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Language and National Integration: The Jamaican Case¹

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At least two kinds of problems which are of considerable importance for an understanding of the role of language in nation building remain unresolved. First, the relationships between bilingualism, stable diglossia, and language switching have not been fully explored. Second, there is a question about the role of language in nation building in situations where there is a clear language dominance but still no sense of a single national culture; where national identity is taken for granted, but a uniform, cultural identity is still in question.

This essay is an attempt to contribute to both of these areas of concern. It utilizes data on the relationships between Jamaican Standard English and Jamaican Patois to argue that (a) where large segments of the population are bilingual there may be bilingualism, stable diglossia, and language switching occurring simultaneously, and (b) where political and social integration have preceded cultural integration, or are developing at a more rapid pace, language diversity may in fact be maintained.

Specifically, I will demonstrate that as there is more agreement on who is a Jamaican, there is a trend away from monolingualism towards bilingualism, or a stabilization of diglossia. Jamaican Standard English, the language of those who govern and of the privileged class, therefore will continue to be the language acquired by many Jamaicans as a second language. Jamaica Patois, the first language of many Jamaicans, will gain in prestige and acceptability and will no longer be an indicator of social class.

BILINGUALISM, DIGLOSSIA, AND LANGUAGE SWITCHING

In Ferguson's (1959) seminal use of the concept of diglossia the term was used to denote the presence of at least two mutually unintelligible varieties of "linguistic code" used in functionally differentiated social situations. His major intent appeared to be to establish a connection between linguistic and more purely social phenomena, and this he accomplished admirably. Almost immediately, however, certain problems of definition arose, and these became painfully clear when attempts were made to operationalize the concept. How unintelligible must the languages be; what is the real difference, except in degree, between a situation where variants of the same language are functionally differentiated and where two separate languages are functionally differentiated? Stewart (1963) attempted to resolve some of these problems by defining diglossia as at least two variants of the same language, while he used the term bilingualism for two mutually unintelligible languages used for separate social purposes.

Such approaches are admirable in their groundbreaking capacity, but they founder because they allow purely linguistic considerations to make their reappearance through a back door. Having recognized the need for a link between the purely linguistic and the extra linguistic, the definition for diglossia has nevertheless been heavily influenced by linguistic factors alone. Ferguson seems overly concerned about the fact of (un)intelligibility, while Stewart bends over backwards in the opposite direction but still insists on basing his differentiation on purely linguistic considerations—the difference between diglossia and bilingualism for him resides not in any sociolinguistic factor but in the presence or lack of mutual intelligibility. Much of this confusion has since been cleared up by the work of Fishman (1967, 1969, 1970), Gumperz (1962), Rubin (1973), and others.

In this latest approach the focus is even more consciously shifted from a linguistic definition of the area of concern to a sociolinguistic one. This involves a redefinition of some of the major concepts of linguistics, most notably the idea of language itself. As Bickersten (1963), Rubin (1973), and others have noted, the new approach eschews the post-Saussurian aversion to *parole* as an object of study and takes variation as its center of interest. Rather than exclude all speech patterns which do not fit the *langue* model, those very speech patterns, their relationship to and covariation with social circumstances, have become the prime area of interest. This has led to a focus on "speech communities" defined in terms of intensity of social interaction rather than on language *per se* (Gumperz 1964).

As a result of this reorientation the concepts of diglossia and that of bilingualism, with which diglossia is variably associated, have undergone yet another transformation. It has been realized that the crucial datum about any "code" is the set of social situations in which it is utilized. Diglossia is the functionally differentiated use of two or more codes. It does not matter whether the alternative forms undergoing such variation are separate languages, dialects of the same language, or even simply registers of the same language which are mutually intelligible, as long as the speakers themselves recognize them as different and variably appropriate. Fishman (1967) and Rubin (1973) have both fruitfully expanded our understanding of the concept of bilingualism as it is related to diglossia and in so doing have given us a new framework for conceptualizing many sociolinguistic relations. In this approach bilingualism is seen as an individual or psychological phenomenon to be determined on an individual basis, while diglossia is seen as a social phenomenon. This eliminates the overlap between the two concepts while at the same time allowing for a greater precision in characterizing linguistic situations in concrete instances. It is in these senses that I employ the two concepts here.

LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL INTEGRATION

There is general agreement that the economic and political aspects of nation building are important. There is less agreement but a growing recognition that cultural factors may help or hinder the creation of a nation. Mazrui (1972: 277) suggests that ultimately nation building involves the acquisition of shared values and modes of expression, a shared life style, and a view of one's place in the universe. Many members of the Jamaican political elite are beginning to view

the creation of a national culture as an important undertaking but do not know how to go about it.

In Africa and Asia there are two major sources from which to draw: the traditional cultures and the cultures of Europe. Often there is a reaffirmation of the traditional and a rejection of the foreign (or European). The task is complicated because there are usually many "traditionals," since national boundaries created by European colonialism contain within them many different cultural groups. Promoting a shared language becomes an important part of the process, and the question of which language should be the national language becomes charged with emotion. For many Asian and African states a European language remains the only common tongue, and as a result becomes the national language, a constant reminder of the colonial heritage. In Tanzania and India the choice of national language did not involve the retention of a European one; but the choice has had differing consequences for both countries.² For example, Hindi suggests the expansion of the domain and influence of an already powerful group, whereas the forces which led to the emergence and development of Swahili are a matter of historical record such that even prior to the advent of European colonization Swahili was a *lingua franca*, the language of trade, and was not regarded as the language of any particular people, although there are persons residing along the east African coast for whom it is a first language. The African experience is only one possible pattern of integration. For most of the West the problems were of a different nature. Most of the West was not colonized. The Western experience of nation building was of a much more protracted, gradual nature, though it proceeded in roughly the same steps. Coupled with other factors, this meant that language became less of an issue in the "authentification" process in contrast to the place of language in those nations emerging from a colonial experience.³

Jamaica and most of the insular Caribbean constitute yet a third category. There are no distinct indigenous cultural groupings within its boundaries, no parent cultures to reaffirm. Old established traditions on which to draw are absent. Although Jamaica has long been a social entity, many Jamaicans are now asking what it really means to be "Jamaican" and are reaching for a cultural identity. As Nettleford (1970: 11) suggests, "Once this phase of the struggle (i.e., for independence) was won, the question of national identity shifted to definitions about who comprised the native population and, by implication, what constituted the nativeness of the society." While the leaders of the new nations of Africa and Asia are embarking on the task of nation building, Jamaican leaders are also involved in cultural engineering in a country where there is little disagreement on what Jamaican society is, but almost no clear ideas as to what is involved in being Jamaican or what Jamaican culture is; it is a question of not only "what are we?" but also, by implication, "what do we want to be?" Thus, beliefs are questioned and symbols held in doubt.

The Jamaican material requires that we be more exact in our theoretical conceptualization of nation building. Jamaica is integrated at present both politico-operationally (Fishman 1972) and socially, but not culturally. Much of this is a result of Jamaica's, and much of the Caribbean's, colonial and plantation background, which has created a state which had no culture(s) ready to fill the potential vacuum created by the withdrawal of colonial domination. I

will return to this point in detail in the last part of this paper. For now it will be sufficient if we bear in mind that in spite of the surface similarities of the colonial experience throughout the world, there are major variations in the place of language in the integration process which results from the peculiar historical situation generally confined to "imported cultures."

LANGUAGE SITUATION: JAMAICAN STANDARD ENGLISH

English is the language of education, institutionalized religion,⁴ commerce, and government. Introduced by Britain in 1655, it has flourished and developed its own local flavorings. No Jamaicans of African descent speak an African language. Most other ethnic groups have either lost their languages completely or the languages (Cantonese, Arabic, or South Indian languages) are spoken only by members of the grandparental generation. However, Jamaican English, as Cassidy (1961) points out, is not by any means the same on the lips of all Jamaicans or in all situations. At opposite ends of the continuum exist dialects virtually unintelligible with variants in between. The version I discuss in this section is often referred to as Jamaican Standard English which aims toward the British Standard in pitch, tone, and vocabulary.⁵ Several scholars (Bailey 1966; Cassidy 1961; LePage 1960) suggest the language usage of some Jamaicans is indistinguishable from British Standard English. Indeed, few speakers of Jamaican Standard English recognize differences between their parent language and British Standard English except perhaps in intonation, although for the most part, with some exceptions, Britons would disagree with this point of view. For most the target is British Standard English, and it seems that several achieve their goals.

Post-primary education has been very influential in the spread of British English. Jamaican students took the same school-leaving examinations as British students (more recently with minor variations). As a result, the curriculum of the secondary schools was geared to increase fluency in this medium, and Jamaican post-primary education has for decades had regular infusions of speakers of British English. Young Britons have accepted appointments to teach in Jamaican secondary schools. Since the nation has been both unable to train sufficient teachers and to retain those they train, this arrangement has proved beneficial to both parties, British young people seeing it as a delightful way to spend a relatively short period of their lives and the Jamaican government as a means for staffing their schools. Few remain on after the initial three-year contract, so there is a constant influx into the post-primary institutions of personnel who speak British English. Furthermore, Britain has for decades been the focal point for Jamaicans desiring higher education. Although the numbers of Jamaicans going to Canada and the United States has increased significantly since World War II, the majority of Jamaicans currently holding positions of prestige or influence, both in government and in the professions, have had some or all of their post-secondary education in Britain.

Also significant is the role of the media. The two daily newspapers are published in English with little or no use of Patois (the local term for Jamaican Creole). All radio and television news is in Jamaican Standard English. The few locally produced shows which utilize Patois are designed to foster an interest in folklore and music. Given this fact, there is a differential ability to understand

the information being disseminated, particularly in rural Jamaica, and media may be a less effective generator and molder of public opinion than in monolingual countries.

Perhaps the most revealing of all attitudes toward Jamaican Standard English is that held by the urban poor. Here the need to speak and comprehend Standard English is great since this skill is an absolute prerequisite for better-paying jobs. The largest segment of the urban poor do not complete secondary school. Many do not complete primary school. Accordingly, the children of the urban poor have less direct exposure to Jamaican English and speak a variant form which even to the untrained observer is different from both Patois and Jamaican Standard English and perhaps should be regarded as a distinct third dialect.⁶ Yet the urban poor despise the "country folk" and their "country talk" (Patois), seeing them as backward, unenlightened, and lacking in understanding. The greatest insult that one can give to an inhabitant of the West Kingston ghetto is to suggest that he is from the country. Often the recent migrant from the country fails to notice that this is in fact an insult, to the great enjoyment of his urban counterparts.

Ability to communicate effectively in Jamaican Standard English then becomes not only a mark of social class but also education, economic standing, and urbanization. Persons who most closely approximate the British model are for the most part also those who are better educated with higher paying jobs and possess greater prestige and influence in the society. Thus the prestige of Standard English which emerged during slavery remains some 136 years after emancipation and for the very same reasons: Standard English is associated with relief from hard work and a higher standard of living. But at the same time there seems to be renewed interest in Patois by many Jamaicans who hitherto would be unwilling to admit their ability to speak or even understand Patois.

THE LANGUAGE SITUATION: PATOIS

There are at least two competing theories as to the origins of Jamaican Patois. One subscribed to by Cassidy (1961), LePage (1960), Bailey (1966), and others view Patois as a derivative of seventeenth century English modified through time and with heavy infusions from Niger Congo languages, especially Akan-Ashanti spoken on the West African coast. The other put forth primarily by Douglas Taylor (1963) sees all New World black creole languages (including Haitian "French" Creole, "Dutch" Papiement, and Taki-Taki, the language of the Bush Negroes of Surinam) as derived from an Afro-Portuguese pidgin which developed on the Guinea Coast during the period of slavery where it was widespread and therefore acquired by the slave prior to his departure to the New World. The evidence set forth for both of these points of view is quite extensive; an evaluation of the relative merits of each is beyond the scope of this paper.

Rural children are often born into a home which is monolingually Patois. They learn Patois from their parents who either speak it exclusively or at best confine their usage of Jamaican Standard English to those situations where its usage is essential. The children's first systematic exposure to Jamaican Standard English occurs when, at age six, they enter the first grade. Since Jamaican Standard English has become a marker of social class as well as an indication of level of education, the student's teacher no doubt attempts to use it exclusively,

although for the most part teachers are also capable of communicating in Patois. Jamaican Standard English becomes the target language of the rural children. In school they are rewarded for approximations thereof and punished for using Patois. At home their parents express considerable pride in the acquisition of Standard English and reward them for using it in certain contexts, while reprimanding them for using it in others. Even in those homes where Patois is spoken exclusively, the young children are encouraged to acquire Standard English as a second language and rewarded for what is considered to be their accomplishment in this direction. By the time the children enter secondary school, even if they have lived in a Patois-speaking home and village, they can comprehend Standard English, since without this they would not be able to pass the entrance examination with a sufficient score to gain admission. Thus, from as early as ten years of age, approximations of Jamaican Standard English are not only markers of social class, but a measure of present achievement and future potential. Nonetheless, since the larger segment of Jamaica's population never achieves the level of competence necessary for passing the common entrance exam and never enters secondary school, they remain Patois speakers, the agents of socialization for the next generation.

The following example taken from field research data in rural Jamaica is illustrative. The researcher and Mary, age 35, were discussing her aspirations for Charlotte, her daughter, aged eight. Charlotte and two friends, Barbara and Fay, were playing within hearing distance of our conversation.

Mary: Yes mam. dem pikni diffarant dees deys yunno. (yes, madam . . . these children are different these days you know).

Researcher: Different?

Mary: Dem baan big . . . dem grow faas faas . . . de world change up . . . I glad (them born big . . . them grow fast fast . . . the world change up . . . I am glad) . . . glad Chatti like she iz . . . Chatti tel Joyce what hu lern a skool tide. (Charlotte like she is . . . Charlotte tell Joyce what you learn at school today).

Charlotte: (rather slowly and enunciating every syllable) I learn bout Marcus Garvey, our national hero.

Barbara and Fay: (anxious to join in the exchange) Yes . . . yes, we learn bout Garvey.

Mary: What I tel yu . . .

Mary continues to share her concerns with the researcher about Charlotte's education, the possibilities for her obtaining a scholarship for secondary school, and her fears about being able to afford to send Charlotte on beyond the primary school level. Charlotte interrupts our conversation:

Charlotte: Mother, mother . . . please can I go with . . .

Mary: Eh! Eh! a who yu a kaal dat? A wem sins me no mama? Mi no lik aal dat extranes.

(My, my! Who are you calling that? When since I am not Mama. I don't like all that extranes).

Here we see Mary's ambivalence. In the earlier segment of the interchange she expressed pride in her daughter's accomplishments in school, accomplishments apparently measured by her ability to communicate in Standard English. During the intervening exchange she spoke of all the new things her children were learning at school, about her own inadequate schooling, and about her feelings concerning the importance of schooling for her own children. However, when

Charlotte extended her usage of Standard English to her interchange with her own mother, Mary immediately reprimanded her: a clear indication that for Mary, Charlotte's interaction with her should continue to be in Patois and by introducing Standard English into this interchange Charlotte was being "extra" a term used by Patois speakers to reprimand one who is assuming a posture considered to be inappropriate to the interchange.

There are two realms in which Patois is the acceptable mode of speech and as a result ceases to be a marker of social class: in folklore and in the lyrics of traditional and modern songs. To translate folklore meaningfully into Jamaican Standard English is difficult if not impossible; to translate the lyrics of traditional folk songs is totally unacceptable. In the lyrics of contemporary popular music (Reggae, Rock Steady) Patois is the medium, and the lyrics are filled with *double entendres*, depending heavily upon participation in the local culture for an understanding of the message conveyed. Themes of social comment dominate, and the entire genre is reminiscent of Chinua Achebe's view of the role of the artist as social critic in the new nations of the world. Achebe (1970: 208) suggests that it is the responsibility of the artist in new nations not only to assume the long recognized role of social critic but to develop and expand upon it. Thus the artist becomes the watchdog of society and art, the medium of expressing a level of social criticism which otherwise would result in severe negative sanctions ranging from ostracism to imprisonment. There is a high frequency of social comment in the popular music, directed at persons or institutions thinly disguised and clearly recognized by the participants in the local culture. The emergence of the recording industry in Jamaica has fostered a proliferation of songs with lyrics in Patois which speak of the social conditions in Jamaica and the plight of the black man's trials and tribulations, in music reminiscent of the Afro-Cuban rhythms or popular Black American rhythms.

As Bob Marley, the great Ras Tafari poet/musician tells us:

this mornin I woke up in a curfew
 O God, I was a prisoner too . . . yeah . . .
 Couldn't recognize the faces standin over me
 They were all dressed in uniforms of brutality

How many times do we have to cross
 Before we can talk to the boss?
 All that we got seems lost
 We must have really paid the cost

That's why we gonna be
 Burnin anna lootin tonight

Burnin and lootin to survive yeah!
 Burnin all pollution tonight
 Burnin all illusions tonight

Interestingly enough, these two realms of music and folklore are the two on which there is general agreement: this is truly Jamaican; it speaks of the

Jamaican condition as it actually is and distinguishes Jamaica from Europe or to a lesser degree from Africa. It expresses the beliefs that people from time to time think they have for themselves; beliefs which inform the trinity of identity, race, and protest (Nettleford 1970: 13). And this is in Patois.

BILINGUALISM, DIGLOSSIA, AND LANGUAGE SWITCHING

If Patois is a first language for the uneducated, then it follows that Patois must exist side by side with all approximations of Jamaican Standard English as a second language. In point of fact, if there is one language which is understood by all Jamaicans, it is Patois. And, given its continued existence in the society at large, it is not possible for Jamaicans to lose Patois entirely, since there is and perhaps always will be several groups of persons with whom it is necessary in the course of day-to-day living to interact and for whom communication other than in Patois is very restrictive. The result is that even persons most conscious of their social positions and most desirous of moving up the social ladder must speak Patois from time to time, and are constantly being exposed to many regional variations and differences in vocabulary.

For most Jamaicans, there are times when it is not only a practical necessity but is socially acceptable or even desirable to use Patois, such situations varying with age, social class, and prestige. Young children who are learning in Standard English for the first time soon discover that in order to be accepted by the teachers they must try to speak "good." The situation becomes even more complex when they discover that their parents too are duly impressed and exceedingly proud as they acquire more and more facility with Standard English. But on the other side, their peers begin to be very upset, to tease, taunt, or ridicule when Standard English creeps into interaction with them. Thus children become sensitized to the necessity of discovering when, in order to win approval, they should use Patois and when it is forbidden. For children who aspire to elite status, "want to better themselves," these distinctions are learned early. The rules of the game dictate that Patois is the private language to be used with close associates in an informal setting. To use Standard English here, at least among the upper class children, would be tantamount to saying, "I am better than you are; I really don't want to associate with you; we are not friends." So Patois has remained the language of informal interaction, not only among children but among a large segment of the adult population as well. The young high school graduate who returns home and sets out to find former friends who were not able, by reason of ability or finances or some combination of both, to attend secondary school at all, is greeted by the entire village as a nice person. If the student converses with them in Patois he is further described as "one who will go far." In other words, this person is viewed as one for whom education and the possibility for social mobility it conveys has not interfered with social interaction, a situation not uncommon in highly mobile societies. When in later years, he returns from university (perhaps overseas) as a professional and does the same thing, the description used is "a meek person"—the highest compliment a Patois speaker can pay to an individual, since meek in this usage signifies the ability to make an impression without fuss or posturing.

Given the fact that there is this positive reinforcement from at least one segment of the community for this behavior, how widespread is it? Who are the

persons least likely to behave in the manner outlined above? First, there are those who perceive themselves as having most to lose by continued association with the so-called less fortunate and less educated. They are also the people for whom "whiteness" of speech (in whatever company they may find themselves) is of considerable significance. Since "whiteness" of speech has been a *sine-qua-non* of white collar employment, they are unlikely to gain support from their family when they are viewed as having gone to the white man's company without learning to talk the white man's language. Second, there are those who are characterized by a measure of marginality, of attempting to "pass." Educated "brown" Jamaicans (progeny of inter-racial matings) are less likely to interact socially with persons for whom Patois is the first or only language than black or even white Jamaicans. On the other hand, the descendants of old established, socially prestigious families of whatever hue are likely to take pride in their ability to speak Patois, to be conversant with the folklore genre, to be totally at ease in the presence of monolingual Patois speakers than are the less socially secure. For those Jamaicans who lack the prestige of wealth, education, or social class Patois becomes an excellent weapon against the upwardly mobile person who, in order to be accepted in his new status, denies his ability to understand (much less speak!) Patois.

The following is an excerpt from an interaction observed at a post office in rural Jamaica. Several villagers were jostling for service. Two American tourists and the researcher were standing in line and awaiting their turn.

Clerk: Why you people can't behave yourselves . . . that's why I don't like working here . . . you have to deal with all sorts of people . . . form a line! I not going to help you until you learn to act right. . . .

Voice from the crowd: Eh! Eh! (much laughter and murmuring).

Woman: Wa im a faam . . . (to clerk) fi yu huozban mosa naa fiid yu mek (What she pretending . . . your husband must not be feeding you make) yu maaga so. (you are so meager (thin)).

Clerk: What did you say? I can't understand you.
. . . Laughter gets much louder. . . .

Another voice from within the crowd: Yu heer mi kraasiz a we di ooman se? (You hear my crosses? What the woman said?).

Another voice: Mam? (Laughter getting louder . . . clerk getting more embarrassed by the minute).

Clerk: If you people don't stop your noise I will get the corporal to put you out . . .

Another voice from within the crowd: Bikaaz im fried a de oowan dem from forin (Because him afraid of the woman from foreign) . . . im a faam . . . dopi knuo whu fi friten! (she is pretending . . . duppy knows who to frighten!)

The post office clerk defined the situation as one in which she was the official, having to endure the uneducated villagers. Perhaps it was her first attempt to display her facility with Standard English in the presence of such a large group of villagers. The situation was perhaps predicated by the presence of three "outsiders," two tourists and the researcher. The crowd ridiculed her first by laughter, and when she persisted in displaying her facility with English, by attributing her slight posture to her husband's inadequate care for her. Having presented herself as a speaker of Jamaican Standard English, the clerk left herself in the position of not being able to respond to insults hurled at her and had to resort to threats of using the police to quiet the disturbance; a threat

which the villagers considered to be empty and therefore not to be taken seriously, judging from their lack of response.

Persons of supposedly inferior status often resort to Patois exclusively in dealing with aspirants to superior status, even denying their ability to comprehend Standard English. Communication becomes difficult if not impossible, and the would-be aspirant is forced to make the choice: either admit to an ability to understand Patois or, depending upon the importance of the situation or risk to one's status, retreat from the interaction entirely. Furthermore, the educated Black who can "use the white people dem word good good and still talk de Patios to we" continues to be admired by large segments of the population, especially in rural areas. For those aspiring to careers in government and politics this is a definite advantage, and many would-be politicians find themselves striving, not so much to acquire competence, but to retain it.

Patois continues to exist with Jamaican Standard English, although often in separate realms. This situation, as well as future occurrences, must be seen in the light of Jamaica's historic experience, and if stable diglossia is to occur it must make sense in terms of that context. As I see it, there are three conceptually distinct periods in this development: first, the divergence of Patois from Standard English; second, the period encompassing independence and urbanization; and third, the period of "cultural engineering" into which the country is now moving.

I have been guilty, during much of this essay, of speaking of Patois as if it were a single, unitary, codifiable language or code. Of course this is not the case, as the texts clearly demonstrate. In fact, it is useful to conceptualize the vicissitudes of diglossia in Jamaica in terms of the expansion, contraction, or relative "clustering" of language varieties along the continuum from Standard English to Patois.⁷ During the period of slavery and the plantation, and including the period of emancipation, the continuum was expanding and numerous local variants were being developed at different rates and under different influences. Especially during the period following emancipation, we would expect the process to accelerate somewhat. With a low level of interaction among various groups there would probably have been a relative clustering of most speakers at one or the other of the two poles of Patois and Standard English. With the advent of independence and the increase in the rate of urbanization, forces were set in motion which began to alter fundamentally the linguistic situation.

The integrity of Patois is assured not so much by its place in the cultural heritage of the country, though this is increasingly important, but by its enforced preservation as a result of the lack of mobility and the consequent fossilization of the stratification system. Patois speakers remain Patois speakers because their parents, unable to advance to those heights, educationally and socially, where Standard English is *de rigueur*, remain Patois speakers. What has occurred is a continued "smoothing out" of the Standard English-Patois continuum, and with new urban migrants there has emerged a solid group of speakers using a version somewhat intermediate between "pure" Patois and Standard English. But I feel there are now some clear signs that this pattern will begin to reverse itself.

LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL INTEGRATION

It is important to remember that throughout the developments noted above Jamaica has been a single society. Jamaica has long been socially integrated, although of course along rather rigid lines of stratification of an essentially ascriptive nature. Nonetheless, the fact of social integration is an important one, especially in that it has been missing from the experiences of much of the developing world. A major result has been the muting of competition among various social and cultural groups for dominance, both linguistic and otherwise. The place of English as a major language form was little changed, especially in the worlds of business, education, international affairs, and so on. As regional economic co-operation (among Caribbean nations within the Commonwealth or with North America) becomes more and more important and as the Caribbean develops international agreements with the new nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, it becomes even more necessary to acquire proficiency in one or more of the so-called international languages. So far there has been a tendency to co-operate most closely with member nations of the British Commonwealth, former British colonies, and the English-speaking world. In these circumstances Standard English is, and perhaps will continue to be, a dominant language in Jamaica.

At the same time Jamaicans are undeniably beginning actively to search for a cultural identity, and the sources from which they can draw are extremely limited. Much of the change which is occurring is the result of two processes which Mazrui (1972) distinguishes as "cultural engineering" and "nation building." Of special importance in these processes is a high degree of interaction among the different subgroups of society, and the promotion of a shared language becomes an important goal in the quest for national integration. Patois, as one of the few important genuinely Jamaican artifacts, is certainly destined to take part in this ensuing integration.

The future of Jamaica may or may not include a breakdown of the current system of stratification. If mobility increases and the lower classes begin to threaten the position of entrenched interests, we can expect the development of a phenomenon noted by others (e.g., Opubor, Southall) in circumstances of high mobility and structural change. In such cases the higher classes try to blunt the advances of the lower classes by "co-opting" the major symbols of this advance, with the intent being the "defusing" of incipient class consciousness through the generalization of defining symbols to the whole of society. This is especially likely in the initial phases of increasing mobility when the rhetoric of social critics attempts to use such symbols to mobilize the lower classes. Much the same process could be observed in the United States in response to the threats posed by both the "hippie" and "Black pride" movements. In Jamaica this would impel the adoption of Patois on an increasing scale by the upper classes so that its use would cease to be a marker of social position.

As education becomes more widely available to Jamaicans as a whole there will be an increased ability to speak Standard English, and this process will be encouraged if there are more options available to the individual in business and the professions. Standard English, adapted as it is to effective communication in

administrative and bureaucratic environments, will continue to be the language of business and work, while Patois, in its role as a definer of cultural identity and conveyor of affective/emotional content, will increasingly come to dominate in "primary" social interaction.

What appears to be occurring is the progressive differentiation of the spheres of appropriate use of each language variety—Standard English for "secondary" interactions and Patois for "primary" interactions. If this process continues as I have projected, Jamaica will develop a condition of stable diglossia which is much more widespread than we have traditionally come to expect that it could be. At the same time, individuals will still be passing through the stratification system during their life cycles, and this will contribute to the persistence of a condition of unstable bilingualism. That is, the socializers of each generation will interact in the home with their children primarily in Patois, and the child will become bilingual only at a later stage in life, and even under conditions of more rapid and widespread mobility, bilingualism will be unstable with respect to the individual.

CONCLUSION

Much of this paper has been of a speculative nature, yet I do not feel that the assumptions entailed in that speculation have been unwarranted. Jamaica and other "imported cultures" present a unique opportunity to test some of the hypotheses we have used to understand the relationship between national integration and language use. In one sense, that of the presence or lack of indigenous cultural forms, such societies constitute a limiting case against which we can more clearly understand those cases which have been more extensively researched. In this paper I have noted some of the refinements which the Jamaican material causes us to make in our approach to such problems, most notably the possibility and extent of diglossia and the need to approach social and cultural integration, at least heuristically, as separate though obviously interconnected processes. Only continued studies of specific cases will enable us to refine further the general model used for understanding the role of language in national integration.

NOTES

1. I am grateful to my colleagues Roy D'Andrade and David K. Jordan for their comments on earlier versions of this paper. I am also grateful to F. G. Bailey for his careful editing and to Bruce M. Harris, graduate student, Department of Anthropology, University of California, San Diego for his research assistance. The field work upon which this paper is based was conducted in 1972 and 1976. The author is Jamaican.
2. Although, of course, the situation in India is somewhat more complex than indicated here. In fact, English has long been a *de facto* lingua franca in India, a situation abetted by the presence of a great number of local dialects and languages in the subcontinent. Nonetheless, there has been a conscious effort to promote indigenous languages, most notably Hindi.
3. This is not a strict dichotomy, even on the European side of the issue, as witnessed by the situation in Belgium and Great Britain and the numerous regional language preferences on the continent (Tyrol, Brittany, Wales, Scotland, etc.). In general, however, European countries have evidenced much greater linguistic commonality than have their African counterparts.
4. This refers primarily to orthodox Western religious organizations. The same is not true of the indigenous "Africanized" cults which are especially predominant in rural areas. These groups utilize either Patois or Patois with a mixture of "religious" (often referred to as African, though in fact it is not) language.

5. British Standard English is taken here to be that variety spoken in London and environs. This is the part of England with which the most intense communication is established by most West Indians who migrate to England and has been that variety most often used by Britons in Jamaica.
6. This is naturally a very fluid situation and does not in actuality correspond exactly to the rather neat division implied here. The urban poor are constantly subjected to infusions of Patois speakers from the country, and recently Patois has begun to be more acceptable.
7. There is no reason to assume that historically there has always existed a continuum of languages varying smoothly from one variety to another. There is, however, reason to believe that such a situation has occasionally occurred and will, under circumstances outlined later in the paper, occur again.

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