The Trinidad Dougla

The Trinidad Dougla:

Identity, Ethnicity and Lexical Choice

By

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For Kosi and Kaya

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction
   Race, Ethnicity and Nationalism
   Language, Ethnicity and Identity
   The Dougla
   Studies of Language and Ethnicity in Other Mixed Communities

The Dougla in Trinidadian Society: Historical and Contemporary
Perspectives
   The People Who Came
   The Coming of the Indians
   The Comparative Invisibility of the Douglas
   Mixed, Other or Not Stated
   The Dougla in the Social Structure
   Portrayals of the Dougla in Literature and Popular Culture
   Emergent Dougla Identity

Language and Ethnicity in Trinidad
   Historical Overview from 1498 to 1845
   The Expression of Ethnicity in the Context of Trinidadian Creole
   Expressing Dougla Identity in the Present Sociolinguistic Context
      in Trinidad
   The language conundrum

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST OF TABLES

PREFACE

In 2001 I received a postgraduate grant from The University of the West Indies St Augustine Campus to investigate the ethnolinguistic history of Trinidad. My supervisors Professors Mervyn Alleyne and Ian Robertson advised me to familiarise myself with the literature on sociolinguistics, ethnolinguistics and the social history and language of Trinidad.

Research in these areas opened my eyes to the startling fact that there is little substantial work on Trinidad's Douglas as a social group and the glaring absence of such work piqued my curiosity. Studies in sociology, history and social anthropology have focused on the Indo-Trinidadians, the French Creoles, the Portuguese, the Sephardic Jews, the Germans, the Yorubas, the Venezuelan peones or Cocoa Panyols, and the Chinese. Sociolinguistic studies have also concentrated on single ethnic groups: Maureen Warner-Lewis on the Yorubas; Kimlin Laurence and Sylvia Moodie on Trinidadians of Spanish and Venezuelan extraction; Mary Ramesar, Peggy Mohan, Tej Bhatia, Ishtla Singh and Savitri Rambissoon-Sperl on the Indians. I found no scholarly or other work on the Douglas or on any other mixed race group except for Rhoda Reddock's "Douglarisation and the Politics of Gender Relations in Contemporary Trinidad and Tobago: A Preliminary Exploration" and "Jahaji Bhai: The Emergence of a Dougla Poetics in Contemporary Trinidad and Tobago" and the Eve Stoddard and Grant Cornwell essay "Cosmopolitan or Mongrel? Reading Créolité and Hybridity via "Douglarisation" in Trinidad".

My immersion in sociolinguistics, ethnolinguistics and the social history and language of Trinidad created a link in my mind between language and identity and this, together with my personal interest in the Douglas, caused me to wonder if it were possible to investigate any particular linguistic features that marked the ethnic status of the Douglas. I took the idea to my primary supervisor Professor Robertson, who teasingly asked if I wanted to make a statement for my kind of people. I reflected on the statement, made the declaration and set out to write a proposal for a study that would maintain the theme of language and ethnicity as stipulated in the award.

The purpose of this qualitative study, which was approved as a PhD dissertation in 2014, was to determine the extent to which Trinidad's Douglas project one or other of a distinct identity, a subsumed identity linked to one or other of their two ancestral groups, or a shifting identity based on accommodative strategies employed within their social networks. A working hypothesis of this research was that (Dougla) ethnicity and by extension linguistic identity is expressed chiefly through lexical choices and perhaps then by choice of other semantic, phrasal, morphological and phonological variants. Mapping and analysing the language use of Douglas allowed me to observe the extent to which issues of upbringing mark their ethnicity and how this very ethnicity, manifested through language use in social networks, is crucial to the formation of a separate or subsumed Dougla identity within Trinidadian society.

To achieve my objectives, I designed an eclectic methodology drawing primarily on social network (SN) and the community of practice (CoP) frameworks, with input from communicative accommodation theory (CAT) and ethnography of communication (EOC). My procedure involved a 2-phase data collection extending over 6 years, questionnaires, interviews and participant observation. During this time I narrowed the investigation, selected the consultants carefully, set up the tools of social network analysis (SNA) needed to examine the transactional and interactional qualities of the consultants' networks, and screened the linguistic variables to be examined.

In 2011 I submitted my work to be examined for the MPhil and the examiners unanimously recommended that I upgrade it to the PhD; they helpfully proposed possible areas of expansion. These included investigating phonological and grammatical indices of Dougla identity, investigating a Dougla community reported by one of my informants, reformulating the methodology, reanalysing the data by employing additional quantitative approaches and/or qualitative inquires, and re-examining the use of African lexical items by Afric-Trinidadians and Douglas as a marker of African identity.

I gave due consideration to all recommendations. A visit to the community revealed that there was no Dougla community in the area identified. Also, preliminary investigations into the literature and field work required for an examination of the phonological and grammatical indices in use by Douglas seemed potentially too extensive an undertaking given the word limit for the dissertation and submission date set by the Chairman of the Office of Graduate Studies. Re-examining the African lexical items employed by Afric-Trinidadians and Douglas required the inclusion of the domains of religion and folk/culture (I had intentionally

omitted these in the MPhil) as markers of African identity were found to be most visible there. The inclusion of these additional domains resulted in the expansion of the word list from sixty-five to one hundred and three items and an additional phase of data collection. Results from interviews and surveys did not establish that anyone, except for Orisa devotees, employs knowledge and use of African lexical items to mark an Afric identity; in point of fact the overwhelming majority of Dougla and African respondents did not know that the words in the list I compiled from responsible lexicographies were of African provenance. They accepted them as "Trinidadian".

The reverse was true for Indic words and this, combined with the fact that degree of Indianness is probably the major factor in defining Dougla-ness, informed my choice to privilege the Indic lexicon as the basis for my investigation. And so, the expanded study incorporates the concepts of indexicality and markedness as they relate to the consultants' use or non-use of Indic lexical items to mark situational identities during interaction within their social networks and communities of practice.

This study is necessary because the population of Douglas continues to grow and add new dimensions in an already pluralised and stratified social order. The results of this work provide a new perspective on and a better understanding of the language used by the Douglas in specific contexts and new insights into the social situation of the Douglas themselves and their contributions to Trinidadian society in general. The work also contributes to our understanding of the relationship between language and ethnic identity in Trinidad and in particular among mixed individuals. The study further provides a theoretical orientation, a methodology and instruments for similar work among groups of mixed individuals in other societies.

While this study determines the extent to which Douglas employ linguistic strategies to express an identity and examines these, it also represents my own search as a Dougla for an identity within Trinidadian and national society. This interest was echoed by Dougla consultants, one of whom stated "we always seem to be in the shadow of one of our ancestral groups". My interest in the topic, however, does not affect the objectivity of the analysis and the conclusions derived from rigorous scholarly interrogation of the data.

This book is organised as follows:

Chapter One–Introduction–introduces the study, discusses the major theme which is language and ethnicity, and describes the Trinidad Douglas, the biracial individuals born of African-Indian sexual intimacy.

Chapter Two–The Dougla in Trinidad Society: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives–outlines the history of the peopling of the island towards establishing the historical antecedents for what is considered by some to be the marginalization of the Douglas and their uncertain position in today's society. The Chapter also looks at representations of the Dougla in creative writing and popular culture and concludes with thoughts on the ways in which the term Dougla is expanded semantically to include all kinds of non-biological mixing and even to connote a national ideal distinct from race.

Chapter Three–Language and Ethnicity in Trinidad–charts the formation of TrinEC by mapping the migrations of the several donor groups, naming their ancestral language(s) where possible, and noting their linguistic and, more specifically, their lexical contributions to TrinEC.

Chapter Four–The Sample–outlines the sampling procedures that resulted in the selection of the final six consultants. It provides a detailed profile for each consultant and it presents the methods employed in preparing the data for analysis.

Chapter Five–Exploring Six Partial Personal Networks–presents the findings of the collated data and explains how the use of Indic lexical items during interaction by each of the six consultants under investigation is affected by the composition, size and character of each network as well as by location and issues of upbringing.

Chapter Six–Investigating Three Communities of Practice–describes the communities of practice found within the three networks within which they were evident and comments on the ways in which the three relevant consultants construct identity via lexical choices during their engagement in social practices.

Chapter Seven–Conclusion–summarises the main themes, methods and conclusions about Dougla identity found in the study.

Before you engage further, there are some things that should be noted:

The term Dougla is intentionally written in upper case <D>. This stylistic choice sets the precedent for the orthographic convention of this ethnonym. Its use is geared towards elevating the status of the term and the people it represents;

The ethnic term Douglas /ˈdoːɡlʌs/–the plural form of Dougla /ˈdoːɡlʌ/–orthographically resembles the male proper name, pronounced

/ˈdʌglʌs/, but there is no ambiguity in the pronunciation of the two names. In this study, the term refers only to the offspring of Indic and Afric parentage and never to the male personal name;

Dougla households are households where the possibility of simultaneous exposure to Indic and Afric elements is present due to the ethnicity of each parent;

The prefixes Afric- and Indic- are employed as descriptors throughout the study in preference to the more conventional Afro- and Indo-descriptors. Additionally, Afric-Trinidadian and Indic-Trinidadian are used interchangeably with African and Indian–the terms used by many Trinidadians to describe themselves–to represent the same sets of people except where expressly stated;

A stereotypically Afric community is one where there is a majority of Africans;

A stereotypically Indic community is one where there is a majority of Indians;

A neutral community is one where there is no numerically dominant group. Alternatively, there is sufficient mixture among all ethnic groups represented in the main via exogamous relationships and migration into the community geared towards and resulting from social mobility and ready access to urban centres; and

The terms Hindi, Trinidad Hindi, Hindustani and Bhojpuri are used in this study to represent the same language unless otherwise stated. This choice reflects the informants' interpretation and use of these linguistically related languages;

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TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

[ ]   translation
//   overlapping speech
non audible segment
(( ))   transcriber's comment
*%#&   coarse language
@   laughter
.   micro pause
=   no interval between adjacent utterances

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The study of a community's language plays an integral part in understanding its norms, values and attitudes while individuals' linguistic presentations provide insights into the ways in which they construct their social–ethnic, linguistic, cultural–identity. One significant development in sociolinguistics is the investigation of the relationship between language and ethnicity and some discussion within the sub-discipline now centres upon the question of the role that language plays in constructing group identity within a community.

Globally, questions of identity and identity formation assumed greater urgency in the post-World War II period, when attention turned to the various challenges and issues generated by the presence of new ethnic communities in societies which had previously perceived themselves as racially and culturally homogeneous. After World War II also, a lot of attention focused on those communities of individuals of mixed race whose growing numbers and, in some cases, insistence upon group recognition made them players within the social, political and economic life of the countries in which they were born.

On the macro level, societies engage the reality of ethnic minorities in multi-ethnic communities as well as the reality of shifting and migrant populations. Much of the monoculturalism versus multiculturalism debate and the discussion on affirmative action and equal opportunity legislation (Taylor 1992; Rex 1995; Mesarovic 1995; Inglis 1996; Glazer 1997) derives from the need on the part of societies globally to accommodate to the presence of groups of people who affirm cultural practices sometimes at odds with those of the host or mainstream culture. On the micro level, individuals of mixed ancestry negotiate between their parent communities in their search for personal identity.

In today's complex multi-ethnic societies, the imperatives of social interaction may require speakers to demonstrate a "repertoire of identity" in which "any of a multiplicity of identities may be fronted at a particular moment" (Barrett 1999, 318). The varied contexts of human interaction

promote flexibility and versatility of language use, testifying to what
Barrett calls "a polyphonous, multilayered identity" which speakers
construct by using "linguistic variables with indexical associations to more
than one social category" (318). Individuals of mixed race with at least
two options of cultural allegiance are more likely than others to find
themselves in situations that require of them demonstrations of a
polyphonous, multilayered identity.

Trinidad's Douglas, the offspring of Indo-African unions, find
themselves in precisely this complex social, cultural and linguistic
situation. The complexities of their identity are reflected as much in their
unclear and uncertain social positioning in a society of competing ethnic
groups as in the linguistic possibilities open to them in their quotidian
social interactions.

This study describes and analyses the linguistic behaviour of some
Douglas within specific contexts. Mapping and analysing the language use
of Douglas allowed me to observe the extent to which upbringing marks
their ethnicity and how this very ethnicity, manifested through language
use in social networks, is crucial to the formation of an independent or
biased Dougla identity within Trinidadian society.

There exists at this time no major scholarly work that investigates the
Douglas as a social group. Studies in sociology, history and social
anthropology centred on Trinidad have focused on single ethnic groups
(supposedly "pure") in the main. These include studies on the Indo
Trinidadians (Niehoff and Niehoff 1960; Malik 1971; Ramesar 1994) the
French Creoles (Rogers Pocock 1993; de Verteuil 1997, 2010); the
Portuguese Jews (de Lima 1981); the Germans (de Verteuil 1994); the
Portuguese (Ferreira 1994); the Venezuelans Cocoa Panyols (Moodie-
Kublalsingh 1994); and the Chinese (Look Lai 1998). In like manner,
sociolinguistic studies have also concentrated on single ethnic groups: the
Yorubas of Trinidad (Warner-Lewis 1998); Trinidadians of Spanish and
Venezuelan extraction (Laurence 1970; Moodie 1970); and the Indians
(Mohan 1978; Rambissoon-Sperl 1980; Bhatia 1982). At the present time
there does not exist any major study in any discipline, which is dedicated
to the Douglas.

Race, Ethnicity and Nationalism

Mervyn Alleyne explains "race", "ethnicity" and "nation" as "socially
constructed, contextual representations that play themselves out at specific
historical periods" (2002, 3). This orientation does not imply that Alleyne
refutes the notion held by many that race is an objective category which

lends itself to scientific assessment and validation. In point of fact, Alleyne subscribes to this by outlining a number of the criteria deployed in the measurement of race, but in so doing he stresses that even these measurements are linked to social constructs.

Race, Alleyne explicates, comprises at least two sets of features. The first set is anchored in the "socialized perception of biological phenotypical characteristics" (2002, 3), while the second incorporates "behaviour and customs (language, clothing, foods, religion)" (2) into its constitution. Stated differently, the first set constitutes the biological features recognized and used for human classification while the second, deployed in tandem with the first provides the basis for ethnicity, a term Alleyne regards as a "finer categorization or subcategorization" of race (11). These statements suggest that Alleyne connects the notion of race to that of ethnicity but even in doing so he acknowledges that the two "do not always coincide" since ethnicity exists, at times, devoid of race (11).

Race and ethnicity are still considered to be "strong organising principles" within the societies of the world and in particular Caribbean societies, which as Alleyne notes have a "complex, ambiguous character and structure" (2002, 247). That many analytical models have been generated "ranging from the strictly racial to the almost purely economic including various intermediate alternatives" (247) proves this point. Such categorizations seem to span the spectrum because of the interface between the theoretical constructs of race and ethnicity. Alleyne concludes that as long as the prerequisites for racial group membership are constantly and continually changing, people will construct their own systems at different historical moments, given the particular circumstances of the times. Then these systems, he states, will reflect not only the relative primacy of race, but also ethnicity, culture and class as alternative bases of individual and collective identity.

For Alleyne race remains in isolation as a clear perception and is applied to well-constituted groups as laid out in the first set. Groups, however, formed as a result of mixed-race persons who may be designated by their physical attributes as well as language, clothing, foods and religion are not considered to be well constituted and as such are not classified as 'races'. In essence, such groups are allowed an ethnicity but not a race. In light of this fact, since this study focuses on a group formed as a result of mixed-race persons, issues of ethnicity take precedence over issues of race.

Some scholars discredit 'ethnicity' and 'race' as mere social constructs despite the evidence of their universal presence. Carmen Fought (2006), however, concedes that although 'ethnicity' and 'race' may be socially

constructed, they are not purely notional concepts and that "a majority of recent works insists that these concepts are both real and crucial and it is perilous to dismiss them as mere constructs" (5).

In the second half of the 20th century ethnicity became a major global social concern and academic theme. Fishman (1997) points out that in the post-World War II period, the term "ethnicity" gained academic currency when "race" was deemed inappropriate, "national origin" was adjudged to be inadequate, and "culture" could no longer be used to discuss "a very visible and frequently stressed dimension of socio-demographic variability" (328).

Somewhat surprisingly, ethnicity offers problems of definition. Fought (2006) observes that definitions of ethnicity are generally arrived at after a definition of 'ethnic group' (8). Many researchers simply anchor their investigations in Raoul Narroll's (1964) idealist theory that an ethnic group has four major characteristics, viz. it is "largely biologically self-perpetuating"; it "shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms"; it "makes up a field of communication and interaction"; and finally it "has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order" (qtd. in Barth 10-11). Ralph Premdas (1997), acknowledging Narroll in Barth, defines ethnicity as "the collective group consciousness that imparts a sense of belonging derived from membership in a community bound putatively by common descent and culture" (3). Premdas clearly values ethnicity as the central constituent of identity and in a later work he re-deploys his definition of ethnicity to his definition of identity (n.d., 3).

A third concept critical to this study is that of "nationalism" which, like "race" and "ethnicity", defies facile definition. Nineteenth and early 20th century writers treated the terms "race" and "nation" as synonymous (Connor 2002) but contemporary scholars have interrogated nationalism, nationalist ideology and related terms more rigorously. Breuilly (2002), for instance, states that while "nationalist ideology arises out of the need to make sense of complex social and political arrangements… the need is itself shaped both by intellectual traditions and the sorts of responses which any intellectual scheme evokes" (110). He adds, however, "nationalist ideology never makes a rational connection between the cultural and the political concept of the nation because no such connection is possible" (109). A useful working definition is that nationalism refers to "the complex of ideologies and attitudes associated notionally with the sense of belonging to an administrative unit contained within internationally-accepted boundaries" (L Regis 2002, 1). The practice of such nationalist ideology,

whether as individual or collective, is linked to the peculiar sociopolitical and/or socio-cultural situations at any particular point in time.

Alleyne (2002) perceives the achievement of nation status as a Herculean task because societies, including Trinidad, are still torn between the need to celebrate their ethnic and cultural diversity and the need to unify as one nation. Other commentators have noted that racial and ethnic concerns have made difficult the business of establishing a basis for a common nationalism. Brereton notes that the latter decades of the 19th century witnessed a fierce contestation between white planters/businessmen and an emerging brown middle class (1979, 86-109); Ryan later notes that the second half of the 20th century witnessed an equally fierce contestation between Africans and Indians (1999, 15-34). This contestation has sidelined identity concerns of the other groups including mixed groups in the national discourse.

Alleyne predicts that for societies like Trinidad:

> ethnic divisions will either exist harmoniously or will be suppressed in favour of some main stream (itself culturally complex and ill/defined/ non-definable), or will break down biologically through miscegenation in such a way that the hybrid will become the dominant category, biologically and culturally (2002, 250).

This statement acquires greater viability if one considers and accepts the literature on heterosis. Heterosis, hybrid vigour or outbreeding enhancement, suggests that the offspring of exogamous relationships, especially those of the first generation, will have a mean body development that will be significantly superior to the parental average when expressed through anthropometric measurements (Hiernaux and Heintz 1957). Such an increase in overall body size is characteristic of heterozygous organisms and as a result heterozygotes are believed to be more adaptable because their genetic configuration allows them to exploit their environment more efficiently (Damon 1965). While this proposition has proven validity only in the domain of agriculture, it is in a sense this biological realism that Alleyne (2002) extends to the sociocultural and political landscapes of societies, including Trinidad, where Douglas and other miscegenated groups not only represent minority hybrid groups but also represent the potential for what Manuel and Posluns termed the "Fourth World", where hybrid minorities become what Alleyne calls the "dominant category" (250). The current argument that persons of mixed races are no longer aligning themselves to one ancestral group but choosing to identify themselves as multiracial or biracial (Morning 2004)

and the legal recognition and allowance for such mixed racial identities[1] further support Alleyne's statement.

Official national censuses in Trinidad have long accepted the presence of bi-racial and multi-racial individuals by grouping these individuals under the categories Mixed and Other; those who do not wish to declare a racial/ethnic identity are lumped in a category called Not Stated. In the 2011 census, however, Douglas were formally recognised in the category "Mixed-African and East Indian" which cautiously avoids a word which is deemed by many to be offensive. Researchers, like Reddock, have claimed that some individuals resent being called Douglas but fieldwork for this study indicates that many Douglas are proud of their identity.

Language, Ethnicity and Identity

This study draws upon the recent sociolinguistic research, which investigates aspects of the relationships between language and ethnicity; it is also greatly indebted to the growing body of scholarship that examines the links between and among language, ethnicity and identity, and it employs much of this as its conceptual basis. In keeping with this, the study draws upon recent sociocultural linguistics research that weaves several analytical strands to provide a framework for identity.

Although studies by Blom and Gumperz (1972), Labov (1966, 1977), Milroy (1980), Trudgill, Bortoni-Ricardo (1985) vary widely in terms of the linguistic situations which they examine individually, they all share the common purpose, which is to provide, among other things, "an accurate picture of contemporary language variation and use, taking account of the social identities of individual speakers" (Milroy 1980, 5). Examining the complex linguistic choices made by individuals, who do not even form a linguistic community as understood by Gumperz, or a speech community as defined by Hymes or an ideal ethnic group as described in Barth in the widely recognized sense, will provide some illumination into the complex relationship between ethnicity and language. While such studies provide valuable insights into various phenomena, they cannot account for the peculiar status of Douglas, who add another dimension to the debate on social identity and linguistic presentation.

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[1] The Office of Management and Budget's Statistical Directive 15 of the 2000 Census introduced the choice "mark one or more" (MOOM) as a racial option. From 2000 then, Americans were allowed for the first time to identify with two or more races. See Morning 2004, 2

Fought (2006) examines how speakers from ethnic groups worldwide use language and ethnicity to construct and state their identity. She raises questions integral to the formulation of an ethnic identity; these questions range from language use to social and psychological processes. Although she observes that there is a "range of ways of speaking that are appropriate to the complexities of identity" (21), she asserts that there exists no "one single way of speaking that marks ethnicity" (21). This means that while language is construed as being a construct of ethnicity, identity itself is too complex to be simplistically marked by one particular language or variety of language. Individuals classified as being members of ethnic groups as defined by Narroll (1964), Premdas (1993, 1997, c.2000) and others do not all share the same ways of speaking and may share speech patterns and other sociolinguistic variables associated with members of other ethnic groups.

Fishman (1997) acknowledges that the link between language and ethnicity is variable, but observes "this 'detached' scientific perspective on language and ethnicity does not keep the language and ethnicity link from being *experienced* (sic) as vital and as a basis for social organization and mobilization" (330). The observations and caveats voiced by Fought and Fishman must be considered in any investigation of the correspondence between language and ethnicity and this especially in the present investigation of language use by Douglas in Trinidad.

Fishman (1997) is one of those scholars who declare that ethnic group membership and ethnicity are expressed in terms of a separate language in multilingual communities. He contends that in every society ethnic boundaries influence language use to a greater or lesser extent and affirms, "ethnically associated language is often perceived in kinship terms" because "the imagery of ethnicity commonly suffuses language consciousness" (332). On the other hand scholars, including Alleyne (2001b) and Bucholtz (2004), affirm that ethnicity can be expressed within a common language by the use of varying phonological features, morpho-syntactic and/or phrasal categories, by lexical choices and by different frequencies of use of the same feature. This latter observation is more relevant to the linguistic situation in Trinidad, where there is no ethnically favoured language in the sense understood by Fishman. There is, however, a corpus of lexical items from the several ethnic groups which at one time or another have been resident in Trinidad, and these lexical items are all present in Trinidadian English Creole (TrinEC). Since contact and social identity have proven to "loom largest in the maintenance of inter-ethnic linguistic differences" (Rickford, 1985 118), the degree to which individuals

use these items is perhaps also linked to their affinity to that particular ethnic group.

Lambert (1979) observes that the tendency of ethno-linguistic groups to cultivate or emphasize their own linguistic distinctiveness was actually heightened during the 1970s. This is significant because it suggests that the Black Power movement and corollary movements throughout the diaspora had the effect of conjuring up a conscious programme that impacted the linguistic and other identity-forming notions for many groups.

One Dougla response to this is the convenient appropriation of the languages/varieties of languages exposed to and in use by them when growing up, but this itself presents the problem that Douglas do not have a uniform upbringing. Some have been nurtured in households where TrinEC was the mother tongue, while others may have been exposed to Hindi/Hindustani/Bhojpuri [2], Arabic/Urdu [3] and/or aspects of various African languages including Yoruba, Kikongo and Swahili. Whatever the exposure, though, TrinEC still seems to be their native language, but the fact that this holds true for the entire society poses a challenge for an unambiguous affirmation of Dougla identity through the use of a particular linguistic variety.

The seminal work of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, exhibited in their "Acts of Identity" model, sought to account for the variation in language use and choice in the creole/contact situation of Belize and among West Indian communities in London. This multidimensional model views all linguistic tokens as socially marked such that the authors contend "with every speech act all individuals perform, to a greater or lesser extent, an 'act of identity', revealing through their personal use of language their sense of social and ethnic solidarity or difference" (Le Page and Tabouret Keller 1985, blurb). They also posit "at the same time people also have powerful (if unconscious) stereotypes about the norms and standards of their own language and those of others-often at variance with observable behaviour" (Le Page and Tabouret Keller 1985, blurb,). Put another way, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985, 2) argue that "the identity of a group lies within the projections individuals make of the concepts each has about the group" to the extent that the "individual's idiosyncratic behaviour reflects attitudes towards groups, causes, [and] traditions" (1985, 2) all

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[2] Hindi, Hindustani and Bhojpuri were used interchangeably by speakers to refer to the same variety of language. See Platts 1884, 264.
[3] While Urdu is historically a mutually intelligible dialect of Hindi it has been since 1881 separated on the basis of religion. Urdu is associated with Muslims. See Platts 1884, 399.

"constrained by certain identifiable factors" (1985, 2). An 'act of identity' is therefore an act of convergence but for Le Page and Tabouret-Keller this 'act of identity' is only possible to the extent that the individual has access to the desirable group and the ability to analyse the group's linguistic behaviour as well as the ability to modify his/her own linguistic behaviour (1985, 182).

In this sense, this 'act of identity' appears to be a somewhat fixed stance adopted by the individual out of a sense of similarity without consideration for convergence resulting from contiguity. These riders and the absence of an analytical stance to cater to the discursive nuances of social categorisation constrain its wholesale adaptation within this study. The model does, however, provide useful insights into the understanding and analysis of ethnic identity as is evident by the methodological considerations taken for this study.

Bucholtz and Hall incorporate several research aspects from varying disciplines to define an approach to identity. From social psychology they co-opt Speech Accommodation Theory as posited by Giles (1979), and Social Identity theory as advanced by Meyerhoff (1996), Tajfel and Turner (1996). From linguistic anthropology they co-opt theories of language ideology as suggested by Gal and Irvine (1995); and indexicality as put forward by Ochs (1990); Silverstein (2003). From sociolinguistics they borrow theories of style as introduced by Eckert and Rickford (2001), as well as models of identity as presented by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985).

In doing so, Bucholtz and Hall employ an open-ended classification of identity–"the social positioning of self and other" (2005, 586)–as they argue for "the analytic value of approaching identity as a relational and sociocultural phenomenon that emerges and circulates in local discourse contexts" (2005, 585). In their view, identity is "intersubjectively rather than individually produced and interactionally emergent rather than assigned in an a priori fashion" (2005, 587). This outlook causes them to construct an analytical framework based on the principles of emergence, positionality, indexicality, relationality and partialness.

The principles of emergence and positionality characterise "the ontological status of identity" (593) while indexicality is concerned with the "mechanism whereby identity is constituted" (593) and is "fundamental to the way in which linguistic forms are used to construct identity positions" (594). The fourth principle, relationality, emphasizes identity as a relational phenomenon, never autonomous or independent, and the fifth principle, as its name suggests, points to the partial nature of identity. On the matter of partialness Bucholtz and Hall contend:

> Any given construction of identity may be in part deliberate and
> intentional, in part habitual and hence often less conscious, in part an
> outcome of interactional negotiation and contestation, in part an outcome
> of others' perceptions and representations, and in part an effect of larger
> ideological processes and material structures that may become relevant to
> interaction. It is therefore constantly shifting both as interaction unfolds
> and across discourse contexts (2005, 606).

Zimmerman (1998, 88-90) contributes to the debate on interaction-relevant identities the concepts of discourse, situational and transportable identities, which, he explains, manifest during talk when individuals assume a particular identity in the course of an action and simultaneously project a reciprocal identity for co-participants. All three are stated as being distinguishable from each other because they reside in different 'home' territories. Zimmerman proposes that discourse identities emerge as participants engage in various sequentially organised activities including that of current speaker, listener, storyteller and so on and are subject to ratification or revision (90) because they can shift "turn by turn". Discourse identities, as a result, are not considered or expected to account for the variation in the nature of organised activities by themselves. At this point, Zimmerman's concept of situational identities comes into play. Situation types circumscribe and make available the extra-situational resources participants need to accomplish a particular activity as they are expected to align with discourse identities. Transportable identities–as implied by the name–travel with individuals across situations and are "potentially relevant in and for any situation and in and for any spate of interaction. They are latent identities that 'tag-along' with individuals as they move through their daily routines … and are usually visible" (92). Zimmerman's transportable identities are related specifically to what Boissevain (1974, 68) calls "in-born physical attributes", attributes that directly affect the formulation of the structural characteristics of a network as well as the personality of the individual at the centre of the network.

All of the above theories and methods attempt to understand and explain the complex phenomenon that is identity but as Bucholtz and Hall state "it is only by understanding our diverse theories and methods as complementary, not competing, that we can meaningfully interpret this crucial dimension of contemporary social life" (1998, 608).

The Dougla

Etymologically the word Dougla is linked to *dogla* which is of Indo-Aryan origin and is defined by Platts as a person of impure breed, a hybrid, a mongrel, a two-faced or deceitful person and a hypocrite (1884, 534). In Bihar, Northern India, from where many Indian indentured labourers migrated to Trinidad, *dogla* still carries the meaning of a person of impure breed related specifically to the "progeny of inter-varna [4] marriage, acquiring the connotation of 'bastard', meaning illegitimate son of a prostitute, only in a secondary sense" (Reddock 1994, 321).

The term in its transplanted usage by Indians in Trinidad and Guyana is employed to designate the offspring of an Indian and an African (Creole) and originally meant "outcaste" (sic) (Malik 1971, 20). Malik's (1971) fieldwork in Trinidad in the 1960s unearthed the curious fact that many Indo-Trinidadian elites think that the *dogala,* "being outcaste, is prone to develop criminal tendencies" (20). Field investigation for this study has indicated that some individuals think that Douglas have inherited the best physical traits from the African and the Indian but have also been cursed with their worst moral characteristics. Curiously, the individual called Dougla in Trinidad and Guyana is in Martinique called *chappé couli,* from the French "*échappé couli* = escaped coolie" [5] (Alleyne 2002,164). Alleyne adds that this naming perspective was one that originated from the Blacks and suggested that the Dougla child "had escaped some of the flaws, both moral and physical, imputed to the Indian race" (164).

Our ignorance of the fine details of social life among the indentured Indians who migrated to Trinidad between 1845 and 1917 denies us knowledge of the period during which the term Dougla was applied to first generation Indo-Africans and their offspring. In 1933, however, the term Dougla appears in mainstream creative writing as the descriptor for

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[4] Varna is the Sanskrit word for colour, which was translated by the Portuguese, who were the first Europeans to observe it, by the word caste, or 'pure'. The Aryans, light-skinned people with sharp features, created this distinction because they did not want to mix with the darker flat-featured people whom they conquered. As such an elaborate caste system was built. See Daly 3.

[5] Coolie, from the Tamil Kuli, meaning 'hire', was used and spread especially in the 17th century, by Europeans in India and China for 'a native hired labourer or burden carrier'. The name was thus attached to the 18th [sic] century immigrant East Indian indentured labourers in the Caribbean, at first without stigma. The term is generally regarded as offensive and in Guyana its use in public is forbidden by law. See Allsopp 1996, 167-68. In 1963 the term was also outlawed in Trinidad.

children born to Indian and African parents. C.A. Thomasos's short story "The Dougla" (Sander 1978, 137-41) indicates that the use of the term Dougla to describe the offspring of Indo-African relationships had attained some currency in Port of Spain.

The term Dougla has undergone processes of semantic expansion and amelioration to denote "all persons of mixed African and Indian descent" (Alleyne 2002, 230). Fieldwork undertaken for this study corroborates Alleyne's statement. All Douglas in the sample population used said classification to define themselves. For the purposes of this study, however, Dougla is the offspring of any of the following combinations:

> African mother/ Indian father;
> African father/ Indian mother;
> African mother/Dougla father;
> African father/ Dougla mother;
> Indian mother/ Dougla father;
> Indian father/ Dougla mother;
> Dougla mother/ Dougla father.

While the set allows for all possible permutations of Dougla, this study describes and analyses the behaviour of first and second generation Douglas. The inclusion of second generation Douglas is necessary to show the validity of the term as a descriptor for the offspring of subsequent generations in spite of the belief by some scholars (Hernandez-Ramdwar (1997); Reddock, (1994)) that the term is only used to describe first generation offspring. This study also examines second generation Douglas because there are various measures used for determining Dougla identity.

A major problem in the business of establishing a Dougla identity lies in the difficulty of determining who is a Dougla. Perception and self-perception play critical roles in assessing the Dougla identity. This is so because, in spite of the fact that the phenotype dictates that a Dougla is the offspring of African and Indian lineage, the degree of this mixture is always a cause for contention. The degree of Indianness, as Rahim (2007) asserts, is the major element in the ascription of Dougla identity. This assertion is corroborated by fieldwork carried out for this study. Results of preliminary interviews among the sample population suggest that individuals are styled Douglas based on the observable degree of Indianness in their phenotype "if they do(h)[n't] have soft, wavy hair, you might think they still mix[ed] bu'[t] not wit[h] Indian". There are Douglas who bear to a greater extent the distinguishing marks of their Indian heritage, but there are others who carry the physical characteristics associated with the African. Hence, Brother Marvin the calypsonian, who