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BLACK CARIBS

A Case Study in Biocultural Adaptation

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MICHAEL H. CRAWFORD

*University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas*

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The Garifuna in Central America

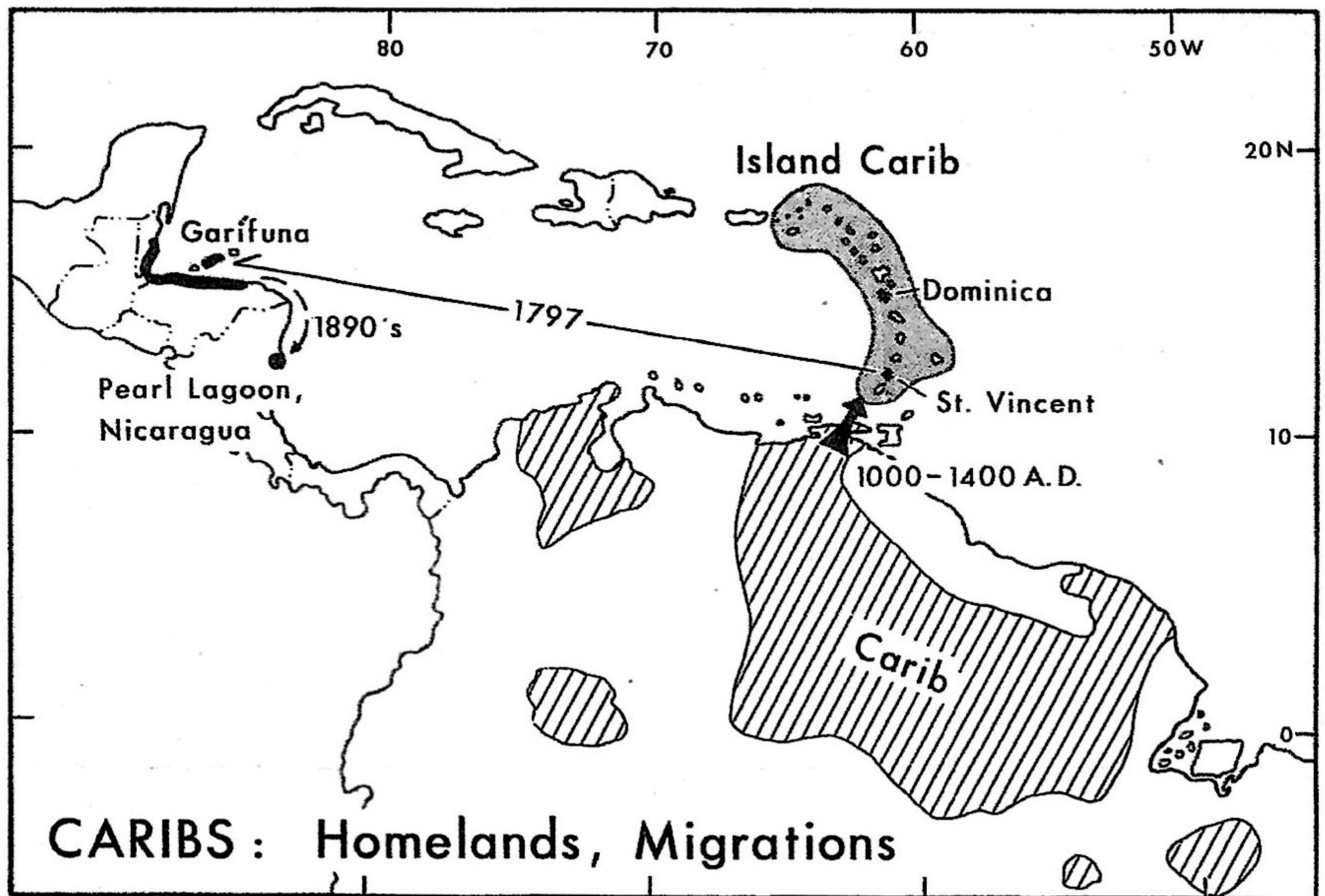
Ethnohistorical and Geographical
Foundations

WILLIAM V. DAVIDSON

1. Introduction

So-called "Carib" populations have inhabited three major areas of the New World tropics (Map 1). *South American Caribs*, the most prominent aboriginal family north of the Amazon, consist of several widely distributed, but linguistically related, tribes, such as the Galibi of the Guyana coast and the Yukpa of the Colombian–Venezuelan borderlands. Today they number approximately 25,000 (Basso, 1977). Caribs who migrated from the mainland onto the Lesser Antilles a few centuries before the arrival of the Europeans, in spite of acquiring the language of the Arawak Indians of the islands (Taylor, 1951; Durbin, 1977), eventually became known as the *Island Caribs* (Rouse, 1948). After two centuries of European depredations, they were confined to only two islands, Dominica and St. Vincent, where even now small remnant populations live: about 2000 on the Reserve in Dominica (Layng, 1976) and nearly 2000 in 11 villages on St. Vincent (Gullick, 1975). A third Carib population descended from the St. Vincentian group currently lives in Central America. These are known in the English language literature as Black Caribs, but perhaps more properly should be labeled *Garifuna*, the name by which they know themselves. Other names often attached to the group are *morenos*, Trujillianos, Vincentinos, and Karif. It is the

WILLIAM V. DAVIDSON • Department of Geography and Anthropology, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70803.



MAP 1. Carib homelands and migrations. Generalized from Chamberlain (1913), Steward and Mason (1950), Loukotka (1967), and Basso (1977, 1978).

intent of this introductory chapter to relate briefly the ethnohistorical and geographical background of the Garifuna since their arrival in Central America from St. Vincent.

2. *St. Vincent Origins*

The generally accepted version of Garifuna ethnogenesis is that during the 17th century black Africans from slave ships wrecked on St. Vincent were joined later by runaway slaves from nearby upwind plantations (such as those on Barbados) and gradually mixed with the native islanders, the so-called "Red Caribs" (W. Young, 1795; Taylor, 1951; Gonzalez, 1969; Gullick, 1977). Although details of the fusion and early activities are slight, the enlarging hybrid group, physically Negroid but with an Amerindian culture, dominated the Indians of the island by 1700 (Labat, 1970). At least by 1763, they were labeled "Black Caribs" by the Englishmen on the island (W. Young, 1795) and were a large and cohesive enough body to challenge the English masters for control of St. Vincent. Finally, after a lengthy period of conflicts, the 2-year Carib–English War (1795–1796) ended Carib resistance, and in the spring of 1797 virtually the entire Black Carib community of St. Vincent was exiled to the western Caribbean. Subsequently, they spread around the Bay of Honduras, where they live today in 52 coastal villages and number 60,000–70,000.

3. *Dispersal in Central America*

The dispersal seems to have occurred in five temporal—territorial units:

1. St. Vincent to Roatan Island, Honduras, 1797.
2. The Trujillo core, 1797–1810.
3. Honduran Mosquitia, 1803–1814.
4. Belize, 1802–1832.
5. Western Honduras and Guatemala, 1821–1836.

By 1836, one-third of the modern villages had been established, and the extent of settlement around the Bay of Honduras had been reached. After that date, with the exception of the two villages at Pearl Lagoon, Nicaragua, founded in the late 19th century (Davidson, 1980), new sites and relocations have taken place within the 1836 limits.

3.1. *St. Vincent to Roatan Island, Honduras, 1797*

The first Garifuna settlement in Central America was on Roatan, largest of the Bay Islands, just off the north coast of Honduras. At Port Royal, the large natural harbor on the south side of the island, the British Navy stranded a few thousand Black Caribs in April 1797 (Barrett, 1797). “A few thousand” may be as close to a certain figure as will ever be available to answer the critical question of how many Caribs were transported from St. Vincent. The primary sources, both Spanish and English, are confusing and inconsistent, and may never divulge an acceptable figure. The lowest figures, reported in Spanish sources, are derived from the area of disembarkation. An English sailor captured by a Spanish fleet while en route to Roatan said “1600 Black Caribs” were being transported (Saenz, 1797); the leader of the Spanish reconnaissance to the island learned from Carib chiefs there that “2000, more or less,” were left by the British (Rossi y Rubi, 1797). Transcriptions of the 1801 census taken by Governor Ramon Anguiano in Trujillo are even more confusing: his record (Anguiano, 1801) lists “4000 caribe negros,” while the 1804 rendition of the same census shows “5500.” Del Castillo (1813) thought 4000 were exiled to Roatan. De Tornos (1816) learned that 2000 were deposited on the island.

English estimates for the population of exiled Caribs cluster near 5000. Southey (1827) gave a precise count of 4633 Carib prisoners on St. Vincent during October 1796. Bryan Edwards (1819), premier historian for the British islands for the period, reported that 5000 lived at the end of the war. Shepard (1831) recorded that 5080 were transported to Roatan. Unfortunately, the best records of the deportation, the letter and ship’s log of Captain Barrett (1796–1797, 1797), commander of the naval expedition, contain no population figures.

Once on Roatan, the Garifuna seem to have split into at least two camps, one of which formed a village on the north coast of the island at a spot now called Punta Gorda. Although the bulk of the exiles passed to the Honduran

mainland within a couple of years, Punta Gorda apparently remained settled until the present.

3.2. *The Trujillo Core, 1797-1810*

Bewildered by the sudden presence of shiploads of recently warring people deposited on their colonial doorstep, the Spanish government in Guatemala City dispatched a small force to reconnoiter the situation on Roatan. Jose Rossi y Rubi, commander of the expedition, quickly arranged a peaceful transfer of most of the Garifuna to the adjacent coast near Trujillo (Rossi y Rubi, 1797). Trujillo was the obvious choice for relocation because it was the only center of Spanish settlement on the Bay of Honduras.

The Garifuna migrants immediately dominated and transformed the hinterland of Trujillo Bay. The 4000 or 5000 Caribs listed in the census of Anguiano must have overwhelmed the previous residents of the port: 480 Spaniards, 300 English-speaking Negroes, probably captured during Spanish raids on the English colonies at Black River and on Roatan in 1782 (Davidson, 1974), and 200 French-speaking blacks recently arrived from Haiti via Cuba (Houdaille, 1954). The degree to which the new arrivals mixed with the inhabitants of Trujillo is unknown in detail, but the deportees from St. Vincent were acquainted with the French language and must have felt some common bond with the Haitian blacks. Garifuna were also soon comprising the bulk of the military at Trujillo (Roberts, 1827) and taking surnames from their Spanish hosts (Beaucage, s.f.).

The most restless Caribs began outward movements as soon as they reached the mainland: some few went to the east into Mosquitia, others established [by 1810 (Vallejo, 1893)] some of the five villages near Trujillo (Rio Negro, Cristales, Santa Fe, San Antonio, Guadalupe). But the overwhelming majority of the population remained intact (Roberts, 1827; Rochester, 1828) until the 1830s, when the Republican Wars in Central America scattered the Garifuna losers (Galindo, 1833; T. Young, 1842). Afterward, Trujillo housed only about 1000 (Montgomery, 1839). Because of its early role as their first center in Central America, Trujillo is still considered the "national capital" and mother settlement of the modern Garifuna.

3.3. *Honduran Mosquitia, 1803-1814*

Detailed reconstructions of the third movement of Garifuna, from Trujillo east into Mosquitia, are hindered by contradictions in the oral and written records. Beaucage (1970), using the oral tradition of the Garifuna, suggested that the eastward migration was motivated by a desire to return along the coast to St. Vincent. Reporters from earlier times (T. Young, 1842) wrote that the Garifuna moved to end "the unceasing demands upon their labour" at Trujillo.

It is also possible that the tremendous population pressure on the lands near Trujillo simply made a dispersal imperative.

Whatever the reasons for moving, the historical record indicates that the mouth of the Black River (Rio Negro, Tinto) was the effective eastern limit of settlement. A few Garifuna had journeyed the shore as far as the Patuca River (Patook) by late 1804 (Henderson, 1809; Bancroft, 1887), but 4000-5000 Caribs were still in Trujillo at the time (Anguiano, 1804), and evidently remained there until at least 1811, when 6000 were counted (del Castillo, 1813). There is a questionable report of a Garifuna agricultural colony at the mouth of the Chapagua River in 1803 (Anon, 1803), and a fairly reliable account of the establishment of a village at Sangrelaya (Zachary Lyon, Sacrelien, Sacraliah) by 1814 (Anon, 1938). One could speculate that the founding of Sangrelaya, traditionally inhabited by the family with the best claim to leadership since the days on St. Vincent (the Sambulas), might have provided sufficient impetus to assure permanent settlement outside the realm of Trujillo control.

The eastern frontier of Garifuna settlement, across the Black River, was irregularly the scene of Garifuna intrusions into lands occupied by the Miskito Indians. Following the 1804-1807 trek to the Patuca, other attempts at settlement near Cape Gracias a Dios in 1821 (AGCA 1821) and on Carataska Lagoon in the mid-1850s (Bell, 1899) failed, and retreats westward back across the Black River were reportedly caused by storms (T. Young, 1842) and the oppression of a Miskito chief (Roberts, 1827). The area of Garifuna control remained west of the Black River and was obviously recognized as theirs by 1820: the Poyais Colonization Scheme of Gregor McGregor (Hasbrouck, 1927) included maps (Vandermaelen, 1827) that labeled the region "Caribania," and the Spaniards named a Carib leader as the political power for the area (Beaucage, 1970) in a probable attempt to reduce Miskito influence.

Although Caribs were present in Mosquitia for three decades in small numbers, no large influx took place until the defeat of Garifuna forces by the Central American Republican armies in 1832. Then, as one contemporary reported, the Garifuna fled eastward to escape "their subsequent discomfiture" (Galindo, 1833).

3.4. *Belize, 1802-1832*

The fourth realm of expansion was British Yucatan, or modern Belize. Settlement there should be considered in light of whether the migrants intended temporary or permanent settlement. From the earliest days on Roatan and at Trujillo, Carib sailors, with (Henderson, 1809) and without (Burdon, 1933) British companions, were cruising Belizean waters in their homemade dugout watercraft. Although some came to Belize to fish as independents and others sailed there as trader/smugglers, they also accompanied their recent enemies, the British, as loggers (Henderson 1809). There is no evidence that for three decades Garifuna intended permanent settlement in Belize.

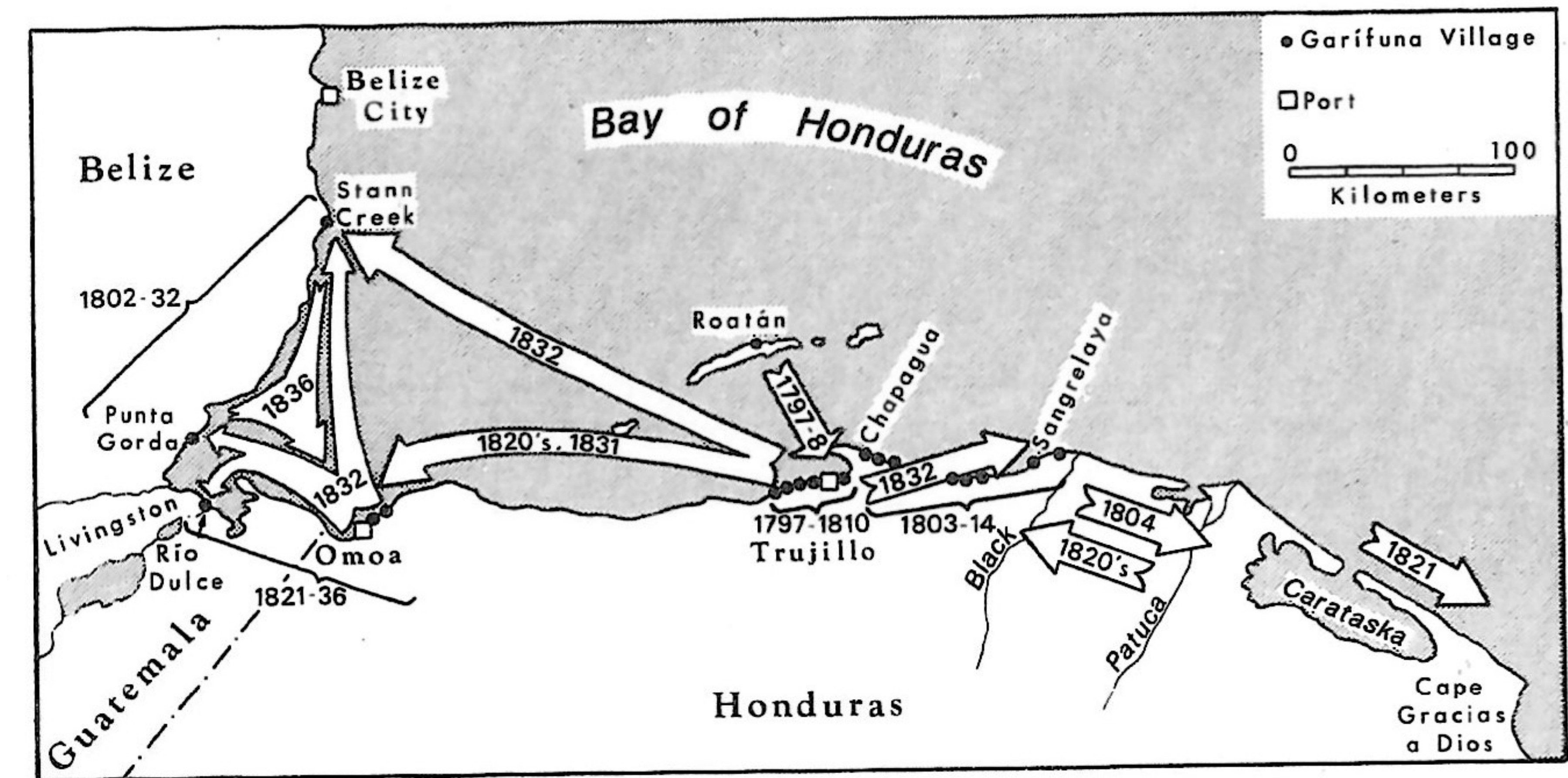
Dangriga, formerly Stann Creek Town, has always been the center of Garifuna settlement in the colony. It is the site of the first permanent village and is today the largest Carib settlement, with over 7500 inhabitants, mostly Carib-speakers. Dunn (1828) recognized it as a Carib village as early as 1827, but we know that by August 1823 at least 25 Garifuna laborers were there to clear land for British settlers recently from the Poyais Colony at Black River (Hasbrouck, 1927). Because the settlers completely abandoned the site within 8 months, it is feasible to expect the workers to remain as permanent residents and to reap the harvest of their farmlands. Whatever the exact origins of the settlement, there is widespread agreement that the early rapid growth of the village resulted from the in-migration of Honduran Garifuna fleeing Republican reprisals following the losing Loyalist insurrection of 1832 in the vicinities of Omoa and Trujillo (Squier, 1855). Within 5 years, the settlement at Stann Creek and to the south at Punta Gorda had several hundred residents who had refused amnesty and evidently planned to remain in British territory away from the capricious military behaviour of the Central Americans. By 1840, Stann Creek had over 1000 inhabitants (Allen, 1841; Blunt, 1864); Punta Gorda was home for half as many (Stephens, 1841).

3.5. *Western Honduras and Guatemala, 1821-1836*

Garifuna occupation of the final stretch of coast, in western Honduras and Guatemala, is difficult to unravel historically because non-Carib, free Negroes lived in the area previous to Garifuna entry. There are observations of Negro settlers, reportedly Haitian but perhaps with Garifuna, at the mouth of the Rio Dulce for 1802 (Termer, 1936), for 1804 (Coelho, 1955), and for about 1806 (Gonzalez, 1969). At fort Omoa, Negroes were reported there as soldiers in 1801 (Abarca, 1898) and as general settlers by 1808 (Juarros, 1823). However, no evidence is present that these were Garifuna, and other references to Negro population in the area do not occur until the 1820s. In fact, the coast between Trujillo and Omoa is consistently known as being virtually deserted (Urrutia, 1818).

Any large number of Garifuna in the region might be traced to the contingents brought from Trujillo to Omoa to fight for the Spanish Crown during the wars of independence and the later civil war of 1832. After losing battles to the Central Americans, Garifuna fled to the safety of British lands in Belize (Galindo, 1833; Squier, 1855), and probably returned to western Honduras when amnesty was granted in 1836 (Salazar, 1932). In the same year lands along the Motagua River were offered for logging (Ibid., p. 415), and this new opportunity for wages may have lured more Garifuna.

The major Carib settlement of the region, at Livingston, Guatemala, was probably permanently established about 1830. Situated atop a prominent bluff on the western bank at the mouth of the Rio Dulce, the site was well known to



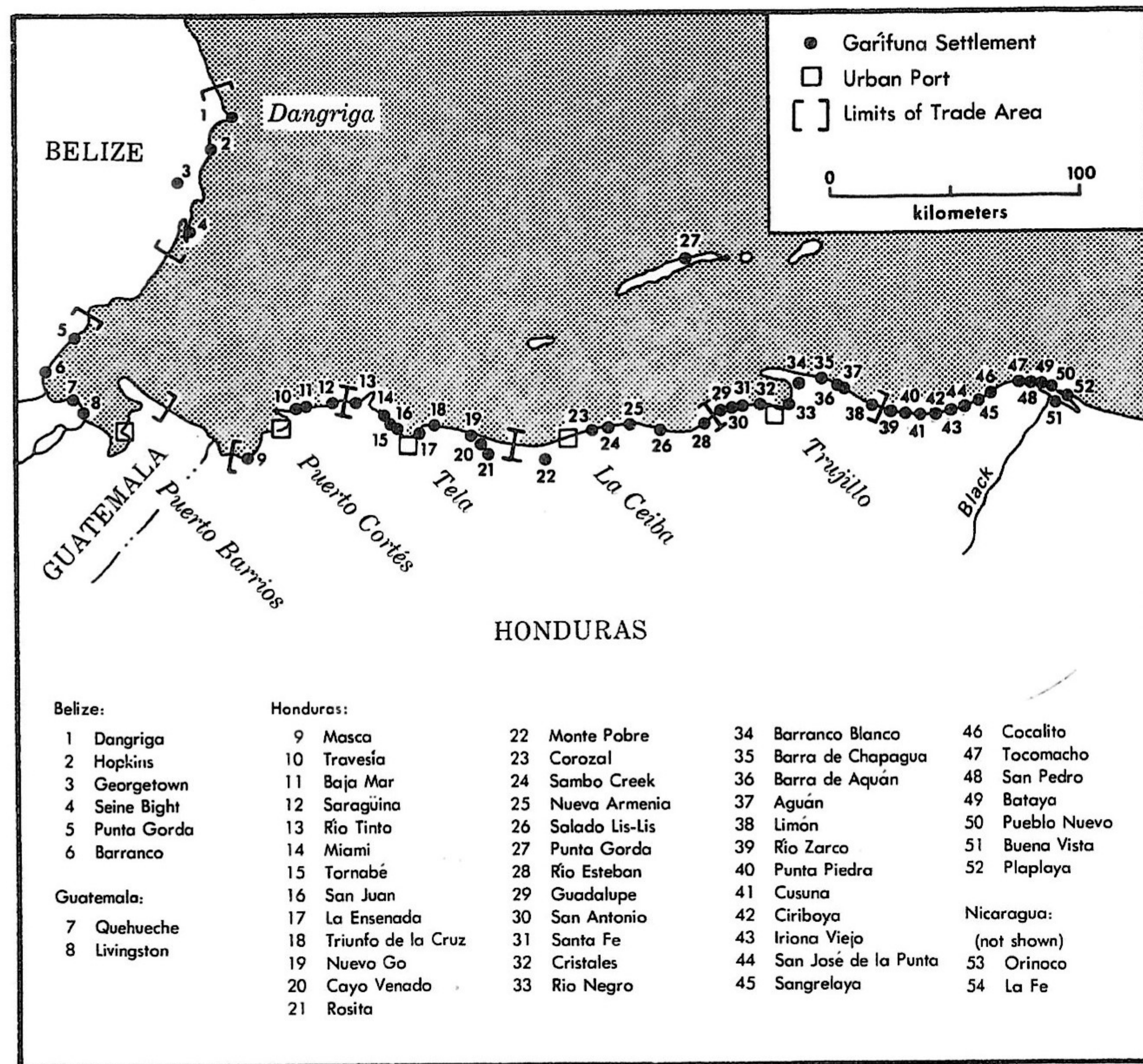
MAP 2. Dispersal of the Garifuna in Central America, 1797-1836.

travelers of the 1820s, who invariably ran their ships aground on the shallow, shifting sand bar just offshore. None of the travelers delayed at the bluff [for examples see Henderson (1809), Dunn (1829), Thompson (1829), Wilson (1829)] specifically mention the presence of Garifuna before 1832, when, as Castañeda (1909) learned, 150 Caribs from Honduras settled there. Obviously, the village encountered difficulties during the period of early growth: only 100 souls lived there in 1836 (Salazar, 1932), and the 40-50 huts there in 1838 (Montgomery, 1839) were probably burned in the fire of 1840 (Page, 1840).

After four decades of relatively intense movements, the Garifuna had established about 20 villages around the Bay of Honduras from Stann Creek, British Honduras, to the Black River in Honduran Mosquitia (Map 2). The dispersal opened new lands and fishing grounds, and thereby reduced the tremendous pressure on the resources of Trujillo. Life in the new locations must have eased for the Garifuna, and their movements, although never ceasing, seem to have relaxed. Now, more than a generation away from their homeland on St. Vincent, the Garifuna began organizing for permanence in Central America. How they arranged themselves in their new habitat is the theme of the following section.

4. *Patterns of Settlement*

The modern spatial organization of the Garifuna can be illustrated as a scaled hierarchy of five regions. In order of decreasing size they are (1) culture realm, (2) trade area, (3) village subsistence region, (4) settlement proper, and (5) family compound. The following areal sketches will indicate the variety of ways the Garifuna orient themselves to the physical world around the Bay of Honduras.



MAP 3. Garifuna in Central America, settlements and trade areas, 1978.

4.1. Garifuna Culture Realm

Garifuna villages and their nearshore lands dominate the rural landscape of the Caribbean littoral for 400 miles — central Belize to eastern Honduras. Distances between the settlements are slight (averages: 15 miles in Belize, less than 5 miles in Honduras), but urban ports interrupt Carib lands in five instances (Map 3). No village is farther than 10 miles inland; all but three touch coastal waters. Thus, the long chain of beach villages gives the Garifuna realm a narrow, discontinuous configuration. Because of the consistent selection of coastal sites for settlement, the dominant aspects of physical geography for each village are relatively similar.

In the western Caribbean, trade winds blow onshore from the east and northeast. So consistent are these winds that in lieu of directions, Hondurans refer to east as “up” [wind], west as “down.” In Belize, “up” is north, “down” is south. The winds, which blow ashore over warm currents of the Bay, moderate temperatures of the coastal lands. Because of the slight variation in temperature

throughout the year, seasonality is expressed most clearly in the distribution of rainfall: June to December is the rainy period, December to June is dry. Of course, local habitats vary in topography, soils, sources of fresh water, etc., but nowhere in the realm are differences so great that subsistence production is significantly affected (see Section 4.3 on village subsistence region).

Although it is improbable that any single Garifuna knows all settlements in his or her culture realm, contacts are considerable throughout the area, and Garifuna knowledge of the extent of settlement is widespread. Within the tropical, wet-dry, windy fringe of the Bay of Honduras, some 65,000* Garifuna know (see Table 1) they can travel and visit, without invitation, and be assured that the warmth of family awaits their arrival. In many instances actual relatives will greet travelers in far-flung settlements. For example, the Sambula family, before mentioned as one of leadership on St. Vincent, has a representative in at least 34 Garifuna villages. Other prominent surnames that are typically Garifuna include Alvarez, Arana, Arzu, Bernardez, Casildo, Castillo, Centeno, Crisanto, Flores, Gonzalez, Lopez, Martinez, Melendez, Morales, Palacio, Velasquez, and Zenon.

4.2. Trade Areas

Within the larger culture realm seven trade areas can be delimited† (Map 3). Each commercial network is composed of a large, non-Garifuna port (Dangriga is an exception) and a hinterland that includes several Garifuna villages. To be within a trade area contact between a village and the urban center must occur at least weekly. Only in eastern Honduras are settlements so isolated that frequent trade contacts do not occur on a scheduled basis, but even there traders pass occasionally.

Beachwalks are the normal mode of transportation between village and port, but frequently, particularly when heavy produce is involved, the trips are in small watercraft or truck-buses. The exchange of produce normally consists of coconuts, palm oil, fish, coconut bread, and cassava from the villages, and fuel, ice, citrus, dry goods, and hardware from the ports. Also, a fleet of Garifuna-

* I once calculated the Garifuna population in Central America to be about 77,000 (Davidson, 1976). That figure was based on census material from Belize and Guatemala, and on aerial photography flown in 1973 and ground-checked in 1974. Several Garifuna researchers questioned the total population, primarily because dwellings that appeared on the photographs were thought to be unoccupied. The revised lower figure used here, 65,000, was derived after taking the criticisms into account.

† Since the trade area framework was first presented (Davidson, 1976), Lundberg (1978) has correctly pointed out that the Punta Gorda-Barranco network should not be considered a unit apart from Livingston. Here I have included these three settlements with Puerto Barrios. Still, one must realize that while contacts between southern Belize and Livingston are frequent, and those between Livingston and Barrios are daily, Belizean contacts with Barrios are minimal.

Table 1. *Garifuna in Central America: Settlements and Populations*^a

Country	Garifuna population	Garifuna as percent of country population
Belize	11,000	7.85
In six settlements	8,700	
Elsewhere	2,300	
Guatemala	5,000	0.083
In two settlements	3,100	
Elsewhere	1,900	
Honduras	48,000	1.71
In 44 settlements	42,750	
Elsewhere	5,250	
Nicaragua	1,000	0.05
In two settlements	750	
Elsewhere	250	
Total population	65,000	

^a Approximate values for 1978.

produced trading vessels ply the coast to carry Ladino foodstuffs to the port markets.

The relationship of trade center and Carib village is of importance beyond the economic exchange that takes place. Trade areas are economic "mesohabitats," but they also provide the framework for the incorporation of the Garifuna into Central American life. It is from the urban ports that non-Garifuna ways are introduced into the villages. It is from the ports that Garifuna men are drawn onto the merchant ships that carry them to the U.S. and elsewhere over the globe.

4.3. Village Subsistence Region

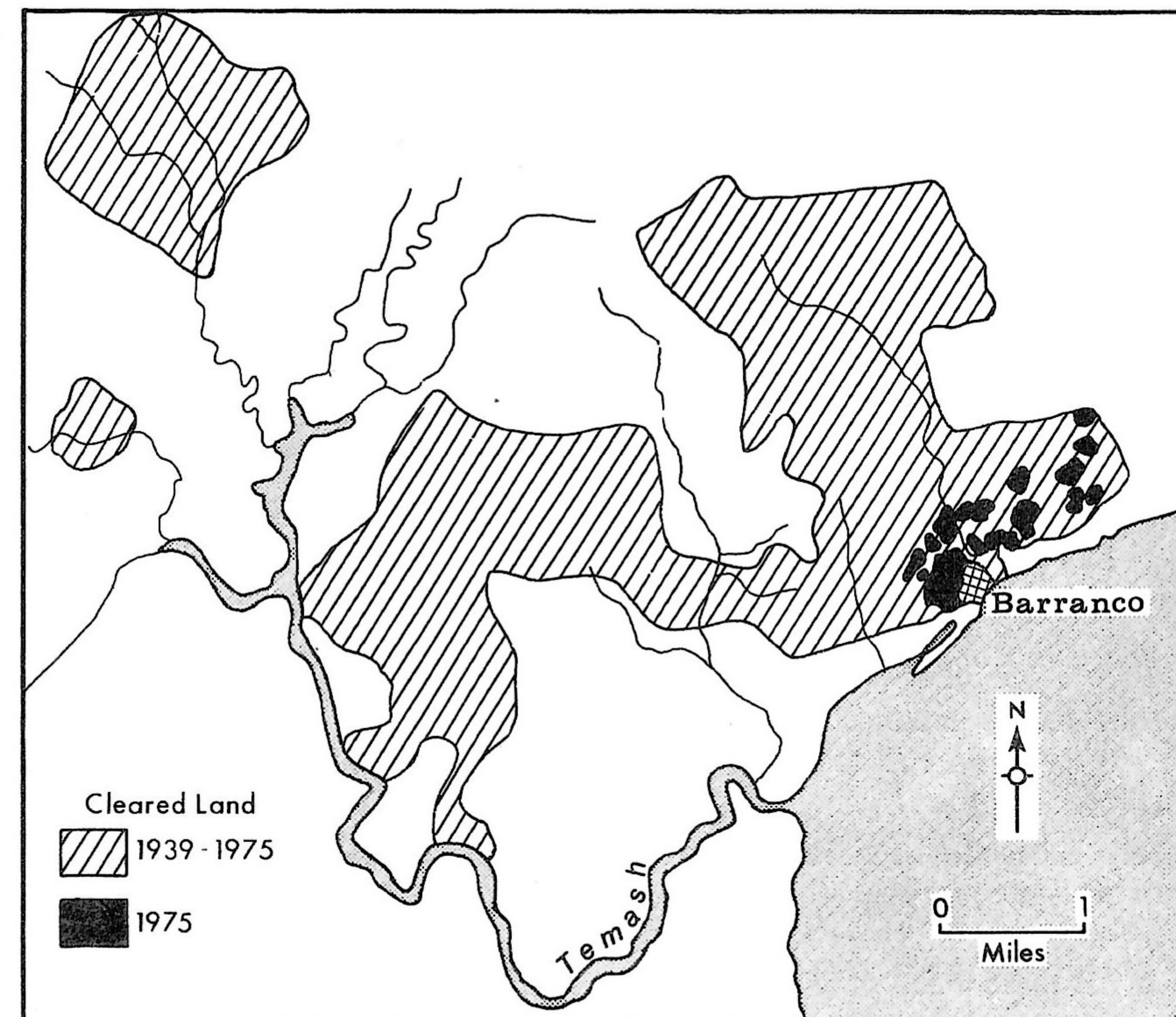
A third spatial system envelops the village and provides a resource base from which the local inhabitants receive their daily sustenance. The cultivated lands that lie behind the settlement are included, as are the offshore waters and nearby coastal lagoons that serve as fishing grounds. The Garifuna have so consistently chosen similar physical environments for their villages that an idealized habitat can be reconstructed. Judging from the compilation of features found in all settlements (Table 2), the ideal site is one located less than 100 yards from the sea on beachland very near the mouth of a small stream or river. Preferably, the settlement is backed by a narrow, freshwater lagoon, across which cultivable hill lands are easily reached by dugout.

Cultivated lands are often several miles from the village, usually on national

Table 2. *Prominent Physical Features for 54 Garifuna Settlements, 1978*

Feature	Occurrences
Beach	47
Stream or river mouth	33
Hill land	25
Lagoon	16
Protected bay	9

territory. In their use of shifting field, slash-and-burn farming techniques, some Garifuna travel several miles to plots, while others farm relatively near home. The amount and location of cleared land (but not necessarily farmed) have varied greatly historically. For example, small "plantations" of the residents of Barranco, Belize, during the period of commercial banana operations before World War II, were extensive, covering a few thousand acres and ranging 12 miles from the village. Today, that area has shrunk to about 140 acres within 1.5 miles of town (Map 4). Nicaraguan Caribs have also reduced their plantings recently



MAP 4. Land clearing for agriculture, Barranco, Belize, 1939-1975 (Lundberg, 1978).



FIGURE 2. Selling beach sand throughout urban Dangriga, Belize.

nucleation near the middle of the linear village (Fig. 4). Settlements large enough to support public buildings exhibit centrality in the location of schools, churches, and stores (Map 6).

Settlement landscapes are dominated by Garifuna dwellings, which traditionally are constructed in two distinctive forms. Both have cahoon palm thatching for the roof, but one has walls of wattle-and-daub, the other has horizontal strips of royal palm bark (*yagua*). Partitioned into two rooms (for eating and for sleeping), these houses are unusual in folk design for Central America because their roofs have a high pitch and are rectangular in form.

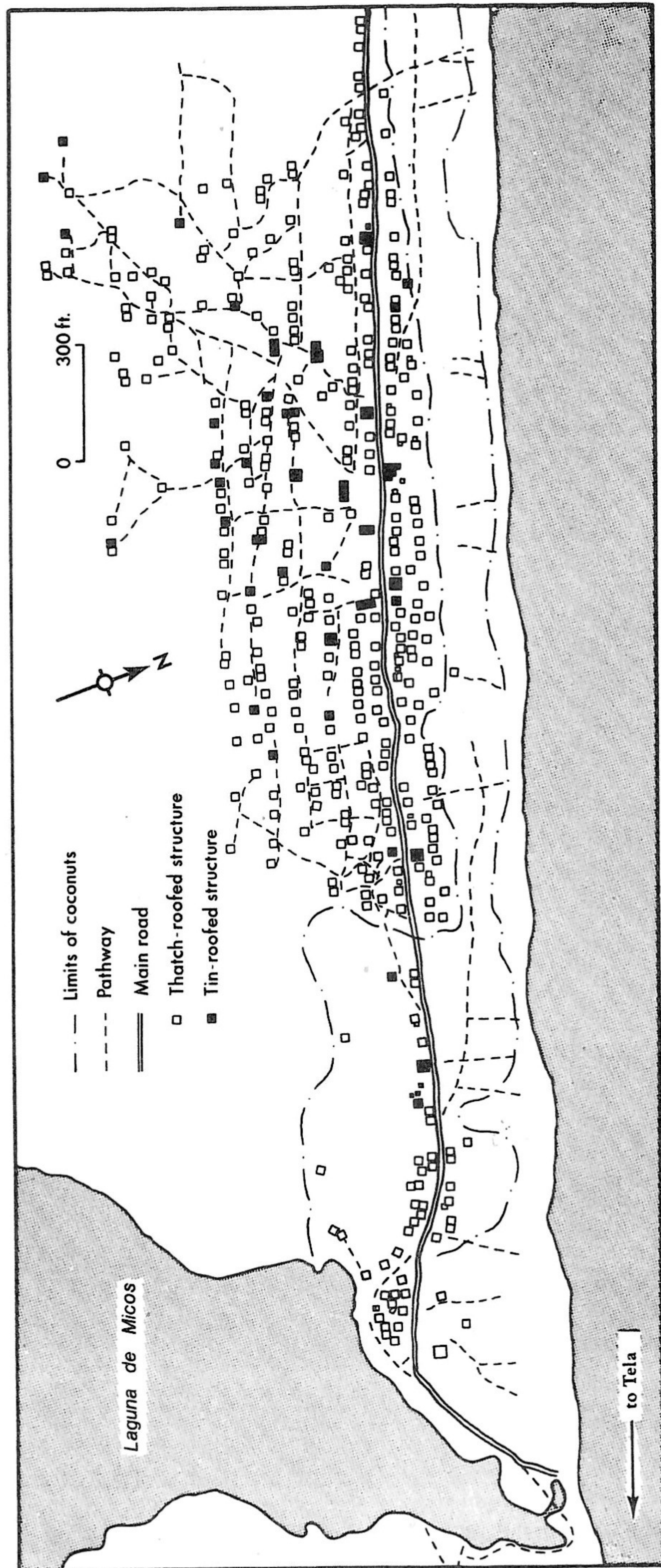
Other prominent features of the landscape include the artifacts of a subsistence orientation based on fishing and the cultivation of cassava. Also, settlements display a variety of intense human activities that occur regularly. Settlements abound with social places where residents *from anywhere within the village* are welcome to sit and chat: men build and repair dugouts under the



FIGURE 3. Fishing huts atop the beach at Miami, Honduras.



FIGURE 4. A nucleating village, Guadalupe, Honduras.



MAP 6. Tornabe, Honduras, settlement features, 1973. From aerial photograph



FIGURE 5. Wash day on the beach at San Antonio, Honduras.



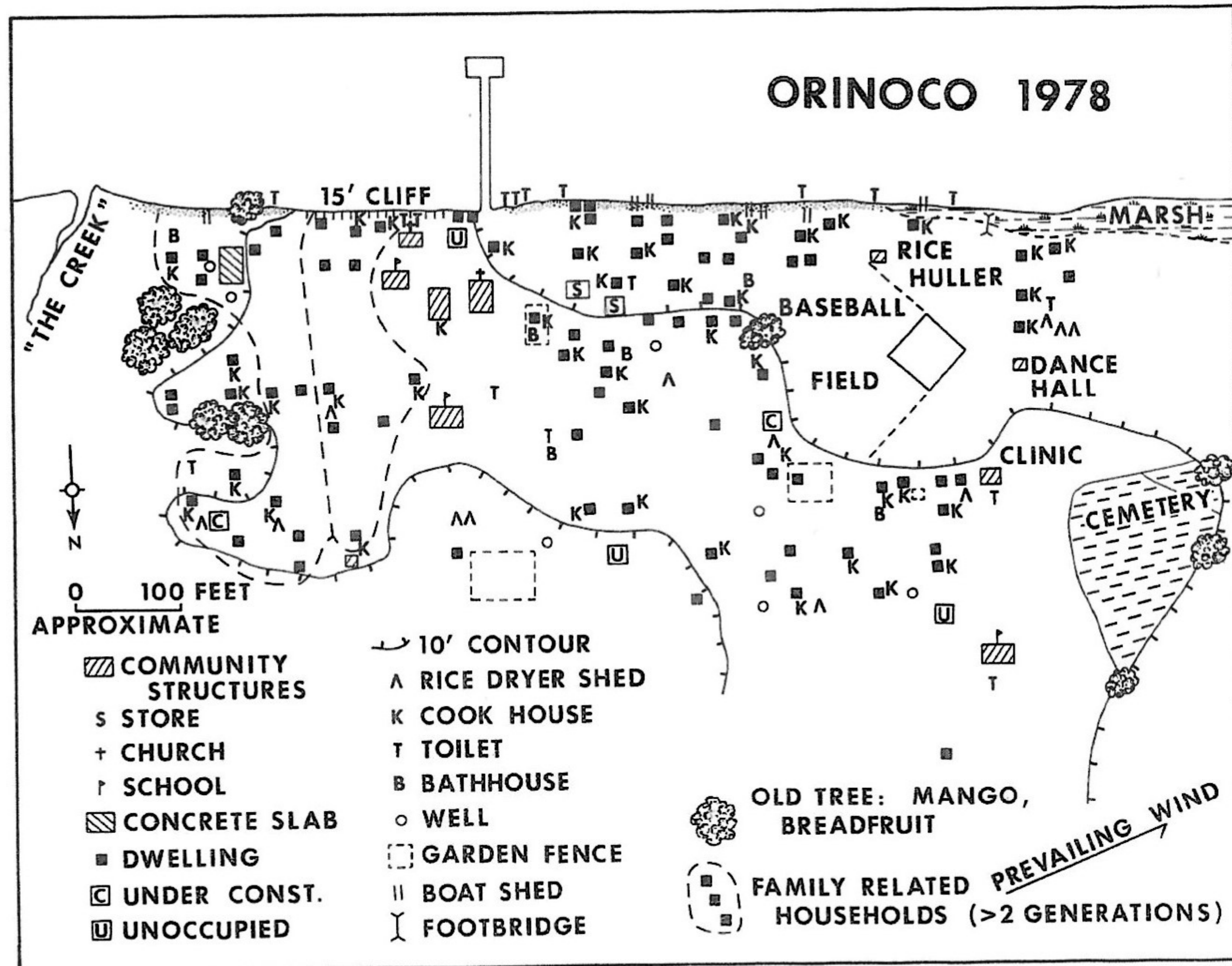
FIGURE 6. Boat repair under the coconut palms.

coconut palms, women gather to wash and dry clothing, children play on the margins of the village near the beach (Figs. 5 and 6).

4.5. Family Compound

Most visitors to Garifuna villages probably do not recognize that internal subdivisions, here called family compounds, exist within each settlement. Very little can be seen in the landscape to distinguish one sector from another. Yet inhabitants categorize sections of their villages primarily on the basis of family residence. In size, compounds range from a small cluster of dwellings and out-buildings belonging to the local members of an extended family to *barrios*, or neighborhoods, of over 100 homesteads.

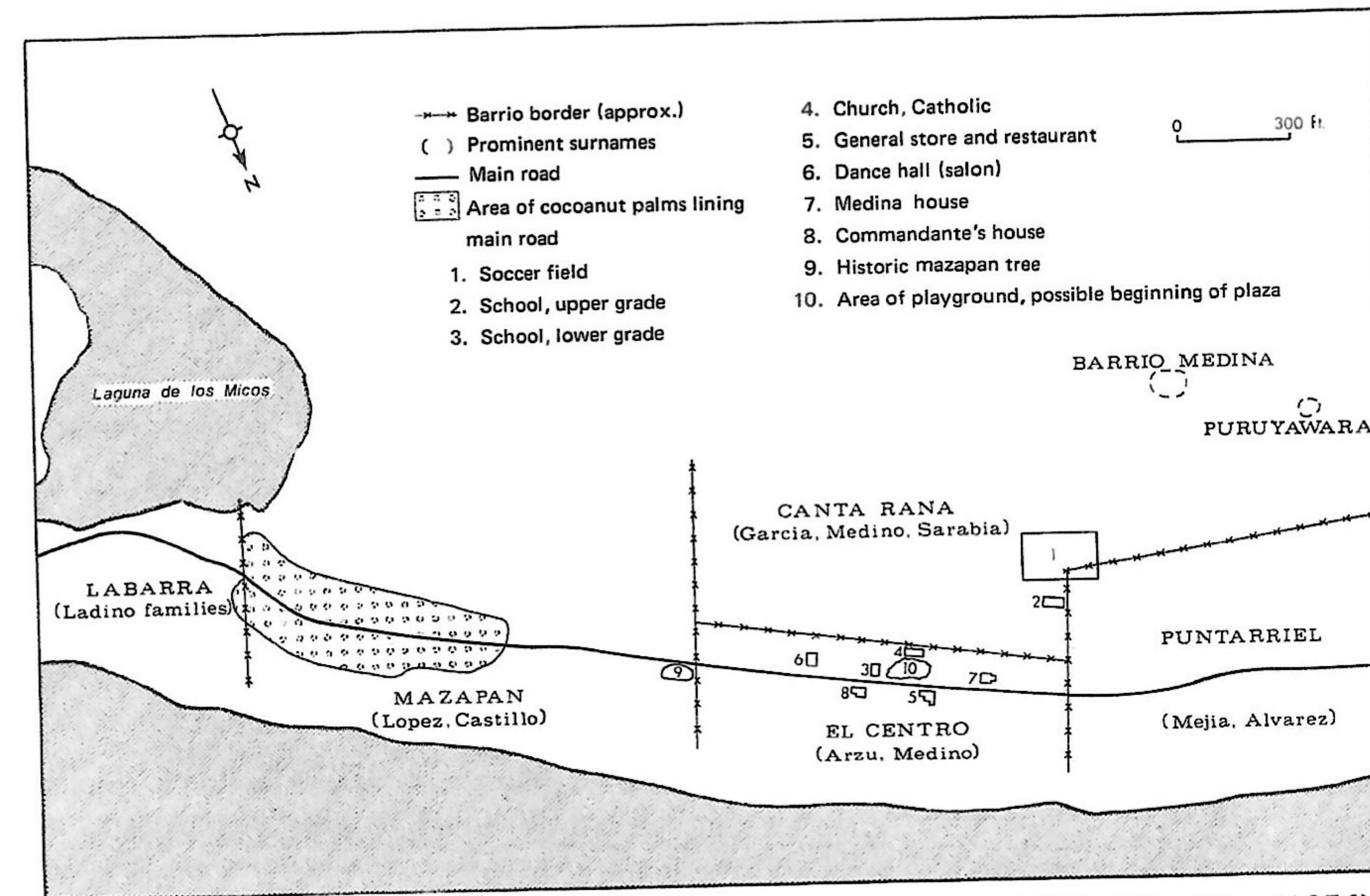
Because settlement usually occurs first along the waterfront and is family-related, as compounds grow, they seem to enlarge perpendicular to the sea. Access to the water is therefore assured via family land. Also, later entrances by nonfamily (or non-Garifuna) relegates new settlers to the interior or on the periphery. At Orinoco, Nicaragua (Map 7), the two oldest families settled the highest (and best) land near the sea. As generations passed, younger folks settled to the interior along the ridge behind their parents. Newcomers were left only lands downslope to the west, where flooding is frequent. Tornabe, Honduras, a



MAP 7. Orinoco, Nicaragua, settlement features.



FIGURE 7. New Year's dance at Cristales, Honduras.



MAP 8. Tornabe, Honduras, *barrio* subdivisions, approximate for 1976. After King (1976).

village of about 1800 inhabitants, has five locally recognized internal sections, including one recently occupied by Ladino migrants [see Map 8 and King (1976)].

Clearly, it is through the agency of family-related activities of the compound that Garifuna maintain their cultural continuity. Within the borders of the compounds children receive their socialization and attachment to family, adult females gather for processing cassava and food preparation, and *barrio* residents sponsor dance groups (Fig. 7) and host ritual observances. The compound-based reverence for ancestors is the primary matrix that allows Garifuna ways to persist in a modernizing world along the shores of the east coast of Central America.

5. Summary

This chapter sets the Garifuna-speaking population of Caribbean Central America in time and place. Descriptions of the major historical episodes and large spatial domains of the group are here presented as background for the more specific studies that follow.

The Garifuna arrived at the Bay of Honduras in 1797, exiled by the British from their homeland on St. Vincent Island in the far southeast Caribbean. During the next four decades they dispersed along the littoral of Belize, Guatemala, and Honduras, moved by their own initiative, as laborers for British loggers, and as victims of local wars. The movement of individuals continues, particularly among males, and amounts to a type of coastal nomadism.

The present areal organization of the Garifuna can be illustrated as a hierarchy consisting of five scales.

1. The Garifuna Culture Region is a narrow, discontinuous band of 52 villages and near-shore lands that rims the Bay of Honduras from Stann Creek, Belize, to Plaplaya, Honduras. Also, a two-village enclave is isolated at Pearl Lagoon, Nicaragua.
2. Most Garifuna participate in one of seven Commercial Trade Areas. Each network is composed of a large, usually non-Garifuna port that is connected to several nearby villages by at least weekly contacts.
3. The Village Subsistence Region includes a Garifuna settlement and its surroundings, from which the local inhabitants receive daily foodstuffs. This homeland is the region of primary subjective significance.
4. Linear Coastal Villages are the most easily recognized units in the pattern of settlement. Here are found the most intense expressions of Garifuna culture in the landscape.
5. Within villages a final spatial component can be seen in the Family Compounds. They are homesteads of the local members of an extended

family and vary in size from a few dwellings and associated outbuildings to large *barrios*.

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