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Identity Among Barbadian University Students and Their Attitudes to Migrant Labor

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Identity Among Barbadian University Students and Their Attitudes to Migrant Labor

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement
for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Linguistics from
The College of William and Mary

by

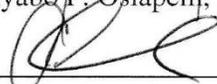
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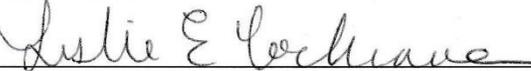
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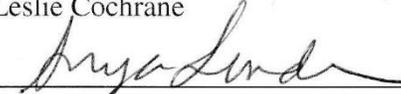
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Abstract

The social, political, and linguistic situations in Barbados specifically and the English-official West Indies generally are marked by the legacy of hundreds of years of colonial rule. Labor flows from poorer countries like Guyana to richer ones like Barbados calcify regional economic hierarchies that replaced regional colonial offices. Regional economic institutions like the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), as described by their Mission and Core Values, were created in part to “affirm the collective identity and facilitate social cohesion of the people of the Community” to enable the new intraregional, no longer colonial, market to take advantage of regional labor (CARICOM Secretariat and Williams, 2014, p. 8-11). Regional cohesion in the Caribbean is a recent concept and a so-called postcolonial solution informed by a colonial past and present. Studying language attitudes that Barbadians have towards speakers from groups in the region, derived from semantic differential surveys and qualitative interviews conducted at the multinational campus of the University of the West Indies Cave Hill in Barbados, allows for an understanding of how Barbadian university students reflect on language as a marker of regional vs. national identity and the role of labor migration in the contemporary Caribbean. Further, perceived language attitudes may corroborate narratives of social anxiety surrounding labor migration in Barbados.

Keywords: Language attitudes; identity; CARICOM; migration; Barbados

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1 Introduction

The Caribbean reality at the end of the twentieth century is tantalizingly difficult to define. In many ways, it is a unique area: in its history, in its ethnic composition, and in its pattern of political evolution. The nearly thirty million inhabitants scattered across hundreds of islands and the mainland enclaves of Belize, Guyana, Suriname, and French Guiana represent an eclectic blend of almost all the peoples and cultures of the world. The languages they have inherited they have made their own—enriching and re-forming them to express and reflect their individuality, their kaleidoscopic past, and their ethnic mosaic. The region is like a prism with light passing through—whatever enters is transformed. (Knight, 1990, p. 308)

Beckles (1990) provides a historical outline of the development of the British plantation system as it was forged in Barbados, noting that the island served as the empire's proving ground for economic and racial systems that would eventually be applied to crown possessions throughout the hemisphere (p. 20-22). Enslaved Africans were imported to the colony in rapidly growing numbers every year during the mid-17th century at the rise of what would be referred to as the sugar boom: its resulting wealth would signal the beginning of Barbados's image of colonial dominance and prestige as one of the British Empire's earliest colonies and its dominant sugar producer. The rising profitability of sugar at the time required hard labor sources in the colonies that were becoming increasingly more difficult to justify assigning to certain Europeans from the metropole, and moral justifications for racialized slavery rose. As will be discussed, the people stolen into slavery and brought to Barbados came from a rich variety of distinct cultures and spoke numerous languages whose influences on language and society mark Barbados to this day.

The drastic fall in price of slave labor that occurred during this time helped motivate European powers to encourage and solidify the practice of racialized slavery as a fundamental social and economic characteristic of the colonial Caribbean (p. 36-7). The racialization of Africans and the creation of whiteness were implemented as strategies to justify the dehumanization required for European empires to create a moral and economic justification for the consumption-driven plantation slavery used for the extraction of sugar in market quantities.

The European palette and economy developed a taste for sugar during the 17th century and found “an acquired taste” for human commodities in their pursuit of capital and commodification (Palmié, 1995, p. 46). According to Palmié, the consumption and production of sugar during this period is marked by its intrinsic connection to the consumption of the bodies of the enslaved, the bitterness of blood justified by the sweetness of sugarcane. As the most commodified form of labor extraction, enslavement and the markets connected to it turn people into flesh, skin, and muscle to be bought, sold, and worked. But in the case of slavery, both the enslaved’s body *and* labor are commodified and intertwined, literally and figuratively: it is impossible to divorce the commodity of sugar from the labor that produced it, and it is just as impossible to consume colonially produced sugar without consuming the enslaved whose labor and bodies make up that sugar. The development of European tastes for human commodities allows for this connection to be severed and sugar to be consumed in isolation from the commodified people who are paying its real cost.

The codes of the British Caribbean plantation system born primarily in Barbados soon began to take and spread influence across the English official territories as the human commodity of slavery emerged as a firmly cemented aspect of the economies and societies of the island by the 18th century. That century and the 19th were marked by the foundation of increasingly

globalized markets that made higher and higher profits possible, as the rise of exponentially self-expanding globalized markets forced the barons of the commodified and intertwined markets of sugar and slavery to extend their business to “the whole surface of the globe,” making sure it’s tendrils “... nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere” (Marx & Engels, 1964, p. 63).

Financiers and planters flooded the island with investments in the form of slave labor and capital, transforming Barbados into one of the most densely populated and expensive islands in the Caribbean. By the 1840s, the average price per acre in Barbados was 60-125 pounds sterling, whereas land in Guyana sold for between 1-30 pounds per acre (Beckles, 1990, p. 153). The intensely rapid nature of Barbados’s plantation system and its almost complete absorption of the island led English abolitionists to view it as one of the most robust and cruel strongholds of slavery in the West Indies (p. 116).

Although European consumers accepted human commodification for the sake of cheap sugar in the metropole, many of the enslaved resisted the theft of their labor and bodies. Throughout the Caribbean, resistance to slavery and the landed class in the Caribbean as well as a drastic fall in the global price of sugar ignited social fervor and economic turmoil that impacted all facets of Barbadian society (Williams, 1970, p. 321). Rather than being interpreted as a passive force of modernity’s march forward, plantation slavery in Barbados has always been contested by those experiencing it, mostly through subtle means but also including more overt acts of defiance. The most well-known revolt in Barbados was Bussa’s Rebellion in 1816, which saw hundreds of enslaved Barbadians rise up against plantation owners and face the colonial militia head-on in all but one of the island’s eleven parishes (Beckles, 1990, p. 109). Though

they failed in overthrowing the planter class or the militia, Bussa's rebellion buttressed an era of further insurrections as well as legal reforms, eventually culminating in abolition in 1838.

Though during the pre-emancipation colonial period most free men were white, there were free people of color in Barbados before 1838. According to Beckles, black men in 18th century Barbados had on rare occasion been granted manumission, typically then finding work in businesses in towns and cities like the capital and primary port, Bridgetown (p. 85-6). However, free blacks in pre-emancipation Barbados did not have the rights of property or representation of white men. "Free coulereds", classified as free mixed-race people, also lacked these legal rights, and neither could give evidence in court against whites until 1817 (p. 116).

While representation in government and courts could be denied to the poor whites of Barbados, the disenfranchisement of "free" people of color during this period was often doubly a disenfranchisement on the part of race as well as class. Despite this adversity, a select few free blacks and free people of mixed race managed to find respite and relative prosperity in business before emancipation, while the vast majority of people of color on the island remained enslaved (p. 88). Women of color during the slavery period, free and enslaved alike, were able to gain material and social standing by exploiting the white elite's sexualization of women of color. Especially in the port of Bridgetown, sex work was one of the only means by which women of color could prosper with relative independence, further reifying the commodification of black bodies under a white supremacist regime while paradoxically allowing prostitutes and concubines to have access to more resources than most enslaved people on more isolated plantations (Beckles, 1999, p. 35).

After establishing itself as a major center of the sugar and slave trades for centuries, Barbados achieved emancipation and then independence which signaled the end of the reign of

sugar and the British, respectively. Emancipation was legally achieved in Barbados in 1838, but white planters immediately began exploiting loopholes in servitude laws as well as focusing on the persecution of organized labor as a method of controlling the emancipated class (Beckles, 1990, p. 138). Contracts were drafted by plantation owners and laborers were forced or deceived into giving up collective bargaining rights as well as a decent wage and the ability to leave employment (p. 147-9). The end of slavery saw the creation of anti-labor practices and race codes by the white ruling class in order to contain the newly, so-called emancipated Barbadians in apprenticeships that differed little from slavery.

Starting in 1966, the new nation began an economic and social identity more free from the confines — as well as the relative stability — of the British colonial apparatus (p. 279-280). Economic stability in West Indian territories is more delicate when compared to former and current metropolises, a testament to the lasting economic impact of colonialism and generational capital. Eventually, especially after the waves of Caribbean independence movements in the latter half of the 20th century, regional governments agreed that participating in the global market as a single economic bloc was essential for the prosperity of the region.

In 1973, the supranational regional trade organization known as the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) was created, with Barbados serving as a founding member state (p. 284-5). Since then, CARICOM has been the dominant intraregional economic and migratory enforcer. The goal of CARICOM was the creation of a Caribbean single market while allowing member states to maintain and reaffirm territorial sovereignty in ways that the failed Federation of the West Indies (a short-lived federation of former British colonies in the Caribbean in the mid-20th century, with Bridgetown as its capital) failed to. The relationship between sovereignty, CARICOM, and labor migration in this reimagined cooperative venture is unclear and still

seeing ongoing debate (O'Brien: 2011, p. 630). Brathwaite (2014) identifies CARICOM's policies as serving primarily as a legal institution and enforcement regime to allow for the free movement of labor and capital across borders in the region (p. 7-8). Specifically, as corroborated by migration studies conducted by Thomas-Hope (2009) for the CARICOM Secretariat, this manifests itself in the seasonal or long-term movement of labor from poorer, larger territories like Guyana and Jamaica into smaller, relatively prosperous places like Antigua and Barbados (p. 4-5).

Beckles (1990) identifies support for CARICOM and a single market as an attempt on the part of the governments of member states to alleviate the economic fallout of colonialism: by promoting regional cohesion for the sake of economic integration and robustness, member states feel that they can ease instability and further the development of territories that otherwise would not have the money or resources to independently participate in the global market (p. 284-285).

This integration, however, is not necessarily benevolent. O'Brien (2011) describes the English-official territories in the West Indies as having developed a regional sense of identity during the interwar period as a method of collectively galvanizing independence movements during a time of increasingly violent and tumultuous labor strikes, social unrest, and the demand for full civil rights. Though a wider regional political body in the form of the Bridgetown-based West Indies Federation was short lived, interregional institutions like the University of the West Indies (UWI) were founded during the same time in recognition of the need to develop a sense of cohesion in anticipation of a post-British future for the region, and UWI persist to this day even though the Federation is no more (p. 633). UWI Cave Hill in Barbados, where this study was conducted, is an iconic and central institution in the identity of many Barbadians, and one taken advantage of by many: Barbados has the highest rate of tertiary education in the region, and the

number of Barbadians (as well other West Indians) enrolled at UWI Cave Hill has increased dramatically since the integration and further consolidation of CARICOM (Beckles, 1990, p. 296).

The so-called postcolonial institution of CARICOM shockingly mirrors the economic and social goals of chattel slavery in the form of creating conditions for the most efficient movement of bodies across the region for the benefit of capital at the detriment of the individual, whose worth as seen by CARICOM's policies amounts to little more than seasonal labor at low wages. Intraregional migration, seasonal or not, has political and social effects that seem to conflict with the current trend of regionalism in the form of what Brathwaite describes as the "securitization of community nationals" (2014, p. 2) in Barbados and a growing sense of displeasure with the free movement of labor into the country. By streamlining labor migration across sociolinguistic boundaries, CARICOM enables opportunities for the construction and reconstruction of linguistic identity. The securitization of CARICOM nationals in Barbados and the presuppositions Barbadian university students may have about migrant laborers, their language, and their relationship to Barbados may be recorded and analyzed to provide a sociolinguistic description of Barbadian identity.

1.1 Purpose

The purpose of this research is to determine the relationship between region and language attitudes in the English-official West Indies, specifically as perceived by Barbadian university students at the University of the West Indies' (UWI) Cave Hill campus in Barbados. Determining any correlations will further understanding of Barbadian attitudes towards varieties of languages spoken in the English-official West Indies and the identities Barbadians subscribe to.

1.2 Research Question

What are the attitudes that Barbadian students at Cave Hill hold regarding the language spoken by people from other nations or territories in the English-official West Indies, and how do these attitudes describe the demarcations of identities?

2 Literature Review

2.1 Language Attitudes and Identity Within Barbados

Barbados is in a relatively unique situation historically, having been colonized continuously by the same European power for over 300 years whereas most territories in the region have switched hands at least once if not many times over the colonial period. This consistency of rule allowed for Barbadian varieties of English to develop with less influence from other European languages and the creoles derived from them, unlike most of the island's neighbors. The attitudes and identities of Barbadians are informed by this rich and unique history, and Blake (1997) notes that indirect methods provide the most efficient way to reveal and describe them (p. 28).

Though Blake seeks to determine racial and class attitudes in Barbados, regional and territorial attitudes might also be described using similar interview methods. Particularly useful are the interview schedules developed by Blake, who created them over years of research in Barbados and constructed questions to be relatable to Barbadians.

As not only a supplement but full-fledged focus on this study is also the collection of indirect data concerning language attitudes. Garrett's (2010) description of language attitudes is multifaceted and necessitates the indirect nature of its observation (p. 19). Language attitudes may be described generally as complex constructs and beliefs held by certain groups of people

about the social characteristics of a speaker based on language. Language attitudes are learned and provide insight as to the values and beliefs of the social systems that subscribe to a particular language attitude (p. 22). Due to this indirect nature, a semantic differential survey is an ideal and tested method for collecting data on language attitudes, and the principal quantitative method of this study.

Fenigsen (2003) explores the sociolinguistic aspects of Barbadian English (BE) and Bajan and the respective varieties' roles in Barbados' construction of race and territorial ideology and the roles of "linguistically marked social identities" (p. 457) in differentiating attitudes held by speakers of both varieties. Barbadians associate, somewhat paradoxically, Bajan and BE with national identity at the same time, though BE is by far the most common variety used in print media and official business and political circles (p. 464). There exist strong and rigid sociolinguistic hierarchies in Barbados (p. 478) and an understanding of how these hierarchies play out in the context of regional varieties within the English-official West Indies could describe how Barbadian university students identify themselves in contrast to their fellow countrymen as well as compared to fellow Caribbean peoples.

According to Fenigsen (2007), the modern conception of BE and Bajan held by Barbadians is indeed rooted in the colonial necessity of using language ideology to turn "the enslaved population into modern subjects" (p. 231). Bajan is valued by Barbadian speakers, but the use of BE and its association with Britishness allows BE to be used by Barbadians who speak it as a way to obtain a "privileged positioning within global hierarchies of civilization, culture, and modernity" that distances certain Barbadians from other CARICOM members in the English-official West Indies while aligning themselves socially with Britain (p. 232).

Fenigsen adds that linguistic research in the realm of hierarchies of language in Barbados must ask the question of how the “social functioning of such linguistic categories as Bajan and Standard English enters the world of postcolonial dilemmas and how social institutions contribute to the pragmatics of difference,” (p. 254) and this thesis aims to wrestle with these “dilemmas” within the context of how Barbadian university students describe and practice their own attitudes through language towards the rest of the English-official West Indies in constructing identity.

Linguistic identity is understood as having five main characteristics described by Bucholtz & Hall (2005): identity is a product of linguistic interactions, experiences and practices as a sociocultural phenomenon; there are varied levels of identity, and identities can coexist on different levels; identity can be observed through analysis of linguistic structures and certain discourse markers; identity is co-constructed, reconstructed, and focuses heavily on relationships such as familiarity; and identity may or may not be explicitly or implicitly indexed (p. 585). By definition, linguistic identity requires a demarcation to be drawn between oneself and others, and in a sense implies the creation of a binary for each level of identity of either exclusion or inclusion.

Identities are not “a collection of broad social categories,” (p. 591) but rather exhibit characteristics that are multifaceted and constantly rearranging. Bucholtz & Hall also make the distinction that the identity of similarity—described by them as “adequation”—implies that the threshold for being welcomed into an identity only needs to be set at “sufficiently similar,” such that it is reasonable and possible that identities can be formed with varying levels of strictness in their criteria (p. 599). This could mean that Barbadian university students construct their

identities in such a way that is inclusive of non-Barbadians, exclusive of them, or only in specific contexts, among other possible outcomes.

2.2 The Origins of Barbadian English

As described by Niles (1980), the colonization of Barbados by the English in the early 17th century relied initially on the labor of white indentured servants due to the small Carib population on the island at the time of colonization and, because of the explosive rise of sugar production on the island in the 1640s, enslaved Africans were imported to offset the rapidly increasing demands for labor (p. 2). With indentured whites and enslaved Africans making up almost the entirety of the population in Barbados during the colonial period, it is the languages of these two groups that provide the most likely roots of the commonly spoken standard, BE, and Bajan.

The largest grouping of enslaved Africans taken to Barbados were from the Gold Coast of Africa, a small but significant number of whom were prisoners of war from conflicts in the African interior and the languages they spoke were as widely varied as the communities they were stolen from: they spoke Twi, Fante, Ga, Whidah, and other languages (p. 64). Niles suggests that, because of the vast differences between the languages spoken by the enslaved Africans taken to Barbados, a creole with English as its lexifier almost certainly came into existence around the time of the sugar boom in the 1640s and that this creole almost certainly informed the development of BE and Bajan (p. 65).

The varieties of English spoken by white indentured servants in Barbados, which had a larger proportion of white laborers to enslaved Africans than any other part of the English (and later British) Caribbean, were distinctly provincial compared to the English used by the few wealthy plantation owners (p. 4). Most of the white laborers were Irish people who were

prisoners of war or Irishmen intentionally “Barbadosed” by the English government, or they were indentured servants from Scotland, Southwest England, and particularly Cornwall and the Isle of Wight (p. 20, 25-26, 48). Most of these servants, if not all, came from lower class backgrounds and their language reflected their class status and the way they spoke was certainly what modern linguists would describe as nonstandard (p. 28).

Though the lexifier of Bajan and BE comes from nonstandard, provincial varieties of English from the British Isles, they have become a source of pride and distinction for Barbadians who see their language as being closer to standard British English than other Caribbean varieties, a belief which is justified in part by Barbados’s relative geographical isolation from the rest of the English-official West Indies, its large proportion of whites during the colonial and postcolonial period, and uninterrupted English/British control over the island for almost all of the past 400 years. This is parallel to the social development of Barbados as decreed by Barbadian planters, who desired to create a “Little England” out of Barbados and keep it as a source of economic and cultural prosperity described as more like the metropole than it was to other colonies held by the crown (p. 81).

Remnants of this idea of Barbados’s unique connection to Britain may help describe the way that modern Barbadian university students identify themselves in a regional context through their language attitudes. The social and historical development of BE and the contrasts between it and other regional varieties helps to inform the language attitudes of Barbadians, particularly Barbadian university students, within the context of other regional varieties in the English-official West Indies.

2.3 The Relationship Between Barbadian English and Other CARICOM Englishes

Just as there is variation in language on Barbados, other English-official CARICOM members have nationals who speak standard, nonstandard, and creole varieties that vary in terms of prestige and identity within their own communities. Barbadians are not necessarily in contact with speakers of all varieties associated with a specific place and their attitudes towards speakers from there may be influenced by constraints of exposure. Barbadian university students themselves, as well as university students they interact with from other parts of the English-official West Indies, are also more likely to speak and be familiar with more standard varieties. For example, if speakers from Jamaica who interact with Barbadians mostly speak Jamaican English and not Patwa in Barbados, perceptions of the use of Jamaican English may not be representative of the majority of speakers from that place.

The Englishes spoken in the territories discussed in this study each have unique histories with similarities and differences to the emergence of BE and Bajan in Barbados. Notably, each territory is diglossic. Some varieties across the region are more related to each other than others due to the flow of labor and enslaved people in previous centuries, such as Barbadian and Guyanese English, which share a closely intertwined past culturally, economically, and linguistically (Roberts, 2007, p. 97-98).

During the middle of the 19th century, thousands of Barbadian workers migrated to Guyana and Trinidad in search of income, bringing their ways of speaking with them, not unlike the situation of Guyanese laborers in Barbados today (Beckles, 1990, p. 152). Some eventually returned to Barbados and others stayed in their new territories, creating a two-way channel of language contact between varieties in which they influenced each other's development. For example, a salient feature shared between Barbadian and Guyanese Englishes is the tendency to

contrast between stressed syllables in certain words. In both Barbadian and Guyanese English, *father* could be understood as either a “blood relative” or “member of a religious body”, depending on which syllable is stressed (Roberts, 2007, p. 97).

Both Trinidad and Guyana, which historically had large South Asian labor migration patterns in the 19th and 20th centuries, have acquired vocabulary directly from languages in and around the Indian subcontinent whose meanings are often not known by outsiders. According to Roberts, these words—such as *dhoti* and *daalpuri*—are not typological of an ethnic vocabulary but rather part of broader Guyanese and Trinidadian vocabularies (p. 91).

When listening to speakers of West Indian varieties, other West Indians tend to most easily identify speakers as sounding Jamaican, Barbadian, Trinidadian, or Guyanese (p. 90). Vincentian varieties, however, may be recognizable to Barbadians due to Barbados’s proximity to the island as well as a long history of travel and inter-settlement between the two territories. From the earliest days of Barbadian maroons on St. Vincent and their eventual collaboration with the indigenous Kalinago (Beckles, 1990, p. 23) to more recent trends of labor migration in the region, modern Vincentian English and Barbadian English have had a considerable amount of interaction due to cross migration and contact between Barbados and its closest neighbor.

Antiguan English is typically less recognizable to other West Indians, however, it has a considerable amount of distinctive vocabulary, and shares some similarities with Jamaican and even Barbadian English (Roberts, 2007, p. 103). Jamaica has one of the best-known creole varieties in the region, Patwa. Jamaican English and Patwa both have very distinctive phonology, and due to the pervasiveness of culture and labor exported from Jamaica to the rest of the region and world, they remain among the most recognizable varieties in the English-official West Indies (p. 90).

Through both quantitative and qualitative methods, Barbadian university students' attitudes and linguistic identities will be described in order to understand how Barbadians use contact with other nationals to inform their perception of speech of people from places associated with labor migration. The narrative of judges suggests a complex identity in Barbados that includes both a transnational and local identity that simultaneously exists: yet it is not accessible to people determined to be labor migrants.

2.4 Creoles, Nonstandard Varieties, and Attitudes

Though the research conducted throughout this study deals with the perception of speakers of BE towards speakers of varieties of languages spoken throughout the English-official West Indies, an understanding of attitudes held by speakers of BE towards speakers of Bajan (and ostensibly ways of speaking from certain places, which may be marked similarly by BE speakers) and so-called creolization is necessary, and can help inform what kinds of language ideologies are held by Barbadian university students who are expected to speak and write in BE. Since Barbadian society is diglossic, and the other English-official territories in the region also typically see two or more varieties of language spoken with varying levels of prestige, a description of the relationship between territorial standard and nonstandard varieties is necessary.

Of the explanations for the development of creole languages, perhaps one of the most pervasive is the Bickertonian model of creolization. The Bickertonian model describes a continuum between an acrolect and basilect, with a creole existing somewhere in between, coming into form after a generation creates a pidgin in a process of disrupted language transmission, and that pidgin becomes a creole once a generation begins to speak it as a native tongue. The Bickertonian model of creolistics identifies pidgins (and later creoles) as being uniquely formed through what McWhorter (2018) describes as “the unusual circumstance of

acquiring amidst starkly restricted input” (p. 1) and requiring a break in language transmission. Bickerton (1981) also postulated that creoles could only arise if 80 percent of a population spoke a variety of many languages, with 20 percent speaking the dominant language (p. 7). Generally, the Bickertonian model implies an exceptional status to creoles that can be seen as problematic to most, especially uniformitarian, creolists.

The Uniformitarian Hypothesis describes contact languages as going through the same changes as other languages and challenges their distinctiveness in structure and capability, while recognizing that languages categorized as *creole* often share similar *sociohistoric* backgrounds of displacement, forced migration, unequal power structures, and racial hierarchy.

DeGraff (2003) addresses this issue by warning that Bickertonian and exceptionalist creolistics has a tendency to treat creoles as “contemporary Ursprachen” (p. 398) that are implied to be either uncomplicated or distinctively different in their formation from other languages. Specifically, DeGraff posits that the models of Bickerton and McWhorter imply that a creole requires universal conditions for development that include a predecessor pidgin, or that McWhorter asks linguists to consider a creole prototype that drastically simplifies the complex and varied language language process that is called creole genesis. The notion of the pidgin-to-creole pipeline, though developed as a method to explain creole genesis, is inadequate in its analysis of the development of creoles due to its inability to adequately consider the socio-historical conditions of genesis and implication of the simplicity of so-called creole languages.

Burrowes and Allsopp (1983) make note of Bajan having distinctive historical characteristics that defy the Bickertonian model, namely that Bajan does not have a clear basilect as other creoles in the English-official West Indies appear to have, and they contest that this difference does not delegitimize Bajan due to its socio-historical context of being a variety

developed under the auspices of colonialism and contact (p. 38). Within Bajan, there are a variety of features that co-occur with creoles in the region despite Barbados not having a population of speakers of different languages split at the ratio suggested by Bickerton (Beckles, 1990, p. 39).

The creole debate and to a slightly lesser extent the status of Bajan is ongoing and relevant to any discussion of intraregional attitudes, especially because places like Jamaica have such salient and well-known creole features. This research takes into consideration both the feature-focused as well as the socio-historical focus of creole genesis and categorization while avoiding the necessity for pidgins in creole genesis or the acrolect/basilect creole continuum *a la* Bickerton. BE's social agency in Barbados is necessarily dependent on the distinction between creole and non-creole varieties and helps to inform BE speakers' attitudes towards other regional varieties based on a socio-historical basis and Barbadian interpretations of the speech of their neighbors.

3 Methodology and Procedure

3.1 Overview

In the summer of 2018, eleven qualitative interviews were conducted with as many student judges from Barbados attending UWI Cave Hill. Each judge completed a semantic-differential survey in response to recordings of six speakers from various parts of the English-official West Indies. Judges were asked to describe social and economic characteristics, via a semantic differential scale, they perceived the individual speakers as likely possessing. Students at Cave Hill were chosen as the population for study due to the relative ease of access to this population through Dr. Iyabo Osiapem's connections to UWI Cave Hill as well as the uniquely

multinational nature of the student body of the university, which sees Barbadians interacting with other members of the English-official West Indies on a daily basis.

3.2 Speakers

The initial speaker recordings required six speakers from different English-official Caribbean territories which are also CARICOM members which participate in the free movement of community nationals. Speakers were recruited with the help of personal contacts from my thesis advisor, Dr. Iyabo Osiapem, and from the Research Fellow in Lexicography at Cave Hill's Richard and Jeannette Allsopp Centre for Caribbean Lexicography and my research contact in Barbados, Dr. Jason F. Siegel.

All speakers were adults with varying degrees of educational attainment; most had attended university, and some had completed graduate programs. Only the Guyanese and Trinidadian speakers were men. The Guyanese, Jamaican, and Antiguan speakers all lived in the United States at the time of the study, while the Vincentian, Barbadian and Trinidadian speakers lived in the territories they identified being from. None of the speakers spoke varieties considered nonstandard for the territory they were from.

Speakers were asked to record utterances remotely on a phone or computer and agreed to informed consent documents digitally. Speakers were given specific instructions on what environment to record in, so as not to have distracting background noises. One of the speakers was recorded in person at the Centre for Caribbean Lexicography. Speakers were asked to complete three recordings of the same passage in succession, so as to acclimate the speaker to the passage, spoken in the speaker's most comfortable accent. The passage that all speakers were asked to read is an excerpt from Austin Clarke's *Pigtails 'n' Breadfruit*, a memoir of a renowned Barbadian-Canadian author told through recipes:

The genius demanded in cooking on three stones is the management and regulation of the wood fire. In some cases the fuel was trash from dried sugar cane, or dried joints of sugar cane themselves. In order to regulate the heat for cooking, the pieces of cane would be taken from under the utensil or temporarily extinguished. (p. 16)

This excerpt was chosen because of its relation to Barbados, variety of vowels and consonant clusters that may accentuate a given English-official variety, and because it includes language that does not contain territory-specific terms for items, meaning that speakers from across the English-official West Indies should be able to convincingly read the utterance aloud in their own language variety. While the passage's versatility lends itself to be believably read in a variety of ways or dialects, it cannot account for regional varieties that have especially salient vocabularies.

Speakers in this study were chosen due to the varieties of English they speak being identified with nations or territories that Brathwaite (2014) describes as having populations that participate in the free movement of Community nationals into Barbados. This does not mean that they necessarily speak the same variety as the majority of migrant laborers from those places, but rather that the speakers themselves personally identified as being from there. Included in the speaker population were speakers who spoke English-official varieties from Guyana, St. Vincent, and Jamaica, which are specifically identified by Brathwaite (2014), UNICEF (2015), and Thomas-Hope (2009) as being territories from which a large proportion of intraregional migrants to Barbados come from (Brathwaite, p. 4).

Included as well is a speaker from Antigua, which is a territory identified by the United Nations ECLAC (2005) as having more than 20% of its population represented by migrants, a characteristic that is proportionally similar to the migration statistics in Barbados and one that

might mark a more inclusive attitude (p. 9). As mentioned previously, Antigua also shares some prepositional features with Barbados and that may make Barbadian judges more inclusive of them (Roberts, 2007, p. 103). One Barbadian speaker was also included as a control, to see how Barbadian university students would describe a speaker who is a fellow Barbadian and use that score as a benchmark for speakers from other territories. A Trinidadian speaker was also included because the historical trends of Barbadian labor migration to Trinidad are deeply rooted, as Trinidad was often one of the first destinations of the first waves of emancipated Barbadians who wished to leave the island (Beckles, 1990, p. 152).

Just as in Barbados, each one of the territories that the speakers are from have multiple language varieties that exist within their own territorial and regional linguistic hierarchies. With this in mind, it is necessary to acknowledge that any language attitudes described by a judge listening to a speaker is a judgement of the particular variety spoken by the speaker, and an interview question addressing whether or not the judge associates how the speaker sounds as being typical or representative of the nation they are from will be necessary in order to determine whether a speaker accurately represents their idea of how someone from their nation speaks.

3.3 Judges

Judges were recruited via an email and WhatsApp list service run by UWI's Office of the Registrar. Eleven participated the study. After having the study briefly verbally explained and completing informed consent documents, judges were asked to listen to the speakers' recorded voices and completed semantic differential surveys based on their perceptions of the speakers' language and participated in a qualitative follow up interview. Judges were recruited through the help of Dr. Jason F. Siegel and given a local gift card upon completion for their participation.

At the time of the study, UWI had just announced that it would reintroduce near-free or free tuition for Barbadian undergraduates for the 2018-19 academic year. This is not a program that was in place at the time participants were enrolled, and so it must be understood that the socioeconomic backgrounds of the judges are primarily representative of Barbadians who can afford tuition themselves or have the family networks and monetary support to fund their schooling.

Eight of the judges were women and three were men, and this is roughly consistent with the demographics of UWI's registered on-campus students, with there being about twice as many enrolled women as men (University of the West Indies, Cave Hill, 2018, p. 96). The experiences and views towards migrant labor in Barbados may differ according to the gender of judges.

3.4 Language Attitudes and the Semantic Differential Survey

The structure of the survey is ordered such that semantic differential roles perceived as providing either a positive (educated, rich, friendly, honest, independent) or shared identity (trustworthy, familiar, authentic, relatable, urban¹) on the left and their corresponding perceived negative attitude on the right with an option on the scale for no preference either way. The semantic-differential scale is especially useful when ascertaining linguistic identity, as it

¹ One of the most striking features about Barbados when compared to the rest of the region is its high population density. According to the World Bank (2016), Barbados has a population density of 662.8 people per km²—none of the other territories the speakers are from have a population density of even half that of Barbados, with Guyana at the most extreme at a population density of less than 4 people per km².

provides judges with the opportunity to make a judgement on inclusion/exclusion as well as adequacy of certain features pertaining to their own identity on the survey.

Semantic Differential Scale

You will be asked to listen to six recordings of speakers from the English-official West Indies. Please describe, in the following scale, how the speaker sounds to you. The closer your mark is to a particular end of the scale indicates how much you agree with that being your dominant perception, and a mark in the middle would show that you do not perceive the speaker as being one way or the other. Please make only one mark per row, and please make a mark within one of the five check boxes in a row. If at any point you would like clarification, notify the researcher.

To me, this speaker sounds:

Educated						Uneducated
Friendly						Unfriendly
Rich						Poor
Honest						Dishonest
Trustworthy						Untrustworthy
Familiar						Unfamiliar
Urban						Rural
Authentic						Inauthentic
Relatable						Not relatable
Independent						Dependent

Figure 1. Semantic differential scale given to participants. Participants filled out one set of answers for every speaker.

After all 11 judges completed one survey for each of the six speakers, a numerical value was given to the scores, with *most positive* (the far left side of Figure 1) being given a value of 2,

descending then to 1, 0, -1, and -2, with a value of -2 being assigned to a score of a ranking of *least positive* (the far right side of *Figure 1*). Scores were then averaged for each speaker, with this statistic serving as the primary basis for analysis of a correlation between negative language attitudes and a speaker's origin.

3.5 The Qualitative Interview

In addition to a semantic differential survey, judges were asked to participate in a qualitative interview to last no more than 30 minutes in order to give participants a chance to describe their language attitudes in their own words. As noted by Garrett et al. (2003), the inclusion of qualitative interviews alongside semantic-differential scale surveys “helps to offset the limitations of scale ratings alone” (p. 65) by providing “evaluative repertoires” (p.64) against which to compare the outcomes of scale ratings. An excerpt from the interview schedule shows what kinds of questions this study will include in the qualitative section in order to allow the participants to exhibit their “evaluative repertoires” in their own words.

- What were your first impressions of the speakers?**
- Where have you heard people who sound like that before?**
- Where do you think they were from?**
 - What do you think of that place?**
 - How do you feel about people from there? How do you think most Barbadians feel about people from there? Vice versa?**
 - How educated do you think people from there generally are?**
- What's similar or different about that place compared to Barbados economically? How much money people make, kinds of jobs?**
 - How honest are the people there?**
 - How friendly?**
 - How trustworthy?**

Figure 2. Interview module excerpt

The data obtained through interviews was analyzed according to qualitative methods described by Johnstone (2000), by answering questions of “about how much and how often and about how and why” (p. 36) instances of speech during interviews exhibit a shared/isolated or positive/negative attitude towards speakers from other nations or territories in the English-official West Indies. This method helps to distill a quantifiable analysis of qualitative data and can be used to cross reference metalinguistic views and attitudes and determine whether they conform to or differ from attitudes recorded from indirect methods, i.e. the semantic differential survey.

Allowing for a follow up interview also gives judges the opportunity to describe their feelings of regionalism and nationalism’s relationship to language in their own words, a practice that I have concluded is necessary given the historical context of white researchers’ in the social sciences taking advantage of data obtained from participants of color both within the United States and elsewhere, while at the same time erasing the contributions of people of color in research. As succinctly noted by Harris (2017), “...the academy in general and anthropology in particular are required to intentionally question the ways in which they perpetuate any oppressive systems” (p. 159-160). By including a self-reflective interview as a supplement to indirectly obtained data, more agency might be given to black Barbadians who wish to express themselves in this study.

4 Data

4.1 Coding of the Qualitative Interview

As noted by Bucholtz & Hall (2005), the identities derived from perceived attitudes are multifaceted and layered, coexisting and informing each other (p. 591). After conducting the interviews, it was determined that two main identities emerged thematically among the judges;

an economic identity and a cultural identity. After interviews were conducted and transcribed, they were coded for statements that expressed belief in one of four predominant attitudes about Barbadian society's relationship to the rest of CARICOM, as either an inclusive or exclusive view of the two determined identities expressed.

4.1.1 Regional Economic Independence

Utterances that emphasized fundamental incompatibilities or differences between the economies and markets of Barbados compared to its neighbors were coded as denoting Regional Economic Independence. One judge, Alison, noted that some Barbadians feel “threatened” by CARICOM and felt it was better to not have “more competition” in local labor markets.

4.1.2 Regional Economic Unity

Regional Economic Unity was the code used to describe utterances in transcript data that expressed attitudes that encouraged or supported Barbados and the rest of the English-official West Indies cooperating economically. For example, Alison clarifies her previous statement regarding regional economic identity by stating that members of CARICOM are perceived by most Barbadians as having “their own role to play,” with Barbados generally receiving more migrant labor than it sends to other places: Jackie refers to Barbados specifically as the “academic hub of the Caribbean.” In this sense cooperation and interaction is identified by most judges as being crucial in the realm of economics, education, and development.

4.1.3 Regional Sociolinguistic/Cultural Difference

In contrast to the general trend of statements of cohesion of regional economic and educational institutions, participants cited fundamental linguistic and cultural differences that separate Barbados from the rest of the English-official West Indies. Most judges expressed

attitudes similar to Matthew, who claimed that "... the variety we speak in Barbados is closer to what you would hear in England."

Support for greater regional economic integration is frequently couched in asides that clarify regional economic unity should not dampen the national and linguistic identity of Barbadians. A judge notes that migrants coming to Barbados and widening the employment pool could "cause trouble" with Barbadians. Though judges generally claimed themselves and most Barbadians to be tolerant of other Caribbean people, there's an acknowledgement in the judges' interviews that Barbadians exclude themselves from some aspects of a broader Caribbean identity.

4.1.4 Regional Sociolinguistic/Cultural Cohesion

Regional Sociolinguistic/Cultural Cohesion was an identity that was coded to identify utterances that implied views encouraging tolerance and a level of regional identity beyond those of individual territories or nations. For example, Anne noted that she "wouldn't have anything against" non-Barbadian migrant workers in the country, an utterance that indicates or implies a more harmonious relationship between Barbadian and greater West Indian cultural identity.

4.1.5 Qualitative Interview Analysis

Judges had utterances marked for indicating regional economic unity/independence as well as for indicating a fundamental sociolinguistic and cultural cohesion/difference between Barbados and other CARICOM members as categories of the two determined identities. Quantified, the count of all such utterances across all eleven interviews indicates that across participants, attitudes towards language and culture are slightly more in favor of strong distinctions within the region while also maintaining that economic unity and cooperation is vital

for progress. In this sense, Barbadian university students have an economic identity that is *adequative* of other parts of the English official West Indies.

Perceived Belief	Utterances
Regional Economic Independence	11
Regional Economic Unity	16
Regional Sociolinguistic/Cultural Difference	38
Regional Sociolinguistic/Cultural Cohesion	28

Figure 3. Utterances in Interview Data

Generally, the participants are dedicated to an understanding of multiple levels of their identity that allows for economic regional unity while clarifying that the preservation of a uniquely Barbadian culture (and by extension, way of speaking) is too valuable to forfeit. The narrative compiled by the judges' responses suggest an acceptance of Barbados as advantaged economically and educationally compared to its neighbors but has a younger generation that is relatively unjudgmental. However, a judge identified language as a fundamental way to mark someone as a foreign Caribbean person:

Barbadians in general, or the older generation I should say, tend to be very xenophobic. They turn their noses at people from other islands. It's not nice. I can't tell you why that happens, I just know that they tend to be that way. If they hear an accent from Trinidad especially, you had a Trinidadian for sure-- and Guyana, they do not treat them with any sort of respect or kindness because in their eyes they're seen as the enemy. It shouldn't be this way, we actually have a good history with both islands: it's just that recently things starting getting uncomfortable.

Guyana, and Jamaica currently represent the bulk of Barbadian migrant labor sources from within CARICOM, as seen through remittance data (Alleyne et al., 2008, p. 141). However, Vincentians are also heavily identified by judges as being noticeably present in Barbados. The

migrant remittance data doesn't seem to suggest a strong temporary labor migration trend from St. Vincent to Barbados yet judges quickly identified Vincentians as common to hear on the island.

If economic migration to Barbados is a factor in determining negative language attitudes, and remittance is an indicator of general migration trends, then economic migration from St. Vincent and the Grenadines to Barbados doesn't seem to be easily pegged as a determining factor in its low score among participants. However, this only means that in the case of St. Vincent other factors are at play in determining sociolinguistic attitudes, ones that are not as easily seen through remittance metrics.

A further discussion of the relationship between Barbados and St. Vincent, Barbados' closest neighbor, is necessary to discuss the implications of this discrepancy between economic data and perceived language attitudes. Of the eleven judges, five identified one of the speakers as having been from St. Vincent, with only the Barbadian speaker being identified more frequently. Generally, the judges articulated an attitude towards Vincentians that ranged from neutral to fraternal, with one judge noting that "the only people Barbadians generally have issues with are Trinidadians and Guyanese."

Most of the judges noted their familiarity with Vincentian English stems from interactions with Vincentian students on campus. Given St. Vincent's small size and proximity to regional educational hubs in Barbados, it may be that UWI students have an unusually high rate of interaction with Vincentians who travel for education compared to the general population of Barbados. Although a study population of university students allows for relatively simple recruitment, it can limit the scope of the extrapolation of results.

Generally, the Barbadian university students interviewed exhibited trends in their personal beliefs that regional economic unity and the accompanied labor migration is a better alternative than stronger economic isolation described by judges as generally favored by older generations. A participant herself noted that the political realignment of Barbadian electoral politics in the past decade or so has changed her own opinion on migration (specifically of Guyanese, who were identified by all participants as being present in Barbados as a migrant labor force and heavily stigmatized) has considerably liberalized in just the past three years.

Barbados refusal to participate in a more cohesive Caribbean identity is not seen by judges as a cultural or historical incompatibility with the rest of the region, although there is a strong sense of pride in the unique aspects of Barbadian history that necessitates distinction not common among the many small states and territories in the Caribbean Basin. As one judge puts it, Barbados "... is one of the few islands where they call other islanders foreigners." By participating in a role as a broadly Caribbean center of culture, industry, and education, Barbados may antithetically motivate an Othering of the rest of the Caribbean for the sake of preserving its uniqueness.

In this sense, the core driver of Barbadian distrust and tension with its status as both sovereign and an important regional center is due to the incompatibility of the modern project of the sovereign, postcolonial state and the liberalization of trade and labor flows. This historical narrative is informed by a linguistic one, which identifies certain features or aspects as being associated with a particular status with varying levels of origin and prestige, with negative attitudes being generally related to a speaker coming from a place identified as a source of migrant labor in Barbados.

4.2 Quantitative Survey

During the quantitative survey portion of the study, judges completed all survey questions, which were then scored, compiled, and averaged for each speaker on an integer scale from 2 to -2. Averages across all ten categories were then compared across the six speakers by finding the mean score per speaker, with -20 being the lowest possible score and 20 being the highest (*Figure 4*).

The data, at first glance, begin to immediately show a polarization with Antigua and Barbados scoring the highest and Guyana, Jamaica, and St. Vincent the lowest. This parallels the attitudes expressed in the interviews, specifically that Guyana, Jamaica, and St. Vincent are not always seen in a positive way by Barbadians. Although none of the speakers had negative averages, none of them had scores above ten.

Speaker Origin	Average Score
Antigua	7.08
Barbados	9.31
Trinidad	4.39
Guyana	1.15
Jamaica	0.57
St. Vincent	1.39

Figure 4. Average Speaker Scores by Origin

Though these averages provide a notion of a trend towards less positive attitudes, they alone do not act as a good statistical measure of a correlation between speaker origin and attitude. The data from *Figure 4* were put through a MANOVA (Wilkes') test on XLSTAT 2019, with the following hypotheses:

H₀: Positive attitudes towards a speaker do not differ by the national origin of a speaker, depending on whether they are perceived to sound like they're from a place associated with migration versus a place not associated with migration.

H_a; Positive attitudes towards a speaker differ by the national origin of a speaker, depending on whether they are perceived to sound like they're from a place associated with migration versus a place not associated with migration.

A MANOVA test was implemented to determine how the factors of language—and by extension, nationality—and positivity/familiarity describe the judges' attitudes towards the language of non-Barbadian speakers. The test can then be used to determine whether there is a statistically meaningful relationship between the perceived origin of a speaker and whether a judge categorizes them in terms of positive attitudes and a shared linguistic, cultural, and economic identity under the auspices of an acceptance of regional integration, dismissal of outsiders, or whether Barbadians seem to have a more complicated relationship with ideas about other Caribbean people they've interacted with and how the languages they've heard them speak inform those attitudes.

After establishing the hypothesis of the test, scores are assigned a binary association with migration tag, depending on the origin of the speaker. A tag of 1 indicates a lack of migration narrative, whereas 2 indicates an association. The speaker origin is the independent variable, and attitude score is the dependent variable. The MANOVA test is run with alpha=0.05.

Speaker	Antigua	Barbados	Trinidad	Guyana	Jamaica	St. Vincent
Migration	1	1	1	2	2	2

Figure 5. Indication of Association of Migration

Dependent Variable	Speakers	Minimum Average Score	Maximum Average Score	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
Speaker Score	6	0.57	9.31	3.98	3.59

Figure 6. Summary of Statistics

4.2.1 Quantitative Survey Results

Lambda	0.194
F (Observed values)	16.660
DF1	1
DF2	4
F (Critical value)	7.709
p-value	0.015

Q1: As the p-value is lower than the significance level $\alpha=0.05$, H_0 is rejected and H_a is accepted, with the risk to reject H_0 while true is lower than 1.51%.

Figure 7. Results of the MANOVA Wilkes' test (Rao's approximation)

The results of the MANOVA test indicate a p-value of 0.015, showing a clear correlation between the tested variables (*Figures 4-7*). The alternative hypothesis is accepted, meaning that there is a correlation between a speaker's origin and how positively they were scored. The implication of the correlation does not necessarily test which migration association group is correlated with higher or lower scores, but it does suggest the crowding of scores at a high and low point as seen in *Figure 4* is statistically significant.

The acceptance of the alternative hypothesis indicates that Barbadian university students creates a clear distinction between the language of some speakers versus others based on where they sound like they're from. By engaging previous literature, the qualitative interpretation of interview data, and the MANOVA test results, an interpretation of findings can be discussed with relation to the linguistic, social, and historical reality of the Caribbean.

5 Discussion

5.1 Who are the Migrant Laborers?

Shares of migrant labor emigration in a specific country in the English-official members of CARICOM can be quantified by looking at the share of migrant remittances for a particular country or territory as a ratio over GDP. According to Alleyne et al. (2008), a higher ratio

indicates that a country relies more heavily on money sent home from nationals participating in labor markets abroad. Though this data is useful for understanding general trends, remittance is not broken down by region: remittance from work done in Canada, the United States and its Caribbean territories, and the United Kingdom are not separated from remittance sent home from intraregional migrants. The following table shows that the trend of remittance corroborates the initial assumption that Guyana and Jamaica rely heavily on remittance through labor migration, with both countries having remittance as a share of GDP of about 15 percent:

TABLE 2 REMITTANCES AS SHARES OF MERCHANDISE EXPORTS, GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT (GDP) AND FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT (FDI), 1996 AND 2002: ENGLISH-SPEAKING CARICOM COUNTRIES

COUNTRY	1996 Remittances as a share of Merchandise exports	2002*	1996 Remittances as a Share of GDP	2002*	1996 Remittances as a Share of FDI	2002*
<i>OECS</i>						
Antigua and Barbuda	8.46	25.38	0.61	0.48	14.60	5.82
Dominica	4.93	6.17	1.10	1.06	13.90	18.18
Grenada	81.43	37.63	6.89	5.62	107.98	44.01
Montserrat	14.75	82.23	14.78	2.54	107.98	48.08
St. Kitts and Nevis	5.63	5.64	0.90	0.87	5.84	3.33
St. Lucia	2.55	6.44	0.38	0.55	10.48	12.68
St. Vincent & The Grenadines	4.19	6.36	0.94	0.99	5.15	12.86
<i>Other Caricom</i>						
Bahamas	0.48	0.3	0.03	0.03	1.36	0.83
Barbados	24.00	53.01	3.23	3.73	...	641.2
Belize	14.24	22.98	4.03	4.63	223.85	376.21
Guyana	7.13	24.0	5.82	16.5	44.60	68.75*
Jamaica	37.90	100.72	11.12	14.31	721.46	289.82
Trinidad and Tobago	1.26	0.38	0.53	0.12	83.54	1.69

Sources: Computed by the authors using data from the Eastern Caribbean Central Bank (ECCB), for the OECS countries from 1996-2001*. For the Non-OECS countries data from the CARICOM secretariat was used. Notes: ...indicates data not available

Alleyne et al. (2008, p. 141)

The remittance data seems to further indicate that rather than a source of migrant outflow in the region, Barbados acts as a regional destination for migrant labor. Remittance rates for Antigua & Barbuda, which was the only country with a higher average survey score than Barbados, were also low. In conjunction with the high scores of speakers from these places and lower scores seen in areas associated with migrant labor, a territory's status as a sender or receiver of economic migrants may be related to positive language attitudes associated with speakers from that territory.

Fraser and Uche (2010) aim to describe the countries of origin and countries of destination in intra-CARICOM labor migration regimes and explain regional attitudes towards the polarizing and uneven issue of labor migration. They cite the inability of Haitian nationals to travel visa-free into other CARICOM states as an example of this unevenness (p. 26), which is currently being challenged by other CARICOM members who recognize free travel as being essential to a more equitable Caribbean.

Scholars and politicians alike cite the free movement of nationals as being a key interpretation of CARICOM's attempt at creating a single market economy in the West Indies, and from the trans-Atlantic slave trade until now, the region has been economically buttressed by the involuntary and coerced movement of labor from one territory to another (p. 26-27). In the summer of 2018, Mia Mottley's recently established BLP government abolished the visa requirement for Haitian nationals travelling to Barbados, citing it as clearly exclusionary and an unjust burden on fellow CARICOM members. According to Mottley's cabinet, they were not even aware that such a requirement was still on the books, assuming that such exclusionary laws had already been reformed².

Fraser and Uche also directly identify Guyana and St. Vincent as primary "sending countries" and Barbados and Antigua & Barbuda as countries receiving economic migrants, with Barbados receiving upwards of 12 percent of all regional labor migrants, a large proportion of whom are Vincentian and Guyanese (p. 30). This pattern is represented in the data collected through this study, namely that there seems to be a correlation between a country's status as a

² <http://www.nationnews.com/nationnews/news/186583/visa-required-haitian-nationals>

migrant labor sender/receiver and the positive or negative perception of speakers from those places.

Multiple social categories are represented in the labor migrant community from the English-official West Indies, and the act of migration in this case is gendered: economic migrants in Barbados are more likely to be young, educated women who are either employed in elementary positions or trades or high end, highly skilled positions (p. 31-33). However, this does not always match the Barbadian perception of who a migrant worker is. Migrants in Barbados have an employment rate similar to that of Barbadians, which runs contrary to a prevailing Barbadian belief that migrants are favored over themselves in the hiring process (p. 44).

These attitudes are broadly supported in previous literature focusing on attitudes towards economic integration and labor migration in Barbados and CARICOM (O'Brien, 2011; Brathwaite, 2014). It also corroborates the interview responses, with one judge saying many Barbadians do not show "any sort of respect or kindness" towards the Guyanese because of their association with migrant labor. Further, it begins to show a common trend towards a less positive linguistic attitude towards a speaker and that speaker's association with a source of migrant labor.

The creation of regional institutions and organizations as social and political projects in the 20th century is in direct contrast to a Barbadian identity distinctive from within the English-official West Indies. This study can help describe how Barbadian university students use cues taken from heard language in order to generalize either an exclusive or inclusive identity with the speaker, depending on whether or not attitudes surrounding foreigners from those specific places

persists in Barbados, contrasting some aspects of the region's completed and ongoing economic and social integrations.

5.2 Attitudes, Power, and Identity in Barbados

Fenigsen (2007) notes that, above all, the past of European colonial control and the trans-Atlantic slave trade "has etched Barbadian post-colonial linguistic tastes, distastes, discourses and desires..." and lurks behind the frameworks of identity in modern Barbadian society as "... modernity's phantom companion" (p. 254, 256). The current structures of linguistic power and identity in Barbados are complicatedly intertwined with the hierarchies of the past colonial regime. As is thoroughly documented in print media, Barbadians can be quick to condemn less-standard forms of speaking (Fenigsen, 2003, p. 461-462). By doing so, they create a Barbadian identity that holds sounding like a proper Barbadian English speaker as fundamental to inclusion.

Wodak's (2012) work on identity and its relationship to power and society is favored in this interpretation, with linguistic identity in Barbados being understood as co-constructed, inclusionary/exclusionary, and manifested symbolically in both regional and national contexts (p. 216). Power refers to the ability to act as a gatekeeper of the threshold of the public, determining whose interpretations of linguistic identity are validated socially or institutionally. In Barbados, this power "to be seen or heard" (p. 217) shapes Barbadian university students' views on what attitudes towards speakers of other Englishes persist.

Many judges identified this power dynamic themselves, noting that some of the most visible disdain for migration comes from older generations, particularly among people who have not been exposed to the tertiary education system of which Barbados acts as a regional hub.

Alison, a second year student at UWI, says that she is aware that outside of the university,

“...some people can be wary, it depends on the people you hang out with. Some [Barbadians] don't ever meet or hang out with people from other islands, in just secondary school.”

There were 38 turns in the interviews which demonstrated, as Alison's statement does, a sense of linguistic identity held by those with power that is exclusionary of intra-CARICOM migrants in Barbados. In contrast, only 22 turns in the 11 interviews were recorded as demonstrating an identity that is inclusive of migrants.

Interestingly, 5 of the 11 judges had family (presently or in the recent past) who were from a part of the Caribbean other than Barbados. This didn't seem to have an influence on a judge's perception of the inclusion or exclusion of migrants in Barbadian society. This could mean that Barbadians who grew up with family who may have at times identified as something other than Barbadian have similar perceptions of attitudes as those who did not. Alternatively, it may be that the Barbadian born children of Caribbean people who have moved to Barbados from elsewhere are accepted as being Barbadian and see themselves as such unilaterally or as part of a complex identity that first generation migrants may not have social access to.

The associations made by the judges corroborate previous literature concerning the securitization of Guyanese nationals in Barbados, with Guyanese being cited most frequently in interviews as an example of a migrant labor population in Barbados and the speaker from Guyana being given the lowest average survey score of all the speakers. However, rarely emphasized in previous literature on topics like labor migration are the perceptions of educated young people in Barbados, who may well be interpreted as the future leaders of Barbados in terms of culture and commerce.

The attitudes and identities of Barbadian university students matter, and how they contrast them with the views of older generations is indicative of how Barbados will see its regional roles in the future. Generally, it seems that the educated members of younger generations have a strong propensity for understanding the complicated and dual nature of economic and cultural identities, and it is hopeful that this understanding along with a desire for tolerance leads to better conditions for migrant labor in Barbados and elsewhere. The findings of this study are a reassurance that younger Barbadians are reevaluating the roles of economic and cultural identity in an acknowledgement of fundamental rights and tolerance that hasn't always been dominant in Barbadian perceptions towards migrant labor especially.

Watkins (2008) recalls that Caribbean people associated with migrant labor are often othered in part because the way they speak immediately indexes their incompatibility with the current narrative of power. The Barbadian narrative of identity stipulates the necessity of linguistic distinction from the rest of the West Indies (i.e. speaking "properly"), economic prosperity, and a historical and cultural closeness to the British Empire. Watkins recalls her experience as a Jamaican schoolchild in Bermuda, where a similar history to Barbados of closeness to the historic metropole is socially dominant. As the only Jamaican among children from several Caribbean territories, she was specifically othered:

One can imagine beginning the challenging high school years in an environment where Jamaicans were sometimes derisively addressed as 'West Indians' ... Most of my Bermudian classmates fervently believed they had no accent. To them their speech was the norm, while mine was the nonstandard deviation. (Watkins, 2008, p. 5)

Interactions like this clearly demonstrate that some places in the Caribbean have prominence, which allows for certain kinds of linguistic prestige and power to dominate social

and economic spheres. Roberts (2007) explains that Barbadians have a number of constructions and distinctions that mark this prominence from the rest of the region, notably the colloquial term for a Barbadian —*Bajan*— which Roberts claims is one of the few widely known local Caribbean demonyms (p. 89). Roberts also notes that many Barbadians use the term “low islands” (p. 89) to describe the places closest to it, not because *low* is used in a directional or geographical sense, but rather as a way to assert regional superiority over the surrounding islands linguistically.

Those who hold linguistic power in Barbados are still strongly attached to the “Little England” myth and must contend with the way this identity opens avenues for discrimination or noncooperation within the English-official West Indies. However, younger Barbadians generally tend to agree with a more accepting attitude towards migrants when asked to compare their views to those of other generations. This generational change which favors cooperation without sacrificing sovereignty is a co-constructed identity, which attempts to balance a specific transnational identity without compromising a unique cultural identity in Barbados.

6 Conclusion and Further Study

For centuries, language contact in the Caribbean has propelled the construction and reconstruction of identity in the face of forced migration and colonial/neocolonial practices. Postcolonial societies and institutions are still influenced by this past in their attitudes to language construct local and regional identities and demarcate the boundaries in between.

Further study should focus on the narratives of the migrant laborers themselves, who I did not have access to during my time in Barbados. It’s important to understand what challenges with migration they face in their own words and on their own terms, since they are often

excluded and silenced in mainstream society. Their own views of linguistic identity and hierarchy are not likely to line up perfectly with those of Barbadian university students.

Studies should also determine how the factor of race affects attitudes towards migration. Barbados is, proportionally, a whiter country than much of the English-official West Indies. The white Barbadian and expat communities on the island, though small, are still significant in both the island's economy and image, somewhat acting as a continuation of the early image of Barbados as an island hemorrhaging cash and cane that solely filled the pockets of white planters. Barbadian attitudes towards parts of the English-official West Indies may also be marked by the assumption that a speaker could be of a different race than oneself, especially if a speaker sounds like they could be from a place with a much more significant population of South Asian descent such as Trinidad or Guyana.

It would be important to include a more diverse sample of Barbadian judges, preferably from backgrounds that take into account populations that may not be of the age or means to be currently attending university. None of my participants considered themselves white or of Asian or Middle Eastern ancestry, and including participants from more varied racial, social, and economic backgrounds would help develop a clearer, more precise understanding of Barbadian attitudes to language. Language attitudes as described by Barbadian university students are harder to generalize to the entire nation, considering the attitudes of the vast majority of citizens who are not currently enrolled in university is left unaccounted for.

The tests used in this study were unable to determine a specific quantitative relationship between positive language attitudes and migrant populations, other than a correlation that indicates that Barbadians do make distinctions of positive/negative attitudes within CARICOM varieties of Englishes. Barbadian university students are more willing to adequate and make

identities within CARICOM more inclusive in terms of economic integration but still hold their cultural and linguistic identity with exclusivity. An understanding of degrees of adequation for each territory would be better understood by an increased number of both judges and speakers.

The Caribbean has been marked by flows of labor and goods (sometimes one and the same) for centuries, and language has always been a front of marking and performing identity. In the midst of language contact, the accumulation of wealth and subsequent enrichment of a white ruling class was brought through the forceful subjugation of nonwhite laborers. The regimes of power since then have changed in some places, but the frameworks of identity and society established by the plantation societies continue to inform modern notions of language attitudes, identity, and labor migration in Barbados.

Despite grim descriptions of Barbadian disdain for people from places like Guyana, Barbadian university students express that attitudes are changing. They are willing to accept a greater economic and even social integration of Barbados and the rest of CARICOM, while maintaining a unique and specifically Barbadian cultural and linguistic identity. It is reassuring that the participants felt that Barbadian identity was becoming more inclusive to labor migrants, but currently it is the narrative of the single market that is driving the discourse of identity and that adequation seems to be a strategy to expand certain identities for economic reasons, but not cultural ones. Barbadian identity is multifaceted and reconstructed within regional and social contexts, retaining a sense of distinctiveness while also embracing some forms of regional cohesion, a kaleidoscopic layer of identity constantly shifting, reforming and redefining its surroundings.

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