

Waves of Arrivance

In this essay, we conduct an ancestral genealogy of the term “arrivant” through Kumina ceremony.¹ A spiritual and ceremonial practice based in Jamaica, Kumina is, as Kamau Brathwaite describes, a living fragmentation of an African religion which arrived in the Caribbean through the Middle Passage. On arrival, Kumina retained its ancestral remembrance and its Central African Indigeneity.² The tidal intimacies of Kumina have a relation to Imogene “Queenie” Kennedy, known by Kamau Brathwaite, in the title-inspired epigraph to *The Arrivants: A New World Trilogy* (1973), as Kumina Queen.³ Originally based in St. Thomas and later Kingston, Jamaica, Kennedy’s role in her community as a Kumina Queen exemplifies the intimacies and relationalities among African and Taíno Indigeneities. Through her life and her Word, this paper will consider how “arrivant” continues to be an honorific for Central African ancestors who arrived in Jamaica as liminally enslaved and indentured.

A specific focus for this paper is wave diffraction, a method which draws on the works of Karen Barad, Leroy Little Bear and Édouard Glissant, while remaining grounded in Indigenous methodologies of ancestral storytelling and oral history.⁴ Informed by relational ways of knowing, these waves move within oceanic currents, inducing a flourishing, or rather a tidal wave of Indigeneity, one that tunes into Taíno futurities in Jamaica without negating the African Indigeneity present within Kumina. Kennedy complicates the spectres and spectrums of Caribbean modernity; the invitation of spirits through her Word demonstrates Kumina’s ancestral ways of relating along and within the spectrums of enslavement, settler colonialism and indentured servitude.⁵ The spiritual power of the waves diffracts these spectrums’ biocentric and scientifically racist knowledge production in order to hit back, roll onto and riff off the labour exploitation and the attempted elimination of African and Taíno Indigeneities in Jamaica.⁶ As such, this project troubles Caribbean modernity and certain articulations of creolisation that erase Taíno presence on the island. The continuation of intergenerational Kumina ceremonies throughout Jamaica reiterates the ongoing spectrums and spectres within liberal modernity.

We write this as two mundongo⁷ queer and trans scholars: one a Haudenosaunee, Métis, Irish and Cantonese descendant of indentured labourers, and the other a white settler. From these positions, we will not be detailing Kumina practices and protocols beyond what Kennedy has shared to outsiders in her own words, transcribed into text.

METHODS OF ARRIVANCE

By contrast, and in accordance with the same revolving movement, contacts and conflicts, the Caribbean Sea is the sea that 'diffracts.'

Édouard Glissant, "Creolization and the Making of the Americas"⁸

Diffractive wave theory is both a phenomenon in quantum physics and a methodological framework for articulating experiential knowledge. These experiences gleam through acts of resistance, retold from perspectives within rather than through a reflectively distanced lens.⁹

For Glissant, the diffractive Caribbean Sea "opens out onto diversity" in its great expanse and "relational complicity with the new earth and sea." Sonorously of Karen Barad, diffractions induce and necessitate difference.¹⁰ Thus, this method recognises the particular knowledge-making practices Kumina has on the world. As waves move, bend, ripple and spread, they will also encounter ruptures in their flow; obstacles diffract waves, inducing them to once again move, bend, ripple and spread within new oceanic wave patterns. Thus, it is not simply that waves flow over, around, through or under barriers, but that these wave particles may deviate from their normative single wave pattern by diffracting into multiples. Baradian diffraction theory on water, light and sound waves articulates an ability to adapt to interference by bending their form when encountering oppression in the formation of singular or multiplistic wave patterns. By studying quantum theories underlying wave particle behaviour, resistances within the tensions of intimately troubled relationalities can be understood on a non-divisive micro- and macro-political scale through their material and spiritual explanations.

From Leroy Little Bear's Blackfoot perspective on quantum wave theory (2011), he describes three tenets of native science as everything being relational, animate and in constant flux. The materiality of constant flux is composed of energy waves (what is called Spirit), and that constant flux is an infinite state of motion and change.¹¹ It is from these Indigenous, Black and queer feminist theoretical methods that Kumina ceremony can be understood as relationships between beings whose agency, memories and stories travel through diffractive waves.

Diffraction, in relation to Kumina, describes how ceremonial traditions live on within the ancestral lineages of survivors, relatives and communities. Kumina practitioners navigate the ascendent-descendent tidal life and beyond death oceans, articulating an ancestral spiritual world and Word that fundamentally re-imagines what home means in the Caribbean. As Toni Morrison states: "All water has a perfect memory and is forever trying to get back to where it was."¹² Water's return "to where it was" flows as a cyclical re-encounter on home and on what home could be.

AN ANCESTRAL GENEALOGY OF ARRIVANCE

Prior to expanding further on Kennedy's understanding of arrivance and sense of belonging, it is necessary to detail how "arrivant" has been recently articulated within the work of Jodi Byrd. In her book *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (2011), Byrd speaks of "arrivant" as a term she borrows "from African Caribbean poet Kamau Brathwaite to signify those people forced into the Americas through the violence of European and Anglo-American colonialism and imperialism around the globe."¹³ Meant as a distinguishing third term between and alongside "Indigenous" and "settler," the potential of "arrivant" under Byrd's definition would be to acknowledge people of colour not Indigenous to Turtle Island and the struggles they have faced and continue to face under

liberal modernity.¹⁴ Such a specificity within “arrivant” under Byrd’s articulation is certainly a much-appreciated contribution to Indigenous Studies, given that the common binary of Indigenous and white settlers enacts a move to equivalence, one that subsumes people of colour’s experiences of racist and colonial violences under whiteness, and ignores the intimacies and solidarities between Indigenous peoples and people of colour not Indigenous to Turtle Island.

Within a re-examination of the original definition of arrivance, one can consider what Lisa Lowe has described as the intimacies of four continents.¹⁵ Resonant in both Byrd’s work and Brathwaite’s poetics, the connections between settler colonialism, the trans-Atlantic slave trade and indentured servitude demonstrate how Black people and Indigenous peoples have experienced life within and across all spectrums of modernity.¹⁶ The diffractions within these intimacies refute the seductive yet reductive claim that the Black experience of modernity is solely one of enslavement and the Indigenous experience of modernity is solely one of settler colonialism.¹⁷ This mutual exclusivity ignores how the enslavement of Indigenous peoples prompted the creation and augmentation of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, and how this system functioned under the intended elimination of African peoples from their land through the Middle Passage.¹⁸ It further ignores how both Black and Indigenous peoples experienced indentured servitude alongside Asian labourers, whose lands were also sites of settler colonial imaginaries.¹⁹

In “Kumina: The Spirit of African Survival in Jamaica” (1978), Brathwaite describes Imogene “Queenie” Kennedy as “a politician, economist for self, and household, yard and her community, priestess: all in one. And she has the power of Nommo: spirit, force and memory of the Word. It is she who remembers and restores the past.”²⁰ Within the power of Nommo, Kennedy presides over the ancestral transmittance of traditional Congolese ceremonies between ancestral and descendent beings.²¹ While anthropological attention has centred mainly on the burial and memorial ceremonies of Kumina, Kennedy also conducts healing, marital, birth, emancipation and independence ceremonies within the community.²² Her life, in many ways, exemplifies Kumina’s African Indigeneity and its flourishing presence within Jamaica; for as scholar Dianne M Stewart writes, Kumina signifies “the potency and resilience of Indigenous ancestral wisdom.”²³

In the epigraph to *The Arrivants: A New World Trilogy*, Imogene Kennedy describes the arrivance of her ancestors to Jamaica:

Well, muh ol’ arrivance ... is from Africa ... That’s muh ol’ arrivants family. Muh gran’muddah an’ muh gran’faddah. Well they came out here as slavely ... you unnerstan’?

Well, when them came now, I doan belongs to Africa. I belongs to Jamaica, I born here.

Well muh gran’parents, she teach me some of the African languages an’ the rest I get from the cotton-tree root...I take twenty-one days to get all the balance...

So I just travel right up to hey, an’ gradually come up, an’ gradually come up, until I experience all about ... the African set up ...²⁴

Originally taken from a 1971 interview conducted by Maureen Warner-Lewis and Monica Schuler, Kennedy’s Word affirms that the origins of arrivant is unrelated to Byrd’s iteration.

Kennedy mentions the “arrivance ... from Africa ... that’s muh ol’ arrivants family.” Here, she is speaking of the homeland of arrivants (Africa) and the ancestral lineage of Kumina, in that the

“ol’ arrivants” are Kennedy’s own family. Significantly, “ol’” could not only be read as “old,” but also as “whole;” if we consider both “old” and “whole” together as a diffractive wave pattern, one can begin to understand Kumina’s potential state of wholeness. Given that Caribbean modernity remains an archipelago of fragmentation and catastrophe, Kumina represents the struggle towards equilibrium.²⁵ Kennedy continuously draws from her ancestral lineage and the silk cotton tree to “get all the balance” within ceremony.

Kennedy’s Word highlights arrivants’ position as both enslaved and indentured in Jamaica. While arrivants came to Jamaica from Central Africa after official emancipation, the work of Bilby and Bunseki emphasises that the spatiotemporal distinction between enslavement and indentured labour was quite liminal.²⁶ They write: “Kumina developed during the mid-to-late-nineteenth century among ‘voluntary’ African immigrants who came to work as indentured labourers on the ailing Jamaican sugar estates; nearly all of them were recruited from the population of ‘recaptives’ or ‘Liberated Africans’ – former slaves who had been ‘liberated’ by British anti-slave-trade patrols while en route to the Americas, and subsequently sent to Sierra Leone or St Helena.”²⁷

Bilby’s and Bunseki’s description resonates deeply with the experiences of Kennedy’s own grandmother who was first captured by slavers before being coerced to sign up as a plantation worker in Jamaica, all under the promise that she would be able to return home at the end of her “contract.”²⁸ Kennedy thus describes her grandparents’ experiences as “came out here as slavely,” an oral history that oscillates the empirical and its delineation between the “recently emancipated” and the “recently indentured” as if these experiences are separate and isolated from each other. Kennedy mentions both the corporal and spiritual transfer of Indigenous knowledge and practices from arrivants to descendants. While her grandparents taught her “some of the African languages,” what Bilby and Bunseki have largely attributed to the Kikongo language,²⁹ she got the “African set-up” through her time “at the cotton-tree root.” This moment in her life was her opening to the world of ol’ arrivants, one that was grounded along the roots and within the hollow trunk of a fallen silk cotton tree.³⁰ These particular trees, whose animacy enabled the ancestral birth of Kennedy as the Kumina Queen, are also central to Taíno epistemologies and ontologies, as they also go by the Taíno name, ceiba.³¹

Amongst the tombs of arrivants, Kennedy lived within the tree for 21 days in a ceremonial fast, learning and connecting before emerging as an African Queen.³² Thus, this moment for Kennedy with the silk cotton tree – which Warner-Lewis has described as a “return to the womb which is at the same time a journey into the tomb”³³ – is crucially not an experience between the living world and the “dead” world, but rather between the world of descendants and the world of arrivants within Kumina; for it is not Kennedy who describes the world of arrivants as “the world of the dead,” but the interviewer herself.³⁴ As Brathwaite concurs in his article on Kumina: “It is a situation, too, in which the god: spirit: ancestor: remains very close to the living: is in fact part of the living.”³⁵ The world of arrivants, which Kennedy has also described as the “African worl,” further complicates her statement in the epigraph that “I doan belongs to Africa, I belongs to Jamaica.” For Kuminaists are making home in Jamaica, all under the pretence of a spiritual return to wholeness within the arrivant world following this life.

By “making home,” we are describing home as a process in the present continuum. In this way, making home speaks to the tensions of home and displacement, having arrived non-consensually

(rather than having settled) on Caribbean Indigenous lands.³⁶ Making home is also a process in which Indigenous peoples and nations are continually resurging, invigorating, protecting and transferring onto consecutive generations. The process of making home, whether by Indigenous, arrivant, diasporic, refugee or descendants of enslaved and indentured peoples, operates within cycles of relationality connecting each other to place.

Kennedy's spiritual and ancestral relation to the silk cotton tree and her explanation of the "arrivance" in the epigraph more broadly reflect her profoundly anti-colonial practice of making home. Within such a practice, Kumina reconfigures creolisation through the flourishing of African Indigeneity. As Shona Jackson has argued, creolisation's stakes in postcolonial citizenship often relies on plantocratic and economic humanist claims to the land.³⁷ This Creole configuration, one that narrativises Indigenous absence of the land in order to claim possession, becomes destabilised with the Kumina survivals of African Indigeneity. Creole ontologies and epistemologies become undefined by economies of dispossession and predatory labour, something that enables African Indigeneities within Jamaica to produce new and resurgent ways of being, becoming and belonging in relation to the land and to Taíno peoples.³⁸ While this reconfiguration of creolisation is not simply a re-application of similar criticisms concerning *mestizaje*, the teleological myth of creolisation as the spatiotemporal 'post' to Indigeneity requires further deconstruction.³⁹

As seen within some of the works of Sylvia Wynter, Édouard Glissant and Kamau Brathwaite, there is an unfortunate reiteration of Indigeneity as "eliminated" within Jamaica and/or the Caribbean more broadly.⁴⁰ Shona Jackson, Jodi Byrd and Melanie Newton demonstrate how such a myth often defines the Caribbean entrance into modernity through the displacement of Indigenous peoples and the centrality of plantocratic labour.⁴¹ The material and discursive signification of the plantation, particularly through the figure of Caliban, often functions as the Creole origin-story.⁴² In seeking postcolonial citizenry, this origin-story isolates the plantation, and the enslaved and indentured peoples forced to labour on them, from their relations with Taíno landscapes and peoples. The geographic formations of Creole Indigeneity, as Shona Jackson has argued, necessitates a move beyond Caliban in the promotion of Indigenous sovereignty. Such a move would not negate the plantation, its racial-sexual violences, or its decolonial and poetic futurology.⁴³ Rather, to move beyond Caliban is to consider the plantation in relation to Taíno geographies.

Kumina, in many ways, already extends this indigenising process of creolisation beyond Calibanesque dialectics of labour and land. To expand on the theorisations of Shona Jackson and Sylvia Wynter, this particular indigenising process does not overtake Taíno peoples' position as Indigenous, as other configurations of creolisation have done, but rather works relationally with Taíno peoples and the land through the resurgence of African Indigenous practices.⁴⁴

As Taíno scholar Erica Neeganagwedgin elaborates: "Many Taíno people went into the hills throughout Jamaica and in other areas and developed relationships and alliances with the Indigenous African peoples who were forcibly removed from their ancestral territories to work as chattel slaves."⁴⁵ Reiterating how Taíno peoples are "saying who we are on our terms," Neeganagwedgin describes moments of Indigenous flourishing, something that is far from the myth of Indigenous "elimination" in Jamaica.⁴⁶ Her work connects the histories of settler colonialism, enslavement and indentured servitude by moving across the plantation, towards the Jamaican hillsides, and along the Caribbean sea. This story responds to the plantation as a site of extraction – one that rips the lands and

displaces Taíno and Black peoples from their roots. It also responds to the plantation as a site of resistance and survival, whose alliances between Taíno and Kuminaist communities form in their diffractive patterns of making home. In her attention to these historical and contemporary solidarities between Taíno and Black peoples, Neeganagwedgin illustrates these ongoing negotiations of making home in Jamaica, across, towards and along, Jamaican landscapes and oceanscapes. The alliances between Taíno and African Indigenous peoples in Jamaica address the potentially restorative power of self-determined relations between Indigenous communities survivor of injuriously assimilative narratives.

What we as authors have attempted to accomplish within the limitations of this paper, and within academia, is to address some of the issues concerning the term “arrivant” and how its original meaning as articulated by Imogene Kennedy and her family, through the telling of their stories of arrival to Jamaica as African Indigenous people, has enabled them to remember and retain their cultural and ceremonial traditions within Kumina. While we have identified and recognise Kumina as historically based and rooted in Congolese Indigenous ceremonial practices, Kumina has a familiarity to Indigenous ways of knowing on Turtle Island. These traditions are also grounded in relationality, oral history and ceremony, and thus the African Indigeneity we speak of in specific relation to Kennedy’s family and her community is one of potential futurity for Indigenous self-determination. In this tidal wave of Indigeneity and futurities, Taíno peoples and Kuminaists make home.

Sebastian De Line is a queer, trans artist and scholar of Haudenosaunee-Métis-Cantonese descent who was born in Burnaby, British Columbia, on the unceded territories of the Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh nations. He/they hold a Bachelor of Fine Arts in Autonomous Fine Art from the Gerrit Rietveld Academy, a Master of Arts in Art Praxis from the Dutch Art Institute and is currently a Ph.D. Candidate in Cultural Studies at Queen’s University (situated on traditional Haudenosaunee and Anishinaabe territory).

Frances H. O’Shaughnessy is a graduate student at the University of Washington in the Department of History (situated on Duwamish, Suquamish, Tulalip and Muckleshoot territory). They recently completed a master’s degree in gender studies at Queen’s University, studying the political and literary works of José Rizal. A white settler scholar, their work seeks to be in relation with Black studies, Indigenous studies, and Philippine studies.

1. Disclaimer: Please note that in this paper we use the names of people who have passed on and are no longer with us in this world.
2. K Brathwaite, "Kumina: The Spirit of African Survival in Jamaica," *Jamaica Journal*, 42 (1978), 46.
3. See the epigraph in K Brathwaite, *The Arrivants: A New World Trilogy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).
4. L T Smith, "Indigenous Methodologies are Often a Mix of Existing Methodological Approaches and Indigenous Practices," in her *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London and New York: Zed Books, 2012), 144.
5. K Brathwaite, *Kamau Brathwaite's Middle Passages: A Lecture* (Toronto: Sandberry Press, 2006).
6. P Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8:4 (2006), 387-409.
7. An outsider to Kumina kinship and affinities. See O Lewin, *Rock it Come Over: The Folk Music of Jamaica* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2000), 233.
8. É Glissant, "Creolization in the Making of the Americas," *Caribbean Quarterly*, 54:1/2 (2008), 81.
9. K Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Making* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 71.
10. As Barad writes: "Consider a situation in which ocean waves impinge on a breakwater or some very large barrier with a sizable hole or gap in it. As the waves push through the gap, the waveforms bend and spread out. In particular, the approaching parallel plane waves emerge from the gap in the shape of concentric half circles. The ocean waves are thus diffracted as they pass through the barrier; the barrier serves as a diffraction apparatus for ocean waves." See Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway*, 74.
11. As Little Bear says: "In classical physics, we talk in terms of matter, particles, subatomic particles. In the native way, we talk in terms of energy waves. Those energy waves are very special because it's those energy waves, not you, that know. All of us are simply combinations of energy waves. Spirit is energy waves. All it means when we die is that particular combination becomes dissipated. Energy waves are still there. A third part of the paradigm is that everything is animate." See Leroy Little Bear, *Native Science and Western Science: Possibilities for Collaboration*, 9 May 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ycQtQZ9y3lc&t=3633s>.
12. T Morrison, "The Sites of Memory," in *Inventing Truth: The Art and Craft of Memoir*, ed. William Zinsser (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1995), 99.
13. J Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), xix.
14. For an elaboration of Byrd's articulation of arrivant, see Manu Vimalassery, Juliana Hu Pegues and Alysha Goldstein, "Introduction on Colonial Unknowing," *Theory & Event*, 19:4 (2016), 6, 7.
15. L Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).
16. J Byrd's most recent single-authored and collaborative work underscores the possibilities that occur when Black and Indigenous intellectual traditions work together to disrupt appropriation and economies of dispossession. See Jodi Byrd et al., "Predatory Value: Economies of Dispossession and Disturbed Relationalities," *Social Text*, 36:2 (2018); 1-18; Jodi Byrd, "'Variations under Domestication': Indigeneity and the Subject of Dispossession," *Social Text*, 36:2 (2018), 123-41.
17. R Walcott stresses the consequential seduction to a singular coherent narrative for Black people in Rinaldo Walcott, "Reconstructing Manhood; or, The Drag of Black Masculinity," *Small Axe*, 28:13 (2009), 75-89.
18. R D G Kelley, "The Rest of Us: Rethinking Settler and Native," *American Quarterly*, 69:2 (2017), 267-76.
19. As D M Stewart has argued, there are intimacies between Indian and Chinese indentured labourers and Kuminaists – Indian and Kumina indentured labourers passaged together on the same ships from St. Helena to Jamaica. They also worked together on the same plantations. Moreover, when Stewart asked Kennedy if Chinese and Indian peoples can join Kumina bands, Kennedy responded that "Asians could participate if they want because they are coloured." See Dianne M Stewart, *Three Eyes for the Journey: African Dimensions of the Jamaican Religious Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 148, 150.
20. K Brathwaite, "Kumina: The Spirit of African Survival in Jamaica," 47.
21. M Warner-Lewis, "The Nkuyu: Spirit Messengers of the Kumina," *Savacou*, 13 (1977), 57-82.
22. M Schuler, "Alas, Alas, Kongo": *A Social History of Indentured African Immigration into Jamaica, 1841-1865* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1980), 72, 73; Lewin, *Rock it Come Over*, 277-281; Warner-Lewis, "The Nkuyu: Spirit Messengers of the Kumina," 57.
23. D M Stewart, "Indigenous Wisdom at Work in Jamaica," in *Indigenous Peoples' Wisdom and Power: Affirming Our Knowledge Through Narratives*, eds Julian E Kunnie and Nomalungelo I Goduka (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), 139.

24. See epigraph in Brathwaite, *The Arrivants: A New World Trilogy*. For the Warner-Lewis transcription of the interview, see Warner-Lewis, "The Nkuyu: Spirit Messengers of the Kumina." Brathwaite changed some of the spelling for this epigraph and his own article on Kumina in the *Jamaica Journal* to better reflect what he elsewhere has described as the "nation-language." See Brathwaite, "Kumina: The Spirit of African Survival in Jamaica," 44-63; Kamau Brathwaite, *History of the Voice: The Development of Nation Language in Anglophone Caribbean Poetry* (London: New Beacon Books, 1984).
25. K Brathwaite, "Metaphors of Underdevelopment: A Poem for Hernan Cortez," *New England Review*, 7:4 (1985), 453-76; Kamau Brathwaite, "Caribbean Man in Space and Time," *Savacou*, 11-12 (1975), 1-11.
26. For further elaboration of Kumina's Jamaican origins, see Warner-Lewis, "The Nkuyu: Spirit Messengers of the Kumina," 60; Schuler, "Alas, Alas, Kongo", 9; Stewart, *Three Eyes for the Journey*, 153.
27. K M Bilby and Fu-Kiau Kia Bunseki, "Kumina: A Kongo-based Tradition in the New World," in *A Reader in African-Jamaican Music, Dance and Religion*, eds Markus Coster and Wolfgang Reader (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2015), 473-74.
28. Lewin, *Rock it Come Over*, 215-19.
29. Bilby and Bunseki, "Kumina: A Kongo-based Tradition in the New World," 477.
30. See Kennedy's full telling of this story in Lewin, *Rock it Come Over*, 260-62.
31. L H Aquino, *Diccionario de Voces Indigenas de Puerto Rico* (Rio Piedras: Editorial Cultural, 1977).
32. Lewin, *Rock it Come Over*, 260-62.
33. Warner-Lewis, "The Nkuyu: Spirit Messengers of the Kumina," 64.
34. *Ibid.*, 57.
35. Brathwaite, "Kumina: The Spirit of African Survival in Jamaica," 46.
36. Making home remains indebted to the work of Black feminist scholars, including bell hooks, "Homeplace," in her *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics* (Boston: South End Press, 1990), 41-9; and Barbara Christian, "Fixing Methodologies: Beloved," *Cultural Critique*, 24 (1993), 5-15.
37. S Jackson, *Creole Indigeneity: Between Myth and Nation in the Caribbean* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).
38. Byrd et al., "Predatory Value."
39. J S Allen, *¡Venceremos? The Erotics of Black Self-making in Cuba* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); María Josefina Saldaña-Portillo, *Indian Given: Racial Geographies across Mexico and the United States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016).
40. S Wynter, "Jonkonnu in Jamaica: Towards the Interpretation of Folk Dance as a Cultural Process," *Jamaica Journal*, 4:2 (1970), 36; Kamau Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 4; Kamau Brathwaite, "The African Presence in Caribbean Literature," *Daedalus*, 103:2 (1974), 80; Glissant, "Creolization in the Making of the Americas," 82. We are cautious in this argument, as these scholars' affect concerning Indigenous genocide within the Caribbean was commonly one of mourning. This is not equivalent to the settler colonial emotions and motions of elimination. Moreover, Wynter highlights in her later works the "ongoing subjugation, marginalization, and displacement of the indigenous peoples." See Sylvia Wynter, "1492: A New World View," in *Race, Discourse, and the Origin of the Americas: A New World View*, eds Vera Lawrence Hyatt and Rex Nettleford (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 8.
41. Jackson, *Creole Indigeneity*; Melanie J Newton, "Returns to a Native Land: Indigeneity and Decolonization in the Anglophone Caribbean," *Small Axe*, 17:2 (2013), 108-22; Byrd, *The Transit of Empire*.
42. Jackson, *Creole Indigeneity*; Byrd, *The Transit of Empire*.
43. K McKittrick, "Plantation Futures," *Small Axe*, 42 (2013), 5.
44. Jackson, *Creole Indigeneity*; Wynter, "Jonkonnu in Jamaica," 34-48; Sylvia Wynter, "Creole Criticism: A Critique," *New World Quarterly*, 4 (1973), 12-36.
45. E Neeganagwedgin, "Rooted in the Land: Taíno Identity, Oral History and Stories of Reclamation in Contemporary Contexts," *AlterNative*, 11:4 (2015), 384. Stewart also reiterates the intimacies between Kuminaists and Taíno peoples in her work: "when the Africans were transported thousands of miles away from their homeland to forcibly work as slaves in lands of other Indigenous people stolen by white men [...]." See Kunnie and Goduka, *Indigenous Peoples' Wisdom and Power*, 139.
46. Neeganagwedgin, "Rooted in the Land," 384.