles entrenched in the southern United States, the Caribbean, and the state of Bahia in eastern Brazil. This similarity may have contributed to the conversion of so many thousands of devotees. Charismatics believe that the miracle at Pentecost can be

replicated today and that their bodies can be filled with the Holy Spirit. Speaking in tongues is a profound spiritual achievement that makes it possible to receive divine revelations and to prophesy to the community, heal the sick, and interpret dreams. Pentecostal theology has inspired the formation of religious Creole movements throughout the Caribbean and Latin America, many combining traditional African rituals with evangelical Protestant theology. Because these groups are independent of each other it is difficult to estimate their number, but there are probably about a hundred charismatic movements in the Caribbean, each slightly different. These sects are unusual in combining aspects of African and Protestant traditions. Like African rituals, Pentecostal and Baptist styles of worship use every possible visible and auditory vehicle to engage the congregants. The rituals are "danced out" rather than conceived intellectually; they do not separate the mind from the body by leading a participant to high-flown intellectual exercises, but claim the entire person. But despite their Africanness, these religions are not merely replicas of their African counterparts. Hinduism too has played an important role in the creolization of religions in the New World, and especially in the Caribbean. Although there are small communities of Hindus throughout the Caribbean, the largest concentrations are in Trinidad, Guyana, and Suriname. The religious presence of Hinduism in the Caribbean came about because of the abolition of slavery. Their importation to the New World spanned a period of seventy-two years in which some , people came to Trinidad alone. More were brought to Suriname, Guyana, Martinique, and Guadeloupe. These immigrants originated in the northwestern part of India and belonged to several social castes. About 15 percent of them were priests brahmins who founded support organizations in an effort to maintain Hindu traditions. Today these organizations have sought to standardize Hindu worship and supervise the teaching of its traditions in some sixty Hindu schools in Trinidad alone. It has created new myths, rituals, and festivals, such as the annual Holi Pagwa, that bear little resemblance to those of India. Hinduism has evolved into a Creole religion original to the New World. Among some several million emigrants are priests and priestesses of the various Creole religions. They have established temples wherever they are and continue to wield considerable authority over the people they serve. Devotees recreate their rituals by adapting them to their new cultural milieu. The Creole religions in the diaspora are noteworthy for their multiethnic character. Ritual participation is open to members of all cultural and ethnic groups, whites as well as blacks. African Americans who seek to integrate aspects of black nationalism with an authentic African worldview are particularly attracted to the Creole religious communities. The energy, creativity, and resourcefulness of these communities will undoubtedly further alter the Creole religions as they adapt their cultural and religious traditions to suit their new communities. The Creole traditions in the diaspora will very likely continue to diversify. How they do so will depend upon their demographic composition and the theological inclinations of their members. See Also Bibliography Bastide, Roger. African Civilisations in the New World. Translated by Peter Green. The African Religions of Brazil: Toward a Sociology of the Interpenetration of Civilizations. Translated by Helen Sebba. San Francisco , Santeria from Africa to the New World: The Dead Sell Memories. Brown, Diana de G.

Chapter 2 : The Social context of Creolization

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This is not addressed in specific detail but in all fairness, the authors state that the analyses they present are provisional. What they do argue about the assumed process of creolization is that it took place in stages, the first of which involved Old Norse and Old English contact in the late Anglo-Saxon period. Given that contact between Norse and English speakers took place in Danelaw areas, removed from London and the southern regions which would later be the focus of contact between French and English, this purported influence of Norse creolization seems odd. However, the authors postulate that substantial immigration to London from the Danelaw in the fourteenth century had a significant linguistic impact on the English varieties of the capital. Norse creolization was followed by two stages of French and English creolization: Bailey and Maroldt *ibid.*: The following discussion outlines some of the main problems which fall into each or all of these categories. There are two problematic issues here: Depending on the circumstances, contact can create a wide range of linguistic outcomes: To say that contact generally boils down to the same effect “creolization” is, as Thomason and Kaufman The extensive analysis carried out by Thomason and Kaufman These authors also maintain that there was no social and linguistic motivation for Norse creolization to occur, an issue to which we will return. It is not clear, however, why these correlations are presented as indisputable. The authors do not make available any evidence that constructions such as *aller* infinitive, *oravoir* main verb present participle, for example, actually existed in the French varieties of post-Conquest England. Equally importantly, there is also no evidence that the equivalents of such constructions did not already exist in English. Indeed, Bailey and Maroldt *ibid.*: This, however, contradicts characteristic 2 of Middle English see above: Thus, although *thou* and *you* began to be used to indicate social distance between speakers a usage that continued and developed during the Early Modern period; see Chapter 5 , they also still retained their previous Anglo-Saxon functions of denoting number in the second person pronoun a usage that also continued beyond the ME period. While the *of*-genitive was used during ME, it was as we saw in Section 4. As we saw in Section 4. Thus, nouns continued to carry case genitive and number plural marking; pronouns retained the synthetic nature of their OE antecedents, signalling case, gender, number and person; verbs continued to carry present indicative, subjunctive, preterite and participle inflections; and adjectives retained for a time weak and strong declensional forms as well as comparative and superlative suffixes. Furthermore, the southern and London varieties of ME, speakers of which would have had the most contact with French, appear to have been more inflectionally conservative than other varieties: The authors assume, as stated earlier, that the meeting of different English and French inflectional paradigms caused such confusion that speakers abandoned them. However, as we saw in Chapter 3, inflectional reduction was well under way in OE by the ninth century and indeed, is very likely to have begun much earlier. There is therefore no reason to assume that the processes of levelling and reduction in ME were anything but a continuation of tendencies already clearly observable in preceding stages. Overall, as Thomason and Kaufman Contact and conflict, therefore, are not the unequivocal catalysts of change in this context that Bailey and Maroldt present them as being. For example, they state, quite The History of English rightly, that some assessments of characteristics in linguistic systems are necessarily variable and have to be judged not comparatively, but independently. However, the authors themselves do not consistently adhere to this principle. While there is indeed a high proportion of French loans in ME, these words were ultimately a component of a much bigger, predominantly Germanic lexicon. In addition, while statistical counts may give the impression that the proportion of French words was extremely high in actual usage Bailey and Maroldt These concepts, once current in linguistic thought and in all fairness, at the time Bailey and Maroldt were writing , have long since been revised. It is therefore perhaps time to update the critical stance by looking at current perspectives in creole studies. Numerous theories of creole genesis and creolization have been formulated since these languages first began to be recorded and studied in the seventeenth century. Middle English, “ In both types of explanation, creolization has been typically associated with contexts of language contact created by colonizing practices particularly slavery and

indentureship, which often brought ethnically diverse groups, speaking mutually unintelligible languages, together in exogenous settings. In such situations, a superstratal group, typically comprising members of the colonizing nation, were socio-politically dominant over a numerically larger but culturally and linguistically diverse substratal group who were socio-politically powerless such as slaves and indentured labourers. Proponents of this theory typically maintained that creoles combined a grammatical system derived from the substrata, and a lexicon from the superstratal language: Yet this is not their position. Although they repeatedly claim language mixture and the production of a new, creole system, the stance that their analysis instead seems to feed is change in English under the influence of French – a position which we have already seen as problematic in other ways. We have also seen that this analysis of ME is erroneous, but even if it were not, it would involve inaccurate assumptions about the structural nature of creoles. Some of these are listed below.

Elimination of inflections for number in nouns and for gender and case in pronouns. For a fuller explanation, see Singh Identity of adverb and adjective as in come quick adverb ;a quick job adjective. The use of an all-purpose preposition *na* as in you no see one man kill one tarra one na Cowra tarra day? Development of compound prepositions of the type *na nounde*, or some other genitive marker as *foe* in Sranan. The overall simplicity of these languages as such. Structures 5 and 6 are not found in French creoles *ibid*. Feature 7 does not occur in current usage in French creoles, nor in English creoles in the Caribbean. It remains largely undefined in linguistics, mainly because it has no fixed criteria which can delimit it objectively and, as such, has been used variously to describe sometimes subjectively very different processes and features. Grammaticalization, for example, could produce derivational or Middle English, – inflectional morphemes, as could the borrowing of loanwords see Chapter 1. Having been restricted historically to sub tropical European colonies of the past few centuries, creoles are far from being a general structural type of language although they form a special sociohistorically defined group of vernaculars. We will return to creolization in Chapter 5. The authors, in accordance with established theories of creolization such as those cited earlier, assume the presence of superstratal French and substratal English groups in the Middle English period but with none of the social distance that would typify a context of creolization. Indeed, the authors themselves state that: Instead, as we have seen, it is perhaps more likely that bilingualism for sectors of the population was the likely outcome, with assimilation to the larger settled English-speaking population occurring within a few generations of English-born Norman descendants. It also extended the concepts of creoles and creolization flaws apart outside of the situations with which they have been typically and sometimes derogatorily associated. By suggesting that creolization was a product of language contact and could therefore arise anywhere if the situation was right, they implied that creoles were not marginal or unusual systems – a derogatory perspective that retained currency for a long time in discourses on the subject.

Chapter 3 : Creolization - Atlantic History - Oxford Bibliographies

What factors in the social context trigger or retard the linguistic processes involved in pidginization and creolization and how? This unique collection is the first devoted entirely to the investigation of the social conditions surrounding the formation of pidgins and creoles, an area of research that has been attracting increasing attention among creolists and sociolinguists.

History, Culture, and Globalization Kevin A. Yelvington In the present age of globalization, it is often forgotten that these world-encompassing processes were initiated with European expansion into the Caribbean beginning more than five hundred years ago. We now see the proliferation of overseas factories enabling owners, producers, and consumers of products to be in widely distant locales. It seems to us that in the search for profits, commercial activity has recently spread to every corner of the earth. We observe that the continual movement of humans across borders results in new forms of hybrid and creolized cultures. And, we feel that the world around us is moving faster and faster: At that time, industrial techniques and a rational approach to time management were applied to the production and export of sugar, tobacco, and other commodities to be consumed by the burgeoning European urban bourgeois, artisan, and working-classes. It means donning a perspective that allows or, better, forces one to simultaneously reckon the larger processes and the historical specificities of this complex world region. This leads to a failure to realize that the primary axis of colonial expansion was decidedly to the south, where populations of indigenous peoples were ill-equipped militarily to completely deter the invaders and possessed no resistance to the diseases the Europeans brought with them. The Caribbean was fortuitously situated in terms of soils, climate, and location to facilitate the westward development of the nascent European sugar industry from Sicily, Spain, and the Atlantic islands. Columbus brought the first sugar cane to the Caribbean on his second voyage in ; he brought it from the Spanish Canary Islands. It is likely that enslaved Africans from Spain also accompanied him on that voyage, foreshadowing the African-slave-sugar-commodity connection. In the Western hemisphere, sugar was first grown in the present-day Dominican Republic and shipped back to Europe around With the rapid destruction of the native populations, enslaved African laborers were imported shortly after the first canes were planted, thus paving the way for the proliferation of the widespread and centuries-enduring plantation complex and the rapid transformation of tastes and consumption in Europe. One by one, at least six European powers entered the fray and wrestled with each over the riches to be obtained from the region under colonization. Caribbean islands were exchanged as part of peace negotiations after European wars, and sometimes captured outright by those countries that could muster the naval power so far from their shores. The source of this wealth was the fruits of the labor of enslaved Africans. Commercial and military intervention on the African coast ensured a supply of captive laborers for the plantations. The slave trade represented the largest capital investment in the world, meaning that the slaves themselves were valuable commodities, and was promoted and patronized by the royal families and leading merchants and politicians of Europe. Jamaica received nearly twice as many slaves as were imported into the United States; Barbados and Martinique, tiny islands where plantation slavery was established very early, each received roughly the amount received by the whole United States. While these figures cannot take into account the many millions who died en route, they do provide an idea of the intensity of Caribbean slavery. Caribbean slaves were notoriously malnourished, overworked, and susceptible to disease. They died in droves. It was cheaper for planters to simply import new slaves than to maintain their existing labor forces, and women were not encouraged to bear children until it appeared the slave trade would end. While Caribbean slavery was diverse and no two islands had the same experience, the exigencies of the sugar production process imposed certain common patterns. The climate dictated harvesting times. Fields were often laid out according to geometric patterns, with a central mill and boiling house. Women generally predominated in field labor, and in marketing activities. Most of the skilled and prestigious tasks on the plantation were reserved for men. This did not mean that ethnic identities of Africans and Europeans did not continue to be salient in a given colony. For example, ethnicity was implicated in slave revolts, and European colonists of differing nationality were often at odds. At the same time, Europeans and those of European

descent protected each other from the rigors of the system and permanent slave status. The pattern of ethnic relations varied somewhat from island to island. The ending of slavery was not a uniform process. A dramatic slave uprising and revolution beginning in made for an independent Haiti, only the second independent nation in the Americas after the United States , in In England, a combination of free market forces and humanitarian interests ended the slave trade in , and slavery by In Cuba, it was not until that the institution finally trickled away. Post-Emancipation Society The transition from slavery to freedom entailed hardship and conflict, followed by a period of adjustment for both the ex-slaves and planters alike. Many ex-slaves continued to work on plantations, but more on their own terms. Some formed peasant communities. To save their profits in part by cutting the wages of the ex-slaves, planters and the colonial state brought in indentured workers from around the world, and they lived in slave-like conditions in the Caribbean. Africans came to Jamaica and Trinidad. Suriname also received 22, indentured Javanese. Slavery and indenture left the legacy of divided loyalties, ethnic and class competition, and wide disparities in wealth and access to resources that today imprints all aspects of Caribbean society, economics, and politics. As the anti-slavery struggle finally ended, it gave way to the anti-colonial, nationalist struggle, a prominent feature of twentieth-century Caribbean life, led for the most part by workers and their nascent organizations. This experience was also diverse see Table 2. Political differences, linguistic diversity, and traditions and prejudices inherited from the differing colonial powers have meant that the Caribbean has suffered from a lack of unity and insular worldviews. Islanders often feel more in common with the colonial metropole than with the residents of the island next door who speak a different language. If there was nothing, there was everything to be made. Lucia, won the Nobel. Performers such as the Mighty Sparrow, Celia Cruz, and the late Bob Marley have achieved worldwide fame, and to these names could be added many others. Trinidadian carnival masker Peter Minshall was artistic director for the opening and closing ceremonies of the Olympics in Barcelona, the Olympics in Atlanta, and the World Cup opening ceremony in the United States. Novelists and poets including Jamaica Kincaid, V. Naipaul, and Kamau Brathwaite have found homes and followings abroad while their work is still identifiable as Caribbean. But these attainments are not the only consequences of Caribbean culture building. The practice of everyday life as well as the development of expressive and communicative culture and religion might fruitfully be seen through the prism of creolization. Creolization may be more pronounced in some areas of culture than in others; it depends on historical context and sets its own standards. Creolization is evident in syncretic Caribbean religions and their uses to oppose the established order. Caribbean music and art forms, such as Carnival in Trinidad and Cuba and Jonkonnu in Jamaica, are complex outcomes of the creolization process that include African-derived, European-derived, and even Amerindian-derived strains. Such art and stylized play involves resistance and opposition. In Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Haiti, for instance, French is the official language used in legal proceedings, on television, and in schools , while creole is spoken on the streets and in the home in informal conversation. As Table 3 shows, the Caribbean is characterized by its linguistic heterogeneity and complexity. Everyday Caribbean speech is lively and vibrant, and much is informed by African language structures. Indeed, African words from Yoruba, Kikongo, and other languages even show up in present-day religious ceremonies. Language situations demonstrate hierarchy as well. Despite recent attempts at local language promotion and celebration, the old European and current North American depiction of the languages of Africans and their descendants as somehow deficient remains in some quarters in the Caribbean. When their value is acknowledged, creole languages and local forms of speech are incorrectly thought to be useful only to convey folklore traditions, not abstract or theoretical thought. But these discourses may generate opposition. In any case, identity politics today are seriously compromised and caught up in commercialism and international advertising. People on the Move Not only does Caribbean cultural production move in international orbits. Caribbean people do, too. Movement has always been a feature of Caribbean society, and its very basis is caught up in the idea of migration. Planters and colonial officials often saw their Caribbean sojourns as temporary. Enslaved Africans were dragged from their homelands and, being regarded as chattel, were often sold, moving from plantation to plantation and from island to island. Indentured workers came with the intention of returning, but only a small percentage ever did. After slavery, Caribbean people moved around the region and beyond in search of the few opportunities available. After the

Haitian Revolution, white and mulatto planters and their slaves fled to Cuba and to Louisiana. In the 1850s, West Indians worked on the Panama railroad. At the beginning of the twentieth century, perhaps 100,000, Caribbean migrants to Central America to work on the U.S. Panama Canal and for U.S. At the same time, hundreds of thousands of workers went from Jamaica, Haiti, and the Leeward Islands to Cuba and the Dominican Republic to cut cane, many facing nativistic hostility. Caribbean intellectuals and political leaders often got their start abroad. Puerto Rican bibliophile and political activist Arthur Schomburg was part of a radical Caribbean tradition in the United States of the 1890s and 1900s. Trinidadian Marxist thinker and historian C. James was based for much of his life in London. As innumerable studies of Caribbean immigrant groups in North America have shown, these people have dramatically altered their new communities, enriching local cultures with their carnival, music, entrepreneurial ways, work ethic, political activism, and love of education. Afro-Caribbean religions have also found new adherents in immigrant communities and beyond. Concentrated in Toronto, in Florida, and in the northeastern United States where their numbers are growing see Table 4, Caribbean migrants are often better positioned with regard to education and resources than are many natives of the United States. There has been friction with African Americans and Latinos, as well as moments of cooperation. Conservative middle-class Cuban exiles with Caribbean political clout were able to affect U.S. Many Caribbean people abroad keep one foot in the new setting and one foot back home, following political developments and providing financial and emotional support to kin from afar. Remittances to Jamaica, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic, for example, are in the hundreds of millions of U.S. But the vast movement of people and things is and always has been Caribbean, showing in another way how the Caribbean anticipated and now exemplifies the modern globalized world. Nigel Bolland, *On the March: Labour Rebellion in the British Caribbean*, Kingston: References Knight, Franklin W. *Genesis of a Fragmented Nationalism*. Oxford University Press, University of North Carolina Press,

Chapter 4 : Creolization - Wikipedia

REVIEWS Ross Clark's 'Social contexts of early South Pacific pidgins' () is an excellent example of the use of socio-historical evidence in conjunction with linguistic data to reconstruct the early social contexts of pidginization and creolization in the Pacific region.

Two opposing assumptions now dominate this branch of the historiography. The first emphasizes continuities between Africa and the Americas, while the second posits the Middle Passage as a traumatic break, a fundamental rupture that removed Africans from most vestiges of their former lives. Adherents of the second assumption focus on how Africans changed after they arrived in the Americas. Since the mid-1900s, models based on European-African interactions have been adapted and applied to the study of native groups in the Caribbean, Latin America, and North America. These analyses not only look at interactions between native peoples and Europeans or Africans, but also between different native peoples themselves, including how they formed and shifted alliances from the 15th through 19th centuries. Most of these studies either use particular themes or. In addition, some strong comparative studies have begun to broaden the field, and as the number of college courses on race, ethnicity, and identity escalate, these are sure to grow in number. General Overviews

Historical interest in creolization is often driven by an interest in discovering the origins of contemporary, diverse societies. Though race receives pride of place in such discussions, it is not the only theme through which creolization is explored; other possibilities include politics, power, economics, and culture. Scholarly works such as Barnabe, et al. Hall goes one step farther, arguing that specific African ethnicities not only crossed the Atlantic but also drove the process of creolization in the Americas. Manning, by contrast, refuses to divide the African diaspora into the experiences of separate regions and nations. Instead, Manning follows the multiple routes that brought Africans and people of African descent into contact with one another and with Europe, Asia, and the Americas. Other works, such as Burton, take a more contemporary stance, arguing that cultural models formed during imperialism are responsible for postcolonial inequities of wealth and political power. White and Richter apply some of these same criteria of cultural exchange and adaptation to Native American communities. White focuses more on the peoples, economies, and experiences in what is now the upper Midwest, while Richter centers on lands and peoples east of the Mississippi Valley. The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, "Institutions, customs, and attitudes were shaped by African and European influences, but, as part of a wider regional complex, they were also influenced by regional economics and political and revolutionary ideologies. Originally published by Clarendon Press Oxford in Power, Opposition, and Play in the Caribbean. Cornell University Press, Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: University of North Carolina Press, Explores the persistence and significance of links between particular ethnic groups in Africa divided into Greater Senegambia, Lower Guinea, and the Bantulands and the enslaved in the Americas through analysis of the temporal and spatial dimensions of the slave trade. A History through Culture. Columbia University Press, In so doing, he places the transatlantic experience within a large global context that includes the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. Institute for the Study of Human Issues, An Anthropological Perspective Boston: Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America. Harvard University Press, Cambridge University Press, Overturns traditional historical accounts that portrayed white conquest as inevitable or Indian defeat as absolute, and suggests instead that European and Indian contact produced a rich intermingling of cultures in their early years of contact. Users without a subscription are not able to see the full content on this page. Please subscribe or login. How to Subscribe Oxford Bibliographies Online is available by subscription and perpetual access to institutions. For more information or to contact an Oxford Sales Representative click here.

Woolford, Ellen is the author of 'Social Context of Creolization', published under ISBN and ISBN

The concept of creolization lies at the very center of discussions of transculturalism, transnationalism, multiculturalism, diversity, and hybridization. It then goes on to look at the transformation of this experience into a theoretical framework for pluralism that consciously sought to avoid the binary pitfalls of its antecedents. It concludes with a brief look at the work of several key authors and surveys recent critiques of the Caribbean creolization movement. Despite its currency in literary, cultural, and critical circles, the term creolization cannot be fully understood without taking into account its historical background and geographical context. In these terms, creolization must be seen not simply as a synonym for hybridity but as a phenomenon that is indispensable to understanding the New World experience. Although the history of the term dates back several decades earlier, its critical status in the early s is largely the result of a number of publications emanating from the French Caribbean in the s. Caribbean Context The origins of creolization for the Caribbean region arguably lie in the contested and interrelated processes of colonization, slavery, and migration that both brought the New World into being and gave it impetus and direction. Once the indigenous New World populations were decimated, the growth and development of plantation economies that arose in the Caribbean in the seventeenth century produced pathbreaking patterns of economic and cultural exchange between Europe , the New World of the Americasâ€”including Central America , the Guianas, Mexico, and Brazilâ€”and the African continent. Catalyzed by the slave trade, which forcibly removed untold numbers of peoples of diverse racial, cultural, and geographical origin from their African homelands and transplanted them onto vast island plantations, these already variegated groups subsequently came into contact with other transplanted peoples from Europe, South Asia , China , and the Middle East. As a result, the Caribbean region quickly became a key nodal point in what would become the creolization of these composite populations. The "double consciousness" imposed by the duality of their legal and cultural status encouraged these thinkers to come to terms with the dilemma of belonging posed by departmentalization. Their solution was to seek out the origins of this pluralism, and to celebrate it. Importantly, however, they were certainly not the first to do so. Some twenty years earlier, the Barbadian historian and poet Edward Brathwaite sought to establish patterns of creole interaction as a sort of sociological foundation for Caribbean societies. In his *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, â€”* , Brathwaite proposed that the principles of cultural distinction and unitary origin through which societies were typically analyzed and categorized be abandoned in the Caribbean case, recognizing instead the intrinsic ethnic and cultural pluralism of the islands. The cultural intersection, ethnic admixture, and linguistic cross-fertilization that lay at the core of the Caribbean experience would be made to contest the historical discontinuity and geographical and political fragmentation through which the region traditionally had been framed. However, although each of these categories responds to the implicit pluralisms of the colonial encounter, each also reflects specific differences within the colonial experience that are not easily rendered in general terms. What the authors of the *Eloge* sought to convey above all was the abandonment of negative binaries in favor of the creative openness that lies behind any conception of the creole. Indeed, their aim more specifically was to develop modalities for creative expression in the arts that would reflect and embody the multiplicity and complexity of the creole mosaic. Thus the creole language serves as a fundamental metaphor for the key goals and tenets of French Caribbean creolization. Born and nurtured on the plantation, it was brought into being both by the interaction of slaves deliberately separated by ethnic group to forestall the possibility of communication that might lead to resistance and revolt, through the influence of Maroons runaway slaves and by the interaction of these groups with the colonial culture. The basic paradox intrinsic to such an approach lay in the fact that adopting the negritude paradigm would simply amount to exchanging one unitary model of culture for another. Neither the European nor the African paradigm could contain the myriad ethnic influences and creative cultural exchange that had given rise to the Caribbean. For this, they would turn to the work of Edouard Glissant. The son of working-class parents, Chamoiseau studied sociology and law in Paris before moving back to Martinique, where he became a social

worker. The novel was eventually translated into more than twenty languages. Chamoiseau continues to live in Martinique, where he writes novels as well as short stories, screenplays, autobiography, childhood memoirs, and texts for pictorial histories. The novel traces years of postemancipation Martinican history through the eyes and voice of Marie-Sophie Laborieux, the aging daughter of a freed slave. An accomplished novelist and poet as well as an important cultural theorist, Edouard Glissant had produced more than half a dozen creative works by the time he published his groundbreaking *Caribbean Discourse* in 1997. In this work, he also sought to take his vision of Caribbean reality beyond the epistemological boundaries of *négritude*. Glissant locates the key axes of this concept between uprooting and transformation. Within these patterns of intersection and exchange, he demarcates the terms of Caribbean survival. From this viewpoint, despite the specific historic context and catalyst of migration, colonialism, slavery, and indentured labor, the concept of creolization was applicable to many cultures and civilizations beyond the Caribbean basin. He began publishing in the mid-1970s, and his novels, plays, essays, and volumes of poetry have won many outstanding prizes. The interpenetration of languages and cultures that lies at the core of this process of creolization posits contact and chaos, cultural relativity, and exchange and transformation as key tools in a polyvalent system of thought that redefines traditional notions of identity. Here, they stress the pluralities of creoleness: In these terms, creolization establishes its specific difference from hybridity, reflecting its beginnings in colonialism and slavery as well as the ceaseless redefinition and rebirth that are its primary constituent elements. *African Diaspora ; Identity: University of Florida Press, The Caribbean and the Postmodern Perspective. Translated by James E. Duke University Press, Stanford University Press, The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1670-1813* Edouard Glissant and Postcolonial Theory. University Press of Virginia, *Power, Opposition, and Play in the Caribbean. Cornell University Press, Haiti , Guadeloupe, Martinique, Guyana , 1997* Cambridge University Press, Translated by Betsy Wing. University of Michigan Press, *Two Models of Cultural Diversity. Creole Identity in the French Caribbean Novel.* Adlai Murdoch Pick a style below, and copy the text for your bibliography.

Chapter 6 : Creolization and Pidginization in Contexts of Postcolonial Diversity

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Overview[edit] A creole is believed to arise when a pidgin, developed by adults for use as a second language, becomes the native and primary language of their children – a process known as nativization. Like most non-official and minority languages, creoles have generally been regarded in popular opinion as degenerate variants or dialects of their parent languages. Because of that prejudice, many of the creoles that arose in the European colonies, having been stigmatized, have become extinct. However, political and academic changes in recent decades have improved the status of creoles, both as living languages and as object of linguistic study. Linguists now recognize that creole formation is a universal phenomenon, not limited to the European colonial period, and an important aspect of language evolution see Vennemann For example, in Sigmund Feist postulated a creole origin for the Germanic languages. Pidgins, according to Mufwene, emerged in trade colonies among "users who preserved their native vernaculars for their day-to-day interactions. These servants and slaves would come to use the creole as an everyday vernacular, rather than merely in situations in which contact with a speaker of the superstrate was necessary. The terms criollo and crioulo were originally qualifiers used throughout the Spanish and Portuguese colonies to distinguish the members of an ethnic group who were born and raised locally from those who immigrated as adults. They were most commonly applied to nationals of the colonial power, e. However, in Brazil the term was also used to distinguish between negros crioulos blacks born in Brazil from African slave ancestors and negros africanos born in Africa. Originally, therefore, the term "creole language" meant the speech of any of those creole peoples. Geographic distribution[edit] As a consequence of colonial European trade patterns, most of the known European-based creole languages arose in coastal areas in the equatorial belt around the world, including the Americas , western Africa , Goa along the west of India , and along Southeast Asia up to Indonesia , Singapore , Macau , Hong Kong , the Philippines , Malaysia , Mauritius , Reunion, Seychelles and Oceania. Atlantic Creole languages are based on European languages with elements from African and possibly Amerindian languages. Indian Ocean Creole languages are based on European languages with elements from Malagasy and possibly other Asian languages. There are, however, creoles like Nubi and Sango that are derived solely from non-European languages. Social and political status[edit] Because of the generally low status of the Creole peoples in the eyes of prior European colonial powers, creole languages have generally been regarded as "degenerate" languages, or at best as rudimentary "dialects" of the politically dominant parent languages. Because of this, the word "creole" was generally used by linguists in opposition to "language", rather than as a qualifier for it. This controversy of the late 19th century profoundly shaped modern approaches to the comparative method in historical linguistics and in creolistics. They are increasingly being used in print and film, and in many cases, their community prestige has improved dramatically. In fact, some have been standardized, and are used in local schools and universities around the world. They now use the term "creole" or "creole language" for any language suspected to have undergone creolization , terms that now imply no geographic restrictions nor ethnic prejudices. The controversy surrounding AAVE in the American education system, as well as the past use of the word ebonics to refer to it, mirrors the historical negative connotation of the word creole. Phylogenetic classification traditionally relies on inheritance of the lexicon, especially of "core" terms, and of the grammar structure. However, in creoles, the core lexicon often has mixed origin, and the grammar is largely original. For these reasons, the issue of which language is the parent of a creole – that is, whether a language should be classified as a "Portuguese creole" or "English creole", etc. However, the meaning of these terms is reasonably well-defined only in second language acquisition or language replacement events, when the native speakers of a certain source language the substrate are somehow compelled to abandon it for another target language the superstrate. The substrate may survive as a second language for informal conversation. As demonstrated by the fate of many replaced European languages such as Etruscan , Breton , and Venetian , the influence of the substrate on the official speech is often limited to

pronunciation and a modest number of loanwords. The substrate might even disappear altogether without leaving any trace. This decreolization process typically brings about a post-creole speech continuum characterized by large-scale variation and hypercorrection in the language. Phylogenetic or typological comparisons of creole languages have led to divergent conclusions. Similarities are usually higher among creoles derived from related languages, such as the languages of Europe, than among broader groups that include also creoles based on non-Indo-European languages like Nubi or Sango. French-based creoles in turn are more similar to each other and to varieties of French than to other European-based creoles. It was observed, in particular, that definite articles are mostly prenominal in English-based creole languages and English whereas they are generally postnominal in French creoles and in the variety of French that was exported to what is now Quebec in the 17th and 18th century.

Creole genesis[edit] There are a variety of theories on the origin of creole languages, all of which attempt to explain the similarities among them. Theories focusing on European input Theories focusing on non-European input Gradualist and developmental hypotheses Theories focusing on European input[edit]

Monogenetic theory of pidgins and creoles[edit] The monogenetic theory of pidgins and creoles hypothesizes that they are all derived from a single Mediterranean *Lingua Franca*, via a West African Pidgin Portuguese of the 17th century, relexified in the so-called "slave factories" of Western Africa that were the source of the Atlantic slave trade. This theory was originally formulated by Hugo Schuchardt in the late 19th century and popularized in the late 19th and early 20th centuries by Taylor, [39] Whinnom, [40] Thompson, [41] and Stewart.

Domestic origin hypothesis[edit] Proposed by Hancock for the origin of English-based creoles of the West Indies, the Domestic Origin Hypothesis argues that, towards the end of the 16th century, English-speaking traders began to settle in the Gambia and Sierra Leone rivers as well as in neighboring areas such as the Bullom and Sherbro coasts. These settlers intermarried with the local population leading to mixed populations, and, as a result of this intermarriage, an English pidgin was created. This pidgin was learned by slaves in slave depots, who later on took it to the West Indies and formed one component of the emerging English creoles.

European dialect origin hypothesis[edit] The French creoles are the foremost candidates to being the outcome of "normal" linguistic change and their creoleness to be sociohistoric in nature and relative to their colonial origin.

Foreigner talk and baby talk[edit] The Foreigner Talk FT hypothesis argues that a pidgin or creole language forms when native speakers attempt to simplify their language in order to address speakers who do not know their language at all. Because of the similarities found in this type of speech and speech directed to a small child, it is also sometimes called baby talk.

Accommodation Telegraphic condensation Conventions This could explain why creole languages have much in common, while avoiding a monogenetic model. However, Hinnenkamp, in analyzing German Foreigner Talk, claims that it is too inconsistent and unpredictable to provide any model for language learning.

Grammatical simplification can be explained by other processes, i. Pidgins are more often used amongst speakers of different substrate languages than between such speakers and those of the lexifier language. Another problem with the FT explanation is its potential circularity. Bloomfield points out that FT is often based on the imitation of the incorrect speech of the non-natives, that is the pidgin. Therefore, one may be mistaken in assuming that the former gave rise to the latter.

Imperfect L2 learning[edit] The imperfect L2 second language learning hypothesis claims that pidgins are primarily the result of the imperfect L2 learning of the dominant lexifier language by the slaves. Research on naturalistic L2 processes has revealed a number of features of "interlanguage systems" that are also seen in pidgins and creoles: Imperfect L2 learning is compatible with other approaches, notably the European dialect origin hypothesis and the universalist models of language transmission. These features are often assumed to be transferred from the substrate language to the creole or to be preserved invariant from the substrate language in the creole through a process of relexification: Bickerton argues that the number and diversity of African languages and the paucity of a historical record on creole genesis makes determining lexical correspondences a matter of chance. Dillard coined the term "cafeteria principle" to refer to the practice of arbitrarily attributing features of creoles to the influence of substrate African languages or assorted substandard dialects of European languages. For a representative debate on this issue, see the contributions to Mufwene; for a more recent view, Parkvall.

Because of the sociohistoric similarities amongst many but by no means all of the creoles, the Atlantic slave

trade and the plantation system of the European colonies have been emphasized as factors by linguists such as McWhorter. Gradualist and developmental hypotheses[edit] One class of creoles might start as pidgins , rudimentary second languages improvised for use between speakers of two or more non-intelligible native languages. Keith Whinnom in Hymes suggests that pidgins need three languages to form, with one the superstrate being clearly dominant over the others. The lexicon of a pidgin is usually small and drawn from the vocabularies of its speakers, in varying proportions. Morphological details like word inflections , which usually take years to learn, are omitted; the syntax is kept very simple, usually based on strict word order. If a pidgin manages to be learned by the children of a community as a native language, it may become fixed and acquire a more complex grammar, with fixed phonology, syntax, morphology, and syntactic embedding. Pidgins can become full languages in only a single generation. The vocabulary, too, will develop to contain more and more items according to a rationale of lexical enrichment. The process invoked varies: Around them, they only heard pidgins spoken, without enough structure to function as natural languages ; and the children used their own innate linguistic capacities to transform the pidgin input into a full-fledged language. The alleged common features of all creoles would then be the consequence of those innate abilities being universal. Recent studies[edit] This section may be too technical for most readers to understand. Please help improve it to make it understandable to non-experts , without removing the technical details.

Chapter 7 : Caribbean Crucible: History, Culture, and Globalization

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