approach to the game will continue. Players will be very methodical. Those whose instincts favor attack, dash, and flair will remain in the limelight as long as they are consistently successful. The reward system will force the average player to choose defense over attack. The element of risk and uncertainty will be reduced. Is the game as a business and thus ignoring traditional loyalties and practices, the Australian entrepreneur, Packer, merely capitalized on tendencies already inherent in the game. To blame him for destroying its spirit is myopic.

A unique tradition emerged in the nineteenth century and blossomed in the twentieth century. Its character was derived from the African and English experiences. In terms of code of conduct and behavior, the earliest discernible trace, the "college boy" tradition, was classically English. From an inscrutable beginning at the local level, by 1930, it gained international acclaim. As social and political development proceeded under predominant non-white leadership, the "plebeian" strain began to flourish locally. The behavior of this tradition was in keeping with the class situation of the participants. In terms of style, both strains cultivated an aggressive approach, replete with flair and abandon.

By the mid-1950s, there was a boom in international cricket. In a generation of turmoil and change, certain social and cultural tendencies in the advanced democracies seeped into the international game. Increasing professionalization also led to impact on the approach, style, and behavior of cricketers. The spirit of friendly strife gave way to an attitude of grim struggle where no quarter is asked and none given.

In responding to a comment which the respected English cricket journalist, E.W. Swanton, made about the relationship between the cricket ethic and social life in the West Indies, C.L.R. James asserted: "There is a whole generation of us, and perhaps two generations, who have been formed by it not only in social attitudes but in the most intimate personal lives, there more than anything else." And yet, one would have expected the cricket scene to be more in evidence as backdrop material for short stories and novels than it has. Indeed, the cricket scene in the West Indies, involving the interaction of players and players, players and spectators, and spectators and spectators, is fraught with humor, pathos, irony, tragedy, and excitement. Cricket is the focal point of discussion under street lights, on the benches in the barber and rum shops, at parties, and in drawing rooms. Here then is a challenge to West Indian self-understanding.

African and Indian consciousness at play: a study in West Indies cricket and nationalism

Hubert Deconinck

Introduction

Nationalism has two ultimate objectives. One is to secure a state for those who consider themselves to share a common identity. The other is to promote the interests of the state over all others. Every other identity, whether within the national group or outside it, is a competitor. A competing identity either has to be made to submit to the overarching dominance of the national identity or be deemed anti-national and treated accordingly. Ethnic cleansers, their gas chambers and killing fields, are the constant companions of nationalism.

In the cricket-playing Caribbean, imperial nationalism stamped a British identity as its subject. No other identity was allowed. As an act of resistance, the nation of the various anti-colonial movements proceeded to create images of alternative national identities. These new images were equally monochrome, simply black where they were previously white. The national struggle aimed at changing the relationship between the colours within a totally European view of the nation and the state. The colour palette borrowed from the European original did not allow the shades of competing identities to blur the new vision which was taking shape. This was true of the individual national identities created in each emerging newly independent state and of the larger and more diffuse West Indian identity of which the first West Indies cricket team is a symbol.

Communities are organised into overlapping units made up of people sharing common identities. Any single individual is a composite of a multiplicity of identities. These may involve gender, age group, language group(s), community of origin, occupation and religious persuasion to name but a few. Social life for a person is, therefore, a game or drama in which the players constantly switch roles. When, in the name of nationalism, however defined, people are prevented from playing out all of their identities, their social rights are violated. West Indian nationalism, enshrined in the image of its European counterparts, is as prone as any other to having such censorship imposed on its name.

The cricket field is a screen against which the drama of West Indian society is
often starkly projected. The cricketers do not simply play with a ball. Whether or not they are aware of it and so willingly, they play roles which are assigned them by the spectators. These roles reflect the various identities which spectators have to take on in the course of everyday life. In Guyana and Trinidad, Indian people in the Caribbean make up a significant portion of the spectators at cricket matches. The way in which they interpret the acts performed by the players on the field provide an important insight into the way they interpret their own roles outside the ground. Equally important is how other members of the community respond to the Indian Caribbean interpretation of play. This provides a good guide to their responses to identities assumed by Indian Caribbean people as these are played out away from the cricket field.

Play seen through Indian Caribbean eyes

Indian Caribbean people and their relationship to a West Indian national identity and cricket first became a public issue in 1953. This was the year the Indian cricket team first toured the West Indies. Shivcharan (1988: 54) relates an incident told to him by his grandfather who had made his first trip to Georgetown in that year. The trip was to see the Indian team play the West Indies at Bourda. ‘An ebullient Hindu priest of considerable repute, unleashed a string of popular Hindi curse words, punched the air, uncoiled his sacred turban, turned to the crowd and waved it triumphantly… All this, because the Indian bowler, Ramchand, had bowled Bruce Paireault, the West Indies opening batsman, a white Guyanese from Georgetown’.

Note the identities highlighted in the anecdote, i.e. that the bowler, Ramchand, was Indian, that the batsman was playing for the West Indies, was white, was Guyanese, and was from Georgetown. The Hindu priest was Indian as was the grandfather relating the incident. There is a good chance that both of them would have been born in India though they would have spent the bulk of their lives in Guyana. Most certainly his grandfather and probably the Hindu priest were from rural Guyana. They are likely to have both worked in the ranks of the rural proletariat on the sugar plantations. Almost the only thing they shared in common with the batsman was country of residence. Given the role of Europeans as owners, managers and overseers on the Guyana sugar plantations, the class rift was wide enough to rule out any desire by these two men to identify with him. They chose instead to emphasise the common core of an Indian identity which they shared with the bowler. The bowler was playing the role of the warrior from the motherland avenging the wrongs heaped upon the heads of her children exiled in Guyana.

Shivcharan (1988: 54) indicates that the Indian Guyanese community was thrilled by the fielding of the Indian tourists and the quality bowling of the legspinner, Subhash Gupte. The fact that the Indian team drew four tests with the West Indies, losing only one, was a matter of great pride. There was enormous support for the Indian team amongst the Indian Guyanese community. Like Shivcharan’s grandfather, Indian Guyanese travelled long distances just to see the Indian cricket team. That the visitors were from India was as important as the fact that they were accomplished cricketers. Oral tradition has it that one Indian man arrived at the cricket ground having journeyed the whole of the previous day. When the Indian team took the field, he asked a spectator to identify by name the players on the Indian team, Ramchand, Matkak, Subhash Gupte, etc. This done, he nodded in satisfaction and left the ground heading for the train station to begin his journey back home.

The attitude of African Guyanese to this outpouring of support for the Indian team was one of tolerant amusement. The year 1953 was the one in which the mass of Guyanese, Africans and Indians, rallied behind the non-sectarian anti-colonial movement headed by the People’s Progressive Party (PPP) led by Cheddi Jagan and Forbes Burnham. In that year the PPP was voted into power. In the space of a few months, however, the British had suspended the constitution and jailed many of the PPP leaders. Notions of nationalism whether at the level of Guyana and the wider West Indies, had yet to gel. Like their Indian Guyanese counterparts, the claims of African Guyanese to either Guyanese or West Indian identity were circumscribed by European power both outside the field of play and within it. The accession by an African Caribbean cricketer to the permanent captaincy of the West Indies team was some seven years in the future. It was the general feeling that African cricketers within the West Indies team were discriminated against by a European dominated West Indian cricket hierarchy. In relation to the anecdote related by Shivcharan, African Guyanese cricket fans would hardly have been upset by the dismissal of a European Guyanese by a bowler in the Indian team nor the attendant celebration by the Hindu priest. In fact, some African Guyanese may well have been inclined to have joined in the celebration.

A second reason for African Guyanese tolerance was their awareness of the ambivalent position which the Indian Guyanese found themselves in when dealing with Indians from India. Shivcharan (1988: 63) refers to the experiences which returning migrants to India suffered. They were often discriminated against on grounds that they had lost caste through the act of having crossed the ocean. As a result, many of these had regressed to Guyana bringing with them accounts of their unpleasant experiences in India. In addition, according to stories circulating within the African Guyanese population at the time, Indian Guyanese fans had been trying to use what they considered to be Hindi to talk to the visitors. Unfortunately, however, communication was difficult. This is, however, not surprising. The vast majority of Indian immigrants to the Caribbean came from north-east India, mainly from around the area outside the Hindu heartland and in which Bhojpuri, a related but quite distinct language, is spoken. The use of Guyanese Bhojpuri to speakers of Hindi, therefore, was bound to cause a great deal of communication problems.

A third reason for the tolerant African Guyanese response was the fact that up to this point the Indian Guyanese population was not perceived to be making a serious
There was, of course, the feeling of inferiority in the face of the Europeans and European Caribbean people who dominated the society. There was also a sense of identity when dealing with Indians from the sub-continent. Finally, there was the feeling of inferiority brought on by the scant respect paid them by the African Guyanese population alongside whom they lived. The goal was to grab for the community the attention, respect and acceptance from these three groups. Shivcharan (1988: 59-60) suggests that the Indian Guyanese community felt that one way to achieve this was to produce a truly great Indian Guyanese cricketer.

Kanhai was chosen for this role, to parallel the success of Jagan in politics. At first Kanhai failed to live up to expectations. In the test series of the 1957 tour of England, the West Indies lost 3-nil. Kanhai’s performances were barely better, scoring 206 runs at an average of 22.88. The interests of the Indian Guyanese community and those of the West Indies team coincided. Cricket is a team game. It would, therefore, have been difficult for their champion to excel in the midst of the soul disaster which his team faced. The mood amongst Indian Guyanese was gloomy as they listened to the radio commentary on the test series. “The victory of Cheddi Jagan in the elections of August 1957 transported us out of the blankeness of the summer” (Shivcharan 1988: 58).

During the 1958 Pakistan tour of the West Indies, Kanhai’s performance improved with a batting average of 37.37. Shivcharan (1988: 59) again presents the Indian Guyanese perspective when he states, “This was slight in the midst of the Olympian effort of Gary Sobers whose average was 137.33.” Kanhai’s performance could not impress African Caribbean people when viewed alongside that of the equally young and promising African Barbadian, Sobers.

The 1958–9 West Indies tour of India was a special occasion. Two Indian Guyanese, Kanhai and Joe Solomon, were travelling to the land of their foreparents for the first time, and were doing so as players on the West Indies cricket team. In the meantime, Ivan Madray, another player from Port Mourant had played for the West Indians in two tests against Pakistan in 1958. One must add to this the consistent presence of Sonny Ramadhin, the Indian Trinidadian off-spinner on the side for the previous several years. It was becoming clear to Indian Caribbean people that membership of the cast of the West Indies cricket team was opening to them. The West Indian test cricket was, therefore, becoming an arena in which they could have issues concerning their own emergent identities played out for them. This was becoming equally clear to non-Indians who saw these new identities as challenging theirs. In the second test match between the West Indies and Pakistan in Trinidad, a country with a sizeable Indian population, Ivan Madray was playing his first test match. He reports fielding at deep third-man and someone shouting from the crowd, “We don’t want more coolie in this side.” This was followed up with a cigarette end flicked on to his back and a bottle thrown at him (Madray 1988: 118).

The Indian team was no longer perceived as playing the role of champions of the Indian Guyanese population. Subhajit Gupte, the same leg-spinner on the Indian team who was their hero in 1953 had been transformed into their arch-enemy. In
the first two test matches, Gupte seemed able to capture the wicket of Kanhai as will. For the Indian Guyanese population, ‘with Kanhai seemingly a possession of Gupte, to us this now inspired shame, a reassessment of patriarchal authority, reaffirming tentative autonomy’ (Shivcharan 1988: 63). In the third test at Guyana, Kanhai proceeded to demolish the Indian bowling attack including that of Gupte. Kanhai made a score of 256 in what was the first test innings in which he scored a century. Joe Solomon made 89 not out. Basil Butcher, an African Guyanese also from Port Mourant, made 103. This conquest of the Indian bowling was filled with symbolism for the Indian Guyanese community. Shivcharan (1988: 63) suggests that Kanhai’s performance was revenge for Indian returnees from the Caribbean humiliated through loss of caste. This was particularly satisfying since Calcutta was the port from which the vast majority of the Indian immigrants to the Caribbean sailed and to which the returnees were repatriated.

The involvement of Butcher in the triumph introduces an additional dimension. The success of Kanhai, Butcher and Solomon was seen as a triumph for rural Guyanese over their urban counterparts. The county of Berbice and in particular the Corentyne coast and Port Mourant had prevailed over the county of Demerara and the capital, Georgetown. According to Ivan Madray (1988: 108), John ‘Trim’ Triggs, an African fast bowler from Port Mourant who played for the West Indians in the late 1940s, was viewed by Indians of Berbice as one of their own. He blazed the trail for the string of West Indian test players, Kanhai, Butcher, Solomon, Madray, Alvin Kallicharran, and Roy Fredericks all coming out of the Berbice sugar estate cricket system.

The excitement of the Hindu priest during the 1953 test match was partly because Piaroudeau was a symbol of urban dominance over the rural population. The image of a rural identity which transcended the African–Indian divide was not confined to the minds of those who watched cricket or listened to it on the radio. This was also how the players saw the situation. Shivcharan (1988: 55) quotes Butcher as crediting Clyde Walcott with ‘advancing their [those of Butcher and fellow Port Mourant players] claims to the cars in Georgetown’.

The rural, regional and Caribbean identities played out in Kanhai’s brilliant performances as a batsman tended to be overlooked by African Guyanese. The Indian identity as expressed in his play was the image which usually overshadowed all others in their minds. The PPP won another electoral victory in 1961. Between 1962 and 1964, the government was challenged strongly by the local African community and big business, aided and abetted by the colonial authorities and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of the USA. This took the form of civil disobedience, industrial action, riots and inter-communal terrorism. Against this background, Shivcharan (1988: 70) suggests that ‘the fact that Kanhai’s work was infused with a profoundly Westindian spirit the character of his art recognized and appropriated by all West Indians, save we suspected by most Afro–Guyanese fired by a black messianism, made it possible for us to carry our massive racial burdens’. The suspicion of Shivcharan and the Indian community were correct. The first name ‘Rohan’ is fairly common amongst African Jamaicans born during or after Kanhai’s international cricket career. Amongst African Guyanese, the name occurring with equivalent frequency is ‘Gary’ after Garfield Sobers. ‘Rohan’ is so rare amongst African Guyanese that one is tempted to speculate that it is never used.

In the midst of the destabilisation of the PPP government under Jagan, the February 1964 match between Guyana and Barbados took place in Bridgetown. The game meant one thing for most African Guyanese, many of them descended from African Barbadians. For them, the game would play out the assertion of the African Guyanese identity vis-à-vis that of African Barbadians. In the eyes of the former, the latter were seen as immigrants with strange speech habits who had come in to Guyana over the years to weaken the bargaining power of local labour. For Indian Guyanese, a totally different plot was unfolding. Remarkably, the feared Barbadian fast bowling pair of Wesley Hall and Charlie Griffith were being assigned the part of African Guyanese terrorists. Guyana are down 13 for three. Kanhai and Solomon came to the rescue. Kanhai scores 108, Solomon 63. ‘And through the three hours that he [Kanhai] ruled, in our nervous abjection, we saw each boundary hit as a blow against Burnhamsite terror’ (Shivcharan 1988: 71).

The British impose a change in the electoral system in Guyana. Fresh general elections are held in Guyana in 1964 and the PNC under Burnham in alliance with a small party supported by the business class, manages to snatch political power from the PPP. The Indian Guyanese community is devastated and haunted by a sense of defeat. In the test match at Bourda a few months later in April 1965, Kanhai scores massive support from the Indian Guyanese crowd as he scores 85 in the first innings. His role was, as the expression goes, ‘to take shame out of their eyes’. Cheered hungrily to the wicket in the second innings, he scored 0. He was booted back in the pavilion by people ‘haunted and shamed by Chekdul’s fall’. We were booing ourselves to pre-empt the blacks from booing us’ (Shivcharan 1988: 73).

The new game in town

After the change of government, the new game in town was consolidating with the old state power an African Guyanese community imbued with a sense of its right to rule. In 1968, two years after the country received political independence from Britain, this right to rule became institutionalised. During that year, the first of a series of brazenly rigged general elections took place. Rigging elections became an instrument for the PNC and the African elite who dominated it. National elections, while made to look like a game which either side could win, became a play which, with minor script variations, was enacted every five years or so. The ending of the play was always the same, of course. African Guyanese as a group either played active parts in the farce, applauded it or looked the other way and pretended it was not happening. This was to continue until the 1992 elections when the presence of
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State power was, however, only a means to an end. The power and influence which the Indian Guyanese community had accumulated had to be destroyed. Racism was not an acceptable basis for publicly rationalising and justifying moves by the Guyana government. Therefore, measures had to be adopted which were not explicitly directed at Indians. The strategy was to target those sectors of the society and economy in which Indians were dominant. Since the rural agricultural population was predominantly Indian, this sector was singled out for special attention. Resources would be transferred from a rural agricultural sector composed mainly of Indians to a state dominated by Africans.

Though comparable tactics were employed in the rice industry, we will focus on the sugar industry, the area of agriculture which had the most relevance for cricket. In 1974, the PNC government slapped a sugar levy on the profits of the sugar industry. This was done on the pretext that the earnings from sugar should be used to benefit the entire nation rather than just sugar workers (Debiprasad and Baden 1987: 152). Then there was the master stroke. The sugar industry was nationalised in 1976, placing it and its work force directly at the mercy of the state. The African dominated state ran down the industry through lack of investment and while transferring surpluses to itself. All of this reduced the share of the revenue available to sugar workers either directly through profit sharing or indirectly through state expenditure on health, housing, and social amenities.

The sporting facilities developed by the sugar industry from the beginning of the 1950s were poorly maintained after nationalisation. Many of the estate cricket grounds were allowed to revert to pasture. By 1976, Alvin Kallicharan and Roy Fredericks, the last of the products of the sugar estate cricket programme to appear with any frequency for the West Indies team, were already in the team. Since the late 1970s, the only new Guyanese entrants to the West Indies test team have been rope Harper and Carl Hooper, both urban Africans. No Guyanese Indians have played on the West Indies team for over a decade. The mission has been accomplished.

This has, however, been at the expense of Africans on or near the sugar estates who, like their Indian counterparts, have also been denied access to cricket playing opportunities.

We have so far examined moves which were made to limit the ability of Indian Guyanese to use local and West Indies cricket to act out roles which express and strengthen their group identity. There was as well a programme to have the symbol of African Guyanese, PNC and Burnhamite dominance projected into the arena of West Indies cricket. This took the form of seeking to have African Guyanese players promoted to positions of power and influence in the West Indies team. The major power play by the PNC regime was the efforts it made to ensure that African Guyanese Clive Lloyd became captain of the West Indies team.

Ever since the struggle to have Frank Woolford appointed as the captain of the West Indies team, the captaincy has acquired an enormous symbolic importance. In 1973, Gary Sobers distinguished the captaincy of the West Indies team. The candidate of the Burnham government in Guyana for the post was Clive Lloyd. The problem was that, due to poor batting performances, Clive Lloyd had not even been named in the original squad to play against the Australians during their Caribbean tour of the year. In fact, it was Kanhai who was appointed as Sobers’s successor. Given the kind of symbolic role which Kanhai played for the Guyanese population, this was as bad news for Burnham and the PNC as it might at first seem. Kanhai was almost at the end of his career as an international cricketer. He was therefore merely warming the seat for a successor. Burnham was determined that Lloyd would be the successor.

When the West Indies cricket board realised that Gary Sobers might be unable to play during the series because of injury, it called Lloyd requesting that he put himself on standby. According to McDonald (1985: 59) at this point Prime Minister Forbes Burnham intervened personally by asking his friend, the Australian Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, to make sure that there would be no problem getting Lloyd’s release from his commitment to club cricket in Australia.

In Manchester in the UK where Lloyd resided, he was informed through the Guyanese High Commission in London that the Guyana government was paying his fare back to the Caribbean. Burnham preferred that he wait on standby in the Caribbean. Lloyd’s response was that, “The point was that my Prime Minister made a request that I come back home and I found it impossible to refuse and certainly, I wanted to be near the action” (McDonald 1985: 58).

Lloyd distinguished himself in the match between Australia and the Guyana team. As a result, he forced himself back into the West Indies team, scoring 178 on the first day of the fourth test. McDonald (1985: 60) cites Cozier’s description of Burnham as ‘backing in reflected glory’. Lloyd went on to secure his place in the team and eventually the captaincy. The image which Indians saw within the West Indies cricket of a Caribbean identity in which they had no presence became even more sharply defined with the 1990 a statement by Lloyd’s successor as captain, Vivian Richards. In an interview with the Outfit newspaper in Antigua, he is reported to have stated that “the West Indies cricket team… is the only sporting team of African decent that has been able to win repeatedly against all international opposition, bringing joy and recognition to our people” (West Indies Cricket Annual 1990: 33).

Subsequent efforts by Richards to ‘clarify’ would have done little to change the original impression.

This is the background against which one needs to understand the evolution in the behaviour of Indian cricket spectators in Guyana. They now instinctively that the absence of any Indians from Guyana on the West Indies team is probably not a matter of chance. The capitaining of the team by Clive Lloyd, otherwise known as ‘Burnham Magic’ made the entire team a symbol of everything hated by the oppressed Indian majority in the country. The team in its conquest of the cricketing world for over a decade, was for Indian Guyanese an act out of the trampling of their rights by the African dominated state.
West Indies cricket and nationalism

In the entrenchment of rigging within the electoral process of Guyana, Indian or, along with many other of their countrymen, despaired of being able to change government by the casting of a ballot. The very word 'ballot' owes its weight to the casting of votes or lots using balls. The electoral game had been turned into a lottery in the sense of 'lots of balls'. The early 1980s was a period during which efforts were made to build up electoral reform. Indian Guyanese therefore chose symbols other than the lotto; in another ball game, that of cricket. Here at least, rules were laid down, umpiring was impartial and the outcome not prescribed by an already existing system. The beginnings of the 1990s, the nationalised sugar industry was in poor shape. The conglomerate, Booker Tate of the UK, was brought in on a management contract to run the sugar industry. The new British chief executive of the industry, Nick Carter, announced significant increases in wages for sugar workers. Steps were taken to improve the various facilities provided to workers by the industry. Cricket in particular was to benefit by the reappearance of this welfare approach to managing the industry. In 1992, it was announced that Joe Skipper, his pair of an earlier period of investment in cricket on the sugar estate, had been contracted to train sugar estate cricket coaches and to develop talent on the sugar estates. This is clearly expressed in a series of articles on sport on the sugar estate published in the PPP organ, the Mirror, in the course of which Razak (1992b: 14) states, 'With the present re-organising of the sugar estate community by the PPP [the Guyana Sugar Corporation], hopes run high for a return of the days that this estate [Port Mourant] once enjoyed'.

On the pitfalls of nationalism: the cricket test

The truce of African West Indians in trying to dictate to their Indian counterparts they should support as a cricket match, clearly shows up the pitfalls of nationalism. Nationalism requires the suppression of all other identities in favour of an identity defined as national by those with the power to make such a definition. When hundreds of people of West Indian origin thronged the cricket grounds in England to watch the West Indies against the land of their residence and very often citizenship, their right to do so firmly supported by African West Indians, African West Indian public opinion was very loud in its condemnation of the British Government's decision to leave West Indies or India in England, a test of loyalty should be applied to the West Indies. Those who supported the opposing team against England would be
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deemed to have failed the test. They would therefore be deported from England to their countries of origin.

The test has been applied in the Caribbean to people other than Indian West Indians. It was the 1975 Shell Shield match between Trinidad and Tobago and the Combined Islands. Large numbers of people from the Leeward and Windward Islands residing in Trinidad turned out to cheer the visitors on to their first ever victory over Trinidad and Tobago. This was immortalized in the Paul Keem Douglas short story 'Tantie Merle at the Oval'. Trinidad public opinion was scandalised. These 'small island people', enjoying milk and honey purchased with Trinidadian oil, had bitten the hand which fed them. The only appropriate measure was to banish them back to the barren little rocks from whence they came. That this was more than mere rhetoric can be seen by a subsequent incident. The mid-1980s represented the peak of the Guyanese migration, both legal and illegal, to Trinidad.

A crowd of Guyanese turned out to support the visiting Guyana team in a Shell Shield match. Immigration officers surrounded the stand occupied by Guyanese supporters. Some fell, others were arrested and presumably subsequently deported as illegal immigrants. This was certainly not cricket. It was nationalism pure and simple.

Ethnic cleansing, the constant companion of nationalism, may take the form of the application of the cricket test in relation to Leeward islanders, Windward islanders, or Guyanese resident in Trinidad and Tobago. It may be applied to people of Caribbean origin in the UK or Indian Caribbean people in Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago. If it can be justified in one case, it can be in any other.

Nationalism and all with which it is associated are the natural enemies of any notion of genuine unity amongst people, either within individual Caribbean states or across these states. The view that any group of people could be made to express themselves by way of a single common identity is both contrary to good sense and the experience of everyday life in the Caribbean. Such a scenario is essentially Aryan-Saxon in nature. This is true whether its players are of conservative demeanour and bear the title of knights, in the style of the well known captain of the 1960s and early 1970s, or are of more radical comportment and wear the red, green and gold symbols of the Rastafari as did the captain who retired in 1991. More importantly, the scenario represents a violation of the social rights of Caribbean people. The challenge, both within and beyond the boundary, is to create an atmosphere which tolerates and encourages the inter-play between the multiple identities which exist within Caribbean societies.

References


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Ferguson (1959: 240-41) suggested that diglossic situations may remain relatively stable for long periods. He implied that, in spite of this, there is an underlying imbalance in the relationship between the two language varieties which will, at some point, lead to the disappearance of the existing diglossia. The rate at which this change takes place may vary from one situation to another. It may, in some cases, last centuries or even millennia.

Ferguson did not, however, provide any detailed proposals about the kinds of stages or steps through which a diglossic situation passes on its way to dissolution. This is one goal which, based on analysis of the ongoing situation in Jamaica, we will attempt to achieve in this paper.

In classic diglossia situations, one of the major differences in the functions of the two language varieties is that the High language is the normal language of writing. By contrast, the Low language is normally excluded from this domain. It is on this aspect of diglossia that we will focus.

Literates in diglossic situations may, for purposes of our analysis, be viewed as belonging to one of two categories. In reality, of course, the majority of such literates may be placed at some point on a continuum between these two extremes. The first type is made up of diglossic speakers who speak both the L and the H language. They speak the L language in private informal interactions, while they speak the H language in public formal domains, and
acquire literacy as an extension of the functions of this language. Members of this group usually constitute the elite within the society and have a strong vested interest in the maintenance of the diglossia. These literate bilingual/diglossal speakers are, without being conscious of it, in a quandary. In order to retain their monopoly over writing technology, they have got to restrict writing to only one of the languages which they control. Over time, they find themselves as a group unable to resist the natural pressure to extend the use of writing to the other language which they speak, the L language. This may have the effect of subverting the diglossia and eliminating the privileges which they enjoy within it.

There is as well the second category of literates. These have relatively little everyday access to public formal domains within the society. As a result they gain very limited exposure to the H language through normal interaction. Their exposure to it comes through the process of acquiring literacy. Since the H language is the sole language variety through which literacy is taught and generally practiced in the society.

Rudimentary literacy skills require no more than the recognition or production of individual lexical items in writing. In many diglossic situations, the H and L languages have similar lexicons. In such cases, non-speakers of the H language variety need know very little of the H language in order to gain rudimentary literacy skills. Given the limitations of the situations in which most formal language teaching takes place, most members of this group are likely to end up with only limited levels of competence in the H language. Such people will, without being conscious of it, produce written material in a language showing varying degrees of influence from the L language variety. Albeit unconsciously, they are freeing the technology of writing from the limits imposed on it by the language variety in which they were taught that technology. Programmes of mass literacy and universal education in the H language will inevitably produce a mass of people with rudimentary literacy skills and limited competence in the H language. This will, in turn, lead to the development and expansion of the body of written L language material as these persons attempt to exercise literacy independent of the H language.

The Jamaican Case

The Jamaican diglossia involves English as the H language and Jamaican Creole as the L language. In diglossic situations such as this, L language

come, bit by bit, to invade the domain of writing, previously the domain of the H language. Speakers employ one of two routes to expand the L language. One route is taken consciously, the other unconsciously. Speakers can be divided into two groups depending on the route they are more likely to use.

The first group does not need Jamaican for use in ordinary everyday written communications such as notes, letters, public signs, etc. Their command of writing in English is quite adequate for these purposes. They, however, also use writing to create, maintain and spread ideas and cultural values. One specific function is producing literature, i.e. bodies of written work involving the creative use of language. The normal language of such literature would be the H language. In much literature, however, a major goal is to represent the real world. Voices which speak within it, therefore, have to be made to sound the way they would in real life. As a result, in novels and other forms of creative writing, characters have to be represented using the L language. This could either be because such characters in real life would be monolingual in the L language or because in the situations in which they are supposed to be operating, use of the H language would be inappropriate.

The bilingual/diglossic elite in Jamaica was and is steeped in the ideology of the literate tradition. According to this tradition, an established body of writing in a language variety is what confers on it the status of "a language". By the middle of the twentieth century, there had already been a slow proliferation of the use of writing from the High language to the Low. This had produced a body of literature in which Jamaican Creole was being used for social realism in the manner already discussed, a fact which caused some people, mainly members of the bilingual/diglossic elite in the first instance, to question the existing restricted role and status of Jamaican Creole. Jamaican Creole first appeared in literature, not as a full-blown literary language but only to perform functions which English could not perform. This triggered the ambivalent response among the literate bilingual/diglossic group. Sections of this group began to develop a set of attitudes which represented a compromise between totally ignoring its existence and accepting it as an autonomous language. The view was that Jamaican should be regarded as a dialect of English which should be accorded the same respect and status as regional dialects in Britain such as Yorkshire, Scottish or Cockney. This view is clearly presented in a poem "Bans o' Killing" by Louise Bennett (1966: 218-19, 1982: 4-5). This poem which seems to have been written in the 1940s (Bennett 1982: 121), is directed against those who wish to kill the Jamaican vernacular. It argues that such persons have, in order to be consistent, to extend their concerns beyond the shores of Jamaica and
recommends that they should deal with Britain which has far more non-
standard dialects than does Jamaica. These would have to be destroyed before
the murder of Jamaican 'dialect' is committed. This view of Jamaican Creole
has become firmly established in those sections of the bilingual/diglossic elite
who view themselves as having a positive attitude to Jamaican. In fact, the
term 'dialect', adapted from its usage in England to describe nonstandard
dialects of English, is the term widely used for the language among the
educated sectors of the society.

Writing in Jamaican is also produced by the second category of literate.
With them, however, it is not employed in the production of literature. Their
creative language use is predominantly oral. Within this group, systems for
producing and transmitting oral bodies of creative language are being main-
tained and constantly expanded. Creative is, for them, performing the func-
tion which literature performs for the bilingual/diglossic elite group.

Writing as a technology offers this group a big advantage in a particularly
important activity, however. This is in the offering of goods and services for
sale. Unless the goods or services offered are directly visible to the public,
only two options exist for informing potential customers and attracting their
interest. One of these is oral, in the form of street crying and word-of-mouth
recommendation. The disadvantage is that someone has to be physically
present to call out or otherwise pass on the information to the potential
customer. This would be the only option in a society in which writing did not
exist. However, in Jamaica, writing does exist and public signs in English are
there for all to see. The monolingual or near monolingual mass of the
population is therefore aware of the option of using writing on public signs
in conspicuous places to advertise goods and services for sale. These persons,
therefore, employ writing widely for these purposes.

At the conscious level, members of the group do their best to conform to
the norms of writing in the High language, English. This is, after all, the only
language which they have been taught to write. It is, in addition, the only
language in the society which they consider it possible to write. At the uncon-
cious level, however, technology transfer across language barriers is
taking place. This group, faced with their own limited command of the written
H language, produces writing in which, usually without realizing it, they use
the L language, Jamaican, to fill gaps in their knowledge of the H language,
English.

This can be seen in a sign appearing in Lee (1986: 30), a work which
presents photographs of public signs seen in Jamaica. The sign reads 'WILKIE
GARAGE BETT OUT AND WELDING'. There is first a lexical gap which is being
filled. The term 'BEET-OUT' in the sign is the Jamaican Creole term referring
to the activity of beating out dents in the metal surfaces of motor vehicles.
At the morpho-syntactic level, one would expect 'WILKIE'S GARAGE'. How-
ever, juxtaposition of the possessor before the possessed is in the way in which
possession is signalled in Jamaican Creole. It is this in the sign which
substitutes for the English possessive morpheme. There is, however, a peculiar-
ity in the sign which has nothing to do with the linguistic differences
between English and Jamaican. This is the full stop between 'BEET' and 'OUT'.

Except for 'BEET-OUT', every word in the sign appears on a separate line.
The purpose of the full stop, therefore, is probably to indicate that these are
two separate words since the size of the lettering does not allow for a space
to mark off word boundary.

There are numerous items in English which have cognates in Jamaican.
When the sign writers are not sure of the phonological and orthographical
form in English, they often use the pronunciation of the Jamaican cognate as
the basis for writing the word. Thus, as presented in Lee (1986: 54), one sign
proclaims 'RED HAT VULCHINISING DONE HERE'. Such a sign in English
would normally be written 'Red hot vulcanizing done here'. The "HAT" in the
sign represents the pronunciation of the Jamaican cognate //hat//. Similarly,
"VULCHINISING" represents a different pronunciation from that associated
with the English cognate. In another sign, one advertising 'Fresh Fish' for
sale, two interesting items appear, 'LABSTER' and 'SWIMS', representing
English 'lobster' and 'shrimps' (Lee 1986: 10). The Jamaican pronunciations
which these representations approximate are //labsta// and //swimas//, respec-
tively. The conclusion that the representation of Jamaican pronunciation
of these items was entirely unconscious in this case is supported by another
item appearing on the same list. It is 'SPROUT', representing what in English
would be 'sprat'. This is clearly a hypercorrection. English words with the
vowel //a/ appear in Jamaican cognates with //a/; for example, English "hot" vs
Jamaican Creole //hwa/. The writer, when putting this item on the sign, worked
on the theory, inapplicable in this case, that when an item has //a/ in Jamaican,
the English cognate would have //a/ represented orthographically by 'o'.

The intrusion of Jamaican into public signs that are supposedly written in
English poses no difficulty to the potential reader. The vast majority of
potential readers are either bilingual/diglossic or are nearly monolingual in
Jamaican. As a result, literate persons in the community generally have
access to the linguistic information needed to make sense of these signs. In
addition, only the bilingual/diglossic minority are likely to notice that there
is anything even remotely not English about these signs. In addition, only the

bilingual/diglossic minority are likely to notice that there is anything even remotely not English about these signs.

There are thus two sources of writing in Jamaican Creole in the diglossic situation existing in Jamaica. One source is the bilingual/diglossic elite. The other is the monolingual or creole-dominant sectors of the population who have had some access to literacy instruction. The nature of the material produced by each of these processes is not the same, however. Writing in Jamaican Creole performs rather distinct functions for each of these groups. These complement each other and over time converge.

The point of convergence is seen in the use of public posters to advertise Dance Hall. The origin of the music played and performed at Dance Hall sessions goes back to the late 1960s when record producers began to make gramophone records on which the bass and rhythm sections of the music on the first side would appear on the second. Out of this there developed a tradition at parties of disc jockeys doing spoken improvisations using the music of the second side as background. Thus arose what has come to be known successively as dub, deejay and dance hall music. The topics covered by this music range from the political to the local, from the comical to the violent. Dance Hall has emerged as the major cultural expression of popular sentiment in modern day Jamaica.

Alongside the dominance of this music, there has grown up a tradition of large Dance Hall events, usually in the open air, where established and aspiring deejays perform to live audiences. The issue of how to advertise these events arose. It turned out that in a society where the majority of the population had at least rudimentary literacy skills, writing was the cheapest and most effective means of advertising Dance Hall, an oral event. This involved the production of a large number of cheaply produced posters which are stuck up on lamp posts, bus stands, walls in markets, and any other surface likely to be visible to many people.

In general, the organizers of Dance Hall events would be monolingual or near monolingual speakers of Jamaican Creole. One would expect, therefore, a considerable degree of unconscious writing of Jamaican Creole in these posters. Interestingly, however, this is not a general feature of them. Instead, what exists is a self-conscious and deliberate use of Jamaican Creole for a specific portion of each. A typical poster would read as follows: "Hi Party Fans! X as Y presents . . . Z . . . Date, Place, featuring A, Admission: Good Behaviour, Buy Out the Bar". 'X' would represent the name(s) of the organizer(s), 'Y' their aliases or names by which they are more popularly known, 'Z': the Jamaican Creole theme for the event, and 'A' the names of the providers of music both live and recorded.

The titles or themes for such events which appear on posters are usually some Creole phrase or expression associated with Dance Hall culture. Some examples are (i) Slackness Bites The Dust. Culture Come First, "Lewdness bites the dust, culture comes first" (ii) A Love We A Deal! Wid "It's love with which we are dealing" and (iii) Come Again Sen. 'Do it again, won't you', a line from a Dance Hall piece by the deejay Tiger, entitled "Come Again".

This type of explicit separation of language varieties in use is characteristic of the language behaviour of the bilingual/diglossic group. Such posters seem to be the result of collaboration between individual Dance Hall organizers and the printers. There is a reasonable chance that the latter, given their trade, would have language competence more typical of the bilingual/diglossic group. Even if they do not, the written English on these posters follows a standard pattern which is presumably simply copied from one poster to another. Organizers would, therefore, provide the basic information about who is performing, what sound system is playing, time and place. They would also provide or help decide on the title or theme for the poster.

The norms of the bilingual/diglossic group are rigidly adhered to in the language used in these posters. This is in spite of the fact that they are being produced for oral cultural events whose potential participants in the main do not belong to this group. Even though this might represent underlying evidence of the continued subtle control exercised by the elite language ideology over popular consciousness, there is also evidence pointing in the direction of popular resistance to this ideology. When one examines the size of the print used on the average poster, what is prominent is names, dates, places and the title/theme, with the last being the most prominent. The English text is written in very small print. This is understandable since it provides no important information which could not be deduced from the context and the material in large print. On the poster, as in the diglossic society at large, English is being employed as a largely ceremonial language, for symbolic purposes only.

This model of written language behaviour has not been restricted to advertising Dance Hall events. The University of the West Indies campus carnival, organized by students, has developed over the years into quite a popular event, attracting thousands of participants every year. Even with its wide popularity, the campus carnival following has been traditionally educated and middle class, i.e. the bilingual/diglossic elite. The holders of the event, university students, are either members of or are in the process of becoming members of this same group.
The advertisement for Carnival 1991 is worthy of some special analysis. The Guild of Undergraduates prepared a very glossy and colourful poster which was used to cover lamp posts and walls in prominent places both on the campus and around the city. A version of this poster was used as a newspaper advertisement. Its design was far more sophisticated and the finish far more expensive than that of the normal Dance Hall poster. In typical Dance Hall poster style, however, the event had a Jamaican Creole title//theme, Pan Gaan Done "Endless Fun". The slogan was printed twice in the largest letters immediately above and below the carnival logo at the centre. The lettering was in a stylized form of the free hand lettering which appears on Dance Hall posters. In a different and slightly smaller stylized free hand lettering, appeared the information "UWI Carnival 91 Feb 3-12". The location of the event "UWI Campus" appeared in large but standard printed letters. On the edges of the poster/advertisement at the top and bottom were the only other items in large size print, the names of the commercial sponsors of the event. The detailed schedule of events appeared in very small standard printed letters.

There was one important giveaway, however. The spelling conventions used for Creole on normal Dance Hall posters are quite conservative. The producers and readership of these posters are linguistically insecure and are more likely to be thought of as unfamiliar with the conventions of written English. Not surprisingly, therefore, they play it safe. They retain English spellings even when the Creole equivalent is pronounced quite differently. An example is the Creole pronunciation of the last word in each sentence would be dos and fas, making them rhyme. It is this pronunciation which was clearly intended even though the English spelling used suggests otherwise. On the University 'can't' was born of greater linguistic security. Students are less likely to be regarded as unfamiliar with the writing conventions of English. They are free, therefore, to experiment with a spelling of the Creole form which more closely approximates pronunciation.

Dance Hall poster style has penetrated the conventions of public signs even more profoundly. Even in cases not involving the advertisement of entertainment, the style is becoming established. Thus, even a handwritten advertisement for Saturday classes at a community college posted on a notice board in the University imitates the style. The central slogan, Unu come fast "You [plural] come quickly/fast" is in larger letters of a different colour from those on the rest of the poster. This, the only identifiable use of Creole in it, serves as an attention getter. It is also worth noting the use of spelling which deviates from English conventions. The other information on the poster simply gives details such as time, place, etc. What this use of Jamaican to promote formal educational activities suggests is that it is not simply a fad associated with the advertisement of entertainment. The Jamaican Creole central slogan is becoming part of the conventions for producing public signs in the country.

There is another area of convergence between the language practice of the two groups within the society. We have already pointed out the tendency of the bilingual/diglosic elite to use creative bodies of written language as the focus of their cultural identity. The monolingual or near monolingual group, on the other hand, employs the creative use of oral language for this purpose. However, from the 1930s onwards, there developed in Jamaica a tradition of what may be called performance literature. Inspired by the oral tradition, many members of the former group produce creative material in Creole which they perform to audiences and which are published as gramophone records. A prime early exponent of this was Louise Bennett who, inspired by the tradition of Anansi stories and folk songs, produced a significant body of performance literature (Bennett 1966, 1979, 1982). The justification for referring to this material as 'literature' is that, in addition to her oral production, Bennett produced it in print in several collections. The producer of performance literature, as distinct from the traditional producer of oral bodies of work, intends to use writing as one of the media for disseminating the material.

Dub poetry is simply a more recent version of this phenomenon. It is inspired by Dance Hall or dub music. The dub poets also belong to the bilingual/diglosic elite. Like the deejays, dub poets use musical accompaniment as a background against which to perform their lyrics. The difference is that the dub poets, in addition to live performances and the use of cassette tapes and gramophone records, do have print as one of their intended media. The dub poets, in particular, are involved in experimentation with writing systems which would allow them to accurately represent on paper some of the features of their oral Jamaican Creole presentations (Morris 1990: 22-24).

In fact, one of the poets, Mutabaruka, is interested in having the introduction to one of his works written in the Cassidy writing system for Jamaican (Carolyn Cooper, personal communication). Here again, we see the strong influence of deejay and Dance Hall culture, entirely oral in nature, in expanding and developing the use of Jamaican in writing.
The situation presents a blessing in disguise. It creates an opportunity for members of communities to pursue language planning and language reform without the prospect of the state jumping in and hagging it to death. The state seems to be too see where communities are naturally going with their own often unconscious efforts at language reform. The role of the language planner in such a situation is to strengthen and add some long term vision to the processes which are already taking place. It is this which, I would propose, is most appropriate for situations like the Jamaican and other similar situations in the Creole-speaking Caribbean.

Conclusion

The advanced industrial countries of the North either retain or are strengthening centralized state control. In those situations, centralized approaches to language planning and policy remain relevant. In Third World countries, particularly now in the post-Cold War era, the power and authority of the centralized state is rapidly contracting. The failure of the centralized state planning, very often modelled on those of Eastern Europe, has created a situation where foreign creditors are insisting on government 'getting out of people’s faces' and leaving the producers, i.e. private capital, to get on with business. The state in these countries has neither the moral authority, the political will, nor the economic resources to involve itself in even modest language planning and language reform.
Phrasal Reduplication & Triplication in Kalabari

By

Otelemate G. Hurry & Hubert Devonish

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65 Phrasal Reduplication and Triplication in Kalabari

Otelemate G. Harry and Hubert Devonish
University of the West Indies at St. Augustine; Trinidad and at Mona, Jamaica

0. Introduction

Available literature assume that reduplication occurs as a morphological process (Marantz, 1982, Baker 1987, Awoyale 1989, Anagbegu 1995, Kouwenberg and Lacharite 1998, 1999). Based on the results of previous studies, Akanihan (1997) shows that, in the variety of Niger-Congo languages, republication, whether full or partial, involves prefixation or suffication of the reduplicant to the base. The reduplicant is a copy of part or whole of the base. Thus, republication is a word-formation morphological process. For examples, in Yoruba, Ibibio, Nupe, and Kimtuumbi, new items may be formed by the prefixation of the reduplicant to the base. In Chiyao, on the other hand, new items may be formed by suffication of the reduplicant to the base. If we adopt this general view, reduplication would be the only morphological process in Kalabari, [saladari], as is suggested in Harry (1998:38-41).

In this paper, we propose that reduplication in Kalabari is not a morphological process, rather it is an attributive phrasal construction. Kalabari, spoken in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, according to Williamson (forthcoming), is classified as one of the four dialects of K0N subgroup of 1j0. Kalabari is a tone language that employs two contrastive tone levels, H(igh) and L(ow) tones. Descriptions of Kalabari tone system can be found in Jenewari (1977, 1980, Williamson 1988 and Harry 1998).

Here, we shall concentrate on a restricted set of tonal processes in Kalabari. We present the analysis within the proposals of autosegmental phonology (Goldsmith 1976, 1990, Pulleyblank 1986)

1. Tone and Reduplication in Kalabari

We need, as an introduction to reduplication in Kalabari, to become familiar with a significant tone assignment rule. This rule involving tone assignment in non-derived items, reduplicated or not, occurring in phrase initial positions is especially important. In such items, the tone melody is assigned to the right edge of the word, with tones being assigned from right to left. The final tone spreads to any unintoned syllables to its left.

There are two kinds of reduplication in Kalabari, non-derived and derived reduplicative constructions. Non-derived reduplicative items involve reduplicated forms that are not derived from any independently occurring base forms, as in (1). In contrast, derived reduplicative items do involve forms that are derived from corresponding base forms in the lexicon, as shown in (2). In the examples, the surface tones are given in ], while the underlying tones are given in /.

(1)a. Non-derived reduplications (nouns and verbs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Surface Tone</th>
<th>Underlying Tone</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sàràsàrà</td>
<td>/H-H-H/</td>
<td><em>/HW</em></td>
<td>'quickly/haste'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuku tuku</td>
<td>/H-L-L/</td>
<td><em>/HL</em></td>
<td>'havous'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gál gál</td>
<td>/L-L-H/</td>
<td><em>/LW</em></td>
<td>'scattered'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1)b. Derived reduplications (nouns and verbs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Surface Tone</th>
<th>Underlying Tone</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sàlà sàrà</td>
<td>/H-H-H/</td>
<td><em>/HW</em></td>
<td>'quickly/haste'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuku tuku</td>
<td>/H-L-L/</td>
<td><em>/HL</em></td>
<td>'havous'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gál gál</td>
<td>/L-L-H/</td>
<td><em>/LW</em></td>
<td>'scattered'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To account for the surface tone patterns in (4), Harry (1998:98) proposes that the H1 tones are assigned after the lexical tones on the non-initial items are deleted. For ease of reference, we will call the H1 tones associative-H1 melody. We can provide a straightforward analysis of the surface tones in derived reduplications if we assume that derived reduplications constitute a sub-type of associative constructions in Kalabari.

If we follow the evidence provided by tone, we would have to regard these derived reduplications as attributive phrases. If this is indeed the correct analysis, derived reduplicated constructions in Kalabari would be a syntactic process rather than a morphological one. Also, given that syntactic heads in Kalabari are phrase final, the head of these Kalabari reduplicated constructions would be the second item rather than the first, as is found many languages (cf. Akinlabi 1997). If the syntactic head is the last item in these Kalabari, the reduplicate must be the non-final item.

Semantics does support the notion of Kalabari derived reduplicated constructions as attributive phrases. The modifier, in the form of the initial item, the reduplicate of the second item, the syntactic head, serves as a marker of intensity, intensifying the meaning of the head.

If we presume that we are indeed dealing with a sub-type of attributive phrases here, the source of the H1 tone melody on the final item is explained. This is simply the resultive phraseal melody being assigned to the final item in an attributive phrase. And, with the syntactic information which points to the non-final item being the reduplicate, we have to propose that there has been complete transfer of both underlying tonal and segmental information to the reduplicate. It is only by this means that, at the tonal level, the underlying lexical tones can manifest themselves on the phrase initial reduplicates, particularly in circumstances where the actual base, the syntactic head, has such tones deleted by rule.

2. Tone and Triplcation

In this section, we provide further support for our proposal that derived reduplicated constructions are a sub-type of associative constructions in Kalabari by considering a related phenomenon known as triplcation. Unlike derived reduplicated constructions, where the base form is repeated once (A + B), triplcation involves repeating the base form twice (A + B). Triplcation may express any of the following notions in Kalabari:

(i) an unnecessarily repetitive quantity or action, becoming a nuisance value,
(ii) an unnecessarily repetitive quantity or action, becoming an obsession,
assigned to the first syllable of the third item. The 2 tone then spreads rightwards on to the following syllables, accounting for the surface identical 2 tones in the following syllables. Like in two-item associative constructions, the lexical tones on the non-initial items are deleted before the 2 tones are assigned. The mapping of the 3 tone melody to bearers in triplicated constructions in (5) follow exactly the pattern of three-item associative constructions in (6). A straightforward account of tone in triplication can be arrived at if we adopt the analysis proposed for tone association in longer sequences in non-triplicated associative constructions. Triplication, like derived reduplication, is functioning as a kind of an associative construction in Kalabari. This points to the conclusion that reduplication and triplication in Kalabari are simply versions of the associative noun phrase. Given the associative phrasal nature of reduplication and triplication, we propose the following underlying structure for these constructions.

Given the structure above, Y would be filled by lexical items which have both tonal and segmental specifications, as seen in the non-reduplicated and non-triplicated associative constructions above. But in reduplication and triplication, Y does not have any tonal and segmental specifications, i.e. Y is empty phonetically. X₀ spreads its tonal and segmental information on to Y. Later phonological rules then delete the tones on all non-initial items and assign phrasal 2 tones.

3. Conclusion

In this paper, we have proposed an analysis of tone in reduplication and triplication in Kalabari. Contrary to the general position that reduplication is always a morphological process in a language, tonal evidence in these types of constructions revealed that they can occur in a component other than the morphological component. The tonal processes in reduplication and triplication presented in the preceding sections supported by tonal processes in associative constructions lead us to conclude that derived reduplication and triplication are a sub-type of associative constructions in Kalabari. Since non-reduplicated and non-triplicated associative constructions are phrasal, reduplicative and triplicative constructions must be phrasal as well. Given both the tonal evidence and the fact that Kalabari has no other morphological process, the conclusion must be that the reduplicative and triplicative processes examined occur in the syntactic component. This suggests a typology of reduplicative constructions in terms of their different levels of occurrence in the grammar of a language. In some