

PURPOSE BEFORE MONEY: PLANNING LANGUAGE FESTIVALS IN THE CARIBBEAN

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Much of the rest of the world considers the Caribbean to be a developing (some still use the term 'Third World') tourist destination. This designation might not have had such a heavy impact if the Caribbean had invested more energy in firmly defining what it is to the rest of the world. Regrettably because of the insecurity in matters of culture and identity inherited by the region, the Caribbean is still in the process defining and affirming what it is.

With regard to the manifestation and celebration of culture, two dynamics constantly interact when planning festivals in the region: the Caribbean as a region pleading for tourist dollars and the Caribbean defining and celebrating its identity. The former dynamic connotes a region which must comply with the needs of the tourist; whether those needs are real or perceived. The latter is often ignored as unimportant. Where there is still significant development needed in health care, education and agriculture, expending funds for 'play' and community celebrations seems wasteful to some.

The irony is that a major element of tourism has always been and continues to be heritage travel. People travel to various regions just to experience what is different and exotic to them. So that money spent by the Caribbean to develop and preserve its culture for its inhabitants also has the further benefit of preserving its viability as a tourist destination. The Caribbean continues to have an edge in tourist markets because the Caribbean has made a culture of exquisitely creating something from nothing and the resulting language, architecture and lifestyle captures the imagination (Beckles & Shepherd, 2004: 9). This paper examines the interplay between tourism and the planning of festivals in the Caribbean for the purpose of affirming Caribbean identity. It proposes that Hymes' ethnography can be usefully employed in festival planning in the region, depending on the particular objectives of each festival. The essay particularly focuses on the *Kwéyòl* festival of Dominica, which is one of several festivals that take place during the month of October to celebrate the creole heritage of the Caribbean. The festival is one of the unique offerings of the Caribbean because it

is an authentic non-tourist driven celebration and because it is the only festival in the Caribbean which was created explicitly to celebrate the existence of a language variety.

Rex Nettleford, in *Inward Stretch, Outward Reach*, observes that the Caribbean is a modern day example of Biblical Mesopotamia;

“Speaking of tongues, the Caribbean... seems a Tower of Babel. It is just so, being the crossroads of languages which are the languages of former colonizers and conquerors providing *linguae francae* for the thirty or more millions of souls who now congregate in that crossroads and are seeking to give common expression to the history and existential reality which we share.” (Nettleford, 1995: 2)

Two truths are highlighted by Nettleford. Firstly, the Caribbean, because of its history, has been the destination for several very different cultures and ethnic groupings. Being a crossroads provides a rich environment for sociolinguistic inquiry. Secondly, the Caribbean continues to seek means and opportunities to showcase its history and reality and to have them respected and validated. This search for means to express and display the history and reality of the Caribbean also adds to the list of topics that sociolinguists can theorize about. There are several festivals across the crossroads of the Caribbean which have been developed just for the purpose of showcasing Caribbean history and culture. Some may wonder how the development of such festivals could provide material for sociolinguistic investigation. The collaboration between the various disciplines of academia in the Caribbean is scarce almost to the point of being non-existent. However, academic theories are only relevant as far as they can be applied to practical situations. This paper therefore offers a sociolinguistic precept from which to analyze a Caribbean problem.

Not every festival that takes place in the Caribbean is suitable for sociolinguistic investigation. Several of the yearly carnivals across the region, because of their focus and objectives do not lend themselves to sociolinguistic inquiry. However, others such the World Creole Festival (WCF) (of which the World Creole Music Festival or WCMF is the featured presentation) and the Crop Over festival contain elements which can be investigated using sociolinguistic theory¹. In the case of the World Creole Music Festival a sociolinguistic theory as a framework for planning the festival is fitting as the event is actually a part of a larger event which includes the celebration of the French lexifier creole language of Dominica, *Kwéyòl*. The sociolinguistic issue which arises when we begin to consider the World Creole Festival is the way that language is treated within the organization of the festival. Often, as Heller points out,

¹ In this essay, I examine the case of the WCF.

when countries begin to market their culture, authenticity and market forces do not cohabit well (Heller, 2003: 475). Preference is given to pleasing consumers and generating financial benefit at the expense of aspects of culture which are perceived to be less marketable. In the Caribbean case, the integration of authentic expression and activity for financial gain translates into activities designed to attract tourists. ‘Tourists’ are usually perceived as of European descent, and that notion encourages Caribbean people to change and refine elements of Caribbean culture before they are placed on the market.

The World Creole Music Festival in its current state is an example of the detrimental shift from cultural celebration to money generation. In order to understand this shift, one has to consider the geographic position of Dominica, the genesis of the Festival and its current structure. Dominica sits between the two French dependencies of Martinique and Guadeloupe. At points in its own colonial history, Dominica was ruled by the French. Its location as well as the colonial rule of the French has left a significant element of French influence on the Dominican cultural landscape.² This influence is seen in many areas of Dominican culture including architecture, dance and social norms. There has also been African influence in Dominican society resulting in the emergence of what has come to be known as a creole culture.

A significant part of that culture is *Kwéyòl*, which has been preserved not only by the location of Dominica between its two French and French lexifier Creole speaking neighbours, but also by orchestrated attempts to conserve the language. The efforts to revive *Kwéyòl* in Dominica began in the 1970s with a group called *Comité pou Etyoud Kwéyòl*, chaired by Felix Henderson. This development is understandable in the context of an independent nation seeking to define and establish its marks identity and sovereignty. These efforts to preserve the language developed in what is sometimes referred to as the pre-independence era in the Caribbean. The sentiment in the Caribbean and the world around that period supported movements such as *Mouvman Kwéyòl* and *Comité pou Etyoud Kwéyòl*. The Caribbean was emerging as a set of newly independent countries looking for ways to assert their unique identity and nationalistic boundaries. One of the initiatives of *Comité pou Etyoud Kwéyòl* was the celebration of one day in October as Creole Day. Creole Day has been celebrated in Dominica from the 1970s onward, with communities and schools hosting dramatic presentations, dances, singing songs and reciting poems all in the native *Kwéyòl* tongue. The group also collected words for the creation of a dictionary (now known as the Fontaine dictionary) and co-ordinated various other community-based activities which have allowed Dominicans to interact with and celebrate their culture.

² There are several books on the History of Dominica including Baker, 1994.

At the same time that Dominica was exploring and re-affirming its language and other cultural forms, a similar movement had started in St. Lucia, a neighbouring Caribbean territory with *Kwéyòl* as a part of its French-influenced history as well. In 1982³, there was a Linguistics conference organized in St. Lucia which brought the work being done on Creole development in Dominica, St. Lucia and other places in the world into focus. Mr. Henderson, however, was not pleased with some of the academic representations that he heard there concerning *Kwéyòl* and he was therefore invited to another conference in Lafayette, Louisiana the following year. That conference was significant as it was where Mr. Henderson tabled and successfully passed a motion which saw Creole Day, as it was conceptualized and started in Dominica, move to become a World event where all places with a creole culture celebrated one day in the last week of October as a festival devoted to their language and culture.

After the Louisiana conference the expansion of creole celebrations as an organized event continued in St. Lucia. In the 1980s, the decision was made to expand the grouping to all countries where *Kwéyòl* is spoken across the Caribbean. *Mouvman Kwéyòl* expanded to become a worldwide grouping under the name *Bandsil Kwéyòl* to include places such as New Orleans and La Réunion. Two of the major tasks of the grouping were to develop an orthography for *Kwéyòl* and to encourage community and festival activities for the development and preservation of *Kwéyòl* and creole culture⁴. One result of the type of cultural agitation done by *Bandsil Kwéyòl* in Dominica is the World Creole Festival. This festival showcases the island of Dominica and the cultures of the Dominican people (indigenous and others), their languages, food, music, etc. The World Creole Music Festival is one of the calendar events within the WCF; a direct result of the work of the *Mouvman Kwéyòl* and the *Bandsil Kwéyòl* groupings.

The foregoing paragraphs are important in showing that the type of movement which generated what finally came to be known as World Creole Music Festival are rooted in language development efforts. Initially, the WCF provided more than 'the best in creole music from across the globe' but also a stage for the cuisine of Dominica; traditional dance and cultural presentations by Dominican community groups as well as activities focused on *Kwéyòl*, including drama, poetry and other language performances. However, as the musical aspect of the festival has flourished because of its money-generating ability, other parts of the festival have not grown proportionally. The language aspect of the festival has been an element that has suffered. This provides an example from the Caribbean which mirrors Heller's observations concerning the case of French in Canada, that:

³ Information provided in an interview with Felix Henderson. More verification will have to be done in order to substantiate dates.

⁴ Information provided in a panel Discussion at the Folk Research Centre of St. Lucia, March 3, 2006.

“...we are seeing authenticity also becoming commodified (as opposed to being used as a marker for political struggle), sometimes in the form of cultural products (music, crafts, dance, for example), and often with no link to language.” (Heller, 2003: 474)

In 1997, when the government of Dominica was looking for an activity to add to the tourist calendar of the country, they chose to refine and develop some of the activities which *Comité pou Etyoud Kwéyòl* had initiated. 1997 can therefore be seen as the year that the creole music culture of Dominica became commodified. Some see the development of WCMF as the birth of an event in itself. However, the work which was done by the nationalist *Comité pou Etyoud Kwéyòl* was integral in providing the foundation for the WCMF, by removing the feelings of ambiguity and negativity inherited from the colonial system that cause many Caribbean people to ignore elements of their creole cultures and languages. Dominican music and culture only became marketable after their local, regional, and international prestige and acceptance grew as a result of the language preservation activities of *Comité pou Etyoud Kwéyòl*.

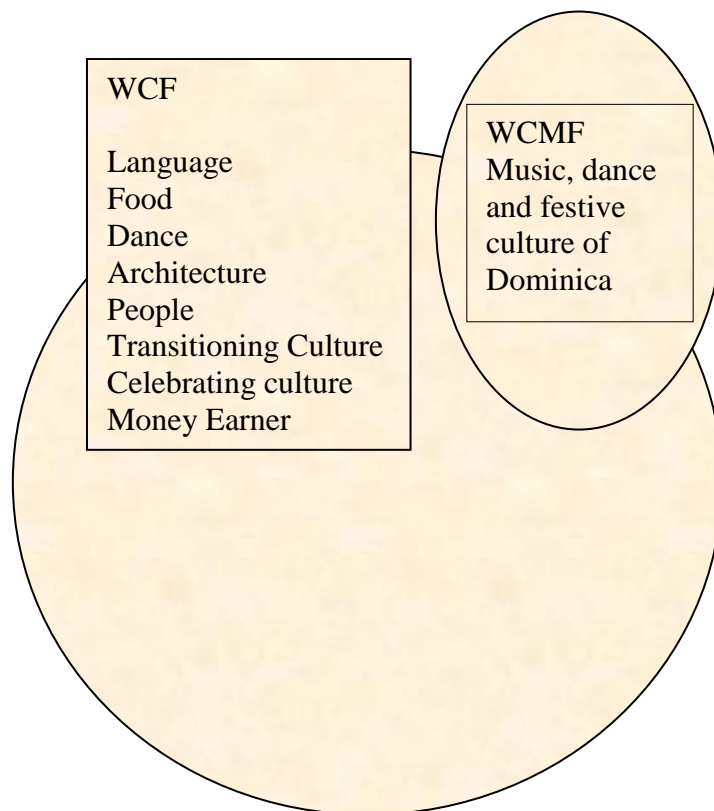


Figure 1 Pictorial representation of the origin and place of WCMF within WCF

The activities that led to the creation of WCF did not only generate festivals. A *dictionary of Dominican Kwéyòl* by Marcel Fontaine is one of the examples of a positive byproduct of the *Kwéyòl* language movement. The first edition was completed in 1991 under the title *Definitive Dominica Kwéyòl/Anglé English/Creole Dictionary*. The dictionary was rebranded, given its current name Diksyonné and re-published in 2003. The work is a bilingual dictionary which converts lexicon from *Kwéyòl* to English and from English to *Kwéyòl*. Another benefit to Dominica is that the development of a festival around the creole culture aids in the continued validating and documentation and popularization of the culture. However, documentation and popularization can also form the basis for further commodification of the culture in Heller's sense. The culture and its components become more available and valuable for sale.

The written documentation of largely orally transmitted elements of culture is especially important in the Caribbean. Even in the case of WCMF, the paper trail which details the inception and planning of the annual event over the last 40 years is very sketchy and in some cases nonexistent.

I am not at all against a strategy which allows the Caribbean to have a single festival with more than one objective. In other words, the Caribbean can integrate activities which bring tourists to its shores on the one hand with activities that preserve and celebrate culture on the other. Such festivals can generate a new product set of items to be sold on the global market. However, that integration will depend on a shift within the Caribbean in the way that planning and preparation for such activities is done. Since the Caribbean is operating within a climate which demands that it comply with new world standards to remain viable, planning must be a more important activity than it has been in the past. As mentioned, the WCF was initially created out of language planning activities that incorporated elements of music, dance, language and food within a national festival. The activities happened on a relatively small scale and were co-ordinated at the community level rather than by the government, which is more structured and institution driven. The WCMF was one aspect of the WCF that has since become the headline event because of its money-making capacity. Although WCMF has been taken over by the government, the extent to which it has become institutionalized is open to argument. The festival struggles to make a profit every year and still depends heavily on government subventions for its viability.

As a part of a reanalysis and overhaul of WCMF, ways must be found to return to the original holistic vision of the WCF, rather than focus specifically on music. Planning be done in such a way that multiple objectives can be satisfied simultaneously and lucratively. The Caribbean must preserve its identity as well as make money from that identity. Comprehensive planning which is systematic and integrated will result in

sustainable development for the Caribbean that is balanced with social development. In order to create events which generate income for the region as well as preserve and showcase its culture, there must be purposeful blueprints of objectives and intentions must be drawn up for festivals to allow for record keeping and reflective planning.

Examining WCF festival planning in the Caribbean using the theoretical perspective of linguist, anthropologist and folklorist Dell Hymes⁵ can help revive the non-musical language and cultural aspects of the festival. It can also easily serve as a general template for the planning of other festivals in the Caribbean to ensure that language elements within cultural presentations are not overlooked. Figueroa (1994) analyzed the metatheory governing the work of Hymes. An examination of her writing demonstrates why Hymes' comprehensive approach to language and culture is a feasible framework for planning the WCF in Dominica. Figueroa explains that:

“for Hymes there is a direct consequence of this broad scope for sociolinguistics: the need for a multidisciplinary approach. He maintains that ‘the recognition of this mode of organization (language as a part of a bigger structure) leads one to recognize that the study of language is a multidisciplinary field, a field to which ordinary linguistics is indispensable, but to which other disciplines, such as sociology, social anthropology, education, folklore, and poetics are indispensable as well’” (Figueroa, 1994: 33)

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This multidisciplinary approach is also needed for the successful planning and execution of WCF and other cultural festivals. There must be room around the planning table for all of the disciplines Hymes mentions. In the Caribbean the disciplines of economics and tourism planning would also have to be integrated. The WCF has a hybrid set of objectives including the goals bequeathed to it by its nationalist origin in a movement to preserve language and more commercial goals related to generating income for Dominica as a tourist attraction. To ensure that the product reflects the broad objectives of language and cultural preservation it will be necessary, as Hymes advocates, to have a series of disciplines involved in the initial planning and shaping of the event.

Every island in the Caribbean, including Dominica, may not have available expertise in the various areas necessary to build successful multi-objective festivals. One possible solution would be the creation of a unit within the CARICOM Community framework which would be responsible for providing services to those countries who request their help in the planning of cultural events across the region. This unit could be easily established under the broad objective of the CARICOM Community which

⁵ At the time the paper was written Dell Hymes was still alive. In reverence to his effect on my work I left the verb in present tense as he will continue to live in my work.

aims “... at the eventual integration of its members and economies, and the creation of a common market.” From its inception, CARICOM has concentrated on the promotion of the integration of the economies of its member states, however there has been less emphasis on “...*Functional Cooperation, especially in relation to various areas of social and human endeavour*” (my emphasis). Providing resources at the level of CARICOM for the advancement of successful planning is as good a social endeavour as any (from CSME Official website).

The second feature of Hymes’ theorizing which makes it a good framework for planning the language aspect of WCF is his notion of socially constituted linguistics. Figueroa quotes Hymes 1974, p. 196 as stating that:

“the phrase socially constituted is intended to express the view that social function gives form to the ways in which linguistic features are encountered in actual life. This being so, an adequate approach must begin by identifying social functions, and discover the ways in which linguistic features are selected and grouped together to serve them.”

Hymes’ definition makes clear how a festival can be used to revive and preserve language. As long as the functions of a language are extended, the language undergoes expansion to service those functions. By creating a celebration that fully embraces language, more writers will utilize *Kwéyòl* in their poetry, drama, novels, etc., and this will help to preserve and shape the language. The planning committee in Dominica seems to be pulling the various elements of the festival apart and moving away from the link between the festival and language. The main focus currently is on music. However, Hymes’ notion of socially constituted linguistics advocates that language is used by a society to serve all of its purposes, whether they be political, commercial, or musical. In the case of WCF, *Kwéyòl* should be an integral part of the nucleus of a festival which celebrates the unique cultural results of the complex historical development of Dominica. One of the objectives of the festival should be to ensure that *Kwéyòl* remains a growing, living language amongst the population of Dominica. *Kwéyòl* should be incorporated with other aspects of culture such as music, dance and food to create a holistic end product.

At last year’s WCMF, there was no use of *Kwéyòl* to introduce artists on stage. Additionally, the artists chosen did not all utilize *Kwéyòl* in their music. The featured artist for WCMF 2008 was Sean Paul of Jamaica and his near 2-hour performance did not feature any use of *Kwéyòl*. If the focus of WCF is to promote and preserve *Kwéyòl*, it would be reasonable to ask why Paul was chosen as featured artist. It would seem that instead of utilizing *Kwéyòl* as a focal point and generating activities based on the particular social function the language is to perform, the focus of WCF is shifting from *Kwéyòl* as nucleus to income generation and easy promotion as nucleus. This growing commercial orientation notwithstanding, there is no evidence that this

approach is more financially expedient as the festival struggles financially from year to year. Worse, this trend is also detrimental to *Kwéyòl* and all aspects of Dominican culture in a globalized world where the cultural forms of small states often find themselves facing extinction in the face of the onslaught of the commercialized cultures of the US and the other neo-colonial metropolises. The planners of WCF must understand the role of *Kwéyòl* as the genesis of the festival and ensure that each event embeds elements of *Kwéyòl* serving particular social functions according to the objectives of the planned events of the festival.

The third reason why the linguistic theory of Hymes can be incorporated into the planning of WCF is that Hymes challenges some of the traditional received notions of linguistics. Figueroa writes; “A socially constituted linguistics questions received linguistic premises because these premises are based on the exclusion of social meaning” (p. 33) and “The goal of Hymes’ sociolinguistics therefore goes far beyond questions solely concerning linguistics” (p. 36). Hymes laments that in trying to create tidy linguistics, the dominant schools of linguistics have ignored several important truths about language. He sees language as “...complexly linked to history, societal, and cultural evolution and the particularities of the individual actually speaking...” (p. 41). This kind of approach to language lends validation to an event such as a festival to celebrate *Kwéyòl* and the creole heritage. It offers a practical example of Hymes’ notion that language is bound to historical, societal and cultural evolution. The origin of *Kwéyòl* and creole heritage is the particular set of historical events that are characteristic of pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Dominica. Utilizing Hymes’ theory as an integral part of WCF planning keeps the focus of the festival as more than a money making and tourist venture.

Additionally, by extending the idea of received notions in linguistics Hymes supports the removal some of the negative status given to Creoles and Creole development. Even if this status was not intentionally created by the dominant approaches to linguistics, it was given legitimacy by them because of their desire as Hymes notes to minimize variation and embrace homogeneity. Because Hymes’ theory is rooted in relativism it allows for creole languages to be recognized as natural languages. Figueroa in expanding on the notion of relativity and how it contrasts with received notions in linguistics writes, “...linguistic relativity is based on the principle of diversity rather than homogeneity or invariance.” (p. 42).

Pauline Christie (1996: 61) in the introduction to the work *Caribbean Language Issues: Old and New* contends that:

“One important justification for focusing on analysis of the structure of creole languages is the assumption that recognition of its complexities would lead to

increased appreciation of the speakers, by themselves as much as by others. It is well known that the self-esteem of Creole speakers often suffers from the lack of prestige accorded to their language.”

The WCF is marketed as an international event, but because it involves the culture and language of a particular country, there should also be a simultaneous focus on local consumption. Hymes’ assertions about the importance of variation to the study of linguistics, allows the planning committee to incorporate strategies designed to change perceptions regarding *Kwéyòl* into the festival.

The fourth reason Hymes’ theory fits the planning of WCF addresses another issue which emanates from the colonial history of the Caribbean. Many territories of the Caribbean were accustomed through the colonial years to looking to the mother country for guidance and academic direction. Although independence has changed the metropolitan orientation of the Caribbean to an extent, there remains a preference for external theorists and problem solvers. The use of external talent is also institutionalized to the extent that aid money to the Caribbean often comes with a set of consultant names attached. Hymes theorizing although it does not reject the importation of human expertise does make it a point that the knowledge about culture and way of life does not lie with the expert. It lies with the people to whom the culture belongs and in order for it to be found the investigator must be subsumed in the culture. Figueroa (ibid.) summarizes:

“Traditionally the most common procedure used in the ethnography of communication, has been participant observation. This is a practice whereby the investigator involves herself in the community, or with the subjects she is studying, in such a way as to have access to a means of arriving at a common-sense understanding of what is taking place around her. This understanding, or at least the means of arriving at such an understanding, is supposed to be reflective of the understanding of the ordinary person in the everyday world...The importance of this type of methodological procedure is that it is particularistic (each investigation is considered as a concrete case rather than an abstract universal). In theory it requires that the investigator pay attention to the actualities of the situation irrespective of prior theorizing.” (p. 37)

This feature also lends validity to my claim that there needs to be a body of regional experts available to assist in the planning of events like WCF. Should Hymes’ approach be used to plan WCF, it would steer the planning committee toward choosing expertise first among those most familiar with the festival, its objectives, and their implementation and then looking for other options should local consultants not be available. I have visited Dominica for every WCF since 2006. I have also visited at Carnival time (in 2007 and 2009) so as to ascertain the differences between WCF and carnival celebrations. I have never attempted to write about the festival before my just

concluded third visit. I have always carefully listened to the analysis of Dominicans after each year of the festival. The planning committee is also reminded that an approach which works for the planning of Carnival or another festival event in the Caribbean, should not be mechanically applied to the WCF and expected to fit without adjustment. The particular nature of WCF and its objectives should govern the planning of each event within the Festival.

Using Hymes' framework for planning also has the potential to generate other events to be included on the WCF calendar. Figueroa states that "as applied to the ethnography of communication, the principle of holism would require that linguistic issues not be divorced from human experience and behaviour generally" (p. 37). Guided museum tours can be conducted as a scheduled event within WCF using Hymes' Ethnography as a planning guide. There is also the opportunity for the Kalinago of Dominica to be allowed to conduct guided tours of their reserve. These concepts are feasible under Hymes' theory because the *Kwéyòl* of Dominica is linked to the cultural development of the island and includes all these elements of the island's reality. The incorporation of other cultural events creates a festival matching Hymes' intention as explained by Figueroa to "lead one from an outside to an inside view of cultural phenomena" (p. 37).

Hymes has just as carefully distanced his theory of sociolinguistics from homogeneity and people absent study, as other theorists have been careful to force their theories to fit into such moulds. I believe that any perceived imperfections of Hymes' theory surface from his desire to theorize imperfect subjects; humans and their language. These imperfections do nothing to subtract from the relevance of Hymes' theory as a framework for the planning of WCF. Hymes' theory is usually put into practice by utilizing the SPEAKING (Setting/scene, Participants, Ends, Act sequence, Key, Instrumentalities, Norms of interaction and interpretation, Genre) framework, which is usually related to a particular utterance and the context surrounding that utterance (p.60). In order to use Hymes' theory as a framework for planning WCF, there would be a necessary modification that would relate the SPEAKING framework not just to a single utterance but all of what encompasses WCF as a communicative event. The WCMF would be restored as one of the events of WCF and even if it is kept as the headline event, it would be more definitively linked to language and culture. Each event, including the WCMF would then be developed from the language outward.

The use of the language as the nucleus from which other cultural expressions develop follows a natural progression of language use in society. Music with *Kwéyòl* lyrics is not possible without *Kwéyòl* words. As dishes were developed which were a mixture of African and French culture, *Kwéyòl* was used to name them. These dishes were

sometimes extensions of *Kwéyòl* words already in use. An example is *lambi* (*lanbi*), which is the name for conch that is extended to a delicacy made of cleaned, seasoned conch meat. Wardhaugh explains "...*ethnography* of a communicative event is a description of all the factors that are relevant in understanding how that particular communicative event achieves its objectives" (p. 246). If the entire WCF is seen as a communicative event, it would be possible to adapt Hymes SPEAKING framework to create and regulate festival activities. The following is an example of how this might be done:

Setting and Scene

These two elements refer to the particular time and place of the event as well as the psychological coordinate (Wardhaugh: 246). The setting of WCF is October in Dominica. It must be made clear in the marketing of the festival that the WCMF is only one element of the bigger WCF. This is significant to the planning of the festival because it draws a clear distinction between Carnival and WCF and it also links the WCF to the particular culture and reality of Dominica. Currently, the focus on the musical aspect of the festival creates a scene much like Carnival. This may eventually become counterproductive since tourists now can opt to go to just one of the two festivals for a similar experience, as opposed to attending both for different experiences. The scene must be linked to *Kwéyòl* and the other cultural elements involving *Kwéyòl*, and be linked to the marketing of Dominica as a unique destination on the world market. Wardhaugh explains that "a particular bit of speech may actually serve to define a scene..." (p. 246). This means that the habit of using *Kwéyòl* in the media on *Jounen Kwéyòl* is a positive initiative and there is scope to extend it throughout the duration of the festival. It also means that masters of ceremony at the WCMF should introduce artists using *Kwéyòl* in order to define and maintain the setting and the scene for participants as linked to *Kwéyòl* even if translations into English are then done. Psychologically, the people of Dominica must own the festival. It must be their celebration of their culture.

Participants

The participants are all of the people who participate in WCF. This includes visitors to Dominica but also Dominicans themselves. Figueroa contends that, "certain speech events require a particular number of participants or particular types of participants" (p. 60). Within this framework, planners of the festival will be required to find other events which can complement the WCMF within the WCF so that all participants find something of value in the festival. Additional activities can include lectures about *Kwéyòl* and its development as well as dramatic and other presentations (cultural and dramatic presentations are already a feature of the Creole in the Park activity, and would only need to be extended and elaborated). The youth of Dominica is a

participant group in WCF which needs carefully planned and targeted activities. Young Dominicans are central to the preservation and perpetuation of *Kwéyòl* as a living language because they will be the ones to either embrace the creole culture or reject it in favor of more American or European norms.

Ends

Wardhaugh categorizes ends as “...the conventionally recognized and expected outcomes of an exchange as well as to the personal goals that participants seek...” (p. 247). The objectives of the festival must be outlined and they must capture the notion of the WCF as a communicative speech event. This is harmonious with the WCF’s *Mouvman Kwéyòl* and *Bandsil Kwéyòl* heritage. Additionally, it provides an opportunity for planners to consider what the festival should offer to its various participants. The *Kwéyòl* march through Roseau on Friday October 31st, 2008, saw several school children marching through the streets clapping hands and singing *Kwéyòl* jingles in their traditional Madras wear. Their participation in that march was not only for the enjoyment of tourists. The children were engaged in an educational activity that teaches them about the history of their island and its culture. Tourists also lined the streets for fulfillment of their objective, which was to experience the *Kwéyòl* culture. This demonstrates to planners various participants can reach different ends from events within the festival without the event being altered in any way or in ways that are perceived to make it more tourist friendly.

Act Sequence

This refers to the form of the communicative event. For the purpose of planning WCF, an essential part of the act sequence is already known. The activities of WCF are a part of a festival. This means that just as a party governs the interaction of the guests and a lecture governs the interaction between lecturer and audience, so too what is chosen to be incorporated into WCF must be able to mesh with the atmosphere of the festival. If Hymes’ theory is to be used to plan WCF, the headline artist would have to utilize *Kwéyòl* in their genre of music to support the nucleus of the festival. Choosing an artist who does not use *Kwéyòl* would be to depart from the objectives of the festival.

Key

This notion considers the tone, manner, spirit and other non-verbal markings in the communicative event (Wardhaugh: 247). The tone, manner and spirit of the WCF are all set and established. Using Hymes’ theories and framework will not affect these, it will only add validity to what is already there. The tone, mood and spirit are festive and celebratory. There are several outdoor events and opportunities for friends and family to interact. These features show how aspects of the festival which are not

designed specifically for tourists are interesting to tourists in their unaltered form. There is no rule governing how Dominicans enjoy WCF, but the way in which they do it is interesting to visitors.

Instrumentalities

Like key, the instrumentalities are already determined for the WCF. Instrumentalities are concerned with the choice of channel. Most of the events take place in an outdoor, oral setting. This meshes well with the oral nature of *Kwéyòl* and its culture.⁶ Considering instrumentalities also allows the planners of the festival to create a framework for integrating more media into the festival. For example, BET and TEMPO television stations all create documentaries about musical events across the Caribbean. While it would be a positive development to have WCF covered by these entities, the planners might also want to consider attracting the coverage of other stations like National Geographic or the Food Channel, so that the nature of WCF as a communicative event encompassing more than music is also showcased. Other channels such as poetry and drama can be fully integrated into the activities of WCF and WCMF. The extension of these features which are already present on a small scale, will allow for added opportunities to display the diversity of *Kwéyòl*.

Norms of Interaction and Interpretation

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Wardhaugh explains this as “the specific behaviours and properties that attach to speaking and also to how these may be viewed by someone who does not share them” (p. 247). These behaviours are already predetermined by Dominica’s cultural norms. There is no need to create a set solely for WCF. It is however necessary to analyze the set of norms and choose those which the planning committee and by extension the people of Dominica wish to showcase in WCF activities. Dominica is known as a country which has a hearty tradition of party and merriment. This is an example of a behaviour or property which was not created by the WCF planning committee but which can be used by them to enhance the marketing of the festival. Further, French colonial history and of the existence of a Carib community in Dominica can serve to attract larger and more varied types of tourists to the festival (researchers; students etc).

Genre

Figuroa categorizes various communicative events and states that each one has a language associated with it. There is the language of poetry, advertisement, riddles, fairy tales and proverbs (p. 61). For the purpose of planning WCF, this field can be used to generate a list of all the possible ways in which *Kwéyòl* can be presented for consumption. Since the theory notes that each use will govern or make different

⁶ See Roberts (1997: 2) for a discussion of the Oral nature of Caribbean Creoles including *Kwéyòl*.

demands on the language, presenting *Kwéyòl* in these various ways allows the planning committee to provide the widest range of interaction with *Kwéyòl* for the widest range of audiences.

I by no means wish to use this article to proclaim the direction WCF should take. Instead my intention is to offer a theoretical approach that could be utilized by the planning committee and an example of the application of the theory. Within a globalized World Caribbean Countries must not assume that visitors will continue to travel to the Caribbean without the lure of attractive planned events. It also is not enough for us as a people to continue placing our culture on well-garnished platters to be consumed by metropolitan tour companies and their clients; while those to which the feast belongs wait the tables and sweep the floors. In using the theory of Dell Hymes and in creating a multidimensional approach to planning festivals we can continue to derive income from tourism as well as preserve and celebrate our cultural rights as Caribbean people; and if we do it right, we can manage to 'kill two birds with one stone'.

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III

PLURI-IDENTIFICATION: MULTIPLE SOLIDARITIES

PLURI-IDENTIFICATION, WOMEN, SPIRITUALITY, AND LITERATURE

