Most of the contributions to this volume are updated versions of papers presented at the Eastern Caribbean Islands Cultures Conference (ECICC) held on the island of Curaçao in 2008. The ECICC 2008 call for papers invited researchers to present results of their work with the aim of eventually publishing a new volume on the languages, literatures, and cultures of the Dutch Leeward Islands Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao, or the so-called 'ABC Islands'. The participants responded enthusiastically to the call and the results are presented here in volume 1 of the proceedings of the conference. A small number of articles are local contributions which were submitted on invitation by the editors after the conference. This book, *Leeward voices: Fresh perspectives on Papiamentu and the literatures and cultures of the ABC Islands*, offers an exciting and diverse array of new points of view on language and culture in the ABC islands.

Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma

UNA UNIVERSITY OF THE NETHERLANDS ANTILLES

Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds

ISBN 978-99904-2-285-6

Leeward voices

Faraclas | Severing | Weijer | Echteld

Edited by
Nicholas Faraclas
Ronald Severing
Christa Weijer
Liesbeth Echteld

Leeward voices

Fresh perspectives on Papiamentu and the literatures and cultures of the ABC-Islands

Leeward voices: Fresh perspectives on Papiamentu and the literatures and cultures of the ABC Islands

Leeward voices: Fresh perspectives on Papiamentu and the literatures and cultures of the ABC Islands

Proceedings of the ECICC-conference
Curaçao 2008

Volume 1

Edited by

Nicholas Faraclas
Ronald Severing
Christa Weijer
Liesbeth Echteld

Curaçao 2009

11TH ANNUAL EASTERN CARIBBEAN ISLAND CULTURES CONFERENCE
"THE ISLANDS IN BETWEEN" LANGUAGES, LITERATURES AND CULTURES OF THE EASTERN CARIBBEAN, 5 TO 9 NOVEMBER 2008, WORLD TRADE CENTRE, PISCADERA BAY IN CURAÇAO

Leeward voices: Fresh perspectives on Papiamentu and the literatures and cultures of the ABC Islands
Proceedings of the ECICC-conference, Curaçao 2008
Volume 1

Edited by Nicholas Faraclas, Ronald Severing, Christa Weijer, Liesbeth Echteld

ISBN 978-99904-2-285-6

Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma, FPI (Institute for Language Planning)
Jan Noorduynweg 32b, Willemstad, Curaçao, www.fpi.an
Universiteit van de Nederlandse Antillen, UNA (University of the Netherlands Antilles)
Jan Noorduynweg 111, Willemstad, Curaçao, www.una.an
Universidad de Puerto Rico, Recinto de Río Piedras, UPR, (University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras)
San Juan, 00925, Puerto Rico, www.uprrp.edu

CONTENTS

FRESH PERSPECTIVES ON PAPIAMENTU

FRESH PERSPECTIVES ON ABC-ISLAND LITERATURES

FRESH PERSPECTIVES ON ABC-ISLAND CULTURES AND EDUCATION

Acknowledgements

Most of the contributions to this volume are updated versions of papers presented at the Eastern Caribbean Islands Cultures Conference (ECICC) held on the island of Curaçao in 2008. The ECICC 2008 call for papers invited researchers to present results of their work with the aim of eventually publishing a new volume on the languages, literatures, and cultures of the Dutch Leeward Islands Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao, or the so-called 'ABC Islands'. The participants responded enthusiastically to the call and the results are presented here in volume 1 of the proceedings of the conference. A small number of articles are local contributions which were submitted on invitation by the editors after the conference. The editors wish to thank all of the contributors to this volume for their cooperation.

The conference was co-organized and sponsored jointly by the University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras (UPR), the University of the West Indies at Cave Hill (UWI), the University of the Netherlands Antilles (UNA), and the Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma (FPI) in Curaçao. The year 2008 marked the 10th anniversary of the founding of the FPI-institute, the agency in charge of the promotion of Papiamentu language and literature on Curaçao. Thus, the conference represented a fitting and significant culmination of the year's activities in celebration of this important milestone in the development of the FPI. This publication received generous support from the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds Nederlandse Antillen en Aruba.

This is also the appropriate place to acknowledge the contributions of Mervyn Alleyne and Dannabang Kuwabong of UPR and of Peter Roberts of UWI as well as of UPR students Naida Garcia and Aida Vergne for helping to organize the conference and of Barry Green for helping with editing. The local board of the ECICC 2008 was presided over by Ronald Severing and supported by the staff of the FPI. Liesbeth Echteld and Wim Rutgers from the UNA, with assistance from their students, also contributed to this successful conference.

Nicholas Faraclas
Ronald Severing
Christa Weijer
Liesbeth Echteld

1

FRESH PERSPECTIVES ON PAPIAMENTU

THE ORIGINS OF OLD PORTUGUESE FEATURES IN PAPIAMENTU

BART JACOBS
LUDWIG-MAXIMILIANS-UNIVERSITÄT MÜNCHEN

1 Introduction[1]

This paper is concerned with both the linguistic and historical relationships between Papiamentu (PA), spoken on the ABC-Islands[2], and the Upper Guinea varieties of Portuguese lexifier Creole (UGC) as spoken on Santiago island in Cape Verde (SCV) and in Guinea-Bissau and Casamance (GB)[3]. The aim is to provide linguistic and historical evidence to underpin the claim that these Creoles have common origins. This will be achieved by focussing on the presence of Old (15th-16th century) Portuguese features in PA and by presenting a concise historical framework that accounts for language transfer from Upper Guinea to Curaçao.

1.1 State of the question

Although Lenz' (1928) pioneering plea for PA's Afro-Portuguese origins ("Su gramática (…) es 'negro-portuguesa' en primer lugar" [1928:323]) received support from prominent scholars such as Navarro Tomás (1953), Van Wijk (1958), Valkhoff (1966) and Voorhoeve (1973), linguists defending PA's Spanish origins (e.g. Maduro [1965, 1966, 1969], DeBose [1975] or Rona [1976]) have also been numerous. That the debate is far from settled is noted by Lipski, who asserts that up to present

[1] I owe a large debt of gratitude to Lucille Berry-Haseth, Aart Broek, Ulrich Detges, Anthony Grant, Toby Green, Tjerk Hagemeijer, Rigmar Haynes, John Holm, Richard Hooi, Silvio Jonis, Han Jordaan, Sidney Joubert, Ellen-Petra Kester, Willem Klooster, Mirto Laclé, John McWhorter, Gert Oostindie, Mikael Parkvall, Matthias Perl, Elissa Pustka, Florimon van Putte, Igma van Putte-De Windt, Josep Quer, Nicolas Quint, Armin Schwegler, Ronnie Severing, Bastiaan van der Velden and Christa Weijer for valuable comments, suggestions and other positive contributions.

[2] Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao.

[3] Although on rare occasions kinship between SCV and GB has been disputed, I will depart from the generally accepted idea that the two Creoles share their origins (see Quint [2000b: 99-117] and Baptista et al. [2007]). Both from a linguistic as from a historical point of view, UGC is likely to have come into being on the island of Santiago and to have been subsequently transferred to the continent throughout the 17th century (see Jacobs to appear b).

"scholars are (...) evenly divided as to the Spanish vs. Portuguese origins of Papiamento" (2005: 282).

Typical of this division is the fact that while in 1996 Munteanu was fervently depicting PA as an originally Spanish Creole, Martinus, not any less passionately, was arguing for PA's Afro-Portuguese roots. Because of the controversy over its origins, it is safest to call PA an Iberian lexifer creole language. However, as Kramer rightly comments: "Dieser glückliche Terminus enthebt einen dennoch nicht der Suche nach einer Erklärung für die teils spanische, teils portugiesische Prägung des Wortschatzes"[4] (2004: 100).

Goodman's (1987) attempt to give such an account has become known as the *Brazilian Creole Hypothesis* and consists of the claim that in Brazilian sugar plantations a Portuguese Creole was spoken which, after the recapture of Pernambuco by the Portuguese, found its way to Curaçao. Although this theory had some impact on PA studies, evidence of a former Brazilian Creole has never been found (cf. Rougé, 2008; Joubert & Perl, 2007: 46; Parkvall, 2000: 137; Maurer, 1998: 198)[5].

Martinus (1996) deserves much credit for being the first after Lenz (1928)[6] to compare PA into some detail with Cape Verdean Creole[7]. He ends up arguing for a common origin for Cape Verdean Creole, PA, Gulf of Guinea Creole (GGC), Palenquero (PL) as well as the Surinam Creoles, a monogenetic hypothesis the details of which remain to be specified (cf. Martinus, 2007). It is nevertheless important to stress that Martinus planted the seeds for subsequent research into PA's Afro-Portuguese origins.

Quint (2000b: 119-196) classifies PA, SCV and GB as a linguistic family of Creoles separate from all other Iberian based Creoles. After systematically exposing striking linguistic correspondences between PA and SCV on all levels of the grammar, he concludes:

[4] "This felicitous term does not prevent one from searching for an explanation of the partially Spanish, partially Portuguese character of Papiamentu" (translation mine).

[5] Furthermore, crucial parts of Goodman's historical framework are put into question by Martinus (1996: 91-93), Ladhams (1999a, b) and Arends (1999).

[6] In between Lenz (1928) and Martinus (1996), various other linguists have, to different extents, alluded to the similarities between PA and Cape Verdean Creole and/or other Portuguese-based creoles. In this respect, the articles of Van Wijk (1958, 1968, 1969) and Birmingham (1975) deserve mention. Carreira (1983) also stands out for hinting at a possible link between PA and Cape Verdean Creole: on the back-cover of his history of Cape Verdean Creole an excerpt from an article written in PA is printed.

Maduro, furthermore, presented a juxtaposition of a PA text with its translations in Palenquero (1987a) and Santo Antão Cape Verdean Creole (1987b) respectively. Interestingly, the objective of the latter was "to demonstrate the immense distance – or should I say the unbridgeable gap? – between PA and Cape Verdean Creole" (Maduro 1987b: 22, translation mine). Therefore, the publication seems in line with his resolute rejection of all PA's Afro-Portuguese theories in earlier work (e.g. Maduro, 1965, 1966, 1969, 1971). Subsequently, Maduro would continue to defend PA's Spanish origins (e.g. Maduro, 1991).

[7] It is noted that Martinus (1996) does not distinguish between the Barlavento and Sotavento varieties. For chronological reasons (see, for instance, Bartens, 2000 on the diffusion of Cape Verdean Creole from Santiago to the other islands), the former are highly unlikely to have played any role in the formation of PA. See Quint (2000b), Veiga (2000) and Pereira (2000) for details on dialectal variation.

> Le papiamento et le badiais [SCV] sont étroitement apparentés et ont une origine commune (…). L'importance des emprunts faits par le papiamento à l'espagnol est probablement due à une relexification partielle, favorisée par l'usage de l'espagnol comme langue religieuse et de prestige (2000b: 196, 197)[8].

This claim, however, has not found any resonance in related publications: Lipski, for example, asserts that PA, "apart from some general similarities to Cape Verdean Creole, is not clearly related to any West African Creole" (2005: 285), while Parkvall, regarding PA's origins, declares: "Relexification from an African PC [Portuguese Creole] does not strike me as particularly likely, simply because the shared features are rather limited in number" (2000: 137)[9].
Remarkable is the absence of references to Quint (2000b) (and, for that matter, to any of the striking correspondences between PA and UGC therein) in recent works concerned with placing PA in a cross-creole perspective. The present paper tries to fill this lacuna in the research on PA's origins.

1.2 Structure of the paper

In section 2 it will be argued that Old (15th-16th century) Spanish (OS) did not have any part in PA's formation. Acknowledging this allows one to assert that features found in PA typical of both Old (15th-16th century) Portuguese (OP) as well as OS, should be attributed to the former. This leaves UGC as the only plausible source, since, as will be demonstrated, all the features discussed can be traced back to either SCV or GB, or to both. This, in turn, leads to the conclusion that PA's oldest stratum takes us back to late 15th-century Santiago.
In section 3, six OP features will be presented. Arguments for the UGC origin for each of these features will be advanced and then reinforced by pointing out other correspondences in the grammatical category to which each feature belongs. The paper closes with a concise presentation of little known historical data, which help to account for the linguistic transfer from Upper Guinea to Curaçao (section 4).

[8] "PA and SCV are closely related and have a common origin. The importance of the Spanish borrowings in PA is probably due to a partial relexification favoured by the use of Spanish as language of religion and prestige" (translation mine).
[9] It should be noted, though, that Parkvall (2000) is not primarily concerned with the possible Afro-Portuguese origins of PA, but rather with identifying (the origins of) African elements in the Atlantic creoles in general.

1.3 Working hypothesis

The hypothesis that underlies this paper is that PA did not come into existence on Curaçao, but in Upper Guinea and was, immediately after its 'arrival' on Curaçao, heavily (but by no means entirely) relexified by Spanish.
The historical data that I have come across allow a scenario to unfold in which, between approximately 1650 and 1677, an unknown but significant number of native UGC speakers was transhipped from Upper Guinea to Curaçao. After 1677 slaves to Curaçao were imported mainly from non-Bantu Benue-Kwa and Bantu Benue-Kwa speaking areas, but by that time an offshoot of early UGC had already established itself as a contact language on the island of Curaçao. Both the non-Bantu and Bantu Benue-Kwa substrate as well as Spanish (and to a lesser extent Dutch and possibly several other (contact) languages) would then have contributed significantly to the modification and relexification of this offshoot, although leaving intact a structural part of the original UGC grammar as well as some salient OP features to be discussed in section 3.

2 Evidence against Old Spanish' involvement in the formation of PA

Some of the features which will be discussed in section 3 are found in both OP as well as OS. In order to conclusively attribute these to OP (and thus to UGC), it must therefore first be demonstrated that OS did not contribute to the formation of PA.

2.1 The tendency to attribute lusitanisms to Old Spanish

The Portuguese-derived part of PA's vocabulary is at the base of various related hypotheses that see PA as the prolongation of an Afro-Portuguese pidgin or Creole (see Introduction). Scholars defending PA's Spanish origins (e.g. Maduro [1965, 1966, 1969], DeBose [1975], Rona [1976] and Munteanu [1996]), on the other hand, have argued that some of these apparently Portuguese-derived items could and perhaps should be attributed to OS: "Debemos tener en cuenta que una serie de fenómenos considerados exclusivos del portugués existieron en el español de los siglos XVI-XVII" (Munteanu, 1996: 97).
To historically account for the presence of OS lexemes in PA, these scholars recur to two related hypotheses: according to the first, a pidgin or Creole based on OS already existed on Curaçao when the Dutch took over in 1634; according to the second, the Spanish and Arawakans present on the island when the Dutch entered spoke (a variety of) OS, which subsequently provided PA's superstrate. In the light of both linguistic

as well as historical evidence presented below, however, these theories seem untenable.

2.2 Historical evidence against an Old Spanish PA superstrate

The Spanish occupied the ABC-Islands in 1499, and would, for almost a century and a half, inhabit these islands together with an unknown number of Arawakans. The Spanish, however, never actively colonized the islands and the few that were present on Curaçao when the Dutch conquered it, voluntarily took off to the mainland, leaving behind some 75 Arawakans (Martinus, 1996: 3, 4).
As Maurer points out, the theory that PA would represent the continuation of a pidgin or Creole formed amongst the Spanish and the Arawakans in the pre-Dutch period "no está respaldada por las fuentes históricas consultadas, pues éstas no mencionan la existencia de tal pidgin sino que constatan que los amerindios de las islas ABC hablaban español" (1998: 199). The related hypothesis that the Arawakans spoke an archaic form of Spanish and that this Spanish served as PA's substrate, is enfeebled by our knowledge of the socio-demographic circumstances: Martinus, for instance, points out that "There is nowhere mention that the Indians (...) were involved in the initial phase of the building of the fortifications of Willemstad (...)" (1996: 22, cf. Maurer, 1998: 200). And even if there would have been contact between the old and new inhabitants, the number of Arawakans would at all times have been too reduced to play a significant role in the post-1634 formation of PA. Kramer resumes: "es fehlte (...) einfach die Bevölkerung, deren angestammtes Spanisch einem Kreolisierungsprozess hätte ausgesetzt werden können. Die Bevölkerungs- wie die Sprachgeschichte der ABC-Inseln beginnt 1634 auf dem Nullpunkt" (2004: 108).A crucial addition to these historical considerations is Quint's (2000b) linguistic evidence against an OS superstrate.

2.3 Linguistic evidence against an Old Spanish PA superstrate

An interesting clue in the discussion on the supposed Portuguese contribution to PA's lexicon is the presence of the voiceless palatal fricative in words of PA's core vocabulary. Although the presence of this phoneme is suggestive of the Portuguese origins of words such as PA *pusha* [puʃa] 'to push' and *deʃa* [deʃa] 'to leave' (< P *puxar* [puʃa] 'to pull', *deixar* [dejʃar] 'to leave'), Munteanu (1996: 97), for instance,

argues that the /ʃ/ existed in OS up until the early 17th century and concludes that "pap. *pusha* puede proceder del español antiguo *puxar* y no del portugués"[10].

Quint (2000b: 184, 185), by contrast, emphasizes that core PA lexical items of Spanish origin, such as PA *muhé* 'women' (< S *mujer* 'idem') and *biaha* 'journey, time' (< S *viaje* 'journey') lack the voiceless palatal fricative /ʃ/, that, as pointed out by Munteanu, in the early 17th century was still present in Spanish (e.g. /muʃer/, /biaʃe/). On the other hand, several core items of probable Portuguese origin such as PA *desha* [deʃa], *pishiporko* /piʃiporko/ and *mishi* /miʃi/ < OP *deixar* 'to leave', *peixeporco* 'pigfish', *mexer* 'to touch, move' as well as several other core lexical items of uncertain origin (e.g. PA *dushi* /duʃi/ 'sweet' [< S *dulce* or P *doce*], *shushi* /ʃuʃi/ 'dirty' [< S *suciar* or P *sujar*]) have in fact preserved the phoneme /ʃ/, indicating that this phoneme was indeed present in early PA. This, in turn, tells us that there would have been no phonological objections for the OS phoneme /ʃ/ to be preserved in PA. In other words, if OS would have contributed to the formation of PA, we would expect to find forms such as PA */muʃé/ or */biaʃa/ instead of /muhé/ and /biaha/. The absence of the /ʃ/ in core Spanish derived lexical items, then, allows us to claim that OS did not play a role in the formation of PA.

Quint's argumentation is supported by cognates found in Chabacano, a Creole based on 16th century Spanish (Holm, 2001: 71), where the OS phoneme /ʃ/ was indeed preserved in forms such as /muʃel/ 'woman', /vieʃo/ 'old' and /oreʃa/ 'ear' (Hancock, 1975: 224-227), whereas PA has *bieu*, *muhé* and *orea*.

The evidence against an OS contribution to PA's superstrate lends support to the idea that PA features characteristic of both OS as well as to OP were inherited from the latter. The question one should subsequently ask is: how could core OP features survive into PA if this Creole came into being on Curaçao? Those who feel tempted to attribute this phenomenon to the influence from the Portuguese ethnolect of the Sephardic Jewish settlers of 17th century Curaçao should consider the following before doing so:

- We do not know whether the Curaçaoan Jews spoke Portuguese amongst themselves: "It is (...) extremely difficult to draw conclusions regarding what language Sephardic immigrants may have spoken" (Joubert & Perl, 2007: 48[11]).

[10] Unfortunately, various scholars have attributed PA *pusha* 'to push' to P *puxar*, which, however, means exactly the opposite 'to pull'. Quint (2000b: 186) comments that E *to push* is more plausible as the etymon of PA *pusha*.

[11] De Haseth (1990) and Granda (1974) also address this issue.

- Even if they did speak (a variety of) Portuguese, their number would at any time have been too small to exert a linguistic influence strong enough to affect PA's core grammar. Maurer (1986: 98), for instance, asserts that the Curaçaoan Sephardim "n'ont jamais possédé plus du 15 % des esclaves"[12] (1986: 98; cf. Joubert & Perl, 2007: 46; Kramer, 2004: 114-117).
- We lack descriptions of the early Curaçaoan Sephardic Portuguese ethnolect[13], making it impossible to determine with any degree of certainty whether or not the below discussed features were at all present in the ethnolect. Attempts to argue that this was so are therefore bound to remain purely speculative.

A careful look at UGC, enables us to fairly quickly leave the realms of speculation: without exception, all OP features discussed below are also found in UGC, a Creole with an acknowledged OP superstrate, thus offering an uncomplicated explanation for their presence in PA, especially in the light of the abundant correspondences on all levels of the grammar (see Quint [2000b] and Jacobs [forthcoming a]) as well as the historical data that have recently become available which straightforwardly account for language transfer from Upper Guinea to Curaçao (see section 4).

3 The Old Portuguese features in PA's core grammar and their Upper Guinea origins

Before actually discussing the OP features, it seems appropriate to briefly account for their presence in UGC. According to Lang, "la créolisation du portugais sur l'île [Santiago] a commencé avec son peuplement effectif dès 1466"[14]. Lang (2006) points out that, immediately after the conquest of Santiago in 1466, the massive import of slaves started and the majority of these slaves were taken from Wolof territory. There would have been an immediate need for a contact language on the island. It is important to note that throughout the 16th century, with the loss of Portuguese control over the Petite Côte, the number of Wolof speakers would strongly diminish in favor of slaves from the Guinea River region (mostly Mandinga- and Temne-speaking). The many Wolof features preserved at all levels of SCV grammar (see Lang, 2006; cf. Quint, 2008), therefore, make it likely that creolization had taken place prior to, say, the mid-16th century. Inherently, this confirms that SCV was formed on the basis of an

[12] "have never possessed more than 15% of the slaves" (translation mine).
[13] As early as in the late 18th century PA had become the native tongue of most Sephardim (witness the 1775 letter written in PA by a Sephardic Jew), while in the late 19th century Portuguese would also cease to be used in the formal (religious, etc.) Sephardic realms (Granda, 1974: 3).
[14] "The creolization of Portuguese on the island started effectively with its occupation in 1466" (translation mine).

OP superstrate and explains the various OP features in SCV (and thus GB) core grammar[15].
As mentioned earlier, for each of the OP features discussed below, the claim for a UGC origin is additionally strengthened by a brief presentation of other correspondences in the grammatical category to which each feature belongs.

3.1 2s pronoun *bo*

The 2s pronoun *bo* could derive either from OS *vos* or from OP *vós*, the early polite 3s pronouns that are likely to have become marginalized in mainstream spoken Spanish and Portuguese in the course of the 16th, early 17th century (Winter, 2007: 10) in favor of the composed forms S *usted* (< vuestra merced) and P *você* (< *vossa mercê*). Latin American Spanish 2s *vos* is an unlikely source, since in the important coastal cities that traded with Curaçao, such as Caracas and Cartagena, Spanish *tu* is the norm (Quesada Pacheco, 2000: 86; Schwegler, 2002: 297), leaving UGC as the most plausible – and least speculative – source, a claim that is abundantly supported by the structural correspondence of the entire pronominal system.

3.1.1 Structural correspondence in the pronominal system

The corresponding pronouns, simple and emphatic, are shown below in table 1. Besides the formal resemblance of the forms in **boldface**, one should note that within the subgroup of Afro-Iberian Creoles, the existence of five emphatic pronouns is found only in GB and PA.
Furthermore, as is argued in Jacobs (forhcoming a), the original pronominal paradigm that arrived on Curaçao probably had no distinct 3pl pronoun nor any pronounced plural morphology, which allowed for PA *nan* (3pl and post nominal pluralizer) to be integrated when early PA came in contact with speakers of non-Bantu Benue-Kwa languages[16] and/or GGC[17] probably in the second half of the 17th century.

[15] The question of whether UGC arose on the Islands and from there was taken to the continent or vice versa has sparked heavy debate among linguists (see Rougé, 1994 for an introduction). Jacobs (forthcoming b) argues that the 15th-16th century Portuguese features shared between SCV and GB provide evidence for the hypothesis that UGC came into being on Santiago rather than on the continent, given the fact that prior to the 17th century there were no conditions for Creole formation in the area where GB is now spoken. As pointed out by Parkvall (2000: 111), the considerable Wolof-derived lexicon shared between SCV and GB provides additional linguistic evidence for the Santiago-birth hypothesis: the region below the Gambia river (including present-day Guinea Bissau) never harboured a significant number of Wolof speakers and the Wolof items can therefore only have entered GB via SCV.
[16] A 3pl pronoun as postnominal pluralizer is found in Ewe, Twi, and Yoruba, languages belonging to the non-Bantu Benue-Kwa subgroup (Parkvall, 2000: 95).
[17] In GGC, 3pl pronouns serving as pluralizers (almost) homophonous to PA *nan* are found, but, in contrast to PA *nan*, these always occur prenominally (for a comparative discussion of this feature, see Maurer, 2002).

Table 1 Simple (post-prepositional) and emphatic (with prefixed /a/) pronouns (Quint, 2000b: 137; Rougé, 2004: 22)

	GB	SCV	PA[18]
1s	***(a)mi***	***(a)mi***	***(a)mi***
2s	***(a)bo***	***(a)bo***	***(a)bo***
3s	***el***	***(a)el***	***e ~ el***
1pl	***(a)nos***	***(a)nos***	***(a)nos***
2pl	***(a)bos***	*(a)nhos*	***(a)boso***
3pl	*(a)elis*	*(a)es*	*(a)nan*

3.2 Preservation of OP distinction between /tʃ/ <> /ʃ/

The OP phonetic distinction between /tʃ/ (written <ch>) and /ʃ/ (written <x>) disappeared from mainstream Portuguese in the course of the 17th century (Teyssier, 1983: 53), but has been preserved both in PA as well as in SCV (cf. Quint, 2000a: 112-114 and 2000b: 133). We find, for instance, PA *ra**ch**a* /ra**tʃ**a/, ***ch**umbu* /**tʃ**umbu/, *mor**ch**a* /mor**tʃ**a/ < OP *ra**ch**ar* 'to tear', ***ch**umbo* 'lead', *mur**ch**ar* 'to wilt' versus PA *de**sh**a* /de**ʃ**a/, *pi**sh**iporko* /pi**ʃ**iporko/, *mi**sh**i* /mi**ʃ**i/ < OP *dei**x**ar* 'to leave', *pei**x**eporco* 'pigfish', *me**x**er* 'to touch, move'. The correspondence with SCV is striking: *ra**tx**a* /ra**tʃ**a/, ***tx**umbu* /**tʃ**umbu/, *mur**tx**a* /mur**tʃ**a/ versus *de**x**a* /de**ʃ**a/, *pe**x**i* /pe**ʃ**i/, *me**x**i* /me**ʃ**i/. By contrast, the distinction was not preserved in GGC: ***s**unbu* < P ***ch**umbo* and *de**s**a* < P *dei**x**ar* (Rougé, 2004).

3.2.1 Overall correspondence of palatalization patterns

As demonstrated in 2.3, PA's voiceless palatal fricative /ʃ/ was most likely inherited from (Old) Portuguese rather than from OS. This is supported by the fact that, just as in SCV, the /tʃ/ and /ʃ/ in PA are preserved in all cases where the Portuguese etymon has these phonemes, regardless of the vowel that follows. This contrasts strongly with GGC, where the etymological /tʃ/ and /ʃ/ are depalatalized before all vowels other than high front vowels (Ferraz, 1979: 41).

[18] The emphatic plural pronouns *anos*, *aboso* and *anan* are attested only in Aruban PA, which can therefore be said to be more conservative in this respect (Martinus, 1996: 183).

Also notable are the following relatively odd cases of palatalization of the /s/, before vowels other than high front vowels in both PA and SCV:

PA /biʃé/ and SCV /biʃeru/ 'calf'[19]	<	S / P *bec**e**rro – bez**e**rro*
PA and SCV /ʃuʃa/ 'to (make) dirty'	<	S / P ***s**uciar – **s**ujar* (cf. GGC /**s**uza/)
PA /ʃuʃi/ and SCV /ʃuʃu/ 'dirty'	<	S / P ***s**ucio – **s**ujo*
PA /ʃuʃidat/[20] and SCV /ʃuʃidadi/ 'dirtiness'	<	S / P ***s**uciedad – **s**ujidade*

3.3 OP *mester* > SCV *'meste - mestedu* > PA *'meste ~ mesté*

The OP noun *mester* 'need'[21] is the source for the high frequency modal verb PA / SCV *meste* 'to need, must'. From this active verb, both languages have derived a highly idiosynchratic passive verbal participle: PA *mesté*[22] and SCV *mestedu* 'to be needed'. The active use of PA / SCV *'meste* is illustrated in (1a, b). The passive verbal use of the corresponding participles *mesté - mestedu* is given in (2a, b).

(1a) PA *bo meste*[23] *tin miedo*
2s need to have fear
'You must be afraid' (Conradi, 1844: 10)

(1b) SCV *bu ka meste ten medu*
1pl NEG need have fear
'You need not be afraid.' (Pratas, 2007: 317)

(2a) PA *tempu ku mesté*
time REL be needed
'The time that is needed.' (Conradi, 1844: 60)

(2b) SCV *tempu ki mestedu*
time REL be needed
'The time that is needed.' (Victor Barros, p.c.)

[19] The correspondence between PA *biʃé* and SCV *biʃeru* gains significance if one considers that modern mainstream Portuguese and Spanish generally use *ternero - terneiro* to denote 'calf'.

[20] At least two early (19th century) PA texts (Conradi, 1844 and Van Dissel, 1865) still use the UGC-derived suffix <dadi> as in <skuridadi> 'darkness', <kapasidadi> 'capacity', etc. (cf. UGC *skuridadi - kapasidadi*, but modern PA *skuridat - kapasidat*).

[21] Kihm (1994: 4) gives OP *ter mester* 'need', while Quint (2000b: 230) gives *ser mister* 'to be needed'. Lang (2002: 441) provides *haver mester* and *ser mester* (without translation) as etyma to SCV *'meste*. Rougé (2004: 207) lines up with Quint (2000b), giving OP *(ser) m**i**ster* as the etymon. It seems, thus, that there is no agreement on the original OP form.

[22] PA *mester* is a variant of PA *mesté*, and reflects the preservation of the early PA past participle morpheme *'*-r, as found in early PA *papiar, hasir*, etc., versus modern PA *papiá, hasí* (see more to this in Jacobs 2008a, b). Etymological word final -dV syllables regularly passed through an -r before dropping completely in modern PA. A word such as PA *mitá* 'half' (< S *mitad* or P *mitade*) also preserved a variant with word final -r (*mitar*).

[23] Written <meeste>.

In modern PA, however, the original active - passive distinction between *'meste* 'to need' and *mesté* 'to be needed' – a distinction maintained in SCV *'meste* / *mestedu* – has vanished: both variants are now in free variation[24] and both can occur in active as well as passive phrases. This implies that speakers of PA may, in (1a), just as well recur to *mesté* and in (2a) prefer the variant *'meste*. The fading of this active - passive distinction, at least in part, explains why PA *mesté* has, to my knowledge, never been recognized as a (passive verbal) participle in dictionaries and grammars, which all analyse PA *mesté* as a verb (or a noun, see below). Note, however, that if *mesté* were a true verb, it would be the only disyllabic verb in PA with word final stress[25]. Moreover, verb-participle pairs such as PA *'meste - mesté* are of course completely regular (e.g. *'papia* 'speak' - *papiá* 'spoken', etc.). [26]

As a noun, finally, PA *mesté* 'need' (3a) has its equivalent in UGC *mesteda* 'need' (3b). The development from UGC *mesteda* to PA *mesté* is a regular one, paralleled by, for example, PA *mardugá* < SCV *mardugada* 'dawn'[27].

(3a) PA	*mi*	*tin*	*mesté*	*di*	*bo*		
	1s	have	need	of	2s		
	'I need you'						
(3b) GB	*e*	*tem*	*mesteda*	*pa*	*fasi*	*com di*	*seu*
	3s	have	need	to	make	with from	POS
	'He needs to make with his(?)' (Schuchardt, 1889: 302)						

3.4 OP *virar* > PA / SCV *bira*

Similarly prominent in modern PA is the high frequency auxiliary PA *bira*, which has its equivalent in SCV *bira* and GB *bida* 'to turn (into), grow, become'. The verb *virar* of course still exists in modern mainstream Spanish and Portuguese, but it has only maintained the literal physical meaning of 'to turn'. Although I have no concrete data of the auxiliary use of OP *virar*, the idea that this is in fact an OP feature is crucially

[24] This was confirmed to me by Richard Hooi (p.c.) and Igma van Putte-De Windt (p.c.), both acknowledged PA specialists.

[25] Quint was the first to note that in both PA and SCV "les verbes (…) dissyllabiques d'origine romane sont accentués sur l'avant denière syllabe à l'actif présent" (2000b: 142). The level of exclusiveness of this feature seems high: to my knowledge, in all other Iberian based creoles (with the possible exception of GB) disyllabic verbs bear stress on the final syllable: for PL see De Friedemann & Patiño (1983: 91), for GGC see Ferraz (1979: 20), for SM see Cardoso & Smith (2004: 138, 140).

[26] The considerable consequences that the recognition of *mesté* as a (passive verbal) participle has for the understanding of early PA's passive morphology are extensively discussed in Jacobs (2008a, b).

[27] Derived from P *madrugada*, the PA and SCV forms share the methathesis of the /r/ from the second to the first syllable. Another idiosyncratic case of shared methathesis is PA and SCV *lora* < P *rolar* 'to turn'.

supported by the fact that Brazilian Portuguese *virar* still serves as an auxiliary. For Spanish *virar*, on the other hand, I have not found any indications to assume it was once used as an auxiliary. Recall, moreover, the evidence against OS influence in PA's formation, so that even if OS *virar* once did have auxiliary uses, it can be discarded as an etymon for PA *bira*.
The construction PA / UGC *bira* ~ *bida* + 'adjective' has made the use of inchoative verbs obsolete. Examples (4a, b), for instance, would translate into modern mainstream Spanish and Portuguese as *oscurecerse* and *escurecer-se* respectively.

(4a) PA *bira* *sukú*
turn dark
'to grow dark'
(4b) GB *bida* *sukuru*
turn dark
'to grow dark'

In other cases where PA and UGC recur to *bira* + 'noun / adjective', modern mainstream Portuguese and Spanish would recur to *tornar-se* / *fazer-se* and *hacerse* / *volverse* respectively.[28]

3.4.1 Structurally corresponding functional verbs

It is generally agreed that in cases of language contact content words are most susceptible to substitution and that in a case of relexification "one would expect a much slower replacement (…) among function words" (Cardoso & Smith, 2004: 118). The hypothesis that PA is a UGC offshoot relexified by Spanish is therefore considerably strengthened by the fact that the majority of PA's content verbs are phenetically more similar to Spanish than to Portuguese, while on the other hand, the functional verbs (modals, auxiliaries) can with very few exceptions be traced back to UGC.
In this respect, early (19th century) PA texts (e.g. Conradi, 1844; Van Dissel, 1865) provide salient data, such as the use of the early auxiliary verb PA *fika* 'to stay, remain' (= UGC *fika* < P *ficar*) instead of modern PA *keda* (< S *quedar*) or the exclusive use of PA *kumisá* 'to begin' (= SCV *kumesa* ~ GB *kumsa* < P *começar*), whereas in modern PA the variant *kumi**n**sá* (< S *comenzar*) is more common.

[28] Another salient, and clearly non-Iberic, example of the auxiliary use of PA / SCV *bira* is provided by periphrases of the type *bira* + *ta* + 'infintive' to indicate the commencement of a progressive action: e.g.
PA / SCV *bira ta papia* 'to start talking'. In these periphrases, SCV *ta* is clearly used as a progressive marker, which demonstrates that SCV *ta* still is (and therefore once was) a 'complete' imperfective aspect marker covering not only habitual, but also progressive aspect, just as PA *ta*.

In addition to PA *'meste ~ mesté*, *bira*, *fika* and *kumisá*, the following high frequency modal and auxiliary verbs show striking resemblance to the corrsponding UGC forms[29]:

PA *ker* 'to want'	GB *kere*, SCV *kre*
PA *por*[30] 'to can, be able'	UGC *podi*
PA *bai* 'to go'	UGC *bai*
PA *bin* 'to come'	GB *bin*, SCV *ben*
PA *tin* 'to have'[31]	UGC *ten*

3.5 OP *banda de* > PA / UGC *banda di* 'next to, close to, around'

Regarding the use of UGC *banda di*, Rougé (2004: 74) indicates: "En Guinée (...) comme à Santiago, la locution *banda di*, qui vient d'une ancienne locution portugaise *banda de*, (...) signifie 'aux environs vers' et est employée aussi bien pour le lieu que pour le temps". Indeed, as in UGC, PA *banda di* is used with both locative (5) and temporal (6) reference:

(5a) PA *banda di kas* 'next to the house, close to the house, around the house'
(5b) SCV *banda di kasa* 'idem'
(5c) GB *banda di kasa* 'idem' (Kihm, 1994: 67).
(6a) PA *banda di dos ora* 'around two o'clock' (VPDW, 2005: 409)
(6b) SCV *banda di des i meia* 'around ten thirty' (Lang, 2002: 49)
(6c) GB *banda di seti ora* 'around seven o'clock' (Rougé, 2004: 75)

While *banda de* was typical of OP (Rougé, 2004: 75) and probably also present in OS, from the 17th century onwards *ao lado de* / *al lado de ~ perto de* / *cerca de* (both locative) and *sobre* (temporal) would become generalized in Portuguese and Spanish. By means of contrast, it is noted that there is no trace of a reflex of S *banda (de)* in Palenquero (Armin Schwegler, p.c.), while in GGC *banda* 'side, place' exists, but only as a noun (Fontes, 2007: 55; Fontes & Holm, 2008; Rougé, 2004: 75). In Korlai

[29] See more comparative details on the verbal system in Martinus (1996: 146-180) and especially Quint (2000b: 119-196). See also Jacobs (2008a, b).
[30] PA *por* 'can, be able' can only be traced back to an early penultimately stressed (UGC) form *'podi* (as fossilized in PA ***podi**sé* 'perhaps', cf. UGC *podiser* < P *pode ser* ≠ S *puede ser*), since if the Iberic infinitive *poder* had been the direct source, the stressed /e/ would probably have been preserved, as it was in, for instance, PA *'pone* < S *poner* 'to put'. Furthermore, the development from UGC *'podi* to PA *por* is paralleled by, for instance, UGC *tudu* > PA *tur*.
[31] The creoles in focus have two verbs 'to have' (PA *tin~ten**e***, UGC *ten~ten**e***), expressing a permanent – non-permanent distinction, with the short form serving as existential 'there is/are' (Quint 2000b: 154, 155). The semantic distinction as well as the /e/ added to the short form to create the second form is reminiscent of the Wolof pair *am~am**e*** 'to have' (Quint 2000b: 55).

Portuguese (KP), Portuguese *lado* ‘side’ served as etymon. Compare, for instance, (5a-c) with (7).

(7) KP *lad kadz* ‘beside the house’ (Clements, 1988: 144)

3.5.1 One to one correspondences in the core prepositional system

Besides the composed preposition PA *banda di*, all PA’s simple prepositions[32] have equivalents in UGC. That Quint (2000b: 140) was the only one to notice this, should be seen as a small miracle.

Table 2 Simple prepositions (Quint, 2000b: 140; Quint, 2000a: 201; Kouwenberg & Murray, 1994: 52; Baptista et al., 2007: 79)

PA	UGC	GLOSS
di	*di*	‘from’
ku	*ku*	‘with’
na	*na*	‘in, to’
pa	*pa*	‘for, by’
riba	*riba, ruba*	‘on, over’
te	*te, ti*	‘until’
den ~ denter	*dentu*	‘in’

To underline that PA’s and UGC’s prepositional systems structurally correspond, while differing from the lexifier, the following prepositional features are stressed:

- Zero preposition with motion verb + place;
- *pa* ‘for’ as a complementizer after verbs of desire;
- No equivalents of Iberic *sobre*, *a*, and *por*.

[32] The simple prepositions are those that do not obligatorily combine with *di*, as do, for instance, PA/UGC *banda di* ‘besides, next to’, or *tras di* ‘behind’.

3.6 OP lexical items

Be it somewhat tentatively, the following content words can be argued to trace back to OP:

- OP **gomitar* 'to vomit'[33] > PA *gumitá ~ gumbitá* 'to vomit'
  > GB *gumita ~ gumbita* 'to vomit'
  > SCV *gumita* 'to vomit'

  (Modern Portuguese has *vomitar*.)
- OP *cativo* 'slave' > PA *katibu* 'slave'
  > SCV *katibu* 'slave'
  > PA *katibu* 'slave'

  (Modern Portuguese has *escravo* 'slave' and *cativo* 'captive'.)
- OP *cachorro* 'dog' > PA *kachó*[34] 'dog'
  > SCV *katxor* 'dog'
  > GB *kacur* 'dog'.

  (Modern Portuguese has *cão* 'dog' and *cachorro* 'puppy'. Note that in Brazilian Portuguese, just as in PA and UGC, *cachorro* preserved the OP meaning 'dog'.)
- OP **lanta* 'to rise, get up'[35] > PA *lanta* 'to rise, get up'
  > GB *lanta* 'to rise, get up'

  (Modern Portuguese has *levantar*, which entered in both PA and GB as *lamantá* and *labanta* respectively. SCV has only *labanta*.)

Similarly interesting is the PA item *fitó* 'plantation overseer': although P *feitor* is still current in modern Portuguese with the meaning 'administrator', PA *fitó* seems reminiscent of colonial times when the Portuguese concept of *feitor* ("devenu *fitor* en wolof" [Boulègue, 2006: 47]) referred to owners of trading factories along the Upper Guinea Coast (Brooks, 2003: 140).

3.6.1 Other lexical correspondences between PA and UGC

Those interested in learning more about the lexical correspondences can consult Martinus (1996). Quint's (2000b: 307-318) list of core (functional ánd non-functional)

[33] Rougé (2004: 287) hypothesizes the OP form **gomitar* 'to vomit', which would underly the cited forms and cognates found in the Afro-Portuguese creoles as well as in, for instance, Saramaccan.

[34] Compare, by contrast, GGC *kasô*, which exemplifies the depalatalization of palatal affricates before all vowels other than high front vowels, while these are preserved without exception in PA and UGC. Note also that Palenquero has *pelo* < S *perro* 'dog' (De Friedemann & Rosselli 1983: 97), further strengthening the claim for an OP origin of PA *kachó*.

[35] Rougé (2004: 189) posits the existence of an OP form *lantar*, which would explain the ocurrence of *lanta* in GB and GGC.

vocabulary shared between PA and UGC deserves special mention. Below, I will focus briefly on a small but salient aspect of this vocabulary: toponomy.
Rougé (2004: 57) asserts that "Les créoles [UGC as well as GGC] empruntent généralement tel quel le terme portugais. Cependent, au Cap–Vert (...) l'Amérique est un thème de conversation fréquent et un terme typiquement capverdien s'est développé: *Merka*". The same observations can be made for PA: toponyms are usually recent and unchanged borrowings from Spanish or Dutch, with the exception of two that probably go back to the oldest stratum of the lexicon: PA *Merka* 'America' and *Oropa* 'Europe'. It is no coincidence that SCV also has two exceptions to the rule of borrowing toponyms directly from the superstrate: SCV *Merka* and *Oropa*.[36]
Finally, it is worth drawing brief attention to *Koberde*, a suburb of Willemstad (Martinus, 1996: 146) and the *Seru di Mandinga*, a hill in the eastern part of Willemstad (Allen, 2007: 71[37]), two toponyms exemplifying the connection between Upper Guinea and Curaçao, to be further explored in section 4.

3.7 Conclusions to the linguistic section

Our knowledge of Curaçao's history suggests that OS could not have contributed to the formation of PA, and linguistic evidence put forward by Quint (2000b) confirms this. In the light of the combined historical and linguistic evidence, the discussed features, some of which are typical of both OP and OS, can legitimately be attributed to OP. These assertions obviously do not seek to deny the preeminent role that from the 17th century onward Spanish has had in relexifying and restructuring early PA.
The fact that the OP features are found at all levels of PA's core grammar, suggests that PA's superstrate was very similar to OP. Moreover, such systematic correspondences can not be argued to result from secondary influence from an ill-defined Afro-Portuguese trade pidgin or jargon. Since the OP features are consistently present in UGC and, with the exception of some, are absent from GGC, it is safe to assume that an early form of UGC was taken to Curaçao by an unknown but sufficiently large number of *native* speakers. One of the most important conclusions that can be drawn from these data is that PA's oldest stratum traces back to the late 15th-century, when Santiago hosted the birth of UGC amongst Senegambian slaves and Portuguese settlers.
In addition to focusing on individual OP features shared by PA and UGC, some light has been shed as well on the grammatical categories to which each of these features

[36] GB has *Oropa* as in to PA and SCV, but *Amerika* as in Portuguese (http://www.observatoriolp.com/FrontEnd/news/attachments/415_dicionariocompleto.pdf).
[37] Allen provides this anecdote: "Oral tradition has it that an escaped slave of phenomenal strength used one of the caves of the *Seru di Mandinga* as a hiding place. To survive he tended a garden and regularly killed animals of the slave-owners in the neighbourhood. He was never captured" (2007: 71).

belongs. In this respect, the structural correspondences described in 3.1.1 (pronouns), 3.4.1 (modal verbs) and 3.5.1 (prepositions) deserve special mention. Since it is widely accepted that "function words (…) are normally less susceptible to replacement (...) than content words" (Muysken & Smith, 1990: 883), these correspondences greatly strengthen the validity of the hypothesis that underlies this paper, which is that PA is a (partially) relexified offshoot of an early UGC variety.

4 Historical framework[38]

In a critical discussion of supposed substrate influence in Saramaccan, Bickerton commented that "one must show that the right speakers were in the right place at the right time" (1994: 65). For the present case, this means demonstrating that slaves were transshipped from Upper Guinea to Curaçao in the 17th century, which is what the following section aims to do.

4.1 Dutch dominance in the slave trade from Upper Guinea to Curaçao

After the bankruptcy of the first Dutch West India Company (WIC), most data on their slave trade activities between 1621 and 1674 were either lost or destroyed. Therefore, the figures on the Dutch slave trade prior to 1674 have relied mainly on estimated figures. The relevance of the pre-1674 period to the history of Curaçao and PA becomes clear when one considers that the period from 1667 to 1675 was the "peak period" of slave imports to Curaçao (Allen, 2007: 65).

The estimated figures, however, are based on the wrong assumption that there would be no significant deviances between the pre- and post-1674 Dutch slave trading patterns. Since after 1674 the Dutch would massively trade slaves from Benue-Kwa speaking areas, specialists on the Dutch Atlantic slave trade have assumed that "the Senegambia region held little significance for the Dutch slave trade" (Postma, 1990: 57) and, consequently, that the number of Senegambian slaves imported into Curaçao prior to 1674 was negligible (cf. Emmer, 1998: 40, Parkvall, 2000: 136, 137). Below, it is argued that this consensus needs adjustment[39].

Contrary to Postma's assertion, the first Dutch WIC was in fact dominating trade in the Senegambian region from approximately 1627, with the conquest of Gorée (below

[38] This section is a heavily reduced version of the historical framework presented in Jacobs (to appear a).

[39] One of the consequences of this consensus amongst specialists of the Dutch slave trade is that, in the canonical literature on PA, Mande and West Atlantic languages are rarely, if ever, considered as contributors to PA's substrate. Thi is illustrated, for example, by Maurer: "Primarily Bantu languages from the Congo/Angola region and Kwa languages from the region stretching from Ghana to Nigeria should be considered as PA's African base languages" (1991: 126; cf. Maurer, 1989: 93; 1994: 771; Munteanu, 1991: 22; Bartmann ,2007: 8, 9).

the Cape Verde peninsula). When he Dutch lost their holdings in Angola and São Tomé to the Portuguese in 1648, they came to rely even more on the Upper Guinea region[40]for the purchase of slaves. Dutch dominance of the Upper Guinea trade came to an end in 1678 when the Upper Guinea war against France (1672-1678) lead to the bankruptcy of the first Dutch WIC in 1674 and the loss of Gorée in 1677 as well as the loss of several other important Dutch trading posts in the Senegambia region, most notably those in Portudal, Joal, Rufisque and Cacheu (see Map 1).

These events forced the Dutch to massively abandon Upper Guinea in the late 1670s and to concentrate on (slave) trading in Lower Guinea and Angola. For some five decades, however, the Dutch had been a dominant party in Upper Guinea with full access to all slave trading facilities and networks that included intimate relationships with local African traders as well as with Sephardic Jewish settlers (see 4.2) and with Gorée swiftly taking over the role of Santiago as ideal roadstead and pivotal trade center.

Scholars such as Curtin (1975), Barry (1988), Boulègue (1989), Guèye (1998), Mark (2002), Brooks (2003), Benoist & Camara (2003), Hawthorne (2003) and Green (2007) speak clearly about the prominent Dutch (slave) trading activities in the 17th century along the Upper Guinea Coast with Gorée as a key import and export centre. That references to Gorée are absent in works concerned with the historical (and linguistic) relations between Curaçao and Upper Guinea (e.g. Martinus, 1996; Fouse, 2002) as well as in standard works on the Dutch slave trade (e.g. Postma, 1990; Emmer, 1998) is therefore remarkable.

On the other side of the Atlantic, from 1634 onwards, Curaçao had rapidly developed into a thriving trade centre substituting Cartagena[41] as the New World's preeminent slave-trading port. Until 1640, the Portuguese had had the monopoly on supplying the Spanish Americas with slaves. The success of Portuguese efforts to separate themselves from the Spanish Crown in 1640, however, resulted in a dramatic decrease in trade between the two nations. The Dutch were happy to fill this void. Their rapidly increasing share of trade with the Spanish Americas was secured when the Dutch were granted the *asiento* in 1662 for supplying slaves to the Spanish colonies

An invaluable contribution to our knowledge of the Dutch slave trading activities in and around Gorée has been made by De Moraes (1993, 1995, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c). Her most significant findings are summarized below:

[40] The importance of the Dutch fortress in El Mina should of course not be trivialized, but an analysis of the trade from this massive slave trading station to the Caribbean is, for reasons of space, not included in the present paper.

[41] See, for instance, Böttcher (1995) and Del Castillo Mathieu (1982) on the demise of Cartagena from 1640 onwards and the subsequent exponentially increasing slave trading contacts between the Spanish colonies and the Dutch.

- The WIC's Chamber in Amsterdam was tasked specifically with regulating the trade in Gorée, Cape Verde, Portudal, Rufisque and Joal on the Senegambian Coast and the ABC-islands in the Caribbean (De Moraes, 1998a: 250) (see Map 1);
- At least twice, in 1659 and 1671, the Dutch vessel *Gidéon* brought slaves from Cape Verde[42] to Curaçao (De Moraes, 1998b: 42; 1998a: 326).
- In a letter to the WIC, Matthias Beck (tasked with the settlement of Curaçao between 1657 and 1668) asks for slaves from Cape Verde to be brought in (De Moraes, 1998b: 42).
- Between 1674 and 1676 the WIC vessel *Casteel van Curaçao* made several return trips from Cape Verde and Gorée to Curaçao transporting nothing but slaves (De Moraes, 1998b: 51).
- Various Dutch WIC vessels – such as the *Gerechtigheyt* in 1672-1673, the *Morgenstar* in 1673-1674 and the *Elisabeth* in 1674 – set sail from Gorée and/or Cape Verde to Curaçao transporting 'mixed cargoes' (i.e. slaves and other merchandise) (De Moraes, 1998a: 328-330).

De Moraes's data were gathered from the apparently very limited set of current available archival documents with concrete data on Senegambian slaves shipped to Curaçao by the first Dutch WIC. For now, our assesment of the actual volume of the Upper Guinea trade to Curaçao remains speculative.

4.1.1 Confirmation from second WIC records

Contrary to its precursor, the second WIC did manage to preserve its records, which start in 1674 and end in 1740. The records are available in the *Nederlands Historisch Data Archief* in Leiden. The scenario proposed above, with the Dutch Upper Guinea slave trade at its peak *prior to*, and rapidly declining *after* the loss of Gorée in 1677, is firmly supported by the shipping and transport patterns that emerge from a basic analysis of these records:

- Between 1674 and 1677, the considerable number of twelve WIC ships is marked with CV, meaning that they departed from the Cape Verde region. Four of these carried slaves, the remaining eight left with unspecified cargo. Of the four registered slavers, three had Curaçao as their destination.
- From 1678 to 1681, the number of WIC ships leaving the Cape Verde region is almost halved (seven). One, charged with slaves, was headed for Curaçao.
- Then, from 1682 onwards, not more than one WIC ship – with unspecified cargo and destination – is registered as departing from the Cape Verde region.

[42] In these cases, *Cape Verde* appears to refer to the roadstead on the Cape Verdean peninsula rather than the Cape Verde Islands.

4.2 Sephardim networks linking the Upper Guinea slave trade directly to the early settlement of Curaçao

The pivotal role of the Sephardic Jews in the early settlement and development of Curaçao is widely acknowledged and extensively described[43]. It is less well known, however, that their networks extended to the Upper Guinea Coast, where a similarly influential Jewish community was trading actively on the Cape Verde Islands and Gorée as well as in the coastal settlements of Cape Verde, Portudal, Joal, Rufisque and Cacheu (see Brooks, 2003; Boulègue, 1989; Lobban, 1996; Green, 2007), all settlements where the Dutch WIC had established themselves[44] (see Map 1). The Jews in Upper Guinea as well as those on Curaçao had intimate ties with the Jews in Amsterdam, making it safe to hypothesize intensive triangular trade among these three regions. Boulègue recognizes that the WIC profited immensely from these networks: "The Dutch benefited from the ties between Luso-Africans of Jewish faith and their co-religionists from Amsterdam" (1989: 39).

The ties between the Curaçaoan and Senegambian Jewish communities become apparent when De Moraes (1998a: 323, 324) draws attention to the Sephardic Jewish slave trader Abraham Drago, "beau-fils de David Nassy" (1998a: 323), who was accustomed to buying slaves in and from the Cape Verde region with the permission of the Chamber of Amsterdam. Abraham Drago and David Nassy were among the first Jews to settle on Curaçao in 1651 (Klooster, 2006: 139). I suspect many more such ties can be uncovered.

Green (2007) has identified several Sephardic Jewish traders active in Upper Guinea, massively trading slaves to Cartagena roughly up until 1640. To understand the potential importance of the Sephardim-controlled slave trade from the Upper Guinea coast to Cartagena to the early history of Curaçao, it suffices to note that "Curaçao lies directly on the sailing route between Cabo Verde and Cartagena" (Green, 2007: 352). In addition, as mentioned in 4.1, after 1640, Cartagena's status as the primary centre from which West African slaves were distributed throughout the Spanish Americas was swiftly usurped by Curaçao. Even though Cartagena's economy declined at the time, there is no reason to believe that the Sephardim-controlled slave trade from Cape Verde to the Caribbean would have suffered the same fate.

[43] See, for example, Klooster (1998, 2001, 2006), Schors (2004), De Granda (1974), Karner (1969), Emmanuel (1957), Emmanuel & Emmanuel (1970) or Böhm (1992).

[44] References to Upper Guinea are remarkably absent in key publications such as Emmanuel (1957), Emmanuel & Emmanuel (1970), Böhm (1992) or Fouse (2002).

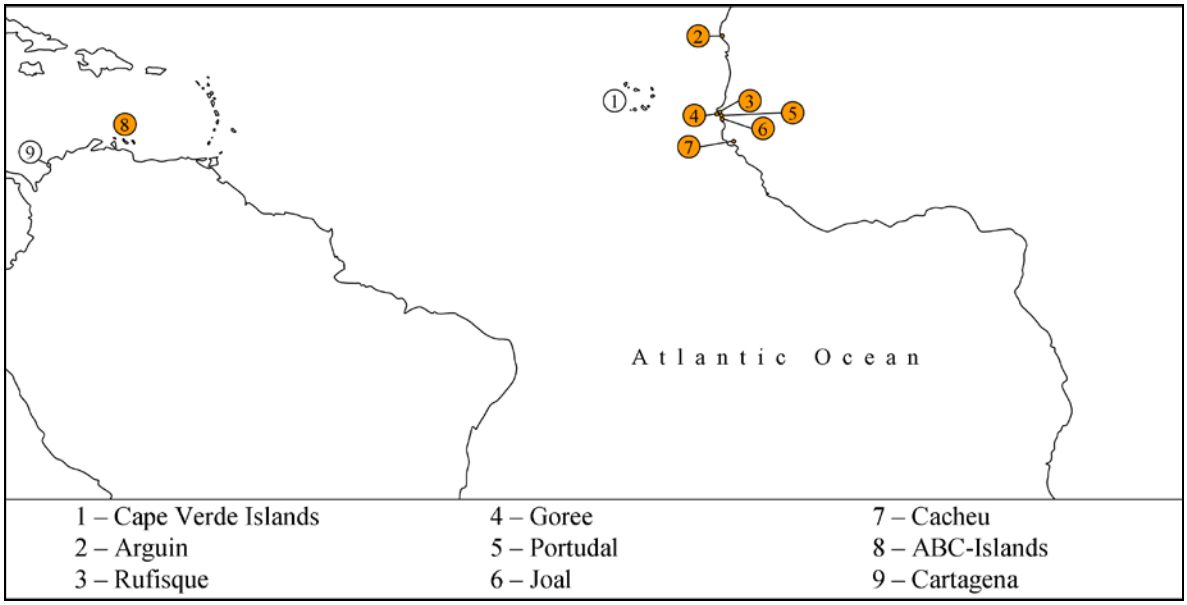
4.3 Conclusions to the historical section

The evidence provided above suggests that during the peak period of slave imports to Curaçao, the Dutch were commercially dominant on the Upper Guinea coast and therefore they would be trading a sufficient number of slaves from Upper Guinea to guarantee the transfer of early UGC to Curaçao. The evidence also reveals that close 17th-century contacts between the Senegambia region and the Dutch Antilles were facilitated by complex networks established by Dutch and Jewish traders. Although the precise nature and structure of these networks are not always clear, their very existence, together with the data on shipments from Senegambia to Curaçao collected by De Moraes, suggest that all the conditions were met for language transfer from Upper Guinea to Curaçao to take place in the second half of the 17th century. While it is known that the early colonization and settlement of Curaçao was to a certain extent a combined Sephardic-Dutch project, the slave trade conducted from Upper Guinea to Curaçao was probably similarly jointly coordinated with its success depending on close collaboration between the two groups.

5 Final remarks

Quint (2000b) was the first to classify PA and UGC as a separate branch of creoles within the family of Iberian lexifier Creoles. His claim, however, has not been given the consideration that it deserves by Papiamentu specialists. One of the present chapter's objectives is to draw attention to this lacuna in the research on PA's origins by focusing on a salient set of features typical of OP and found in both PA and UGC. The discussion of these OP features reveals profound linguistic connections on the level of syntax, lexico-semantics and phonology which, in turn, show that PA's oldest stratum goes back to the late 15th century, when UGC emerged on Santiago.

The historical evidence suggests that we need not be puzzled by the presence of the OP / UGC features in the core grammar of PA and that we do not have to appeal to chance, to bioprogramatic or other universal factors or to complex sub- and superstrate theories to account for these structural correspondences.



Map 1 Settlements crucial to the language transfer from Upper Guinea to Curaçao. In orange: settlements controlled by the first Dutch WIC in the second half of the 17th century

Abbreviations

PA	= Papiamentu
SCV	= Santiago Cape Verdean Creole
GB	= Portuguese Creole spoken in Guinea-Bissau and Casamance
UGC	= Upper Guinea Creole (a term covering both SCV and GB)
GGC	= Gulf of Guinea Creole
P	= Portuguese
S	= Spanish
E	= English
OP	= Old (15th-16th century) Portuguese
OS	= Old (15th-16th century) Spanish
WIC	= (Dutch) West India Company
VPDW	= Van Putte & Van Putte-De Windt (2005)

REFERENCES

Allen, Rose Mary (2007). *Di ki manera? A Social History of Afro-Curaçaoans, 1863-1917*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Utrecht.

Arends, Jacques (1999). The origin of the Portuguese element in the Surinam Creoles. In Magnus Huber & Mikael Parkvall (Eds.), *Spreading the word. The issue of diffusion among the Atlantic Creoles* (pp. 195-208). London: University of Westminster Press.

Baptista, Marlyse, Heliana Mello & Miki Suzuki (2007). Cape Verdean, or Kabuverdianu, and Guinea-Bissau, or Kriyol (Creole Portuguese). In John A. Holm & Peter L.Patrick (Eds.), *Comparative Creole Syntax* (pp. 53-82). London: Battlebridge.

Barry, Boubacar (1988). *La Sénégambie du XVe au XIXe siècle*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Bartmann, Carsten (2007). *Die spanisch basierten Kreolsprachen: Verbreitung, Sprachgenese und heutige Verwendung*. Potsdam: Grin Verlag.

Bartens, Angela (2000). Notes on Componential Diffusion in the Genesis of the Kabuverdianu Cluster. In John Mc Whorter (Ed.), *Language Change and Language Contact in Pidgins and Creoles* (pp. 35-61). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Benoist, Joseph R. de & Abdoulaye Camara (2003). *Histoire de Gorée*. Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose.

Bickerton, Derek (1994). The origins of Saramaccan syntax: a reply to John McWhorter's 'Substratal influence in Saramaccan serial verb constructions'. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages, 9, 1*, 65-77.

Bickerton, Derek (1999). Perspectives on creole language history. *New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids, 73, 1/2*, 97–102.

Birmingham, John C. 1975. Papiamentu's West African cousins. In Frances M. Aid, Melvyn C. Resnick & Bodan Saciuk (Eds.), *Colloquium on Hispanic Linguistics* (pp. 19-25). Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Böhm, Günter (1992). *Los sefardíes en los domínios holandeses de América del Sur y del Caribe: 1630-1750*. Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert.

Boulègue, Jean (1989). *Les Luso-Africains de Sénégambie*. Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica.

Boulègue, Jean (2006). Présences portugaises et sociétés africaines sur la côte de la 'Guinée du Cap-Vert' aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles. In Jürgen Lang, John Holm, Jean-Louis Rougé [et al.] (Eds.), *Cabo Verde: origens da sua sociedade e do seu crioulo* (pp. 45-52). Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Brooks, George E. (2003). *Eurafricans in Western Africa: Commerce, Social Status, Gender, and Religious Observance from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*. Oxford: James Currey.

Busche, Christian (1993). Die portugiesische Entstehung des Papiamentu in der Kritik. In Matthias Perl, Axel Schönberger & Petra Thiele (Eds.), *Portugiesisch basierte Kreolsprachen* (pp. 103-113). Frankfurt am Main: TFM.

Cardoso, Hugo & Norval Smith (2004). A new look at the Portuguese element in Saramaccan. *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics*, *3*, *2*, 115-147.

Carreira, António (1983). *O crioulo de Cabo Verde: Surto e expansão*. Lisbon: s.n.

Clements, J. Clancy (1996). *The genesis of a language: The formation and development of Korlai Portuguese*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Conradi, C. (2004). *Ewanhelie di San Matheo*. Facsimile of the first edition published in 1844. Curaçao: Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma.

Curtin, Philip D. (1975). *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

DeBose, Charles E. (1975). *Papiamentu: a Spanish-based creole*. PhD dissertation, University of Michigan.

Dissel, J. van (1865). *Evangeli segoen Marko*. New York: American Bible Society.

Emmanuel, Isaac S. (1957). *Precious Stones of the Jews of Curaçao*. *Curaçaon Jewry 1656-1957*. New York: Bloch Publishing Company.

Emmanuel, Isaac S. & Susanne A. Emmanuel (1970). *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*. Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives.

Emmer, Pieter C. (1998). *The Dutch in the Atlantic Economy, 1580-1880. Trade, Slavery and Emancipation*. Aldershot: Ashgate/Variorum Press.

Ferraz, Luiz I. (1979). *The creole of São Tomé*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press..

Ferrol, Orlando (1982). *La cuestión del origen y de la formación del papiamento*.The Hague: Smits Drukkers-Uitgevers.

Fontes, Carlos S. (2007). *Estudo do léxico do São-Tomense com diccionario*. Master's thesis, University of Coimbra.

Fontes, Carlos S. & John A. Holm (2008). Pan-Creolisms in Santomé. *Paper presented at the meeting of the ACBLPE at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, July 3-5, 2008*.

Fouse, Gary C. (2002). *The story of Papiamentu: a study in slavery and language.* Lanham: University Press of America.

Friedemann, Nina S. de & Carlos P. Rosselli (1983). *Lengua y Sociedad en el Palenque de San Basilio*. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.

Goodman, Morris F. (1987). The Portuguese Element in the American Creoles. In Glenn Gilbert (Ed.), *Pidgin and creole languages, essays in memory of John E. Reinecke* (pp. 361-405). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Granda, Germán de (1974). El repertorio lingüístico de los sefarditas de Curaçao durante los siglos XVII y XVIII y el problema del origen del papiamento. *Romance Philology*, *28,1,* 1-16.

Green, Tobias (2007). *Masters of Difference: Creolization and the Jewish Presence in Cabo Verde, 1497-1672*. PhD dissertation, University of Birmingham.

Guèye, Mbaye (1998). Gorée et la traite négrière. In Djibril Samb (Ed.), *Gorée et l'esclavage* (pp. 21-40). Dakar: UCAD-IFAN.

Hancock, Ian F. (1975). Malacca Creole Portuguese: Asian, African or European? *Anthropological Linguistics, 17, 5,* 211-236.

Haseth, Carel P. de (1990). Een bijdrage in de discussie over het ontstaan van het Papiaments. *De Gids, 153, 7/8,* 548-557.

Hawthorne, Walter (2003). *Planting Rice and Harvesting Slaves: transformations along the Guinea-Bissau coast, 1400-1900*. Portsmouth: Heinemann.

Holm, John A. (2001). Chabacano versus related creoles: (Socio-)linguistic affinities and differences. *Estudios de Sociolingüística*, *2, 2*, 69-93.

Jacobs, Bart (2008a). *Los fundamentos afroportugueses del papiamento*. Master's thesis, Universiteit van Amsterdam.

Jacobs, Bart (2008b). Papiamentu: a diachronic analysis of its core morphology. Paper presented at the *International Workshop on Portuguese Linguistics: "Portuguese in Contact and in Contrast" (PCC)* held in Gent, 17-18 November 2008.

Jacobs, Bart (forthcoming a). The origins of Papiamentu: linguistic and historical connections with Upper Guinea Creole. Forthcoming in *Diachronica* 2009.

Jacobs, Bart (forthcoming b). Upper Guinea Creole: evidence in favor of a Santiago birth. Forthcoming in the *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages, 26,3* (2010).

Joubert, Sidney & Matthias Perl (2007). The Portuguese Language on Curaçao and its Role in the Formation of Papiamentu. *Journal of Caribbean Literatures, 5,1*, 43-60.

Karner, Frances P. (1969). *The Sephardics of Curaçao – A study of socio-cultural patterns in flux*. Assen: Van Gorcum.

Kihm, Alain (1994). *Kriyol Syntax. The Portuguese-Based Creole Language of Guinea-Bissau*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins

Klooster, Wim (1998). *Illicit Riches. Dutch Trade in the Caribbean, 1648-1795*. Leiden: KITLV.

Klooster, Wim (2001). The Jews in Suriname and Curaçao. In Paolo Bernardini & Norman Fiering (Eds.), *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450-1800* (pp. 350-369). New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Klooster, Wim (2006). Communities of port Jews and their contacts in the Dutch Atlantic World. *Jewish History, 20, 2*, 129-145.

Kouwenberg, S. & Murray, E. 1994. *Papiamentu*. München: Lincom.

Kouwenberg, Silvia & Abigail Ramos-Michel (2007). Papiamentu (Creole Spanish/Portuguese). In John A. Holm & Peter L. Patrick (Eds.) *Comparative Creole Syntax*, pp. 307-332. Westminster: Battlebridge.

Kramer, J. 2004. *Die iberoromanische Kreolsprache Papiamento. Eine romanistische Darstellung*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.

Ladhams, John (1999a). The Pernambuco connection? An examination of the nature and origin of the Portuguese elements in the Surinam Creoles. In Magnus Huber & Mikael Parkvall (Eds.), *Spreading the word. The issue of diffusion among the Atlantic Creoles* (pp. 209-240). London: University of Westminster Press.

Ladhams, John (1999b). Response to Norval Smith. In Magnus Huber & Mikael Parkvall (Eds.), *Spreading the word. The issue of diffusion among the Atlantic Creoles* (pp. 299-304). London: University of Westminster Press.

Lang, Jürgen, Martina Brüser & André dos Reis Santos (2002). *Dicionário do crioulo da ilha de Santiago (Cabo Verde). Woerterbuch des Kreols der Insel Santiago (Kapverde)*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.

Lang, Jürgen (2006). L'influence des Wolof et du wolof sur la formation du créole santiagais. In John A. Holm, Jean-Louis Rougé, Maria João Soares (Eds.), *Cabo Verde: origens da sua sociedade e do seu crioulo* (pp. 53-62). Tübingen, Gunter Narr.

Lenz, Rodolfo (1928). *El papiamento: la lengua criolla de Curazao: la gramática más sencilla*. Santiago de Chile: Balcells.

Lipski, John M. (2005). *A History of Afro-Hispanic Language*. *Five Centuries , Five Continents*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lobban, Richard (1996). Jews in Cape Verde and on the Guinea Coast. *Paper presented at the University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth, 11 February 1996*. Digital source: www.saudades.org/jewscapev.html

Maduro, Antoine J. (1965). *Papiamentu, origen i formación*. Curaçao.

Maduro, Antoine J. (1966). *Procedencia di Palabranan Papiamentu i otro anotacionnan*. Curaçao: s.n.

Maduro, Antoine J. (1969). Algun observashon tocante e articulo 'origenes y evolucion del Papiamentu' publicá den e numeronan 2, 3 i 4 di Watapana. *Watapana, 2, 5*, 13-15.

Maduro, Antoine J. (1971). *Bon papiamentu (i un appendix interesante)*. Curaçao: s.n.

Maduro, Antoine J. (1987a). *Palenkero i Papiamentu*. Curaçao: Scherpenheuvel.

Maduro, Antoine J. (1987b). *Kaboberdiano i Papiamentu*. Curaçao: s.n.

Maduro, Antoine J. (1991). *Papiamentu: Indagando i Ilustrando*. Curaçao.

Mark, Peter 2002. *'Portuguese' Style and Luso-African Identity: Precolonial Senegambia, Sixteenth-Nineteenth Centuries*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Martinus Arion, Frank (1996). *The Kiss of a Slave: Papiamentu's West-African Connections*. PhD dissertation, Universiteit van Amsterdam.

Martinus Arion, Frank (2007). *Djuku Kaiman 'Sklabitut a kaba': orígen i evolushon di papiamentu ku guene*. Curaçao: Kas di Kultura.

Maurer, Philippe (1986). Le papiamento de Curaçao: un cas de creolisation atypique? *Etudes creoles, 9,1*, 97-113.

Maurer, Philippe (1989). Les réiterations et réduplications lexicalisées du papiamento: influence du substrat africain? In Norbert Boretzky, Werner Enninger& Thomas Stolz. (Eds.), *Vielfalt der Kontakte* (pp. 95-118). Bochum: Brockmeyer.

Maurer, Philippe (1991). Der Einfluss afrikanischer Sprachen auf die Wortsemantik des Papiamentu. In Norbert Boretzky, Werner Enninger& Thomas Stolz. (Eds.), *Kontakt und Simplifikation* (pp. 123-137). Bochum: Brockmeyer.

Maurer, Philippe (1994). L'influence des langues africaines sur la signification des lexèmes du papiamento de Curaçao. In Ramón Lorenzo Vázquez (Ed.), *Actas do XIX Congreso Internacional de Lingüística e Filoloxía Románicas* (pp. 771-779). Santiago de Compostela; Universidad de Santiago de Compostela.

Maurer, Philippe (1998). El papiamentu de Curazao. In Matthias Perl & Armin Schwegler (Eds.), *América Negra: panorámica actual de los estudios lingüísticos sobre variedades hispanas, portuguesas y criollas* (pp. 139-217). Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert.

Maurer, Philippe (2002). La pluralización nominal en los criollos atlánticos con base léxica ibérica. In Yves Moñino & Armin Schwegler (Eds.), *Palenque, Cartagena y AfroCaribe: historia y lengua* (pp. 129-136). Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Moraes, Nize I. de (1993 Vol 1, 1995 Vol 2, 1998a Vol 3-4). *À la Découverte de la Petite Côte au XVIIe Siècle (Sénégal et Gambie)*. Dakar: Université Cheikh Anta Diop / IFAN.

Moraes, Nize I. de (1998b). La traite des esclaves effectuée par les Hollandais à Gorée (1637-1677). In Djibril Samb (Ed.), *Gorée et l'esclavage* (pp. 41-52). Dakar: Université Cheikh Anta Diop / IFAN.

Moraes, Nize I. de (1998c). Les puissances eeuropéennes, Gorée et la Petite Côte aux XVIe et XVIIe siècle. In Djibril Samb (Ed.), *Gorée et l'esclavage* (pp. 53-62). Dakar: Université Cheikh Anta Diop / IFAN.

Munteanu, Dan (1991). *El Papiamento, origen, evolucion y estructura*. Bochum: Brockmeyer.

Munteanu, Dan (1996). *El papiamento, lengua criolla hispánica*. Madrid: Gredos.

Muysken, Pieter & Norval Smith (1990). Question words in pidgin and creole languages. *Linguistics, 28, 4*, 883-903.

Navarro Tomás, Tomás (1953). Observaciones sobre el papiamento. *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, 7, 1*, 183-189.

Parkvall, Mikael (2000). *Out of Africa: African influences in Atlantic Creoles*. London: Battlebridge.

Pereira, Dulce (1999). Um crioulo de outro planeta. In Ernesto D'Andrade, Maria A. Mota & Dulce Pereira (Eds.), *Crioulos de base portuguesa* (pp. 27-46). Lisboa : Associação Portuguesa de Linguística.

Postma, Johannes M. 1990. *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade 1660-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Putte, Florimon van & Igma van Putte-de Windt (2005). *Dikshonario Papiamentu-Hulandes*. *Woordenboek Papiaments-Nederlands*, 2 Vols. Zutphen: Walburg Pers.

Quesada Pacheco, Miguel A. (2000). *El Español de América*. Cartago: Editorial Tecnológica.

Quint, Nicolas (2000a). *Grammaire de la langue cap-verdienne*. L'Harmattan, Paris.
Quint, Nicolas (2000b). *Le cap-verdien: origines et devenir d'une langue métisse*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
Quint, Nicolas (2008). *L'élément africain dans la langue capverdienne / Africanismos na língua caboverdiana*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
Rona, José P. (1976). Réhispanisation de langues créoles aux Antilles. Étude sur la divergence et la convergence. In Marcel Boudreault & Frankwalt Möhren (Eds.), *Actes du XIII^e Congrès International de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes* (pp.1015-1025). Québec : Université Laval.
Rougé, Jean-Louis (2004). *Dictionnaire étymologique des créoles portugais d'Afrique*. Paris: Karthala.
Rougé, Jean-Louis (2008). A inexistencia do crioulo no Brasil. In José L. Fiorin & Margarida Petter (Eds.), *Africa no Brasil* (pp. 63-73). São Paolo: Editora Contexto.
Scantamburlo, Luigi (2002). *Dicionário do Guineense. Volume II: Dicionário Guineense-Português*. Bubaque: FASPEBI
Schorsch, Jonathan (2004). *Jews and Blacks in the Early Modern World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Schuchardt, Hugo (1889). Beitrage zur Kenntnis des Kreolischen Romanisch. *Zeitschrift fur Romanische Philologie, 13*, 476-516.

Schwegler, Armin (2002). On the (African) origins of Palenquero subject pronouns. *Diachronica, 19, 2*, 273-332.
Teyssier, Paul (1983). *História da Língua Portuguesa*. (First published in 1980 as *Histoire de la langue portugaise* by PUF, Paris). Lisboa: Sá Da Costa.
Valkhoff, Marius F. (1966). *Studies in Portuguese and Creole*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
Veiga, Manuel (2000). *Le Créole du Cap-Vert: étude grammaticale descriptive et contrastive*. Paris: Karthala.
Voorhoeve, Jan (1973). Historical and linguistic evidence in favour of the relexification theory in the Formation of Creoles. *Language in Society, 2*, 133-145.
Wijk, H.L.A. van (1958). Orígenes y evolución del Papiamentu. *Neophilologus, 42*, 169-182.
Wijk, H.L.A. van (1968). Orígenes y evolución del Papiamentu. *Watapana, 1, 2*, 13-16.
Wijk, H.L.A. van (1969). Orígenes y evolución del Papiamentu. *Watapana, 1, 3*, 13-18.
Winter, S. (2007). *El voseo*. Unpublished ms., University of Amsterdam.

A SHORT NOTE ABOUT PAPIAMENTU'S ORIGIN: UPPER GUINEA, GULF OF GUINEA, OR ELSEWHERE?

PHILIPPE MAURER
UNIVERSITY OF ZURICH

1 Introduction

In order to resolve the thorny issue of the origin of Papiamentu, linguists usually refer to historical and linguistic evidence. In this short note, I will restrict myself to linguistic evidence.[1] Since we lack linguistic data from all the Iberian based Creoles at the time when Papiamentu arose, i.e. data from the 17th century, the only way of putting forward linguistic hypotheses regarding the genetic relationship of Papiamentu with other Iberian based Creoles is to infer from the comparison of modern Papiamentu with modern varieties of other Iberian based Creoles. In other words, the linguistic evidence can only be indirect, since every creole language considered in this short note has a history of its own which is at least three and a half centuries old. This means that they all evolved independently since the time Papiamentu arose after the Dutch seized Curaçao in 1634.

There is a question concerning which of the Iberian based Creoles Papiamentu should be compared with. In my opinion, these are all the Iberian lexifier Creoles with which the Dutch were in direct or indirect contact at the time Papiamentu arose, through the Dutch West India Company or the Dutch East India Company, i.e. at the minimum the following varieties:

- Cape Verdean and Guinea Bissau Creole in the Upper Guinea region,
- Santomense and Principense in the Gulf of Guinea,
- Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole and the Portuguese based Creole of Batavia (nowadays Jakarta), Indonesia.

[1] Regarding historical evidence, it is clear that the Dutch were involved in the slave trade from the Upper Guinea and the Gulf of Guinea regions to the Americas when Papiamentu emerged on Curaçao. As for the contact between the Dutch East and West Indies, there is less evidence. I have only found one single reference to a contact between the eastern and western Dutch colonies: a Dutch priest who was sent from Batavia (today Jakarta) to Curaçao in 1640 (Maurer, 1988: 198). How little evidence this may be, it shows that indeed there were contacts between these two parts of the Dutch world.

The following features will be examined:

- noun pluralization
- subject pronouns
- negation
- copulas
- tense-aspect-modality.

These features belong to the core grammar of any language. If, regarding several of these features, Papiamentu happens to be identical or almost identical to one of the aforementioned Portuguese based Creoles but different from the others, this constitutes a strong hypothesis in favour of a genetic relationship with this Creole.

2 Noun pluralization

Table 1 displays the different ways of forming the plural of the noun in the creole languages considered here:

Table 1 Plural of the noun

Papiamentu	*noun* + ***nan***
Cape Verdean	*noun* + ***-s***
Guinea Bissau Creole	*noun* + ***-s***
Santomense	***inen*** + *noun*
Principense	***ine/ina***[2] + *noun*
Sri Lanka Creole	*noun* + ***-s***
Batavia Creole	***reduplication***

This table shows that there are three different patterns. Cape Verdean, Guinea Bissau Creole and Sri Lanka Creole use the Portuguese morpheme (an affixed *–s*); Batavia Creole uses the Malay pattern (reduplication); Papiamentu, Santomense and Principense use a plural word which looks very similar in the three languages (*inen*, *ina*, *nan*)[3] and which in the three languages corresponds to the 3rd person plural pronoun (see table 2 below).[4] However, the position of the plural word differs: in

[2] *Ina* is an old form which is now replaced by *ine* (probably a loan from Santomense).

[3] Note than in Annobonese, one of the allomorphs of the 3rd person plural pronoun is *nan*.

[4] The origin of *ina*, *ine(n)* and *nan* is thought to be Edo *irã*. Edo is a Nigerian language which was an important substrate for the Gulf of Guinea Creoles, but which is not normally considered to have played any role in the formation of Papiamentu. Contacts between the city of Benin, where Edo is the ancestral language, and the Portuguese and other Europeans, however, date from the earliest years of Portuguese trade on the West coast of Africa.

Papiamentu, *nan* follows the noun, whereas in Santomense and Principense, *ine(n)* and *ina* precede it. But in spite of this difference, it is with Santomense and Principense that Papiamentu displays clear typological similarities.
Example (1) illustrates how the plural of the noun is formed in some of these Creoles:

(1)	Papiamentu	Cape Verdean[5]	Principense	Sri Lanka	Batavia
	*baka-**nan***	*baca-**s***	***ine** ubwê*	*baakə-s*	*fula-fula*
	cow-PL	cow-PL	PL cow	cow-PL	flower-flower

3 Subject pronouns

The subject pronouns presented in table 2 show that, except for some rare cases, there are strong similarities among the seven creole languages:

Table 2 Subject Pronouns

	1st person SG	2nd person SG	3rd person SG
Papiamentu	*mi*	*bo*	*e*
Cape Verdean	*N*[6]	*bu*	*e*
Guinea Bissau Creole	*n*	*bu*	*i*
Santomense	*n, m*	*bô*	*ê*
Principense	*n, m*	*txi*	*ê*
Sri Lanka Creole	*eew*	*boos*	*eli (m), ela (f)*
Batavia Creole	*eo*	*bos*	*ile, ele*
	1st person PL	2nd person PL	3rd person PL
Papiamentu	*nos*	*boso, bosnan*	*nan*
Cape Verdean	*nu*	*nhos*	*es*
Guinea Bissau Creole	*no*	*bo*	*e*
Santomense	*non*	*inansê*	*inen, nen*
Principense	*no, non*	*owo*	*ine, ina*
Sri Lanka Creole	*nos*	*botus*	*elis*
Batavia Creole	*nosotër*	*vosotër*	*ilotër*

Papiamentu *boso* ‘you (pl.)’ goes back to Portuguese *vós outros* (or Spanish *vosotros*), literally ‘you others’, as is the case of Sri Lanka Creole forms *botus* and Batavia Creole *vosotër*. In quantitative terms, Papiamentu shares five forms with Santomense (*mi/n, bo/bô, e/ê, nos/non, nan/inen*), four forms with Principense (the same as Santomense, with the exception of *bo/txi*) as well as with Cape Verdean and Guinea

[5] See Quint (2000: 164) for Cape Verdean, Smith (1979b: 197) for Batticaloa, and Maurer (forthcoming) for Batavia. The examples without references were constructed by myself.

[6] The spelling with a capital means that /n/ is assimilated to the following consonant.

Bissau Creole (*mi/N/n*, *bo/bu/bu*, *e/e/i*, *nos/nu/no*). With Sri Lanka Creole, Papiamentu also shares four forms, but not the same ones (*bo*/*boos*, *e/eli*, *nos*/*nos*, *boso*/*botus*); with Batavia Creole, it only shares three forms (*bo*/*bos*, *e*/*ile* or *ele*, *boso*/*bosotër*).

4 Verb phrase negation

Table 3 shows that Papiamentu stands alone with its preverbal negator:

Table 3 Verb Phrase Negation

Papiamentu	***no*** + *V*
Cape Verdean	***ka*** + *V*
Guinea Bissau Creole	***ka*** + *V*
Santomense	***na*** + *V*+ … ***fa***
Principense	*V* + …***fa***
Sri Lanka Creole	***nuku*** + *V*
Batavia Creole	***nungku*** + *V*

Cape Verdean and Guinea Bissau Creole *ka* as well as Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole and Batavia Creole *nungku* are derived from Portuguese *nunca* ‘never’. Regarding *fa* in the Gulf of Guinea Creoles, its origin is still matter of debate. The following examples illustrate the use of the verb phrase negator in some of the mentioned Creoles:

(2) *Esei mi* ***no*** *sa.* (Papiamentu)
that I NEG know
‘That I don’t know.’

(3) *I* ***ka*** *bin inda*. (Guinea Bissau)
he NEG come yet
‘He hasn’t come yet.’ (Scantamburlo, 1981: 57)

(4) *Kwisê n sêbê* ***fa****.* (Principense)
that I know NEG
‘That I don’t know.’

(5) *Eli* ***nuku*** *vii*. (Sri Lanka)
he NEG come
‘He didn’t come.’ (Smith, 1979a: 193)

(6) *Akel eo* ***nunku*** *sabi*. (Batavia)
that I NEG know
'That I don't know.'

5 Copulas

Table 4 shows the presence or absence of a copula with predicative nouns, adjectives, and locatives in affirmative declarative sentences:

Table 4 Copula

	nouns	adjectives	locatives
Papiamentu	*ta*	*ta*	*ta*
Cape Verdean	*e vs. sta*	*e vs. sta*	*sta*
Guinea Bissau Creole	*-- / i / sedu*	no adjectives	*sta*
Santomense	*sa*	*sa*	*sa*
Principense	--	--	*sa*
Sri Lanka Creole	*-- / teem*	*-- / teem*	*teem*
Batavia Creole	*teng*	*teng*	*teng*

In Papiamentu, there is only one copula, which is obligatory in all contexts; this is like Santomense[7] and Batavia Creole, although the Batavia form is derived from Portuguese *tem* 'he/she has' and not from one of the Portuguese (or Spanish) copulas (*ser* or *estar*) as in Papiamentu and Santomense. Cape Verdean is the only language that has two different copulas for adjectival and nominal predicators. The difference between the two forms match Portuguese usage (roughly speaking, permanent states: *ta*/*ser*, vs. non-permanent states: *sta*/*estar*). The following examples illustrate the presence or absence of the copula with predicative adjectives in some of these languages:

(7) *Esei* ***ta*** *hopi karu*. (Papiamentu)
that COP very expensive
'That one is very expensive.'

(8) *Kel mudjer* ***e*** *bunitu.* (Cape Verdean)
that woman COP beautiful
'That woman is beautiful.' (Marlyse Baptista, p.c.)

(9) *Kwixi* ___ *karu mutu*. (Principense)
that (COP) expensive very
'That one is very expensive.'

[7] Note that Santomense *sa* is most probably derived from the Portuguese copula *está* 'is', like Papiamentu *ta* (which also may have a Spanish origin). Portuguese *st* often yields *s* in the Gulf of Guinea Creoles, like Portuguese *festa* > Santomense and Principense *fesa* 'party'.

(10) *Akel* ***teng*** *mutu karu.* (Batavia)
that COP very expensive
'That one is very expensive.' (Maurer, forthcoming)

6 Tense, aspect, and modality

Table 5 shows how present progressive, present habitual, past perfective, past progressive, and future are expressed in the creole languages considered here: [8]

Table 5: Tense, Aspect, and Modality

	present progressive	present habitual	past perfect	past progressive	future
Papiamentu	***ta*** + *V*	***ta*** + *V*	***a*** + *V*	***tabata*** + *V*	***lo*** + .. + *V*
Cape Verdean	***sta/sta ta*** + *V*	***ta*** + *V*	***Ø*** + *V*	***staba ta*** + *V* ***sta ta*** *V-****ba***	***ta*** + *V*
Guinea Bissau	***na/ta*** + *V*	***na/ta*** + *V*	***Ø*** + *V*	***na*** + *V* + ***ba***	***na/ta*** + *V*
Santomense	***xka/sa ka*** + *V*	***ka*** + *V*	***Ø*** + *V*	***tava ka*** + *V*	***ka*** + *V*
Principense	***sa*** + *V*	***ka*** + *V*	***Ø*** + *V*	***tava sa*** + *V*	***ka*** + *V*
Sri Lanka	***tə*** + *V/* *V* + ***taam*** + ***tem***	***lo*** + *V*	***jaa*** + *V*	*V* + ***taam*** + ***tinhə***	***lo*** + *V*
Batavia	***ta*** + *V*	***sta/sa*** + *V*	***dja*** + *V*	***ta*** + *V*	***lo*** + *V*

The following similarities and differences can be observed:

- Papiamentu has an overt marker for past perfective, like the Luso-Asiatic Creoles, whereas the Afro-Portuguese Creoles use the bare verb for this function.
- The form of the future is *lo* in Papiamentu, as in the Luso-Asiatic Creoles, whereas Cape Verdean and the Gulf of Guinea Creoles use a marker (*ta* or *ka*) which also functions as a habitual marker.[9] Note that in Sri Lanka Creole, the future marker *lo* also refers to habitual situations.
- The Cape Verdean marker *ta*, which also exists in Papiamentu, does not function as a progressive marker, in contrast to Papiamentu.
- Papiamentu has a mixed aspectual-temporal system, a feature it shares with the Afro-Portuguese Creoles and with Sri Lanka Creole, but not with Batavia Creole, which has a purely aspectual system.

[8] The facts presented in table 5 are simplified. For instance, Cape Verdean has several ways of expressing past progressive; most of the Luso-Asiatic Creoles have a different marker for negated future; in Principense, *ka* only appears in affrimative sentences; in negated sentences, it is replaced by progressive *sa*.

[9] The fact that Cape Verdean possesses and adverb *logu* 'immediately' does not mean that this constitutes a typological similarity with Papiamentu, because *logu* is a lexeme and *lo* a grammatical marker. Notice that *logu* also exists in Principense (see Maurer 2009: 226).

In other words, in the domain of tense, aspect and modality, Papiamentu shares more features with Luso-Asiatic than with Afro-Portuguese Creoles. The following examples show the marking of past perfectivity in some of these Creoles:

(11) *Ayera nochi nos* ***a*** *bebe biña*. (Papiamentu)
yesterday night we PFV drink wine
'Last night, we drank wine.'

(12) *I* ___ *kume aonti*. (Guinea Bissau)
he (PFV) eat yesterday
'He ate yesterday.' (Scantamburlo, 1981: 53)

(13) *Ora txi* ___ *kume inhemi, txi* ___ *da n fa.* (Principense)
when you (PFV) eat yam you (PFV) give me NEG
'When you ate yam, you didn't give me any.' (Maurer, 2009: 73)

(14) *□□ntə ənooti noos viiñu* ***jaa*** *bevə* (Sri Lanka)
yesterday night we arrack PFV drink
'We drank arrack last night.' (Smith, 1979a: 192)

(15) *Ki merkesia Sinyor* ***dja*** *tridji djuntadu?* (Batavia)
what merchandise Sir PFV bring together
'What sorts of merchandise have you brought with you?' (Maurer, forthcoming)

The following examples illustrate the marking of the future:

(16) ***Lo*** *mi trose bo garganta.* (Papiamentu)
PFV I wring your neck
'I will wring your neck.'

(17) *N* ***ta*** *konta nha tudu storia*, […]. (Cape Verdean)
I FUT tell you all story
'I'll tell you the whole story, […].' (Baptista, 2002: 79)

(18) *Amanhan no* ***ka*** *bêbê ivin*. (Principense)
tomorrow we FUT drink wine
'Tomorrow we will drink palm wine.'

(19) *Noos oy ənooti viiñu* ***lo*** *bevə*. (Sri Lanka)
we today night arrack FUT drink
'We will drink arrack tonight.' (Smith, 1979a: 192)

(20) *Eo* ***lo*** *trusi bos garganti.* (Batavia)
I FUT wring your throat
'I will wring your neck.' (Maurer, forthcoming)

7 Conclusions

The preceding comparison of five grammatical features does not show a clear picture regarding typological similarities between Papiamentu and other Iberian based Creoles. The most striking similarities exist between Papiamentu and the Gulf of Guinea Creoles in the domain of the marking of nominal pluralization on the one hand, and in the form of the future and past perfective markers between Papiamentu and the Luso-Asiatic Creoles on the other hand. However, these similarities are not sufficient to allow us to state that Papiamentu derives from the Gulf of Guinea Creoles and/or from the Luso-Asiatic Creoles. They are also not sufficient to claim that Papiamentu is not genetically related to Cape Verdean or to the Creole of Guinea Bissau.

There are of course other grammatical features which Papiamentu shares with Cape Verdean and Guinea Bissau Creole, as for instance the position of the possessive determiners, which precede the noun in these Creoles and follow it in the Gulf of Guinea Creoles, but it looks as if for each feature which Papiamentu shares exclusively with the Upper Guinea Creoles, there is another feature which Papiamentu shares exclusively with the Gulf of Guinea Creoles (or at least with one of them). A feature shared exclusively by Papiamentu and Principense which has not been mentioned so far is predicate clefting with a copy of the verb left behind in the background clause.

There are two caveats that one should bear in mind. Firstly, any feature a creole language shares with one or more other creole languages may have arisen independently. So Papiamentu *a* 'perfective marker' and *lo* 'future marker' may have arisen without any influence from the Luso-Asiatic Creoles. Secondly, in the 16th and 17th centuries, there existed a Portuguese pidgin spoken in Africa and Asia, called 'reconnaissance language' by Naro (1978) and which may have played a role in the genesis of Papiamentu. In this language, for instance, the Portuguese adverb *logo* 'right away' was often used as a future marker (a feature existing in Papiamentu and the Luso-Asiatic Creoles), and the verb phrase negator was *nunca* 'never' (a feature existing in the Upper Guinea Creoles and in the Luso-Asian Creoles).

My conclusion is that on the basis of comparative linguistic arguments, Papiamentu cannot be typologically and hence genetically related exclusively to one particular Portuguese based Creole. Papiamentu was probably influenced by several of these Creoles, and, possibly, by a Portuguese pidgin spoken in the 16th and 17th centuries in Africa and Asia.

REFERENCES

Baptista, Marlyse (2002). *The Syntax of Cape Verdean Creole: The Sotavento Varieties*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Maurer, Philippe (1998). El papiamentu de Curazao. In Matthias Perl & Armin Schwegler (Eds.), *América Negra: Panorámica actual de los estudios lingüísticos sobre variedades hispanas, portuguesas y criollas* (pp. 139-217). Frankfurt/Madrid: Vervuert / Iberoamericana.

Maurer, Philippe (2009). *Principense: Grammar, Texts, and Vocabulary of the Afro-Portuguese Creole of the Island of Príncipe, Gulf of Guinea*. London/Colombo: Battlebridge.

Maurer, Philippe (Forthcoming). *The Portuguese based Creoles of Batavia and Tugu, Indonesia. A new edition of Hugo Schuchardt's Kreolische Studien IX*. London / Colombo: Battlebridge.

Naro, Anthony (1978). A study on the origins of pidginization. *Language, 54*, 314-47.

Quint, Nicolas (2000). *Grammaire de la langue cap-verdienne*. Paris: Harmattan.

Scantamburlo, Luigi (1981). *Gramática e dicionário da língua criol da Guiné-Bissau*. Bologna: Editrice Missionaria Italiana.

Smith, Ian (1979a). Substrata vs. universals in the formation of Sri Lanka Portuguese. *Papers in Pidigin and Creole Linguistics, 2*, 183-200. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Smith, Ian (1979b). Convergence in South Asia: A Creole Example. *Lingua*, *48*, 193-222.

SOME ISSUES IN THE STUDY OF PAPIAMENTU TONE

SILVIA KOUWENBERG
UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES, MONA, JAMAICA

1 Introduction

Raúl Römer (1977) first noted the contribution which pitch distinctions make to the interpretation of words and utterances in Papiamentu (PAP). That PAP employs tone is now widely recognized. Nonetheless, questions remain with regards to the function of tone in PAP and the interface between tone and other aspects of linguistic structure. In a typology of tone languages, the function of tone can be seen to range from purely lexical, contributing only to word meaning, to purely grammatical, marking morphosyntactic distinctions, and various possibilities in between. Furthermore, tone can range from being strictly associated with the word, to being phrasal, marking the boundaries of larger domains and thus making a contribution to the ease of processing of the acoustic signal.

Previous authors, including Römer (1977, 1983, 1991), and, more recently, Devonish & Murray (1995) and Rivera-Castillo (1998), have treated tone in PAP as primarily a lexical phenomenon. I have argued instead that tone in PAP has a grammatical function, namely to mark a categorial distinction between verbs on the one hand and other lexical classes on the other hand (Kouwenberg, 2004). Despite his lexicalist approach, Römer's work actually goes beyond lexical tone to also consider a phrasal phenomenon which he named 'tone polarisation', whereby a toneless element acquires a contextually determined tone, namely one that contrasts with an immediately following tone. Since tone polarisation goes across word boundaries, it suggests that tone in PAP is also a phrasal phenomenon. This ties in with the question of function: were tone purely lexical, it would hardly be expected to have effects across word boundaries.

In this paper, I will briefly set out the arguments for rejecting a lexical basis for tone in PAP. I then turn to the existence of toneless function words and the phenomenon of tone polarisation, and consider what it may tell us about the phrasal status of tone in this language. I will argue that tone polarisation has a syntactic function, namely to mark the integration of an element into a syntactic domain. In other words, I am

increasingly convinced by the evidence that *all* tone in PAP is grammatical rather than lexical. It is my long-term goal to provide a fuller account of tone in PAP. Here, I will only indicate some areas of uncertainty. We shall see that many aspects of the grammar of Papiamentu are still insufficiently described and poorly understood, and that there is ample scope for research on the prosody-syntax interface in Papiamentu.

2 Background: Tone in Papiamentu

As pointed out, the relevance of pitch in PAP was first recognized by Römer (1977). He described two pitch levels, high (H) and low (L), with downdrift in declarative contexts. Devonish & Murray (1995), Rivera-Castillo & Pickering (2004) and Remijsen & Van Heuven (2005) have shown that the phonetic realisation of tone is more complicated than suggested by Römer's two pitch levels, involving a falling contour rather than a level low tone, for instance. Nonetheless, at the phonological level, Römer's basic insight of a system involving two tone levels has not been challenged. This paper addresses phonological rather than phonetic behavior of tone.
Römer presented data which, at first blush, suggest that tone is used to mark lexical contrasts. Take for instance the pair *mata* 'to kill' (LH melody) vs. *mata* 'plant' (HL melody), both with initial stress. Joubert (2002: 351-359) lists 270 similarly contrasting pairs. A selection follows:

Table 1 Tone contrasts

LH melody	HL melody	LH melody	HL melody
arma 'to arm'	arma 'weapon'	benta 'musical instrument'	benta 'sale'
faha 'to gird'	faha 'belt'	bèrdè 'real, really'	bèrdè 'green'
horka 'to hang'	horka 'gallows'	dori 'toad (sp.)'	dori 'two-wheel carriage'
kaska 'to peel'	kaska 'peel, rind'	pika 'to sting, burn'	pika 'hot, peppery'
mancha 'to stain'	mancha 'stain'	pura 'to hurry'	pura 'pure'
onra 'to honor'	onra 'honor'	seka 'to dry'	seka 'near'
reina 'to reign'	reina 'queen'	tutu 'black bean dish'	tutu 'marrow'
skuma 'to foam'	skuma 'foam'	papa 'father'	papa 'pope, porridge'

We have here *prima facie* a good case for postulating lexical tone contrasts. But closer inspection raises questions about the restricted nature of tone contrasts, and its correlation with word length and category. Summarizing from Kouwenberg (2004):

(i) Tone contrasts are restricted to bisyllabic, vowel-final words. In other words, no tone contrasts seem to be possible on monosyllabic words or on words of three or more syllables. If tone were truly lexical, such a restriction would be surprising.

(ii) In the majority of cases, the members of the contrasting pairs show a difference in word category, such that the LH melody is associated with a verb, the HL melody with a word of a non-verbal category, mainly nouns. Around two-third of Joubert's 270 pairs consist of a verb and a related deverbal noun. Some examples are provided in the first two columns of table 1. The pairs in the right-hand columns are far less typical. If tone were purely lexical, a correlation with word class would be surprising. This correlation is further supported by the observation that vowel-final verbs of any length, without exception, have H on the final syllable. Nouns, adjectives and adverbs, on the other hand, display variation in tone melody.

Considering content vocabulary only, lexical words generally conform to a prosodic minimality condition, which requires that a prosodic word in PAP is at minimum bimoraic and carries at least one high tone (Kouwenberg & Murray, 1994: 12). With few exceptions, verbs receive a final H and in *all* cases, the final H-toned syllable of a verb in PAP is light. Tone assignment in nouns, adjectives and adverbs takes place in a very different manner, through a quantity sensitive algorithm. Trochaic feet are constructed from the right edge. If the final syllable is heavy, it receives H, otherwise the prefinal syllable receives H. This accounts for the more variable placement of H in the non-verbal categories. PAP can thus be characterized as a pitch-accent language. This means that the most prominent syllable in a word is usually associated with a high tone. In the case of nonverbal lexical items, prominence is clearly determined by quantity; for verbs, on the other hand, it is fixed on the final syllable. In Kouwenberg (2004) I argue, based on these facts, that tone can be considered to have a grammatical function in PAP, namely that of marking word category.

Note that earlier work assumed that a tone melody was assigned to words. I submit instead that the surface melody is predictable from the initial placement of a high tone. In the case of verbs, the final H of verbs is preceded by a sequence of low tones. In the case of nonverbal categories, we see the manifestation of a preference for alternating tones, resulting in HL sequences where the length of the word permits. In other words, the surface melody of nonverbal content words evokes an essentially rhythmic pattern.

3 The tone of function words

In Kouwenberg (2007), I consider the tonal behavior of function words. Quite a few function words fail to conform to prosodic minimality: they are mostly monomoraic, and also mostly—though not all—toneless. Monomoraicity and tonelessness thus characterize a class of prosodically deficient function words. Those function words which are at least bimoraic have word status and therefore carry a H tone, like lexical

words. Focusing on pronouns, I argued that prosodic deficiency provides evidence of a series of weak pronouns, which contrasts with a series of strong, independent pronouns. I argued, furthermore, that restrictions on their syntactic positions show that the weak pronouns are syntactic clitics—the PAP equivalent of the "rich" morphology of the Romance languages.

So how do these toneless forms surface? For this we turn to Römer's tone polarisation. He showed that toneless function words receive a tone in opposition to that of an immediately following syllable, subject to syntactic conditions which are not yet fully understood.[1] Based on Römer (1977, 1983), the tonality of monomoraic function words can be characterized as follows:

(1) (a) H-toned are:
- the preverbal markers *ta* [TNS] and *a* [PERF]
- the preverbal negator *no* [NEG]
- the definite and indefinite articles *e* and *un*

(b) L-toned is: the focus marker *ta* [FOCUS]

(c) toneless, hence subject to tone polarisation, are:
- the singular pronouns *mi, bo, e* [1s, 2s, 3s]
- the irrealis mood marker *lo* [MOOD]
- the copula *ta* [BE]
- the functional prepositions *di* 'of', *ku* 'with', *na* 'at', *pa* 'for', *i* 'and', *ò~òf* 'or'
- the finite complementizer and relative clause introducer *ku* [COMP]

We see here roughly three types of grammatical forms: those which are part of the functional projections above the VP (tense/mood/aspect markers, subject pronouns), those which are part of the functional projections above the DP (articles, functional prepositions), and those which are peripheral to the clause (focus marker, complementizer). We see an apparent lack of uniformity in the tonal character of these forms.

This impression is strengthened when we consider the phenomenon of tone polarization. At first blush, it seems to be subject to a fairly haphazard set of syntactic constraints. I aim ultimately to show that there is in fact full predictability, and that the seemingly H- and L-toned function words in (a) and (b) are actually toneless, but receive an invariant tone due to their syntactic position. Here, I will merely make a first attempt at considering the tonal behavior of some toneless function words.

[1] In a given PAP utterance, tonelessness is not restricted to monosyllabic function words: the final syllables of content words with a predictable high tone on the penultimate syllable are also toneless. These toneless syllables are similarly subject to tone polarization. I will not consider this phenomenon here.

4 Tone polarisation

Let us consider the data, as set out in Römer's work. Here, diacritics will be used to mark L and H tones. We should note that PAP orthography uses diacritics to mark vowel quality, not tone. In the data cited here, no vowels appear which would normally need to be orthographically marked. In (2a), we see where copula *ta* surfaces with L. Its tone contrasts with the immediately following H of *bon*. Moreover, tone polarisation has iterated leftward from *bon*, affecting first copula *ta* before reaching *mi*. The result is a string of alternating H and L tones. A similar process of iteration has taken place in (2b), with opposite tonal results. We see here that tone polarisation moves leftwards.

(2) (a) mí tà bón
1s BE good 'I am well'
(b) mì tá sàlú
1s BE healthy 'I am healthy' (Römer, 1991:10 [1977:75])

The variation in the melody of *mi* and *ta* shows that these morphemes receive their tones post-lexically. The question is why their surface tone should vary. An answer may be found in the general properties of tone in PAP. As pointed out in the preceding section, a single H is assigned to the accented syllable of a nonverbal prosodic word, but - subject to conditions which are as yet insufficiently explored (see Remijsen & Van Heuven, 2005) - alternating H and L tones appear in the surface realisation of polysyllabic forms. The assignment of tone to *mi* and *ta* in (2) clearly follows this rhythmic pattern - although extending outside the domain of the word.

As argued by Akinlabi & Liberman (2000), sequences of unlike tones, such as [high low] or [low high], form tonal complexes. Tone polarisation thus provides evidence of the incorporation of toneless forms into a tonal complex. The incorporation into a tonal complex provides prosodic licensing for the toneless pronoun. That licensing is necessary follows from the fact that at the PF level, all phonetic content has to be incorporated into prosodic structure (e.g., Anderson, 2005:39).

5 When tone polarisation fails

Tone polarisation does not always apply. According to Römer (1991:6 [1977:72]), polarisation fails to iterate from a polarising preposition. This is seen in (3). Tone polarisation has affected *na* 'at', which receives a tone contrasting with the initial tone of *porta* 'door' and *bentana* 'window'. Copula *ta*, on the other hand, fails to polarise, and surfaces with H in both cases, irrespective of the tone of the following

preposition. This shows us that H is assigned as default tone. Note that the subject pronoun *mi* receives a polarised L tone.

(3) (a) mì tá nà pórtà
1s BE LOC door ‘I am at the door’
(b) mì tá ná bèntánà
1s BE LOC window ‘I am at the window’ (Römer 1991:10 [1977:75])

This failure of tone polarisation to extend leftward from a polarising preposition cannot be simply related to the presence of a PP boundary: As seen in (4), *ta* dutifully polarises when it precedes lexical prepositions.

(4) (a) é kás tà ríbà sérù
the house BE on hill ‘The house is on the hill.’
(b) é kás tá ènfréntè dí tèátrò
the house BE front of theatre ‘The house is in front of the theatre.’
(Römer, 1977:71)

A further contrast is seen in (5), where the toneless preposition *pa* fails to polarise with toneless *na* in (a-b), surfacing with default H. But it polarises with the contracted form *n’é* in (c), which carries the inherent high tone of the definite article. It appears that where a pre-specified tone is available, as is the case for prepositions which have prosodic word status, or for a toneless preposition contracted with a H-toned article, polarisation takes place.

(5) (a) ésún pá ná mùráyà
one for LOC wall ‘the one for hanging on the wall’
(b) ésún pá nà é bèntánà
one for LOC the window ‘the one for fitting on the window’
(c) ésún pà n’é bèntánà
one for LOC-the window ‘the one for fitting on the window’
(Römer, 1977:72-3)

Römer points out that polarisation fails also where the toneless function word is in focus. Instead, a string of low-toned syllables is produced:

(6) lò tà pà nà bèntánà
MOOD COP for LOC window ‘(it) will be for fitting on the window’ (Römer, 1991:10)

The focus marker *ta* is similarly low-toned (see 1b). This suggests that focus involves the assignment of a low tone at the left boundary. In the absence of focus, there is no

such effect, as was seen in (3), where the pronoun in absolute initial position displayed polarisation.

6 Final remarks

A toneless function word "looks" to the right to determine what its tone should be—for instance to the initial tone of a following PP. This suggests that the failure of tone polarisation to take place in (5) a-b is related to the tonelessness of the preposition, and that its tonelessness is not resolved in time for any preceding material to derive its tone from it. This suggests that the iterative application of polarisation is restricted by syntactic boundaries: polarisation can iterate only within certain syntactic domains. Thus, leftward iteration from copula *ta* to preceding functional material such as the mood marker *lo* or a subject pronoun, is possible. In these cases, the toneless copula first acquires a tone in contrast with the initial tone of the material to its right, followed by leftward iteration of this process.

Focus is tonally marked by a low tone at the left boundary. This low tone manifests itself on the focus particle *ta*, if present, or on other toneless material. Where tone polarisation fails altogether, a default high tone is assigned.

REFERENCES

Akinlabi, Akin & Mark Liberman (2000). *Tonal complexes and tonal alignment.* Paper presented at NELS 31, Oct. 6-8, Georgetown University.

Anderson, Stephen R. (2005). *Aspects of the theory of clitics*. (Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics; 11). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Devonish, Hubert & Eric Murray (1995). On stress and tone in Papiamentu: an alternative analysis. In Hubert Devonish (Ed.) *UWIling: Working papers in linguistics, 1* (pp. 43-57). Mona: University of the West Indies.

Joubert, Sidney M. (2002[3]). *Dikshonario Papiamentu-Hulandes, Handwoordenboek Papiaments-Nederlands*. (First published in 1991). Curaçao: Fundashon di Leksikografia.

Kouwenberg, Silvia (2004). The grammatical function of Papiamentu tone, *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics , 3*, 55-69.

Kouwenberg , Silvia (2007). The prosody-syntax interface and the status of pronouns in Papiamentu. *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics, 5/6*, 203-225.

Kouwenberg, Silvia & Eric Murray (1994). *Papiamentu*. (Languages of the world/Materials; 68). München: Lincom Europa.

Remijsen, Bert & Vincent Van Heuven (2005). Stress, tone and discourse prominence in the Curaçao dialect of Papiamentu. *Phonology, 22*, 205-235.

Rivera-Castillo, Yolanda (1998). Tone and stress in Papiamentu: The contribution of a constraint-based analysis to the problem of creole genesis. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages, 13, 2*, 297-334.

Rivera-Castillo, Yolanda & Lucy Pickering (2004). Phonetic correlates of stress and tone in a mixed system. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages, 19, 2*, 261-284.

Römer, Raul G. (1977). Polarization phenomena in Papiamentu [reprinted in Römer 1991]. *Amsterdam Creole Studies, I*, 69-79.

Römer, Raul G. (1983). Papiamentu tones. In Enrique Muller (Ed.), *Papiamentu: Problems and possibilities* (pp. 85-96). Zutphen: De Walburg Pers.

Römer, Raul G. (1991). *Studies in Papiamentu tonology* (Caribbean Culture Studies; 5). Amsterdam /Kingston: University of Amsterdam /University of the West Indies.

CAQUETÍO INDIANS ON CURAÇAO DURING COLONIAL TIMES AND CAQUETÍO WORDS IN THE PAPIAMENTU LANGUAGE

GERARD VAN BUURT

1 Introduction

The Dutch deportation of Curaçao Caquetío Indians to Venezuela in 1634 is often interpreted as having ended the Indigenous presence on Curaçao. While this diminished the Caquetío presence on the island, some Indigenous people always remained. The first slaves, freed slaves, and some Europeans as well, were in contact with the Caquetío. Thus, even though there were not many Indians, they were definitely present and part of the substratum when Papiamentu was formed. These Indians were in contact with Aruba and Venezuela, which they could more easily reach than Bonaire. A small Indian village in western Curaçao still existed in 1677 and probably lasted until the early 18th century. In Aruba and Bonaire the Caquetío remained. Thus some original Caquetío words can be found in Papiamentu. These are mostly names of local plants and animals and toponyms. The frequent use of the /ɒ/ 'shi' sound could also be a Caquetío influence in Papiamentu.

The Caquetío lived in the present Venezuelan states of Lara and Falcón and in Aruba (A), Curaçao (C) and Bonaire (B). There were also some Caquetío villages on the western coast of the Gulf of Venezuela and Lake Maracaibo, on the La Guajira Peninsula, as well as south-east of Maracaibo (Oliver, 1989).

2 Contacts between Curaçao, Aruba, Bonaire and Venezuela

The Caquetío Indians on Curaçao could cross to and from Venezuela and Aruba quite easily, which they certainly did regularly. Traveling by canoe, it is much more difficult to reach Bonaire from Curaçao then to reach Aruba or Venezuela which are further away.

To go to Aruba in a canoe would be relatively easy since one would travel with the current. To get back from Aruba, one would have to cross to Venezuela, which is not difficult since one would be able to move across the current. Along the Venezuelan coast there is often a countercurrent. In his book *Aquella Paraguaná,* Alí Brett Martinez describes how salted fish was transported from Punto Fijo to Coro by hugging the coast of Paraguaná and picking up this countercurrent. Indians coming from Aruba and going to Curaçao could take advantage of this countercurrent and travel east to Puerto Cumarebo, and then cross back to Curaçao across the main current. They would leave from a site somewhat to the east of Puerto Cumarebo formerly called "Puerto de Los Curaçao" i.e., where "Los Curaçao", means the Curaçao Indians, would cross over to Curaçao. From this point the crossover is made easily. Thus getting back to Curaçao from Aruba could probably have been accomplished in less than a week's time, assuming favorable weather conditions and a few days of rest along the Venezuelan coast.

La Guajira Peninsula was also within range. It could be reached travelling with the current and coming back by a more southerly route toward Punto Fijo, through calmer waters. From there one would travel along the coast toward the east and "Puerto de Los Curaçao". The *Relación de Antonio Barbudo,* which probably dates from 1570, states the following: *"De la parte de Poniente deste Golfo (de Venezuela) están las sierras Coquibacoa Alta y por la noticia que tengo de los indios de Curaçao, es tierra bien poblada"*. (On the western side of this gulf [the Venezuelan gulf] lie the mountains of Coquibacoa Alta [these are in La Guajira], and from what the Curaçao Indians told me this is a well populated area).[1] This implies that the Indigenous people on Curaçao knew the Guajira Peninsula well.

Getting to Bonaire would probably have been much more difficult. One would have to follow the Venezuelan coast all the way to the mouth of the Tocuyo River, or even further east, then cross over from there. Maybe it would have been possible to make the crossing from Curaçao directly during very calm days, which tend to occur in September or October.

Using canoes, both Aruba and Venezuela could thus be reached more easily than Bonaire. According to archaeologist Jay Haviser, the Indigenous pottery in Bonaire is more similar to the pottery of the Aroa area on the Venezuelan mainland, while Curaçaoan pottery is of the Dabajuro type which is found on Aruba. This evidence supports the theory outlined above that contact between Curacao, Venezuela and Aruba was much more frequent than contact between Curaçao and Bonaire.

[1] Author's translation

The availability of high protein sea-food must have been an important factor that motivated Indigenous people to visit and settle on the islands. In Curaçao for example the main Indigenous settlements were situated along the inner bays, and fish and shellfish constituted an important part of the diet. There probably existed some trade with the mainland in sea-food items that could be transported live, such as conch (*Strombus gigas*), West-Indian Top shell (*Cittarium pica*) and sea turtles. During several archaeological excavations remains of animals from the South-American mainland were found (Haviser, 1994; Hooijer, 1960 and 1963; Versteeg & Rostain, 1997). Some of these were probably kept as pets. Stone axes and other implements made of rock material that does not occur on these islands were also found. All of this indicates that contacts with the mainland were probably quite regular and very likely extended well into colonial times. It is also likely that some of the deported Indians filtered back to the island during the years after their deportation.

3 Caquetío Indians during colonial times

The Spanish arrived on Curaçao in1499. Between 1515 and 1526, the Spanish raided the island several times for slaves and a large number of Indians were carried off to Hispaniola (Haviser, 1987). In 1634, the Dutch conquered the island and all the Spaniards and most of the Indigenous population was deported to the Venezuelan coast, near Coro. This event is often interpreted as having ended the Indigenous presence on Curaçao, but some Indians remained.

After the Dutch deportations, there were still three Indigenous villages on the island and some Indigenous people were living at other locations as well. In the eastern part of Curaçao, there was a village called Rancho Indian near Brievengat and some Indigenous people were living in the Rooi Catootje area. In the western part of Curaçao (Banda Abou) there were two villages; Codoko, near Bartoolbaai, and another one near Seru Bientu. This last village was called “Pueblo Nuevo de la Asunción” or is sometimes referred to as “Pueblo de la Ascención Nueva” (Nooyen, 1979), and was situated near San Hieronymus hill, toward Seru Bientu and Christoffelberg (Haviser, 1987), where Indian pottery is found together with colonial artifacts, such as Gouda smoking pipes and shards of Delft pottery. This village dates from the Spanish period (Haviser, 1987). According to Hartog (1968), the Dutch did not deport all the Indigenous people, some were allowed to live at Ascención. Hartog does not mention the other two other villages listed above. Reference to the “new” village is found in a baptism record from 1677, when it still existed (Nooyen, 1979), and it may have lasted well into the early 18th century.

From 1704 to 1713, Father M.A. Schabel, a Catholic priest, presided over several Indian marriages in Curaçao and he reports that when Jacob Beck was installed as director of the Dutch West India Company (WIC) in 1704, a group of Indian horsemen were present at the festivities. These Indians were probably already of mixed blood, which would have given them protection against Old World diseases, but were still described and recognized as "Indians".
The first African slaves and freed slaves were in contact with these Indigenous people. Even though they were not very numerous, Indigenous people were therefore definitely present and part of the substratum when Papiamentu emerged.

In his book *Het volk van de grote Manaure*, Father R.H. Nooyen gives numerous examples of contacts between people of Indigenous and African descent, that he found in early records of the Catholic Church. He also names some families in Banda Abou which are nowadays considered to be purely of African descent as having Indigenous ancestors. In Curaçao the Indians were simply swamped by a much larger African gene pool than those in Aruba or Bonaire. Mitochondrial DNA studies in Aruba indicate mostly Indigenous and to a lesser extent some sub-Saharan African ancestry (Toro-Labrador, Wever & Martínez-Cruzado, 2003). I am convinced that a similar mitochondrial DNA investigation in those African descended Curaçaoan families which were already on the island before the influx of Afro-Caribbean workers during the oil boom (especially those whose ancestors lived in Banda Abou) would more or less be the mirror image of the Aruba results, i.e., mostly African, but to a lesser extent part Indian and European ancestry as well. Many of the Caquetío words in Papiamentu are still in general use, but others are nowadays only rarely used and sometimes only known by older people. In Curaçao today, such words often can be traced back to the Banda Abou area (e.g., *katana, kiwa karate, shilib, wawuya*).

In 1743 many of the remaining Indigenous people on Curacao moved to Coro. They were transported by a Dutch vessel (Nooyen, 1979). This may indicate that by this time they were not crossing over to Venezuela in their own canoes anymore. Although some Indians remained, this last emigration may have ended the presence of Indians as a separate group. In 1747, van Laar, the secretary of the WIC, reported that there were still 1300 Indians on Curaçao (Nooyen, 1995). This is a surprisingly high number which may be inaccurate or could include a large number of persons of mixed descent. Between 1770 and 1780 Indians are still mentioned quite regularly in the baptism records of the Catholic Church (Nooyen, 1995). By the end of the 18th century the last Indigenous people had been completely absorbed into the rest of the population.

In Aruba and Bonaire Indigenous people maintained their identity as a separate group somewhat longer, e.g., when Father (Pater) van Koolwijk and Pinart published their lists of Indigenous words in use in Aruba in the late 19th century. Several of the surviving Caquetío words in Papiamentu come from these islands. There were many contacts between the Indians from "Pueblo Nuevo de la Asunción" in Curaçao and those from "Alto Vista" in Aruba. In the early records of the Catholic Church (1677), Indians from Aruba are also mentioned as being present during baptisms of African descended people in Curaçao (Nooyen, 1979). Indians had been mixing with African and European descended people from an early stage and some of their offspring ended up in Aruba. This can explain some of the African words found in the Indian wordlist compiled by Pinart in Aruba.

It is not known when Indigenous people ceased travelling to Aruba in canoes. It has been attested that in later years they began travelling as passengers on other vessels, or perhaps in small sail-assisted vessels of their own. In October 1634 and August 1635, the Spaniard Diego Hernandes Carudo, made reconnaissance trips from Venezuela to Curaçao to reconnoiter Dutch defenses. He travelled in a *piragua* (canoe) equipped with sails (Cardot, 1982). During the first trip, he travelled with some "Indios Curaçao". On the second trip he was accompanied by twelve soldiers. Since a *piragua* has no or almost no keel, the sails must have been small auxiliary sails which nonetheless facilitated travelling considerably. In Aruba, the Indigenous people from Alto Vista maintained regular contacts with priests at the pueblo de Santa Ana in Paraguaná well into the 18th and early 19th centuries. These contacts were very likely maintained utilizing their own vessels (Nooyen, 1995). Canoes were in use for fisheries up to the early 20th century, a photograph of two canoes was taken in 1905 near Bubali in Aruba (Boeke, 1907).

4 Caquetío words in Papiamentu

Papiamentu is a creole language. African influence is very strong in the grammar and there are also some African words in the lexicon. Many words of African origin are related to folklore, others are names of musical instruments and of animals which are also found in Africa (e.g., *maribomba* 'wasp', *djindja* 'porcupine fish'). The lexicon consists mostly of words of Spanish and Portuguese origin, but about a quarter of the lexicon is of Dutch origin. The earliest reference to the Papiamentu language dates from 1747 (Coomans-Eustatia, 2005). From 1806 to1816, Curaçao was occupied by the British, but in older Papiamentu there is hardly any English influence. At the end of the 18th and in the early 19th centuries there were many French immigrants on the island, many of which left the island during the English occupation. Papiamentu has

some French words, but the French did not contribute much to the lexicon. A village named Jan Doret is, however, named after the Frenchman Jean Doray. This can be explained by the fact that Papiamentu was already a fully established language at the time of the presence of these immigrants and during the English occupation. Nowadays technical terms often derive from English and English influence on Papiamentu is increasing.

When names of local animals and plants are also found on the Spanish Mainland, this does not necessarily imply that the Papiamentu form is derived from the mainland. *dividivi* very likely is the original Caquetío form, it is not necessarily derived from the mainland *divedive*. There are several Taíno words in Papiamentu, which are also used in Spanish. Papiamentu words like *casabí, kanoa, komehein, kunuku, maïshi, pita* and *sabana* all derive from Taíno, and although it seems likely that they entered into Papiamentu via Spanish, some of the same words are found in other Arawakan languages and could very likely have been used in Caquetío as well, since it was closely related to Taïno. *pita* is very likely not Caquetío, since Caquetío used *kokuy*, but still the possibility cannot be fully excluded. In addition to the form *maïshi*, Papiamentu also uses the forms *mainshi*, where the insertion of the <*n*> could be a Bantu influence and also the form *mahishi*, which is commonly used in Bonaire. *mahishi* could very well be an original Caquetío form.

The Caquetío influence in Papiamentu is small, but there are definitely a few original Caquetío words in Papiamentu. In most cases absolute proof is lacking, since only one short Caquetío wordlist from Venezuela has survived to the present (Oliver, 1989). This has led some to claim that no original Caquetío words remain in Papiamentu. Such researchers reason that, since the Dutch deported the Indigenous people, all, or almost all the Indigenous words in Papiamentu: 1) entered the language via Spanish; 2) were brought in from Venezuela from related Indigenous languages such as Guajiro; and/or 3) were the contribution of the Taíno and other Indigenous people brought to Curaçao by the Spanish (Kramer, 2004).

While it is certainly true that many Indigenous words came in these ways, other words must certainly be original local Caquetío words. In almost all cases these are names of local plants and animals and toponyms. Several of these words are only used on either Aruba or Bonaire (or sometimes on both) where there was of course a stronger Caquetío presence. Even though Papiamentu primarily developed on Curaçao it must also have been influenced by speakers from these islands. From an examination of the structure of some of these toponyms found in Curaçao and a comparison between these toponyms and those found in Aruba and Bonaire, it can be seen that the forms used in Papiamentu in many cases must be closer to the original Caquetío forms than

similar mainland words which underwent Spanish influence. We will now consider some of the phonological features that could indicate Caquetío origins for words in Papiamentu.

Words with '*shi*' /ɒi/ as prefix, infix or suffix (-/ɒi/, /ɒi/- and -/ɒi/-) are often original Caquetío words. *kadushi, kadushi pushi, bushi,* are closer to the original Caquetío than the related forms from the mainland, *kaduche, buche*. *shimarucu* is certainly more original than the form *semaruco*. This we can see when comparing to the toponyms, where the occurrence of /ɒi/ is quite common. It is interesting that in the earliest Spanish reference to what in Paraguaná is nowadays called *caduche,* we find *caduchi,* Papiamentu uses *kadushi* (see below). *shuata* and *shiwata* are original and do not derive from Spanish *aciguatar*. This can be deduced from the fact that the form *shiwata* is also used in Aruba.

/ɒi/ syllables in Papiamentu are also found in words which are definitely not of Caquetío or even Amerindian origin. In Portuguese we sometimes also find the <x> pronounced as /ɒ/. Papiamentu *lagadishi* (lizard) is probably derived from Portuguese *lagartixa* (in Brazil it is often pronounced *lagartiesje*) or may be from Spanish *lagartija*. Spanish *cimarrón* becomes *shimaron* in Papiamentu, as in *watapana shimaron,* which in Papiamentu refers to a wild or feral form of a plant or animal. In Dutch we find *–sje* and *–tje* which can become *–shi* or *-chi* in Papiamentu. For example: *dubbeltje – debchi, kast –cashi* (in this case the Papiamentu form could be derived from the diminutive *kastje*. The frequent use of /ɒi/ syllables in Papiamentu, in many words which do not derive from Caquetío, could very well be a Caquetío influence.

Words with the *gua-* prefix and names of trees ending in *-o* in Spanish may be Caquetío words which underwent Spanish influence. It is interesting to note that some of these words retain the original /w/ sound in Papiamentu. The Spanish language is known to replace /w/ sounds with /gw/ (written <gu>, as illustrated in the following examples:

English: *winch,* Spanish: *guinche*
Nahuatl: *ahuacatl,* Spanish: *aguacate*
Carib: *iwana,* Island Carib: *iuana,* Spanish: *iguana*
Arabic: Oed el Kebir, Spanish: *Guadalquivir*

The Papiamentu words *watapana, wayaká* and *watakeli* thus seem more original than *guatapaná*, *guayacán*, *guatacare*, *guatacaro* etc.

In Spanish trees are usually male, while their fruits or other products are female. For example: *el caobo*, 'mahogany tree', *la caoba*, 'mahogany wood'. Thus when indicating the tree *guatacare* this word will tend to change to *guatacaro*. Also compare: *shimaruku* with *cemaruco* and *semerúca.* Papiamentu *-huri* or-*uri* is very likely the equivalent of the mainland Caquetío *–ure*, which according to Cruz Esteves (1989) means 'root'. The plants *hurihuri*, *karishuri* and *marihuri*/*manihuri* all have roots which are used for either medicinal purposes or food.
bara means tree in Caquetío, and it could have been changed to *bari* (analogous to Lokono: *balli*) or *bari* could have been in turn derived from *bara* + diminutive *i*, = 'small tree'. In the case of the *kalabari*, a large tree, this explanation does not hold, but it could be that the original form was Kalabara and that this was changed over to *kalabari* in later times, to conform with the other tree names ending in *-bari*, and to facilitate pronunciation, when the original meaning of *-bara* was lost. In a similar way the name *tarabara*, a shrub could have been derived from *tarabari*. Papiamentu names of plants ending in – *bana* or – *pana* could be derived from Caquetío - *bana* or - *pana* which indicates a leaf or a leaf like flat structure in that language.

5 Words in Papiamentu likely to be of Caquetío Origin (excluding toponyms)

Since no absolute proof exists and indeed, many other Amerindian words were introduced into Papiamentu (van Buurt & Joubert, 1997) it is sometimes difficult to decide which Indian words are likely to be of Caquetío origin. Thus the following listing has a subjective element.

ashibi (A) **–** a small biting insect also called *praga* (Portuguese: *a praga* 'the curse'), Guajiro: *shipe'*
batutu (C) – see *maniweri, manuweri*
bulabari (B) – a tree (*Guaiacum sanctum*) which is related to Lignum vitae (*Guaiacum officinale*), but is somewhat smaller
bushi (A, B) – a globular cactus, Melon cactus, Turk's cap (*Melocactus* spp.); this word is also used for sea urchins. In Curaçao we find the *bushito* (composed of Caquetío: *bushi* and the Spanish diminutive *-ito*). The *bushito* is a small globular cactus (*Mammillaria mammillaris* syn. *Mamillaria simplex*). This cactus is not found on Aruba and Bonaire. The existence of the name *bushito* on Curaçao indicates that the word *bushi* was formerly also used in Curaçao, where it was later displaced by the name *melon di seru* (litt: 'melon of the hill(s)'.
bushicuri (A) – a shrub (*Morisonia americana*)
catashi (A) – a shrub, (*Phyllantus botryanthus*). Aruba uses a Papiamentu spelling which is different from that of Curaçao and Bonaire, where *catashi* is written *katashi*.

chibichibi (B) – a small bird, the bananaquit, (*Coereba flaveola bonairensis*)
chogogo (B) - the greater flamingo (*Phoenicopterus ruber*)
chuchubi (A, C, B) – the tropical mockingbird (*Mimus gilvus*)
cushicuri (A) – a climbing cactus (*Acanthocereus tetragonus*)
dabaruida, yaga dabaruida, yaga (A) – a shrub or small tree (*Pithecellobium unguis-cati*) that has quite flexible twigs with sharp downward curved thorns, like cat-claws. In a list from 1880 with Indian words from Aruba made by Father van Koolwijk we find *dabaroida* (Hartog, 1953). The Pinart wordlist from1890 gives *dabaraida*. Lokono *dabáda* means 'nail' or 'claw'. *dabára* means 'hair', *ida* – 'surrounded by', 'in, with', 'skin' (these are related meanings) See: De Goeje (1928). Pinart also gives a formula which the Aruba Indians used to remove cactus spines from the human body '*Una areya rafayete dudrea ebanero a bono, caburo copudado daburi.*" Pinart gives no translation for this formula, but we can speculate that *daburi* could refer to the cactus spines. In a Shebayo wordlist from Trinidad dating from 1594-95 published in Taylor (1977), we find *dabodda* and *dabádoh* for 'nail', 'claw'. Shebayo is the Trinidad variant of the Arawakan Lokono language.
datu, dato (A, C) – In Curaçao this is the columnar cactus *Stenocereus griseus* syn. *Lemareocereus griseus*. In Bonaire it is called *yatu* or *yato*. In Aruba this cactus is called *kadushi* while the columnar cactus *Cereus repandus* is sometimes called *dato*, although usually more commonly called *breba*. This can be very confusing. Originally *datu* applied to the fruit (see *kadushi* below). According to Oliver the suffix *–ato* indicates a family relationship. *d-ato* is the daughter of the *yato*. In Lokono *otu, uttu* means 'daughter' (De Goeje, 1928).
dividivi (A, C, B) - *dividivi* originally is the fruit of the *watapana* tree (*Caesalpinia coriaria*), but nowadays the name also applies to the plant and in Curaçao Papiamentu it is also a synonym of *watapana*. In Bonaire *dividivi* only refers to the fruit.
dori, dori maco (A, C, B) - Colombian four-eyed frog, froth nest frog (*Pleurodema brachyops*). This frog is native to Aruba, it is also found in the savanna areas of Northern South America and Panama. In Venezuela it is called *sapito lipón* 'fat little toad'. It was introduced in Curaçao (1910) and in Bonaire (1928). The name *dori, dori maco* originates in Aruba, but is now used on all the three islands. This animal is mentioned in an old Papiamentu rhyme from Aruba. This rhyme is still in use, it was already noted down by the German Professor Martin around 1883 (van Meeteren, 1947):

> Dori, dori maco, si mi muri, ken ta derami?, Ami, ami, ami
> Dori, dori maco, ora mi muri, ken ta yorami?, Ami, ami, ami
> (Dori, dori maco, if I die, who will bury me? Me, me, me
> Dori, dori maco, when I die, who will cry for me? Me, me, me)

The name *maco* is also found in Taïno, as the name of another frog (Tejera, 1977). *dori* is an onomatopea. Thus *dori maco* is the frog that calls "do-ri".

fofoti (A) – a type of mangrove tree (*Laguncularia racemosa*)

gobí (C, B) - small calabash cut in two to serve as a small drinking beaker, *–bí* probably means small.

gogorobí (C, B) - whistle made from a small calabash. In this case *–bí* probably also means small. *gogoro* - could be derived from *kokoro* which refers to a thick-skinned leaf or a rind. Compare: *kokorobana*, a plant with a thick-skinned leaf and *kokorobi*, made from a small calabash rind.

hobada (A, B) – a thorny tree, (*Acacia tortuosa*)

hurihuri (C)– winding or climbing brush (*Capparis flexuosa*)

huliba (A) – *Capparis indica* and also *Capparis odoratissima*

ishiri (B) – a tree (3-7m high) with yellow-brownish globular fruit (*Crateva tapia*)

kadushi (C, B) - a columnar cactus (*Cereus repandus*), in Aruba it is more commonly called *breba*, which is derived from Spanish *breva*. In 1579 the "Relación de Nueva Segovia" gives a description of Paraguaná and states the following:

> *…Hay unos árboles que commúnmente se llaman Cardones de ramas y estas ramas espinosas que no llevan hojas sino solamente espinas y muy espesas de manera que no se puede tocar con la mano y son tan largas como una aguja y otras menos y estos arboles serán del alto de una lanza y unos mas y otros menos llevan dos maneras de fruta a manera de ciruelas de monje en la hechura y en cantidad mucho mayor. (…) llamanla en lengua de indio Caduchi que nosotros llamamos brevas, la otra fruta se llama en lengua de Indios, Dato.*
>
> …There are some trees which are commonly called Cardones with branches and these branches are spiny and do not have leaves, but only spines, which are densely packed, you cannot touch them with your hands and they are as long as a needle and some are shorter and these trees reach the length of a lance, some are higher and some are shorter. They give two types of fruit, which when ripe look like "*ciruelas de monje*" (litt: prunes of the Monks) but in much larger numbers.(…) the Indians call them (the fruits) *caduchi*, which we call *brevas* and the other fruit is called *dato*, in the Indian language.[2]

In Guajiro we find: *kayúsi*, *kayúsí*. Here we see that *kadushi*, like *datu*, *dato* originally applied to the fruit.

kadushi pushi (C, B) – In Aruba this cactus is called *breba di pushi*. A somewhat smaller columnar cactus with finer needles (*Pilosocereus lanuginosus*). In Guajiro, *püche* is a melon cactus (Jusayú & Zubiri, 1977) it also applies to *Cactus caesius* a somewhat cylindrical melon cactus (Perrin, 1980). Nowadays this cactus is called

[2] Author's translation

(*Melocactus curvispinus* subsp. *caesius*). Since *kadushi* is Caquetío, it is likely that the *kadushi pushi* is also Caquetío.

kalabari (C, B) – a large tree, (*Zanthoxylum flavum*)

kamari (C, B), **camari** (A) – (*Coccoloba swartzii*) a small shrub related to the sea grape (*Coccoloba uvifera*)

karawara (C), **cawara** (A) **koahara, koahari** (B) – (*Cordia dentata*) a shrub or small tree, with white, somewhat translucent and slimy round fruits. In Venezuela it is called *caujaro*.

karishuri (B) – a small shrub, whose roots are used for medicinal purposes (*Cordia curasavica* syn. *Cordia cylindrostachia*)

karkidaki, kashidaki (B) – a shrub (*Phyllantus bothryanthus*)

katana (C) – corn on the cob (*Zea mays*), sometimes referring to corn cobs with large or colored kernels. In Guajiro *kutána* refers to certain varieties of maize with a large cob and large kernels. This is an example of a word sometimes still used in the Banda Abou area of Curaçao

kebédu (A) – scorpion fish (*Scorpaena* spp.)

kedébi (B) - very large as in *yuana kedébi* (very large iguana) and *gutu kedébi*, a large parrotfish, larger than others; the blue parrot fish (*Scarus cearulus*)

kedebre (A) - plumed scorpion fish (*Scorpaena grandicornis*)

kibéri (A) - spotted scorpion fish (*Scorpaena plumieri*)

kiviti (A) - a shrub or small tree, with white flowers (*Croton niveus*)

kiwa (A, C, B) - *kiwa* is the West Indian top shell (*Cittarium pica*). This word is also found in Venezuela as *quigua* and in Cuba as *cigua*.

kiwa karate, kiwa karati (C, B) – the name *kiwa karate*, which refers to a gastropod with a marbled appearance, which can cause poisoning, is only found in Curaçao and Bonaire. In Curaçao some older people in the Banda Abou area are still familiar with this word, which is not in common use anymore. It is not known with certainty which shell is the *kiwa karate*, it could be *Turbo castanea* or *Cypraea zebra.*

kododo, cododo - (A, B) whiptail lizard (*Cnemidophorus* spp.)

kokorobana, cocorobana (A) – Sea purslane, white lavendel, a halophilic shrub, with thick leaves, found near the coast or in the vicinity of salt pans (*Mallotonia gnaphalodes*)

kokorobí (C, B)– a small calabash, cut in half over its length and used as a scoop to pick up water, or sometimes a small calabash cut in two to serve as a small drinking beaker, also called *gobí*. In this case *–bi* probably means ‘small’.

koubati, kaubati (B)**, coushati** (A) – a tree 3-6 m high, (*Krugiodendron ferreum*)

kuihi, kwihi (A), **kuhí, kuí, kwida** (B) - mesquite tree (*Prosopis juliflora*). *kwihi* sounds more original, is in better harmony with the sounds of the toponyms than the Venezuelan form *cuji*. The other name for this tree used in the Papiamentu of

Curaçao, *indju* is definitely not Caquetío and came via Spanish, it is also used in Nicaragua and the Yucatán.

lobi (A, C, B) – In Aruba this is an expression meaning 'how small!". In Curaçao and Bonaire a small watermelon, or sometimes another fruit like a small papaya is called *lobi*. *-bi* refers to smallness. In Lokono *l(o)-* is a prefix that can indicate the meaning "He (is)…" (de Goeje, 1928).

mahawa (A, C, B) - a reef fish, the creole fish (*Paranthias furcifer*). On Aruba and Bonaire a tree, *Ficus brittonii*, is also called *mahawa*.

mahoso, mahos (A, C, B) – ugly. Guajiro *muhusu, mujusu* means 'bad', Lokono: *maisu- ini* also means 'bad'.

makambí (C, B), **macabí** (A) – lady fish (*Elops saurus*), in this case the Spanish version, *macabí* is closer to the original Caquetío than Curaçao Papiamentu *makambi*, which underwent African influence (the insertion of the /m/). In Aruba the form *macabí* was maintained. Although this word is also found in Taïno, I believe it to be Caquetío as well and unlikely to be imported from Taïno. This fish has many very small bones *–bi* could indicate 'small' and could refer to these bones. During archeological excavations of a Caquetío village at Tanki Flip in Aruba, 5.2 % of all fish remains found were lady fish (Versteeg & Rostain, 1997). Nowadays *macabí* is not usually eaten because of its many bones, but it can be used for fish soup.

makurá (C, B) – jumby beans; a climbing vine often found on columnar cactus. It has pods with small red colored oval beans with a black spot, which are very poisonous (*Abrus precatorius*). There may exist a relation to Lokono *ikira* 'tears' and *ma-kira* 'no tears', 'to dry' (de Goeje, 1928).

manaria (C, B) – See *wampanaria*

manuweri, maniweri (C) – a creeping vine with relatively large yellow flowers and a beetlike edible root (*Amoreuxia wrightii* syn. *Amoreuxia palmatifida*). The fruit is called *batutu*.

marihuri, manihuri (C, B) – This is a wild cassava species (*Manihot carthaginensis*), which is not indigenous; it was introduced to the islands from the dry regions of South America by the Indians. In Aruba it is called *yuca amara*, *yuca guajira* or *yuca di mondi*. Its roots are poisonous, and have to be treated like all bitter cassava to be eaten. It has a lower food value than normal cassava, but its roots are much more durable and it can stand considerable drought. In former times this plant was used by the African descended population as a reserve food for very bad times, *tempu berans* (Litt: 'rancid times', from Dutch *beransd*). Every century there are a few extended dry periods, when there is hardly any rain, which may last up to two years and nine months or even somewhat longer. Here we see an Indian practice being continued by their black descendants. Obviously it was not a preferred food, but something that was eaten only when practically nothing else was available. It was also used to poison cats and dogs. If we compare with Taïno *maní* which means 'peanut', and combine

this with *–huri*, *manihuri* could very well mean 'peanut shaped root', which would be a very apt description of the form of its root knolls, even though the marihuri root knolls are much larger.

mashibari (C), **mafobari, mahubari** (Bonaire)**, macubari** (Aruba) – Small tree or shrub, (*Guapira pacurero* syn. *Pisonia bonairensis*)

oromani (A, C, B) – the chain moray (*Echidna catenata*). This moray is common in the shallow water areas of coral reefs; it is black with a reticulated network pattern of yellow stripes. It is very unlikely that this word is derived from Spanish *oro* and English 'man'. Unlike Sranan Tongo (a Creole language of Surinam), there are no English words in older Papiamentu and certainly the combination of a partly Spanish and partly English word would be very unusual. Such words are quite rare and are found only in modern Papiamentu. An example would be *puwitu-killer* (Spanish *pollito* and English 'killer', meaning an older man with a very young girlfriend or vice versa). The name *oromani* is not found in Sranan Tongo, nor is this animal found on the muddy or sandy coasts of Surinam. An Arawakan etymology for *oromani* seems more likely. In Lokono ori means 'snake' and the suffix *–man* or *–mana* is found in the names of many aquatic animals, especially water snakes (Taylor, 1977). Lokono *oroli* is a large mythical snake. Taïno: *caïman*, *caïmana*. Island Carib (Kallinago): *makáyuman*, a lobster.

palúli (C, B) – the mangrove mussel (*Brachidontes exustus*). The late A.J. Maduro was of the opinion that this name could be derived from the French *palourde*. This however seems unlikely since in the French West-Indian islands *palourde* is a name which is applied to an entirely different group of shells (*Codakia* spp.). Furthermore there are almost no examples of names of indigenous local plants and animals in Papiamentu which are derived from French. Practically the only examples are the snapper *kapitán* (French *capitaine*), which however could possibly also derive from Spanish and the name *kakabolli* (Creole French: *cacabelli*) which however does not relate to the same fish. It is thus likely that *palúli* is of Caquetío origin.

patalewa (C) – the barn owl (*Tyto alba*). This word is not in use anymore, nowadays the barn owl is called *palabrua*. The Dutch traveller Teenstra who visited Curaçao mentions this name in the account of his voyages (1828/29 and 1833/34) which was published in two volumes in 1836 and 1837. Teenstra is known as an accurate observer and a dependable source of information.

shilib (C) – a small whiptail lizard (*Cnemidiphorus murinus murinus*). This word is still found in the Banda Abou area.

shimaruku (A, C, B) – small tree or shrub with orange-red fruits, which are very rich in vitamin C (*Malphigia emarginata*). The word *cemaruco, semerúca* is found in Venezuela Lokono: *seme* means 'sweet' (de Goeje, 1928).

sawaka (C)– the underworld, the realm of the dead, the beyond. In old Papiamentu the expression *baha na sawaka* existed, meaning 'to descend to the underworld' or 'to

die'. In modern Papiamentu *sawaka* is used as "Dead!" or to express the idea that something went very wrong. In Lokono *sa-* can indicate a small plurality, like 2-6 (de Goeje, 1928). *waka* means underground. According to Oliver Caquetío *wakaubana* refers to an underground creek, and *-bana* refers to its being covered. In Aruba we find the toponym *wakubana*. In Colombia *guacar* means 'to bury something', 'a burial', and *cavar guacas*, 'to dig holes'. The Taïno in Hispaniola knew a cave named Guacayarima. This cave was the abode of a large mythical monster. *yarima* means 'anus', *guaca* "underground area, underground region". Guacayarima then means 'anus which leads to the underworld' (Tejera, 1977).

sawáwa (C) – a few large waves, a wave train. This word was used in old Papiamentu (Brenneker, 1978); it is not in use anymore.

shiri-shiri (A, C, B)- entrails. There is no proof this is an Indian word. It has been suggested it came from Africa. Nevertheless it could very well be Caquetío.

shoco, choco (A) – a small burrowing owl found in Aruba (*Athene cunicularia*). In Guajiro it is called *shokóhin* (Jusayú & Zubiri, 1977). *shoco, choco* (the Papiamentu spelling in Aruba) is very likely the original Caquetío name.

shoshori (C, B), **shoshoro** (A) – a climbing vine (*Passiflora foetida*)

shuata (C, B), **shiwata** (A) – to get fish poisoning, nowadays it is used as a general term for food poisoning.

stanibari (B) – a small shrub, with slender twigs and white flowers (*Antirrhoea acutata*)

tampañá (C, B) - The edible fruit of the *kadushi* columnar cactus (*Cereus repandus*). There could be a relation with Paraujano (Añú) *tapaña*, which refers to the great-grandparents of a man. The fruit which contain numerous small seeds can be seen as a great-grandparent with numerous offspring. The insertion of the /m/ is probably a later African influence.

tapushi (A, C, B) – originally an ear of maize (*Zea mays*), nowadays also an ear of sorghum (*Sorghum vulgare*) or other grasses. In Guajiro several similar words are found that indicate a family relationship, such as *apüshí*, *tapü'shi*, *püpüshi*, *jüpü'shi* and *jüshi*. *tapü'shi* refers to a matrilineal clan.

tarabara (A) - a shrub with flexible twigs and sharp cat-claw like curved spines (*Mimosa distachya*).

teishi, tishi (A) – a white bird of prey, probably the white-tailed kite (*Elanus leucurus*), which sometimes crosses over to Aruba from Paraguaná as a casual visitor. In Aruba we also find the hill Seru Tishi.

waïki, waíki (C, B) – homemade hygienic tampon for women, usually made from the cloth of empty flour sacks, cotton and twine. These were in use until the early 20th century. Presumably in earlier years they would have been made from wild cotton (*Gossypium hirsutum*) and natural fibers, such as agave fibers. Nowadays the word *waïki*, *waíki* has been replaced by the brand name "kotex", this word is used

generically. In the Carib language Cumanagoto we find the word *huaïkur* for a loin cloth. In Chaima, another Carib language from Venezuela, we find the word *guayuco*, also for a loincloth, in Guajiro we find *wüsi*. Although the meaning for these words is somewhat different they seem to be related to *waïki, waíki*. Since the word *waïki, waíki* is known only from these islands it is very likely an original Caquetío word, even though there seem to be parallels with words in Carib languages.

waltaka (A) – the tree lizard *Anolis lineatus* . In Curaçao *Anolis lineatus* is called *totèki* or *kaku*. In Bonaire *Anolis bonairensis* used to be called *lagadishi di palu,* but nowadays the names *totèki* and *kaku*, which probably originate in Curaçao are more commonly used. *totèki* is related to, or derived from *tuqueque, tuteque* an Amerindian word used for geckos in Venezuela and parts of Colombia. In Papiamentu geckos were formerly called *totèki pegapega, turtèki* or *turtiki pegapega*. Nowadays they are called *pega pega*.

wakurá, wakuri (B) – a shrub or small tree, with small green globular fruits, which blacken when ripe (*Randia aculeata*)

wampanaria (C, B) – seafans (*Gorgonia ventalina* and *Gorgonia flabellum*). These gorgonians grow in the sea in shallow water where water movement is strong. This word is related to the word *manari, manáre*, meaning 'strainer' or 'sieve', in Guajiro *manái*. In the past in Papiamentu a sieve was called *manaria*. These sea fans were used to sieve flour. *wa-* or *wu-* often indicates a plurality, each fan has several leaf like structures.

waranawa (A, C, B) – salted mullet or sometimes another species of salted fish. This word comes from Paraguaná and it seems to have been introduced into Papiamentu via Spanish. In Paraguaná it is called *guaranaro* (the mullet is called by its Spanish name *lisa*). Nevertheless it is very likely an original Caquetío word, which in the past could have been used by the Caquetío on the islands as well and may have been introduced into Papiamentu quite long ago. It is not known whether the original Caquetío word referred to the mullet or to its dried and salted form or both. Nowadays salted fish is not produced in Curaçao and mullet is not a very popular fish since it is often associated with muddy inner bays, while people prefer fish from the open sea. In the past, when fish from the open sea were more difficult to catch than those in shallow waters and inner bays, this could very well have been different. It is known that the Caquetío used to eat fish such as *warashi* and *macabí*, which today are not popular and are hardly eaten at all. At present, *waranawa* refers exclusively to imported Venezuelan salted fish. *waranawa* is also used figuratively as in *Bo por skonde waranawa, ma bo n'por skonde su oló* (You can hide a *waranawa*, but you cannot hide its smell).

warashi – (A, B), bonefish (*Albula vulpes*)

warawara (A, C, B) – the crested Caracara (*Caracara cheriway* syn. *Polyborus plancus*)

warwacowa, warwacoha, warbacoa (A, B) - the bare-eyed pigeon (*Columba corensis*), Caquetio *wakoa*, Lokono *wakokwa*

warwarú (A, C, B) – whirlwind, tornado, waterspout or dust devil. Taylor (1958) states

> "*Another possible and perhaps more likely etymon for* warrawarrou *and* warwarau *is a word meaning 'thunder' (or 'thunderstorm'), which Sir Wm.Young recorded in 1792, from a Vincentian Carib in Tobago, as* warawiarou*. Some 150 years earlier, Breton had recorded this word's Dominican equivalent as* ouallouhúyourou*; and some 150 years later, I recorded its Central America Island-Carib equivalent as* uaiuhúru*. The phonetic changes present no diffculty*."

In Guajiro we find *wawaí* for cyclone or tornado (Jusayú & Zubiri, 1977). It is unlikely that *warwarú* would have been introduced into Papiamentu from Island Carib and that at the same time it would have acquired a somewhat different meaning. Nor is this word found in Spanish. Thus it is likely an original Caquetío word that bears a family resemblance to a related Island Carib (Kallinago) word. Island Carib is an Arawakan language related to Caquetío which is called "Island Carib" because of strong Carib influence in the language.

washiri – (B), egg of an iguana

watakeli (C, B)**, watakeri** (Aruba)– (*Bourreria succulenta*) a small tree or shrub with small orange berries, used as food by birds, especially parakeets, parrots and blue doves. In Venezuela it is called *guatacare, guatacaro*. In English it is called bodywood, currant tree, pigeonberry, (Bahama) strongbark or Bahama strongback.

watapana (A, C, B) – (*Caesalpinia coriaria*), a common indigenous tree which is often bent by the wind. *–apana* refers to leaves, *wa-* or *wu-* often indicates a plurality and also the idea of "having", (de Goeje, 1928). The /t/ could be a phonological addition to facilitate the pronunciation (epenthesis). *watapana* probably means "has many (small) leaves". This tree has feathered leaves with many small leaflets. See also: *dividivi*. The form *guatapaná* is found in Taïno and on the Spanish mainland.

wawuya (C) – an almost extinct name for the rufous-collared sparrow (*Zonotrichia capensis*)

wayaká (A, C, B) – The tree lignum vitae (*Guaiacum officinale*), according to the Spanish *cronistas* in Taïno it is named *guayacán*, a word nowadays also used in Spanish. This may also be a Caquetío word, the form *wayaká* seems more original than *guayacán* and it is a very common indigenous tree. The word *guayacán* is also used on the mainland. On the other hand it seems strange that in Bonaire the closely related tree *Guaiacum sanctum* is named *bulabari*, this makes one suspect that *wayaká* could be an imported Taïno word. This example also demonstrates the difficulty of deciding which Amerindian words in Papiamentu are likely to be originally from Caquetío.

yaga (A) – see *dabaruida*
yiwiri (A, B) – white-tipped dove (*Leptotila verrauxi*),
yuana (A, C, B) – *yuana* (*Iguana iguana*) is found in Taïno as a name for *Cyclura* iguanas, it is also used in Guajiro for the Green iguana (*Iguana iguana*). It is very likely Caquetío as well. This is a very common indigenous animal. Spanish uses *iguana*; it is thus not derived via Spanish. The form *yuana kedébi* indicates it is very likely an original Caquetío word.
yuchi (C, B), **yiuchi** (A) – small child. In Guajiro we find; *jouú*, *joú*

Many of the words mentioned above (unless otherwise noted) are not found in Spanish, nor in the Diccionario de La Lengua Guajira (Jusayú & Zubiri, 1977), nor in the Taïno dictionaries by Tejera (1977) and Aquino (1977). These words are thus unlikely to have been imported into Papiamentu from Spanish, Taïno or Guajiro.

Toponyms likely to be of Caquetío origin
Elements from Spanish include *seru* 'hill', *pos* 'well', *boca* 'bay', 'cove', *punta* 'point', *cueba* 'cave', and *kibrá* 'fissure', 'creek'. *rooi* is derived from Spanish *arroyo*, a usually dry river bed. Names like Playa Kaketío in Curaçao, have been excluded. This is a location named after a nearby Caquetío settlement, but not an original Caquetío toponym. Many toponyms with Sabana or derived from Sabana, which are found on all three islands have also been excluded. An example is "de Savaan" (an old Caquetío settlement in Curaçao) but not an original Caquetío toponym. Sabana refers to a plain or somewhat flat area. In Yatu (Largu), Largu is in parentheses since it is not Caquetío.

Cudishi seems Caquetío, but could also be derived from Papiamentu *kudishi*, which is derived from Spanish. This however seems less likely. *kudishi* means 'avarice, greed, covetousness' (in the Curaçao and Bonaire Papiamentu spelling the <c> becomes a <k>, but the original spelling of toponyms is maintained). In Papiamentu *baranca* means a large rock (in Spanish it is a gorge or ravine). *Malmok* is often considered to be an original Indian word, the name is found on both Aruba and Bonaire. However it could very well be derived from Dutch *malle mok* for this reason it is followed by a question mark.

Aruba
Anabui (Seru)
Anamichi
Andicouri, Andicuri
Angochi
Araburu
Arashi
Arikok, Avikok (Seru)
Aruba, Oruba, Orua
Avikurari
Ayo

Balashi
Barbacoa
Basiruti
Behika, Behuko
Boroncana
Bubali
Bucuti
Budui (Boca)
Buguru, Bucurui (Seru)
Burubunu
Bushiri
Bushiribana
Butucu
Cababuna
Caburi
Cadushi (Largo)
Cadushi (Seru)
Camari
Canashito (Seru)
Caoshati (Seru)
Caruburi
Cashero
Cashunti (Baranca)
Casibari
Catashi
Choroni
Cocodoro
Cubeju
Cubou
Cucu (Seru)
Curuburi, Corobori (Seru)
Cuwana
Damari, Daimari (Rooi, Boca)
Eayac (Cuy grandi)
Fofoti
Guadirikiri (Cueva)
Guarero (Seru)
Hadicurari
Hadicuri
Hubada
Hudishibana (limestone terrace)
Huliba
Jaburibari (Seru)
Jucuri (Seru)
Juditi
Kadiwari
Kamai
Kamakuri
Katiri
Kawara
Keito
Kibaima
Kivarcu, Kivarco (Seru)
Kodekodectu
Koyari
Kudarebo, Kudarebe
Kudawecha, Kudawechi (Seru)
Kukurui
Kurimiao
Mabon
Macuarima
Macubari
Madiki
Mahos (Boca)
Mahuma
Malmok ?
Manchebo
Masiduri
Matividiri
Moko
Nanki
Noka
Paradera?
Parawana (Paraguana)
Sasarawichi
Shaba
Shabururi, Shabiburi
Shidaharaca (Seru)
Shiribana
Siribana

Sividivi
Skepou ?
Tarabana
Taratata, Tatarata
Tibushi
Tishi (Seru)
Turibana
Uditi
Uliba?
Una-una
Urataka (Seru)
Urirama (Boca)
Utie
Wadirikiri
Wakubana
Wao-Wao (Seru)
Warawao
Warawara (Seru)
Warerikiri
Wariruri
Wayaca
Weburi
Wiriwari (Boca)
Yamanota (Seru)
Yanana
Yara
Yuana (Morto)
Yuwiti,Yuiti

Curaçao

Adicora (Klein Curaçao)
Cariatavo
Charomba (Salt pan)
Chinchó, Chinchorro
Choloma
Cocori (Seru)
Codoko
Cudishi
Curazao, Curaçao
Maco
Macola
Mahuma
Maniguacoa
Padiki (nowadays Patrick)
Parasasa
Wakawa, Wacao
Wanapa
Wandomi
Wanota
Watamula

Bonaire

Amboina
Bacuna
Bototó
Buynari, Buynare, Buinare
Cabuja (Seru)
Caracao (Seru)
Casicunda (Seru)
Curuburu
Garati (Pos)
Guarati, Garati (Kibrá)
Hobao (Seru)
Huba (Rooi)
Ishiri
Jua, Juwa (Seru)
Karati (Seru)
Kaumati (Seru)
Koahara, Koahari (Rooi)
Macoshi
Macutucao (Seru)
Malmok?
Manparia Cutu
Morotin
Nawati
Nikiboko

Onima (Boca, Cueba)
Orizjan (Cueba)
Roshikiri
Shishiribana (Seru)
Sorobon
Wamari
Wanapa
Wanico
Warahama, Warahami
Wasao (Seru)
Washikemba, Washikemoa (Boca)
Watapana
Wayacá
Wecua (Punta, Seru)
Yatu Bacu
Yatu (Largu)
Yuana (Seru)

6 Possible etymology and comments on Aruba toponyms

Arashi – nowadays this is one of best sites to fish for *warashi* (bonefish, *Albula vulpes*) in Aruba. This makes it likely that *arashi* could be the/a singular form of *warashi*. It is known that *warashi* was an important food item for the Aruba Caquetío. During archeological excavations of a Caquetío village at Tanki Flip in Aruba, 13,7 % of all fish remains found were bonefish (Versteeg & Rostain,1997). Nowadays the bonefish is popular for sport fishing, it is not usually eaten because of its many bones, but it can be used for fish soup.

Balashi – contains the root *bala* meaning the sea, Balashi is situated near the sea.

Burubunu – in the Venezuelan state of Falcón, near Zazárida a small village called Borobuno is found (Cruz Esteves, 1989).

Casibari – At this location there is a pile of very large rocks. *ca-*, *ka-* is a localizer meaning 'there is', 'there are', *siba* or *quiba* means 'stone' or 'rock', *rí* means 'strong', 'hard', 'durable'. Casibari would then mean "there are hard rocks." The name of the island of Saba is probably also derived from Siba, curiously in English the island is also called "The Rock".

Hudishibana – a calcareous terrace, nowadays the site of a golf course. *juri*, *judi*, *hudi* means 'wind' (Cruz Esteves, 1989), *bana* 'wide', 'plain'. Hudishibana would mean 'windy plain'.

Matividiri – In Paraguaná a hill with a nearby village is called Matividiro (Cruz Esteves, 1989).

Taratata, Tatarata - in the Venezuelan state of Falcón, the toponyms: Taratara, Taratare and Tatatarare are found (Cruz Esteves, 1989).

7 Possible etymology and comments on Curaçao toponyms

Adicoura – According to Van Grol, this is the original name of the island Klein Curaçao. In Paraguaná we find the village Adicora.

Cariatávo, Careotabo –the name of a cove or small lagoon east of the Schottegat (Hartog, 1968). *cari* means 'coast', 'shore' (Cruz Esteves, 1989) *abo* means 'place', *tabo* 'the branching of a tree or river', 'where one river meets another'. Cariatávo was probably a small lagoon at the end of the Rooi Koraal Specht, cq. where this *rooi* meets the shore. Nowadays this is the site of the Breezes Hotel.

Curaçao, Curazao - Curaçao is definitely not from Portuguese. Both Las Casas and Oviedo mention it very early and although their works were published somewhat later, their information goes back to the early sixteenth century. Las Casas (1552) states:*"…y aquella debía ser la que llaman los indios Curaçao, la penúltima lengua…"* (and this must be the island which the Indians call Curaçao, the before last syllable long). Oviedo (1535) states:

…más al poniente de las islas de las Aves está la isla Bonaire; más al poniente de la isla Bonaire está otra que se llama de Corazante, más al poniente de Corazante está la isla llamada Aruba …. a lo que la carta llama Corazante, llaman los indios Curazao" (more to the west of the Aves islands lies the island of Bonaire; more to the west of the island of Bonaire there is another one called Corazante, more to the west of Corazante lies an island called Aruba….The island indicated as Corazante on the map, the Indians call Curazao[3]). Federmann (1530) also uses the name Curazao (see Martinez, 1971). The "Relación de Antonio Barbudo" which probably dates from 1570 mentions the Indios de Curaçao (see above). All these reports date back to a time when there was no Portuguese influence in Curaçao. The Spanish and Portuguese crowns had not yet been united under Felipe II of Spain (Felipe I of Portugal) and even then the overseas dependencies were kept under separate rule. Portuguese influence in Curaçao only started after 1634 with the Dutch occupation of the island and use of the island as a slave depot. After the Dutch in Brazil were defeated, some Dutch and Portuguese Jews migrated to Curaçao. The first Portuguese Jews arrived in 1652. If the word Curaçao were Portuguese this would be very exceptional. The word Antilles is of Portuguese origin (ante-ilhas). The names of Brasil, Madeira and Açores are Portuguese as well, but they are within the Portuguese realm. Even in Surinam where early Portuguese influence on Sranan Tongo is in evidence, we do not find Portuguese toponyms. Thus Curaçao or Curazao is of Caquetío origin, but we do not know how the form Kòrsou (Corsow) which is used in Papiamentu came into being.

[3] Author's translation

8 Possible etymology and comments on Bonaire toponyms

Amboïna, Ambuana (pronounce Ambwana) – In the Dominican Republic this name is also found. Amboïna, Amboína is associated with caves or a well. The name Yuanaboína is also found (Tejera, 1977). In Bonaire there is a well at Amboïna, Ambuana.

Buynari, Buinare – Nicolaas Federmann passed Bonaire in early 1530, in an account of his voyage which was published in Hagenau in 1557, he gives Buynari as the name of the island (Martinez, 1971). In some other early sources the name Buinare is found.

Onima – a cave on the North coast of Bonaire, it is also the name of a nearby cove (Boca Onima). Taïno *ní* is 'water', Lokono *oni* means 'rain', *oníabo* means 'water' (Taylor, 1977). Caquetío *ima, nima* means 'wet', 'humid' (Cruz Esteves, 1989).

Yatu Bacu – In Venezuela the suffix *–baca* is found in place names. Dauguaraubaca is a place along the Río Amacuro, in Eastern Venezuela near the Guyana border, in an area where Lokono Indians live. Dauguarau is a species of mangrove (*Conocarpus erecta*) – *baca* means 'a group', 'a thicket' (Alvarado, 1953). Yatu Bacu is probably related to Lokono – *baca*. In this location there are dense thickets of *yatu* cactus.

9 Words with less certain links to Caquetío

There is also a group of words of uncertain etymology. Some of these must surely be of Caquetío origin, but a different origin cannot be excluded. Examples are:

bara-tai (B) – a bush or small tree (*Samyda dodecandra*)
batuti (B) - a vine (*Doyerea emetocathartica*)
brakuha (B) – a grass (*Sporobolus virginicus*)
bushurumu, bushurumbu (B) - a bush (*Lantana involucrata*)
chananá (C) – a creeping vine (*Evolvulus convolvuloides*)
chanchan (A, B, C) – buttocks
cocoí (C) – a quail (*Colinus cristatus*)
dakawa (B) – a small tree (*Maytenus tetragona*)
djaka (A, B, C) - a rat
djakarou, yakarou, rakiou (C) – edible *Nerita* sea snails
foño, funfun (A) – a cactus (*Pilocereus lanuginosus*)
gutú (A, B, C) – parrot fish,
huliba (A), oliba (B) - a tree (*Capparis indica*)
karawau – a fish (*Periplus paru*)
kini-kini – kestrel (*Falco sparverius*)
kokolodé (B, C), cocolode (A) – an herb (*Heliotropum angiospermum*)
makuaku (C, B) – the frigate bird or man o' war bird (*Fregata magnifiscens*)

olitu – the yellowmouth grouper (*Mycteroperca interstitialis*)
tata (A, B, C) - father
teku (C), teco (A) – a bromelia (*Bromelia humilis*)
uruzján, urizján, ulizján (B) – part of a pond or water catchment area with a treacherous sucking, sticking muddy bottom, also used to indicate a water hole where water is welling up.
warero, wareru (A) – a vine (*Cissus verticilata*)

10 Acknowledgements

The listing of words in this article is based to a large extent on the book *Stemmen uit het Verleden*, which I published with my cousin Sidney M. Joubert, in Dutch in 1997. Among the many people who cooperated in the publication of this book, mention has to be made of the late Antoine J. Maduro. I also wish to thank Carel P. de Haseth for many suggestions. *Stemmen uit het Verleden* did not explicitly state which Amerindian words in the Papiamentu language are likely to be original Caquetío words and which ones are likely to have been imported via Spanish, Taïno or Guajiro. Since this is to some extent a subjective judgment, it was felt that it would be best to present the available evidence and let readers draw their own conclusions. This has turned out to be a major mistake, leaving room for totally erroneous interpretations. In this publication there are a few additions not found in the original list. I wish to thank Byron Boekhoudt in Aruba for the names of scorpion fishes in Aruba and information on the *warashi* and Julio Beaujon for information on the *teishi*.

REFERENCES

Alvarado, Lisandro (1953). *Glosario de Voces Indígenas de Venezuela*. Caracas: Ministerio de Educación. (Reimpresión en 1989, *Obras completas I*, Caracas : Fundación la Casa de Bello).

Aquino, Luis H. (1977). *Diccionario de voces indígenas de Puerto Rico*. Río Piedras: Editorial Cultural.

Brenneker, Paul (1978). *Mil palabra poko usá: duizend vreemde woorden*. Curaçao: the author.

Boeke, J. (1907/1919) *Rapport betreffende een voorlopig onderzoek naar den toestand van de de Visscherij en de Industrie van Zeeproducten in de Kolonie Curaçao*. Vol. 1:1907, Vol. 2: 1919. ’s Gravenhage: Belinfante.

Buurt, Gerard van & Sidney M. Joubert (1997). *Stemmen uit het Verleden, Indiaanse woorden in het Papiamentu.* Curaçao: the authors.

Cardot, Carlos F. (1982[3]). *Curazao Hispánico (antagonismo Flamenco- Español).* (First published in 1973). Caracas: Ediciones de la Presidencia de la República.

Casas, Bartolomé de las (1561). *Historia de las Indias*. Manuscript completed in 1561. First published in 1875 by Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle & José Sancho Rayón, Madrid**.** Reprinted in 1985 by Ediciones del Continente, Hollywood, Florida.

Coomans-Eustatia, Maritza (2005). *Bibliography of the Papiamento Language*. Bloemendaal: Stichting Libri Antilliani.

Cruz Esteves, Juan de la (1989). *Topónimos indígenas de Paraguaná y otros topónimos indígenas del Estado Falcón*. Caracas: Lagoven.

Goeje, Claudio H. de (1928). *The Arawak language of Guiana*. (Nieuwe Reeks; 28, no 2). Amsterdam: Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen.

Grol, Gerrit J. van (1934/1947). *De grondpolitiek in het West-Indisch domein der generaliteit*. 3 Vols. 's Gravenhage: Landsdrukkerij.

Hartog, Jan (1953). *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Antillen: van kolonie tot autonomie*, Vol. 1. Aruba: De Wit.

Hartog, Jan (1968). *Curaçao, from Colonial dependence to autonomy*. Aruba: De Wit.

Haseth Carel P. de (1993). Kikkermotieven op Indiaanse artefacten van Curaçao, Aruba en Bonaire. *Kristòf, 8, 4*, p. 17-28.

Haviser, Jay B. (1987). *Amerindian Cultural Geography on Curaçao*. PhD dissertation, Leiden.

Haviser, Jay B. (1991). *The First Bonaireans.* Curaçao: AAINA.

Haviser, Jay B. (1994). South American faunal remains noted in archaelogical contexts on Curaçao and Bonaire: the potential for cultural implications. In Maritza Coomans-Eustatia, Rob Molenbeek, Wouter Los [et al] (Eds.), *De Horen en zijn Echo* (pp. 124 – 127). Bloemendaal: Stichting Libri Antilliani.

Hooijer, Dirk A. (1960). Mammalian remains from Indian sites on Aruba. *Studies on the Fauna of Curaçao and other Caribbean Islands, 10,* 154-157.

Hooijer, Dirk A. (1963). Mammalian remains from an Indian site on Curaçao. *Studies on the Fauna of Curaçao and other Caribbean Islands, 14*, 119-122.

Jusayú, Miguel A. & Jesús Olza Zubiri (1977). *Diccionario de lengua guajira*, Vol 1. Caracas : Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, Centro de Lenguas Indígeas.

Kramer, Johannes (2004). *Die Iberoromanische Kreolsprache Papiamento*. Hamburg: Buske.

Martinez, Alí B. (1971). *Aquella Paraguaná*. Caracas: Ediciones Adaro (In Annex 1 of this book a Spanish translation of the journey of Nicolaas Federmann in 1530 can be found).

Meeteren, Nicolaas van (1977[2]). *Volkskunde van Curaçao*. (Facsimile, first published in 1947 by Scherpenheuvel, Curaçao). (Antilliaanse reeks; 2). Amsterdam: S. Emmering.

Nooyen, R.H. (1979). *Het volk van de grote Manaure: de Indianen op de Gigantes-eilanden.* Willemstad: s.n.

Nooyen, R.H. (1995). *De slavenparochie van Curaçao rond het jaar 1750. Een demografie van het katholieke volksdeel*. (Report of the Institute of Archaeology and Antropology of the Netherlands Antilles; 11). Curaçao: AAINA.

Oliver, José R. (1989). *The Archeological, Linguistic and Ethnohistorical evidence for the expansion of Arawakan into Northwestern Venezuela and Northeastern Colombia.* PhD dissertation, University of Illinois.

Oviedo y Valdés, Gonzalo F. (1535). *Historia General y Natural de las Indias Occidentales*. Sevilla: s.n. Excerpts from this work can be found in: Oviedo/Las Casas (1988). *Crónicas escogidas*. Santo Domingo: Bioblioteca de Clásicos Dominicanos.

Perrin, Michel (1980). *El camino de los Indios muertos*. (First published in 1976 as *Le chemin des Indiens morts* by Payot, Paris). Caracas: Monte Avila.

Pinart, Alphonse L. (1890). *Aperçu sur l'île d'Aruba, ses habitants, ses antiquités et ses pétroglyphes.* Paris: s.n. Excerpts from this work can be found in: Pieter Wagenaar Hummelinck (1957). *Rotstekeningen van Curaçao, Aruba en Bonaire*, Vol. 2. Curaçao: Uitgaven van de "Natuurwetenschappelijke werkgroep Nederlandse Antillen".

Proosdij, André S.J. van (2001[3]). *Arnoldo's zakflora. Wat in het wild groeit en bloeit op Aruba, Bonaire en Curaçao.* (Completely revised edition of M. Arnoldus *Zakflora*, 's Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff ,1954). Amsterdam: Publications Foundation for Scientific Research in the Caribbean region.

Taylor, Douglas (1958). Names on Saint Vincent. *West-Indische Gids (WIG), 38*, 106-110.

Taylor, Douglas (1977). *Languages of the West Indies*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Teenstra, Marten D. (1977). *De Nederlandsch West-Indische eilanden.* 2 Vols. (First published in 1836-1837 by Sulpke, Amsterdam). Amsterdam: S Emmering.

Tejera, Emilio (1977). *Indigenismos*. 2 Vols. Santo Domingo: Sociedad Dominicana de Bibliófilos.

Toro-Labrador, Gladys, Oswald R. Wever & Juan C. Martínez–Cruzado (2003). Mitochondrial DNA analysis in Aruba: Strong Maternal Ancestry of closely Related Amerindians and implications for the peopling of Northwestern Venezuela. *Caribbean Journal of Science, 39, 1*, 11-22.

Versteeg, Aad H. & Stephen Rostain (Eds.) (1997). *The Archaeology of Aruba: The Tanki Flip site.* (Publications of the Archaeological Museum Aruba; 8). Oranjestad: Archaeological Museum of Aruba.

IN SEARCH OF *ECHT* PAPIAMENTU: LANGUAGE AS IDENTITY IN CURAÇAO

KATHY TAYLOR
EARLHAM COLLEGE

In a radio interview in Papiamentu I was asked once what the most difficult aspect of learning Papiamentu had been for me. The first thing that came to mind was that it is often hard to know what is true Papiamentu (*echt papiamentu*) and what is borrowed from other languages at what seems like individual discretion. Without thinking I had used the Dutch word *echt* (meaning "true" or "authentic") as many people in Curaçao would do. The interviewer and I both laughed at the irony of my statement. It's not that there is no other word that is '*echt' papiamentu* for this expression, it's just that hardly anyone uses it. Some people I know would say that you really should use another "pure" Papiamentu expression (like *puro*, which is of Iberian origin) but in their own everyday speech they would not likely do that.

Papiamentu is a creole language, and as such it reflects the complex heritage of its history and the tensions of coming into linguistic adulthood. In this context of a young Creole in a continued intense language contact situation, how does one determine which words are "authentic" and which are borrowed, adapted or just part of the local multilingual menu? The answer seems to depend on whom you ask and in what context. In this paper, I offer some observations based on a qualitative study of language and identity in Curaçao through casual conversations as well as focused interviews over the last six years.

Curaçao is one of the most diverse places I have known in terms of language, race, ethnicity and religion. This diversity exists both as a plurality, accepting and welcoming people from over 50 nationalities, and as a visible mixing of all of these elements in the continuing process of creolization. Out of this context of postmodern plurality and postcolonial creolization, there arise fascinating questions of identity which are often tied to language more than race or ethnic origin. Yet these issues are complex in a culture where any single conversation can easily wander through four languages (Papiamentu, Dutch, English, and Spanish) without anyone taking particular notice. Jean Bernabé, Patrick Chamoiseau, and Raphael Confiant comment on this diversity that is at the core of creole linguistic identity.

> "Creoleness is not monolingual. Nor is it multilingualism, divided into isolated compartments. Its field is language. Its appetite: all the languages of the world. [It is] the interaction of many languages... a polysonic vertigo." (Bernabé et al., 1990: 108)

Papiamentu has grown up in such a "polysonic vertigo." Curaçao has been compared to Cairo and New York City for its diversity of population. George Lang projects a kaleidoscopic image of Curaçao cultural production in his discussion of the multiplicity of register and dialect in Papiamentu. Lang also writes about the "pervasive cosmopolitanism and thorough-going polyglottism" of the citizens of Curaçao, and 'their willingness to constitute themselves as subjects centered in an ever-shifting web of affinities and modes of expression rather than in a self-contained monological sphere' (1997: 95). Curaçaoan identity is complex and changing, while still maintaining a clear sense of its roots. Unlike many Caribbean Creoles, which are going (or have gone) through a process of decreolization, Papiamentu seems to be thriving and nourished by the many languages and cultures that surround it.

Though Papiamentu is the native language of the overwhelming majority of the population of Curaçao (some 80-90%), its status seems to embody the complex constellation of identities characteristic of many minority populations as well as that of the creole experience. The attitude on the part of many native speakers and others that it is somehow inferior and deserving of a lower status is at the same time countered with a sense of pride and positive social identity. The fact that most native speakers have grown up with little or no instruction in Papiamentu is key in this connection. (In addition to comments about the low status of Papiamentu, I have also heard a number of speakers apologize for their poor mastery of the language). In recent decades much has been done to develop and promote Papiamentu as one of the official languages of Curaçao through linguistic institutes, educational programs and materials, and campaigns to develop public awareness**.** These efforts have often become entangled in political battles and have been hindered by popular notions of Papiamentu's low status and its limitations for intellectual, artistic, economic or any kind of international endeavors. There isn't time to discuss such attitudes further here, but it is important to acknowledge that they are ever-present and especially intense in the current political climate of Curaçao.

Explorations of the nature of Papiamentu and the attitudes of its speakers become inevitably entangled in questions of identity and what it means to be Curaçaoan. The discussion often includes issues of race and ethnicity, though in my conversations with a wide variety of people it has become clear to me that there are no precise boundaries for such definitions. For many, an African heritage is as central as the language, and to be truly Curaçaoan you have to be African descended and speak Papiamentu. Yet there are Curaçaoans of African descent who speak Papiamentu, but

who were raised speaking Dutch at home. Since it is generally agreed in studies of race and ethnicity that race is a socially constructed category, the question then arises of what it means to be "black". The relativity of such identity is heightened for a number of Curaçaoans, who have told me that in Curaçao they are considered "white" but in Holland they are "black".

Racial and ethnic identities are not just a matter of color or phenotype, as Carmen Fought shows in her book *Language and Ethnicity*. She suggests that ethnic identity (closely linked to racial identity) is relational and is often constructed through language. "Ethnicity has no existence apart from interethnic relations...but is linked to boundaries between groups and, more importantly, ideologies about those boundaries. Language may be used as a way to preserve those boundaries, cross them, or subvert them altogether" (12, 17). Our social (ethnic/racial) identity is formed both by how we identify ourselves and how others identify us. It is possible, for example, to be very light skinned, even "white", but be culturally (and/or linguistically) black. Fought comments on the "power of language" to contribute to an individual's being, as Sweetland puts it, "re-raced" by community members.

This re-racing has been a part of Curaçao's history, as Frank Martinus notes with regard to the uprising of May 30, 1969. That pivotal moment began as a labor dispute which erupted in social protest focusing on the dispute "as a symbol of all the abuses that European descended people, particularly the Dutch, had committed against them through the ages, including the time of slavery...during the outburst itself Curaçao whites who felt threatened *legitimized themselves as authentic Curaçaoans by speaking Papiamentu* [my emphasis.]" (Martinus, 2004).

Fought discusses this power of language to transform ethnicity, citing Mary Bucholtz, Anita C. Lang and Laurel Sutton: "the ideological link between language and ethnicity is so potent that the use of linguistic practices associated with a given ethnic group may be sufficient for an individual to pass as a group member" (Bucholtz et al., 1995: 355; in Fought, 2006: 32). Yet this identity is often multiple and shifting, closer to what Paul Kroskrity refers to as a "repertoire of identity". Speakers use a variety of linguistic resources in constructing this "polyphonous, multilayered identity", in the words of Rusty Barrett. " (Barrett, 1999: 318; in Fought, 2006: 20). This multilayered identity is especially apparent in an environment as multilingual and diverse as Curaçao.

I have met a few Curaçaoans who are native, African descended, yet don't speak Papiamentu. Where do they fit in this picture? Does skin color/phenotype trump linguistic ethnic identity here? Or are these Dutch-speaking Curaçaoans of African descent "culturally white?" A friend recently explained to me the expression "*makamba pretu"* in Papiamentu, literally "a black white-Dutch person." This is a derogatory term referring to someone who goes to Holland and comes back speaking too much Dutch and thinking he or she is above everyone else. The ability and

willingness to speak Papiamentu is of great social importance in Curaçao, while at the same time many think that their children's education should be all in Dutch, so that they can be successful in life. These contradictions exist not only within communities and families, but even within individuals.

Now that my Papiamentu is rather fluent, people often assume that I either live in Curaçao or I have some family connection. On my last visit to Curaçao, I rented a small apartment for part of my stay. I had made arrangements with the owner from afar, through a number of telephone conversations, which I now conduct in Papiamentu whenever possible. The owner was friendly, but he spoke very fast on the phone, making no concessions for a foreigner, I thought. When we met for the first time, he stood speechless when he saw me. "But you are white!" he stammered. He explained that he had pictured me as black, "or at least Antillean," during our phone conversations. Then he immediately switched to English and tourist mode, already forgetting our many conversations in Papiamentu. I was at first complimented by his confusion and then frustrated by having to earn my "blackness" in his eyes all over again. When language is primary (on the telephone, for example) other facets of identity that are often highly emphasized in human relations (such as race, ethnicity, nationality) can be temporarily overshadowed.

One young woman gave me a rather complex and sophisticated analysis of different layers of Curaçaoan identity. For her, a *yu'i Korsòu yu'i Korsòu,* (a Curaçaoan Curaçaoan, as she says, using the common creole affinity for reduplication to express a true (*echt*) Curaçaoan, is a more pure but less developed and less conscious identity. A *yu'i Korsòu plus* for her describes someone who has traveled, left Curaçao and returned with more consciousness of who he/she is from an outside perspective. Finally, a *yu'i Korsòu plus plus* is someone who has lived elsewhere and gained a deeper consciousness of his/her identity and identity in general. This new consciousness relativizes their Curaçaoan identity within the larger development of their whole experience. It is more complex, but also often idealizes and essentializes elements of identity that are marketed as core aspects of cultural identity. The language that such a person speaks (that is, Papiamentu mixed with more Dutch and probably other languages) often mirrors this complexity.

Considering the multiplicity and fluidity of identities in Curaçao, it is not surprising that the languages spoken there would continue to "breed and reproduce" (as a character in Frank Martinus' novel *Dubbelspel* remarks) thereby presenting a challenge to the development and standardization of Papiamentu. In the efforts to preserve a language, linguists often struggle against the eroding influence of other languages. In Curaçao, where many languages and cultures intersect in such a small space, such impacts are strongly felt. The continuing intrusion of Dutch, as both the colonial language and a partner in daily life, seems to pose the greatest threat to the autonomy of Papiamentu for many linguists. The sense of urgency to establish and

elaborate Papiamentu as a fully recognized and dignified language seems to outweigh accepting the natural tendency of any language to absorb and reflect its surroundings.
Ronald Severing, director of the *Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma* (Foundation for Language Planning), explained to me recently the importance of providing examples in written texts of "pure" (*echt*?) Papiamentu as a base from which to standardize the language. In everyday usage one would still expect the multilingual seasoning of speech, but in writing at least, there is a kind of affirmative action policy for privileging and promoting a "pure" core of Papiamentu. My sophisticated young informant gave me as clear a definition as anyone of when a word is or becomes *echt* Papiamentu. *Papiamentu Papiamentu*, as she puts it, is a word that is used and understood by the whole group (of native speakers) in a context. It might be a borrowed word, but if usage is common and pronounced and spelled like Papiamentu, then it becomes Papiamentu. Papiamentu slang is limited and has officially outside status, but it can become *even more echt* for a particular group, more central to identity, even if it is a foreign word (as is the case of words borrowed from African American English which have become part and parcel of hip-hop influenced youth culture, for example). She also noted that sometimes you have to use a foreign word to express a concept. When you have expanded your experience, your language has to expand.
The fluidity and complex social context that figure so prominently in an individual's use of language and the resulting identity claims make the task of trying to identify and preserve the collective identity of a language difficult indeed. So what are we left with, then, for a coherent notion of Papiamentu as a Caribbean creole language? Is there a conceptual lens beyond the kaleidoscope with which to contemplate the nature of *echt* Papiamentu? Personally, I like the image of a linguistic symphony – dynamic and diverse, fluid and beautiful, yet not without internal dissonance and improvisation. Perhaps with its visible scars of genesis, its youthful vitality and creativity, its diverse extended family, and its struggles for respect and autonomy, Papiamentu reveals for me something about the soul of language. With a name as symbolically inclusive as "Papiamentu" (literally "the speaking"), this language seems to me both a fascinating museum of its past and a microcosm of the world's linguistic future. As a dynamic and inclusive language it must juggle, as all languages will have to do, the dialectic tension between the forces of global diversity and its own local identity.

Appendix

Some simple conclusions based on interviews, observations and informal conversations with native Curaçaoans.

When does a borrowed word become echt (true, pure) Papiamentu?
A borrowed word becomes echt Papiamentu when it:

1. is used a lot and consistently by most speakers.
2. expresses something for which there isn't another good option.
3. is adapted phonetically and orthographically.
4. has some meaningful specific purpose or association in local context (e.g. school, legal).
5. is easier, more flexible, and adaptable than other options.

Who is *echt* Curaçaoan? A person is *echt* Curaçaoan if they:

1. speak Papiamentu.
2. integrate into and embrace local ethnic/national culture.
3. adopt a certain racial / ethnic identity (some African heritage by birth or self identification by adopting 1 & 2).

Some commonly used Dutch words.
(The version in Papiamentu is given where it has been officially accepted and orthographically adapted, based on *Banko di palabra*, FPI 2008.)

I chose some commonly used Dutch words and asked native speakers if they were Papiamentu or not. All could identify the Dutch origin – some said yes, they were Papiamentu and some said they were Dutch "but we all use them". Others said they were Dutch, but "we really *should* use a Papiamentu word" (though they wouldn't likely do so in everyday speech.)

These words are all very common in everyday speech, but only three are officially Papiamentu.

Dutch	Papiamentu	English
1. lief	lif	lovable, friendly
2. gewoon	gewon	customary, usual, everyday)
3. toch	tòg	then, surely, therefore, however, so)
4. eigenlijk	ø	actually, really)

5. lekker	ø	tasty, delicious)
6. leuk	ø	amusing, entertaining, funny)
7. Schrikkeljaar	ø	leap year, Spanish: año bisiesto

The Dutch word Schrikkeljaar is so commonly used to express the concept of leap year that many people don't seem to know any other option. I asked five people (native speakers of Papiamentu) before finding one who knew how to say it in Papiamentu, using a form which is close to that found in Spanish.

REFERENCES

Barrett, Rusty (1999). Indexing polyphonous identity in the speech of African American drag queens. In Mary Bucholz, Anita C. Liang & Laurel A. Sutton (Eds.), *Reinventing Identities: The Gendered Self in Discourse* (pp. 313-331). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Berbabé, Jean, Patrick Chamoiseau & Raphael Confiant (1989). *Eloge de la créolité*. Paris: Gallimard. English translation by Mohammed Taleb-Kyarr: In praise of creoleness, *Callalou, 13, 4* (1990), 886-909.

Bucholz, Mary, Anita C. Liang & Laurel A. Sutton (Eds.), *Reinventing Identities: The Gendered Self in Discourse* (pp. 313-331). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fought, Carmen (2006) Language and Ethnicity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma: www.fpi.an

Lang, George M. (1997) Papiamentu, the Caribbean paradigm and cultural fractality. In Richard A. Young (Ed.), *Latin American Postmodernisms* (pp. 87-117). Amsterdam : Rodopi.

Martinus Arion, Frank (1998). Double Play. Translated from the original Duch *Dubbelspel* (1973) by Paul Vincent. London: Faber & Faber.

Martinus Arion, Frank (2004). Paper presented at the 15th Biennial Conference of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics, Curaçao, August 11-14.

THE CHOICE OF A LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION FOR THE STUDY OF LAW AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE NETHERLANDS ANTILLES

VIOLA HEUTGER[1]
UNIVERSITY OF THE NETHERLANDS ANTILLES

1 The teaching of Law at the University of the Netherlands Antilles

In 2009, the Faculty of Law of the University of the Netherlands Antilles (UNA) will be 30 years old. All laws of the Netherlands Antilles are drafted in Dutch. The language of instruction at the faculty is Dutch as well. With an average age of 34, there are 250 students from very different backgrounds studying law at the faculty. At home most of them speak Papiamentu, the local language of the island of Curaçao. After obtaining their Master in Law the newly practicing lawyers will advise local people in Dutch and Papiamentu, or they will work in English in one of the many trust offices on the island. Some of the former students will draft legal texts for the upcoming new state structure. Drafting legal texts is a challenge in itself. Drafting, applying, and also studying legal texts in a language other than one's native language is even tougher. Many of those students at the UNA who have spent their elementary school years in a predominantly Papiamentu-speaking setting, will have to face this challenge, because in the Netherlands Antilles all legal writing thus far has been in Dutch. What will the future hold for our law students with a non-Dutch linguistic background? In this contribution I would like to develop some thoughts on the interaction of law and language, as well as on the impact of regional languages on legal discourse. I will conclude with some reflections on the future of legal training at the Faculty of Law at the University of the Netherlands Antilles.

2 The interconnection between law and language

In the court room, in discussion with their clients, as legal teachers, as legal advisors, wherever we look, we realize that lawyers express their knowledge and practice their craft through speaking and writing. Lawyers have to apply their linguistic skills in

[1] The author would like to thank Bastiaan van der Velden en Britta Behrendt for their revision of the text.

order to apply the law. Law depends crucially on language and the relationships between law and language are dense and complex (De Groot: 21). In modern society all legal provisions can be found in writing. Even customary law and principles of law, like good faith and fair dealing, are written down in scholarly writing and commentaries. All other regulations and their respective provisions are fixed in statutes, codifications or judicial decisions. Lawyers must express themselves by means of language. When interpreting a law, lawyers even use linguistic methods of semantic and syntactic analysis in order to determine the exact meaning of the law itself as well as other relevant texts.

Language is the exclusive means used to express the law (Sacco: 34). The use of language for this purpose gives rise to specific terminology and specialized legal registers (Rüthers: 118 s.). The meanings and usage of specific words as legal terms can differ substantially from the non-legal, common meanings and usage of these same words. Lawyers who practice within the same legal system are trained to understand the specialized meanings and usage of these terms. In technical legal language a single term, like “contract” or “damages”, can come express a whole range of concepts (Münzel: 641). Moreover, most legal concepts rely on much more than a simple definition of a specific term. For example, much more than a short definition is required in order to define a principle such as “good faith”. An example of this phenomenon can be found in article 6:258 lid 1 of our Dutch Civil Code.

> *Article 6:258 BW (Dutch Civil Code).*
> *De rechter kan op verlangen van een der partijen de gevolgen van een overeenkomst wijzigen of deze geheel of gedeeltelijk ontbinden op grond van onvoorziene omstandigheden welke van dien aard zijn dat de wederpartij naar maatstaven van redelijkheid en billijkheid ongewijzigde instandhouding van de overeenkomst niet mag verwachten.*
> *[The judge can, at the demand of one of the parties, change the effects of an agreement or annul the same completely or partially based on unforeseeable circumstances which are of such nature that the other party may not expect unaltered maintenance of the agreement by standards of reasonableness and fairness.]*

Students have to learn that the term *onvoorzien* has two different meanings in Dutch legal language. On the one hand, it means “unforeseeable” in the sense of an unpredictable change of circumstances in the future. On the other hand, the term *onvoorzien* expresses that a contract does not provide any clause applicable to the given circumstances in a present contractual relation. Both meanings of the Dutch term “*onvoorzien*” have to be matched when the judge wants to apply article 6:258

BW. Any trained Dutch or Dutch-Antillean lawyer has to know both concepts connected the term *onvoorzien.*
Therefore, legal professionals are constantly required not only to understand the common meanings and usage of the terms that they hear in the courtroom or read in a legal text, but also all of the other more technically legal concepts, meanings and usage being conveyed (Grossfeld: 151, 163). Any translation process which involves legal terminology must therefore have a sound grounding in and mastery of legal terms and concepts in the particular language in which a given legal system operates (De Groot, 2006: 423).

3 Language and legal tradition

Law and language, as already stated, interact with each other. Each legal system has its own legal language. By the means of this legal language lawyers from the same legal system can interact with one another. Nevertheless, a particular term in one and the same language can have completely different meanings in two legal systems that operate in that same language. So, the transposition of one legal term from one legal system to another legal system already poses problems, even if both legal systems ostensibly operate in the same language. It is therefore possible that a particular term which originated in the legal terminology of one country is adopted by another country where the same national language is used in the legal system. Over time, the meaning of this term can shift in one country's (or both countries') legal system in such a way that the term is no longer equivalent in its meaning and usage between the two systems. The definition of a minor, a person under 18 years, is nearly the same in the Dutch Antillean Civil Code and the Dutch Civil Code (art. 1:233 in both codes). But the Dutch Civil Code also declares a registered partner even if under age as an adult. This provision regarding registered partners does not exist in the Antillean Civil Code because registered partnerships are not legally recognized in the Antilles. Therefore, we have two different definitions of the legal term 'minor' in the Netherlands and here at the Netherlands Antilles.

4 The choice of language

In the case of cross-border transactions the question is still open as to which language should be used. Let us imagine for example the sale of the book *Mosaiko* by the Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma here in the Netherlands Antilles to a buyer in Martinique. Should the language of the transaction be the native language of the seller (Dutch, Papiamentu, or English) or the buyer (French or Créole) or would it be better

to conclude the contract in English? In the case that French is the chosen language, could the same contract be also used for a Belgian buyer? This simple example makes it obvious that cross-border trade involves more than offer, acceptance, transport, and payment. Cross-border trade in general involves language choices. Language choice issues are not limited to the drafting of contracts, but they also arise in the writing of instruction manuals, guarantees, etc. Language choice does not only involve making a clear choice for one language or another, it is also a question of which register, style, and terminology should be used within the chosen language.

5 The impact of regional languages on legal language

The use of different languages is one of the obstacles on the path towards harmonizing legal systems and the law. In the case of the Kingdom of the Netherlands lawyers must take into account that Frisian is recognized as a regional language for the European part of the Netherlands with its speakers having the right to use it in courts of law (Van der Velden, 2004). For the Antillean part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands special attention must be paid to the status and role of Papiamentu and English. Together with Dutch, these languages have been the official languages there since 2007. Sooner or later problems will arise, if the legal language does not take into account regional linguistic custom and practice. Communication and interaction between lay people and legal experts will become very difficult when both parties are not speaking the same language.

6 Law and the spoken language

In Curaçao, where education in elementary schools is often mainly in Papiamentu, and Dutch is not the mother tongue for the majority of the population, the fact that Dutch is the only language in which legal texts are written presents serious problems. On the one hand, the development of Dutch legal language in Curaçao will no longer be able to draw on Antillean regional tradition but will become exclusively reliant on influences from the European part of The Netherlands. On the other hand, within the coming decades there will be an increase in the discrepancy between linguistic understanding on the part of lay people and the technical legal terms, concepts, and meanings used by the legal system and legal professionals. The ability of past generations of Antilleans who received Dutch instruction in school to interact with the legal system will be different from the ability of the present generation of Antilleans who are receiving their instruction in Papiamentu.

Understanding law and applying legal rules requires high levels of linguistic competence on the part of the lawyer. Explaining the law to a lay person requires specific linguistic skills. A lawyer who receives his or her first legal training with texts which are not written in his or her mother tongue will always have difficulties with terminology. The effort that must be exerted in order to become familiar with Dutch legal language will be much higher for a person whose schooling has been exclusively in Papiamentu than for a person with formal training in Dutch only or, even better, in both Dutch and Papiamentu.

7 Multilingual national law or bilingual lawyers?

Lawyers have to work every day with language. The knowledge of more than one language helps lawyers to be sensitive to linguistic difficulties in general and to the possible different meanings of a legal term in particular. Therefore, there is much to be said for bilingual schooling in the Netherlands Antilles. Antilleans without bilingual training will have problems in the long run. Every country needs high quality lawyers. Therefore, a solution must be found. One solution for Curaçao and the rest of the Netherlands Antilles would be bi-lingual education for all students from childhood onwards. That means training in both Papiamentu and Dutch from the very beginning of formal schooling.

Another solution would be the development of a new legal language policy. That would involve the translation of the majority of the present laws (and there are a great number of these!) from Dutch into Papiamentu and, as a prerequisite, the development of legal terminology and a legal register in Papiamentu. Furthermore, students would need university training in the Law in Papiamentu and practice with the Law in Papiamentu in Moot Courts. Experience in other societies has shown that the creation and implementation of a new legal language policy is a process that takes a long time. Within the Netherlands itself, the slow process of guaranteeing speakers of Frisian the right to use this language in the courtroom is a case in point (Van der Velden, 2004).

Because the Netherlands Antilles has two official languages other than Dutch, the process of changing legal language policy would involve the massive translation of legal texts and a massive switch in legal practice from Dutch to both Papiamentu and English. Even if the logistical enormity of such a proposition, could be overcome, another obstacle emerges, namely, the fact that for most legal matters the High Court of Justice is the Hoge Raad in The Hague, where decision making takes place exclusively in Dutch. Taking this into consideration, it would make little sense to translate Dutch legislation into another language in the Netherlands Antilles and then later to translate it back into Dutch for all legal proceedings in circumstances which require a decision from the Hoge Raad.

In the final analysis, it seems to make much more sense to train young scholars from the beginning in two languages: the regional one and the official one. In the long run the students will have more choice to decide what they would like to do with their lives and in any case the quality of lawyers and especially legislators will be safeguarded. Legal texts of a certain quality can only be drafted when legislators have an adequate level of fundamental linguistic and legal knowledge. In a multilingual environment much more attention must be paid to the interplay and symbiosis of linguistic as well as legal knowledge.

8 What can be done?

In general, research must be carried out on how experiences with the Frisian language in the European part of the Netherlands can inform Antillean linguistic policy concerning the legal position of Papiamentu and the use of Papiamentu in legal affairs. At the Faculty of Law of the University of the Netherlands Antilles we offer a course on law and language. In that course, students translate legal texts into Papiamentu under the supervision of lawyers from the Faculty and linguists from the Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma (www.fpi.an). In cooperation with the faculty of Arts we offer a course in legal English which complies with the standards of the Cambridge legal English certificate.

Legal education in general should pay more attention to the use of foreign languages in the teaching process. Courses should be made available to law students in foreign languages. Law students must be trained in more than one language and must, as a part of their academic curriculum, be able to express themselves and to explain their own legal system in more than one language. At the Faculty of Law we are at the beginning of a process whose goal is multilingual training for law students. We believe this is the way to educate future Antillean lawyers.

REFERENCES

Creech, Richard L. (2005). *Law and Language in the European Union: The Paradox of a Babel "United in Diversity"*. Groningen: European Law Publishing.

Fraser, Janet (1999). The Discourse of official texts and how it can impede public service translators. *Journal of multilingual and multicultural development, 20, (3),* 194-208.

De Groot, Gerard-René de (1998). Language and law. In E.H. Hondius (Ed.), *Netherlands Reports to the Fifteenth International Congress of Comparative Law in Brussels* (pp. 21-32). Antwerp/Groningen: Intersentia.

De Groot, Gerard-René de (2006). Legal Translation. In Jan M. Smits (Ed.) *Elgar Ecyclopedia of Comparative Law* (pp. 423-433). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Grossfeld, Bernhard (1984). *Macht und Ohnmacht der Rechtsvergleichung*. Tübingen: Mohr.

Heutger, Viola (2004). A more coherent European wide legal language. *European Integration online Papers (EIoP), Vol. 7(2).*

http://eiop.or.at/eiop/texte/2004-002a.htm

Münzel, Frank (2003). Lexicographical musings. The Variegated language of sales law: a modern Tower of Babel. *Uniform Law Review, 8, (3),* 641-645.

Rüthers, Bernd (1999). *Rechtstheorie*. München: Beck.

Sacco, Rudolfo (2001). *Einführung in die Rechtsvergleichung*. (First published in 1980 as "Introduzione al diritto comparato" by Giappichelli, Torino). Translated by Jacob Joussen. Baden Baden: Nomos.

Van der Velden, Bastiaan (2004). *Waar gaan wij heen met het Fries? Het gebruik van de Friese taal in het juridische en in het bestuurlijk verkeer in de laatste twee eeuwen.* PhD dissertation. Tilburg: Wolf Legal Publishers.

READING BOOKS IN PAPIAMENTU DURING LEISURE TIME: A SURVEY OF ADVANCED SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN CURAÇAO

DAYANARA NOOR, RADULPHUS COLLEGE, CURAÇAO
RONALD SEVERING, UNIVERSITY OF THE NETHERLANDS ANTILLES

1 Introduction

Just as has been the case for the other Creole languages in the Caribbean and around the world, it was not easy for Papiamentu to gain recognition and finally obtain its present official status. It was not until 2007 that Papiamentu became one of the three official languages of the Netherlands Antilles, alongside Dutch and English. In 2008, general norms for the spelling of Papiamentu and Dutch in the Netherlands Antilles were given legal sanction (de Vries & Menckeberg, 2009). These two initiatives are an integral part of the national policy of promoting multilingualism. This policy is based on the fact that the Netherlands Antilles has always presented itself to the rest of the world as a pluri-lingual country whose social and economic power has depended on the ability of its citizens to interact with the outside world (Leeflang, 2006).

As part of ongoing community and governmental efforts to promote the language, Papiamentu began to play a part in education some twenty years before it was given official status. Since 1986, Papiamentu has been a compulsory subject of study in elementary school for half an hour per day. In 1989 it became mandatory for all branches of secondary education to offer Papiamentu as a compulsory subject. Now Papiamentu has become an examination subject for pre-university students. Papiamentu has thus undoubtedly acquired considerable status *vis-a-vis* Dutch in the Dutch Leeward islands of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, the so-called 'ABC Islands'.

Reading out of school

Because of its new position in the school system, Papiamentu has begun to attract the attention of educational researchers, who have also been paying increased attention to the subject of in-school and out-of-school reading. Recent research (McKool, 2007) reveals a strong positive correlation between out-of-school reading and success in reading in school. Other research cautions that the positive effect of leisure time reading on the reading proficiency of students is achieved only when the amount of reading, the quality of the reading process, and the quality of books being read reach

certain threshold values (Otter [et al.], 1995). For this reason there is an urgent need to examine how students read books in Papiamentu and other languages in their leisure time. Students' leisure time book reading is influenced by a combination of factors, including: 1) functional variables (time spent reading, preferred genres, etc.); 2) personal variables (sex, age, etc.); and (3) environmental variables (the extent to which reading material is available at home, the presence of a library in school or in the neighborhood, etc.) (Verhoeven, 2004; Severing, 1997).

The reading of books during leisure time in Curaçao

Labega and Smeulders (1984) argue that questions of language and language choice must be addressed before assessing how children read in Curaçao. When children start school in Curaçao, most have fluent command of only one language, Papiamentu. This is because their language acquisition process has taken place in an environment where Papiamentu is by far the most commonly spoken language. They argue that because formal instruction and textbooks have normally been in Dutch, most children have faced with the daunting task of learning a new language (Dutch) in addition to learning reading, writing, and all of their other school subjects. The authors found that at the end of their elementary school careers, students aged 11 to 13 read less than students in other age groups. This may be attributed to the fact that students typically begin to participate more in activities after school during early adolescence, leaving little time for reading. Students aged 15 to 18 years who have reached the higher grades of general secondary education usually start reading again, especially those literary works in Dutch that they need to read in order to pass their final exams. Since 2001, secondary school students have been required to read books in Papiamentu as well. Severing (1997: 143) found out that while the reading behavior of students is a strong predictor of academic literacy in Papiamentu at the start of elementary school (α=.41), this direct influence decreases (α=.15 and α=-.17) by the end of elementary school. Reading behavior therefore could be said not to have as much of an immediate influence on comprehensive reading than does sound-symbol correspondence and other factors related to decoding text. Of the variables that were tested, three factors seemed to have an effect on academic literacy in Papiamentu: 1) the extent to which students had been obliged to repeat classes, 2) students' reading behavior; and 3) students' general capacities for learning. Similar effects have been observed on levels of academic literacy in Dutch (Severing, 1997: 225).

2 Research questions

The goal of the study which is the subject of this article was to gain better insights into the reading habits (primarily in Papiamentu, but also in the other school languages:

Dutch, English, and Spanish) of students in Curaçao, in order to establish a solid empirical groundwork for the promotion of reading in Papiamentu. There is little information available concerning leisure time reading among secondary school students in Papiamentu or any other language.
The main research question of the study is the following: Which factors influence leisure-time reading in Papiamentu by advanced general secondary school students and pre-university secondary school students (HAVO/VWO) in Curaçao? We subdivided this main research question into three more concrete questions:

1. What are some of the salient reading practices of advanced general secondary school students and pre-university secondary school students in Curaçao?
2. Which personal characteristics of these students influence their reading of books in Papiamentu during their leisure time?
3. Which environmental factors have an effect on these students' reading of books in Papiamentu during their leisure time?

3 Research methodology

To investigate the research question, 330 informants were recruited from the three schools for advanced secondary education in Curaçao: Radulphus College, Peter Stuyvesant College and Maria Immaculata Lyceum. The six consecutive grades of secondary school were evenly represented in the sample. The ages of the students ranged from 12 to 20 years. The students in the sample were asked to fill out a questionnaire consisting of 37 mostly multiple choice questions. These questions were designed to operationalize the three research questions. For the analysis of the collected data, the SPSS software program was used (frequencies and crosstabs). Since this research is at present still in the exploratory stages, the analysis and the results presented here are restricted to scores and percentages. Building on the preliminary work presented here, further analysis will be done in the future.

4 Results

Some of the initial results of our research are presented below, using the three above mentioned research questions as a guide. In section 4.1, results are presented concerning some of the salient reading practices of secondary school students. In section 4.2, we explore some interesting influences that secondary school students' personal characteristics seem to have on their leisure time reading, especially in

Papiamentu. In section 4.3, we report on findings that suggest palpable effects of environmental factors on these same students' leisure time reading.

4.1 Reading practices

To explore how secondary school students read, we looked at: 1) the time that students spend reading books at home; 2) the genres of books that they prefer; and 3) the number of books in Papiamentu owned by the students.

Time spent reading books

Table 1 shows the amount of leisure time spent per week on reading books in Papiamentu.

Table 1 Amount of leisure time spent per week on reading books in Papiamentu

	N Students	Percentage
Less than 1 hour a week	127	38.5
Between 1 to 2 hours a week	34	10.3
Between 2 to 3 hours a week	12	3.6
More than 3 hours a week	11	3.3
Never	146	44.2
Totals	330	100%

The figures indicate that the great majority of those who say that they do read books in Papiamentu do so for less than one hour per week.

Language preferences

Table 2 displays students' language preferences for the reading of books in their leisure time.

Table 2 Students' language preferences for the reading of books in their leisure time in percentages and transformed scores (N=330)

Factor		Papiamentu	Dutch	English	Spanish
1*	Very little	37.0	14.2	26.1	52.4
2*	A little	14.2	09.7	15.2	16.1
3*	Not a little and not much	25.2	29.7	27.9	17.0
4*	Much	10.9	22.7	16.0	07.6
5*	Very much	12.7	23.6	15.0	07.0
Totals		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Transformed percentage scores		049.6	066.3	055.8	040.2

Formula: $T=(\Sigma_{1\text{-}5}(P*F))/5$. T=transformed percentage score; P=Percentage; F=Factor

As indicated in the table, the students expressed the strongest preference for reading in Dutch (66.3), next English (55.8), then Papiamentu (49.6) and finally Spanish (40.2).

Genres
It was also found that the Papiamentu genre most popular among students is prose (35.5 %), followed by drama (15.2%), and followed by poetry (5.2%).

Ownership of books in Papiamentu
The majority of the informants (63.0%) indicated that they personally owned less than 5 books in Papiamentu, 29.1% claimed to own between 5 and 10 books in Papiamentu and less than 8% reported owning more than 10 books in Papiamentu.

4.2 Personal characteristics and leisure time reading

The personal characteristics of the informants involved in the survey were: 1) gender, 2) age; and 3) the degree to which they liked to read.

Gender

Table 3 shows the amount of leisure time that students claimed to spend per week on reading books in Papiamentu, by gender.

Table 3 Amount of leisure time spent per week on reading books in Papiamentu, by gender (N=330)

	< 1hour	1-2 hours	2-3 hours	>3 hours	No answer	Total
Boys	40 (31.5%)	7 (20.6%)	4 (33.3%)	0 (0%)	50 (34.2%)	101 (30.6%)
Girls	87 (68.5%)	27 (79.4%)	8 (66.7%)	11 (100%)	96 (65.8%)	229 (69.4%)
Totals	127 (100%)	34 (100%)	12 (100%)	11(100%)	146 (100%)	330 (100%)

Gender related differences in the amount of time spent in reading books in Papiamentu outside of school are remarkable, with girls reporting spending more time than boys on reading in Papiamentu during their leisure time. Similar results were obtained by Severing (1997) for younger children in Curaçao as well.

Age
Table 4 lists percentages of students who claim to read books in Papiamentu during their leisure time, by age.

Table 4 Reading of books in Papiamentu during leisure time, by age

	Leisure time reading of books in Papiamentu		
Age	Yes (%)	No	Total
12	14 (82.4%)	03 (17.6%)	17 (05.2%)
13	22 (75.9%)	07 (24.1%)	29 (08.8%)
14	32 (64.0%)	18 (36.0%)	50 (15.2%)
15	40 (65.6%)	21 (34.4%)	61 (18.5%)
16	20 (40.8%)	29 (59.2%)	49 (14.8%)
17	33 (45.2%)	40 (54.8%)	73 (22.1%)
18	15 (48.4%)	16 (51.6%)	31 (09.4%)
19	07 (46.7%)	08 (53.3%)	15 (04.5%)
20	01 (20.0%)	04 (80.0%)	05 (01.5%)
Totals	184 (55.8%)	146 (44.2%)	330 (100%)

The results in table 4 show that there is a peak of 75% to 83% in the reading of books in Papiamentu during leisure time at ages 12 and 13, which drops slightly to about 65% at ages 14 and 15 and then drops again significantly to between 40% and 48% from ages 16 to 19. At first glance, this could be seen to indicate a general tendency to read less in Papiamentu as students get older. But, given the fact that general rates of reading usually increase from ages 11 to 18, these figures probably point instead to a growing trend among the younger generations (who have been more extensively exposed to reading materials in Papiamentu in the classroom under new educational policies) to read more in Papiamentu than their older counterparts. The results from the 20 year-old cohort are probably skewed, since this group consists principally of students who have had to repeat grades.

Extent to which students like to read

Table 5 shows the extent to which secondary school students like to read during their leisure time.

Table 5 The extent to which students like to read after school

	N students	Percentage
Very little	97	29.4%
A little	34	10.3%
Not a little and not much	97	29.4%
Much	44	13.3%
Very much	58	17.6%
Totals	330	100%

The table indicates that some 40% of the informants derive little or no pleasure from reading in their leisure time, while another 30% have only moderately positive feelings about reading out of school and yet another 30% truly enjoy leisure reading.

4.3 Environmental influences on the reading of books during leisure time

In order to gain insights into the conditions at home and elsewhere in the students' environment which influence the reading of books in Papiamentu during leisure time, the following factors were explored: 1) the relative popularity of various leisure time activities; 2) the relation between school assignments and reading at home; 3) the number of books at home; 3) the frequency at which students receive books in Papiamentu as gifts; 4) the rate of library membership; and 5) motivation for reading.

Relative popularity of activities
Results are presented in table 6 on the relative popularity of various leisure time activities among secondary school students. .

Table 6 Relative popularity of various leisure time activities (N=330)

Factor		Reading books	Reading magazines	Listening to the radio	Watching TV	Playing video games	Going out
1*	Very little	40.9	33.6	15.8	01.8	47.3	06.1
2*	A little	20.6	27.9	07.3	07.3	14.2	07.9
3*	Not a little and not much	19.7	20.0	25.8	18.5	17.6	33.3
4*	Much	09.5	09.2	28.2	30.0	10.4	28.5
5*	Very much	09.1	09.3	23.0	42.4	10.5	24.2
Totals		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Transformed percentage scores		46.4	46.5	67.1	80.8	44.5	71.4

Formula: $T=(\Sigma_{1\text{-}5}(P*F))/5$. T=transformed percentage score; P=Percentage; F=Factor

From the figures presented in table 6 it is clear that watching TV (transformed score: 80.8), going out (71.4) and listening to the radio (67.1) were the most popular leisure time activities among secondary school students. Reading books (transformed score: 46.4) and reading magazines (46.5) were, however, as popular as playing video games (44.5).

School assignments and reading at home, home libraries, and books as gifts
When asked whether school assignments had influence on their leisure reading, 52% of the students said 'yes' and only 5.2% said 'no' (42% did not answer this question).

36.7% of the students claimed that there were more than 50 books in their homes, 26.1% claimed that there were between 25 and 50 books at home, 19.4% claimed that there were between 10 and 25 books in their homes, and 17.9% claimed that there were no more than 10 books at home. 69% of secondary school students reported that they had never received a book in Papiamentu as a gift, 19.7% indicated that they had been given between 1 and 3 books in Papiamentu as presents, and 11.2% claimed to have received Papiamentu books as gifts more than three times. A total of 75.5% of the students in the sample had library memberships. 68.5% were members of a public library and 7% were members of other libraries. 47.6% reported that they did not know if there were sufficient books available in Papiamentu in their local libraries.

Motivation for reading

The relative importance of various factors in motivating students to read outside of school is illustrated in table 7.

Table 7 Reasons for reading books outside of school (N=330)

Factor		Reading is pleasant	To increase knowledge	Compulsory for school	Compulsory at home	Parents read too
1*	Very little	29.4	19.4	06.4	72.4	68.8
2*	A little	10.3	11.2	05.2	13.6	13.5
3*	Not a little and not much	29.4	31.2	24.8	10.3	10.9
4*	Much	13.3	24.8	34.2	01.9	03.7
5*	Very much	17.6	13.3	29.4	01.8	03.1
Totals		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Transformed percentage scores		55.8	60.2	86.5	29.4	31.8

Formula: $T=(\Sigma_{1\text{-}5}(P*F))/5$. T=transformed percentage score; P=Percentage; F=Factor

These figures make it clear that a preponderant majority of secondary school students (transformed score: 86.5) were reading at home in order to complete their school assignments, a plurality of students (60.2) were reading to increase their knowledge, and a significant number (55.8) were reading books in their leisure time because they found reading books to be pleasant. The much lower scores for factors such as ‘compulsory at home’ (29.4) and ‘parents read too’ (31.8) suggest that the school environment had a much stronger influence than the home environment on students’ reading of books during their leisure time.

5 Conclusions

The aim of the present study was to provide some preliminary information regarding our research questions. The data related to the first question about the reading practices of secondary school students revealed that while a shocking number of students (44.2%) did not read books in Papiamentu at all in their leisure time, a large group of those who did (48.8%), did so at most only one to two hours a week. Those who did read preferred reading books in Dutch (transformed score: 66.3) and English (55.8) over reading in Papiamentu (49.6) or Spanish (40.2). When reading in Papiamentu, students favored prose above poetry and drama. A substantial number of students (44%) claimed never to have read any books in Papiamentu at all. In general, students owned few if any books: 63.0% indicated that they personally possessed less than 5 books. With regard to the second question about the effect of students' personal characteristics on their reading of books in their leisure time, significant gendered differences emerged from the data, with girls dedicating more hours than boys to reading during their leisure time. While only 30.4% of students indicated that they liked reading during their leisure time, the number who claimed to read books in Papiamentu outside of school decreased steadily from the age of 12 (82.4%) to the age of 19 (46.7%). The data demonstrated clearly that watching TV (transformed score: 80.8), going out (71.4) and listening to the radio (67.1) were more popular among secondary school students than reading books (46.4) or magazines (46.5).

The data related to our third question regarding the effect of environmental factors on the reading of books during leisure time indicated that the school environment played a more important role than the home environment in promoting out of school reading, with school assignments emerging as the most important motivational factor by far for reading outside of the classroom (transformed score 86.5). 69% of secondary school students had never received a book in Papiamentu as a present, while only 11.2% had received more than 3 books in Papiamentu as gifts. While home libraries seemed to be understocked, a surprisingly high number of students (75.5%) had library memberships.

REFERENCES

Chambers, Aidan (2002). *De leesomgeving*. (First published in 1991 as *The reading environment* by Thimble Press, Woodchester. Transl. by Joke Linders, first published in Dutch Querido, Amsterdam in 1995). Leidschendam: NBD/Biblion.

Echteld, Liesbeth, Ronnie Severing & Wim Rutgers (2008). Innovating Literary Education in the Netherlands. *La torre: Revista de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, XII, 49/50*, 445-451.

Gregorio, Margareth (1974). Onderzoek naar relatie tussen mileu en leesgewoontes. Master's thesis.

Kook, Hetty B. (1994). *Leren lezen en schrijven in een tweetalige context: Antillaanse en Arubaanse kinderen in Nederland.* PhD dissertation, University of Amsterdam (UVA).

Leeflang, Omayra V.E. (2006). *Visie op taalbeleid I: De instructietaal in het funderend onderwijs.* Curaçao: Ministerie van Onderwijs en Cultuur.

McKool, Sharon S. (2007). Factors that influence the decision to read: an investigation of fifth grade students' out-of-school reading habits'. *Reading Improvement, 44, 3*, 111-131.

http://www.accessmylibrary.com/article-1G1-170278589/factors-influence-decision-read.html

Otter, Martha E., Joop Hox, Kees de Glopper [et al.] (1995). Relationships between Reading Achievement and Leisure-Time Reading in Grades 3, 4, 5, and 6: A Longitudinal Study in the Netherlands. *Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association*, San Francisco, April 18-22, 1995.

Schendel, Daphne M. van & Toos F. Smeulders (1984). Het lezen van Antilliaanse kinderen. *Verkenningen op het gebied van de jeugdliteratuur, 10, 2*, 25-32.

Severing, Ronald E. (1997). Geletterdheid en onderwijssucces op Curaçao: Een longitudinaal onderzoek naar verwerving van Papiamentu en Nederlands. PhD dissertation, Tilburg.

Street, Brian V. (1994). Cross-cultural perspectives on literacy. In Ludo Verhoeven (Ed.), *Functional literacy, Theoretical issues and educational implications* (pp. 95-112). Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Verhoeven, Ludo (1994). Linguistic diversity and literacy development. In Ludo Verhoeven (Ed.) .), *Functional literacy, Theoretical issues and educational implications* (pp. 95-112). Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Vries, Luutsen de & Henry Menckeberg (2009). *Onderwijswetgeving: Regelgeving van het Nederlands-Antilliaans funderend, voortgezet en secundair beroepsonderwijs.* Curaçao: Ministerie van Onderwijs en Cultuur.

http://www.deltaplan.an/download/Taalbeleid_nederlands.pdf

2

FRESH PERSPECTIVES ON ABC-ISLAND LITERATURES

THE STRUGGLE WITH CARIBBEAN ROOTS

GISELLE ECURY
THE NETHERLANDS

1 Introduction

The first time my aunt Nydia Ecury met me, was for her a striking moment. She had returned to Aruba after having lived in Canada for some years. I was a toddler, aged three, I looked straight up at this properly dressed lady in front of me and I articulated very clearly in Dutch: *Good afternoon, madam*. This made her roar with laughter and she kept it forever in her memories. And yet, whenever she told me this anecdote I could feel some disappointment and sadness. In her years of absence, her eldest brother had fathered a family. His youngest girl didn't even realise that this visiting lady was a member of my family, someone dear and very near, someone to open my arms to, someone to enclose in my your heart. Instead of that there was this surprising, distant and very polite *Good afternoon, madam*. We did more than catch up in the decades that followed. But this process of growing close to each other, of getting the real feeling of being family, didn't start until I was about eighteen years old.

2 Dealing with the consequences of migration, a lifetime struggle?[1]

In April 1960 I left Aruba just after my first happy months in school, aged six-and-a-half. My eldest sister was ready to go to the Gymnasium in Holland and my parents didn't want to leave her in a foster home, since she was only eleven at that time.
In his years as a youngster my father himself had thoroughly enjoyed being educated in the Netherlands. However, he found it difficult getting back to the Antilles, finding everything changed, even the family to which he belonged, since in the meantime he had ended up with even more brothers and a baby sister. He found himself changed too.
Frank Martinus Arion expresses this predicament as follows:

> But when the sun and the moon allow you to pass

[1]The fragments of all authors are translated from Dutch into English by Giselle Ecury. The Dutch version of Antillean authors can be found in Broek [et al.], 2006, the Papiamentu version in Berry-Haseth [et al.], 1998. In the References the original publication is mentioned.

towards your own country – you're not yet saved:
in the meantime you became half human, half stranger
one of your eyes sees *funchi*
the other eye sees potatoes – but
none of them you like.

At night you are dreaming, you're shaken awake with a start
thinking that you've been falling through the ice floor –
at last to get up in the morning sweating all over
since you've been sleeping in an oven

When you return from your stay in Holland
you will remain a bad anchored ship for ever
that can break lose any moment
with a lot of people around, but without friends
nor favourite spots – because you can't stay long anywhere.
[…] (Broek: 385; Berry-Haseth: 258)

Pierre Lauffer voices a similar restlessness when he writes:
[…] Is my desire to fly away so immense because I was born on this island? […] (Broek: 348)

My father didn't want this to happen to his children. We went to Holland, where my mother was from, and we became true inhabitants of that country. I can remember that in the beginning I was astonished with the strange habits of my schoolmates and I'm sure they found the way I pronounced their language very funny. I didn't exactly feel like the ugly duckling in the pond, but yet I knew instinctively that I had to adopt *their* habits. And definitely I had to draw different trees! They found my palm trees silly and the *dividivi* must have been "a slip" of my pencil. Not that I liked their willows. Usha Marhé (pp. 39-40) writes about a similar experience:

> She was eight when she went to school for the first time, being laughed at by the other children because she couldn't speak nor write in Dutch. In Saramacca that wasn't necessary; they lived in a domestic circle and each member spoke Sranami with the others.
>
> Her dad could speak Dutch, but only with the people who came to bargain about prices and other business. Within one year she could read and talk Dutch herself and do sums better than her schoolmates.
>
> "That must be your 'coolie blood'; Hindu people are progressive and can manage their money very well," the Creole teacher spoke to her

> before the whole class. “Make an example of Chowrie,” she said towards the other children….

3 The importance of languages

Although my father was Aruban we spoke Dutch at home. He was brought up with the conviction that everything from Holland was good. His beloved wife served as a living example of that! It didn’t even occur to him that his children should learn his language, Papiamentu. In school, they should do their best to learn English, French and German – and Dutch of course, in the most perfect way.
I’ve been asked so many times why I don’t speak my father’s language. One’s never too old to learn… True. But will I ever be able to *live* this language the way I should as a native speaker? And wouldn’t it take me a lot of time to get that far? Time is of the essence when you are over fifty. You have to choose carefully how you will spend the hours in the years to come and I made that choice: I really do prefer to write, to create poems. Now that I’ve finally found my path of destiny I’m eager to follow it, to take advantage of opportunities, to enjoy meeting writers and listen to whatever they want to share with me. It is great to attend assemblies where literature is shared and celebrated. There are many ways to communicate with the people from my region of birth. They too ‘speak many languages’. That is something a lot of us have in common. And we all manage to feel safe and comfortable with each other. As Pierre Lauffer writes: Be aware of how the Polish Jews, the Arabs, the Hindus, people from Venezuela, from Colombia, from Surinam, the Italians and Greeks have adapted to our community the best they could. […] (Broek: 392; Berry-Haseth: 280).

He encourages other authors to use the backdrop of Curaçao and its mixture of nationalities in their writing:

> Would you like to have a theme to write about? There you are: the pirates who called in Curaçao, the slaves who brought in their African culture, the French, who only were shortly on Curaçao, the Jews who came here with their religion, their habits and their Portuguese language, the Dutch from Negropont, Bullenbaai and Julianadorp, the people from Bonaire at Fleur de Marie, British West Indians in Cher Asile and Nieuw Nederland. All these people are living in the narrow streets of Otrabanda.…
> (Broek: 393; Berry-Haseth: 280).

4 Memories grow deeper the more you feel your (Caribbean) roots

This year I attended a course about the history of the Caribbean. I felt like I was finally feeling soil underneath my feet. I was growing without any sort of fertilizer, or tricks. It was like reading a novel, based on reality and we, all of us together, white, black, red, yellow and mixed, all of us were in it: humankind just as it was.
Leaving your isle of birth, of childhood, makes you cling to the good memories, longing for the things you've lost, making sentimental journeys. In one of her poems Nydia Ecury writes:

> The time of year I remember
> when the afternoon sun
> throws long shadows [..]
>
> The time of year I remember,
> the harvest
> and aunts from Tanki Lender and Nórt
> fastening their donkeys
> at the front door of the shop […]
>
> … I remember…
> until the day when the sun of my life
> makes a long shadow
> I do remember
> all times of year
> of Aruba! (Broek: 528; Berry-Haseth: 497)

I still can break out in tears when I see someone waving goodbye to a dear one. And then a sudden sadness often strikes me right in the stomach. Am I the only one that hates farewells? Luis Daal answers my question:

> Goodbye, sea, my dear friend;
> it will take a lot of time
> till we will meet again.
>
> But, beware that over there
> in the mountains of Iberia
> I will think of you;
> that I will go on thinking
> of your blue skin,

your salted blood
and the song of your lukewarm water
with its rhythm
faithfully nestled in my ear

Sea, dear friend,
you know that I don't like
to say goodbye to friends.
That's why I now
from the bottom of my heart
have to say:
See you, sea, see you later… (Broek: 273; Berry-Haseth: 87)

Edwidge Danticat's passage about Father Romain, playing with his pupils in the garden, expresses similar sentiments (p. 77).

> "There she is: Amabelle," he said. .... "She's from the same place on earth that I'm from, Cap Haïtien, the city with the large citadel of Henry I."....
>
> Father Romain found it very important that we came from the same spot. Most people here do. It was a way to feel allied to your old life, by the presence of someone else. Sometimes you could spend a whole evening together with those people, doing nothing else but listening to them, to the way their existence unfolded, from the house they were born in to the hill where they wanted to be buried. It was their way to return home, with you as a witness [...].

It touches me, when one of my cousins tells me: "You're one of us". To me whatever they say about us belonging to one another has sentimental value. It is as if it makes me feel stronger and grow taller, as if my identity is beautifully coloured. My sincere feelings for my family members are shared and reciprocated, as expressed by Usha Marhé (p. 69):

> "At last I looked like a family member."….From that moment on I waited for the acceptation to come, dreaming of being a part of my father's family, as the finally found daughter.

Karin Amatmoekrim (pp. 275-276) underscores the importance of being related, having family members and belonging in some way to the heritage of your home country when stating that: "Family is the most important thing there is".

> Sometimes her mother told her about Surinam. She didn't do it often, but Deborah had the feeling that she always thought of it and that only during moments when it didn't hurt too much, she talked about it. Surinam was very beautiful, Deborah understood. So beautiful, that it made you sad when you left it. […]

In this paragraph the mother, living in the Netherlands, tells her daughter Deborah about her grandparents, especially her grandmother, the sweetest woman on earth, who married poor and yet was so happy.

> "The only thing grandma wanted was to have a family of her own."
>
> "Why, mama?" Deborah asked. […]
>
> "Because she never wanted to be alone anymore. Family is the most important thing there is. When you have family members, you need no one else. When you don't have them you're the poorest person in the world."
>
> "Our family is living in Surinam."
>
> "Yes, indeed. That's why we, the four of us, must be a very little family of our own."
>
> "So that we're not alone?"
>
> "Exactly. […] Your grandma would be very proud of you." Deborah smiled. It was the sweetest compliment her mother paid her in ages.

5 Homeward bound, always

My father happened to be born right here, on Curaçao, in one of the rooms of the (present) Museum where the history of slavery is recounted, at the *Kurá Hulanda*. I remember the words of my parents when they told us that we were children of both countries: Aruba, at that time still part of the Netherlands Antilles, and the Netherlands. And for me it is just great to live in Holland, being able to return to the Caribbean when I long for it from the bottom of my heart.

It has happened several times that I have been wished a warm *welcome home* by a customs officer at the airport as described in a scene from Aliefka Bijlsma's novel *Gezandstraald* (*Sandblasted*). The main character, the completely Dutch-looking Janera, who has found a job on her native island, arrives at Curaçao's *Hato Airport* and comes up against some difficulties with the customs officer for whom she cannot

produce the correct papers. In a last attempt to overcome these problems she whispers (p. 18):

> "But I was born here." […]
> "How long haven't you been here?"
> "Twenty-five years," Janera answered. Her hands were trembling.
> "Twenty-five years."....
> The officer sighed deeply and handed over the passport to Janera, striking Janera's hand with her thumb.
> "*Bo kas ta bo kas*," she said. "Your home is your home." Then she looked over Janera's shoulder, showing no more interest and shouted: "Next!"

Oh yes, I'm sorry. I have to admit that I've forgotten almost everything about the language of the islands. And yet, my heart will always search for my family members across the oceans. Although I'm white my skin carries an African darkness as well. And often I can feel the old Indian who is sheltered in my soul.

Isn't it one of the incredible wonders of life that all of us entered this world in this beautiful part of the Universe despite the blemishes of its history? We became the people who we are today. We share something and we are gifted with the power of language – whatever language it may be. The most important thing is to use it in an appropriate way and to reach out to one another, to communicate without any judgement. We are all part of the same entity. One shouldn't look back in anger, losing the connections to what has been predetermined by our common history. There is always a wider context. We are not victims anymore. If we allow the past to continue to patronize us, then we continue to give other people the opportunity to hurt us, to overpower us, to enslave us.

Poems and prose are like music, reaching out to other people to let them look into our hearts and minds. Maybe that's why I cannot stop writing about characters who share my feelings about being both Dutch and Antillean as well. In my own novel *Erfdeel* (*Inheritance*) Carmen, the main character, a first-person narrator, reveals her feelings when she says (p. 204):

> Why did I return? I was born here, and yet I'm not from here. I am as Dutch as a pair of clogs and I love the polders and the changing seasons, even the storms in October. Coming to this island again is about feeling homesick because of the things I used to have in the old days…. (p. 188).

> Slowly we walk together towards the exit of the churchyard. [The gardener] has put his tools into a plastic bag which is dangling between us. Every now and then he shakes his head. I want to ask him so much, but I only know my own language. He gives me a signal that I have to wait a moment. As fast as he can he walks in between the monuments in the graveyard and disappears. Sometime later he appears with a lady. She acts as our interpreter.
>
> In the shadow of a *dividivitree* my history is completed bilingually. I'm standing there underneath that so crookedly grown yet so typical tree, with each of my legs in a different world. I'm trying to do a graceful split, but I realise that I will never get the knack of it. I'm too old and I will never achieve anything more than making my poor muscles sore.

In one of the first poems of my book *Terug die tijd* (*Time in reverse*) I share my desire to mix some of the qualities of both countries, because – inside – there is and always will be this struggle with my Caribbean roots (p. 11):

> I would like to hear
> my father's words in
> my mother's country
> and without anything to fear
> I'd let palms wave in the early morning dew,
> I'd let foam the Dutch North Sea,
> facing the sparkling light
> of the azure blue of the Caribbean

6 After all is said and done, to conclude

I once read – and I must admit that I don't know who I'm quoting: *When you are going to live in another language you have to rewrite your own history*. I may have done that. But blood will always show. My eyes will always see the blue of the Caribbean Sea; my ears will hear its waves; my heart will experience its streaming tides. Still my feet will always long for the sand of the dunes of Schoorl, the village where I currently live, close to the North Sea, in Holland. The pines and the wind will whisper of the past and future of this land in between, Nowhere Land – with the serendipitous contours of my own boundaries. How I do like the wind!

It may be that I'm one of ***the islands in between*** myself. Although I can't see the sea, I know it is there, westward. And when the sun sinks in its orange burning water I

know she will rise across the ocean above the isles of my childhood, where my family members are living, including my beloved aunt, Nydia Ecury, whom I – for a very long time now – have ceased to address as *madam*…

REFERENCES

Amatmoekrim, Karin (2006). *Wanneer wij samen zijn*. Amsterdam: Prometheus.

Berry-Haseth, Lucille, Aart G. Broek & Sidney M. Joubert (Eds.) (1998). *Pa saka kara, tomo III: Antologia di Literatura Papiamentu.* Curaçao: Fundashon Pierre Lauffer.

Broek, Aart G., Sidney M. Joubert & Lucille Berry-Haseth (Eds.) (2006). *De kleur van mijn eiland: Ideologie en schrijven in het Papiamentu sinds 1863, II Anthologie*. Leiden: KITLV.

Bijlsma, Aliefka (2007) *Gezandstraald*. Amsterdam: Augustus.

Daal, Luis (1963). *Kosecha di maloa.* Curaçao: Van Dorp. (p. 18: *Te aworó, laman*).

Danticat Edwige (1999). *Land voor de levenden.* (First published in 1998 as *The farming of bones* by Soho Press, New York). Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek.

Ecury, Giselle (2006). *Erfdeel.* Schoorl: Conserve.

Ecury, Gieselle (2007). *Terug die tijd.* Schoorl: Conserve.

Ecury, Nydia (1976). *Bos di Sanger*. Curaçao: [s.n.]. (pp. 5, 7: *Rekuerdo*).

Lauffer, Pierre (1962). Zo is Curaçao; Cantabile. *Amigoe di Curaçao*, 15-09-1962.

Lauffer, Pierre (under pseudonym Ben Balente) (1969). Kwadro na multikoló. *La Cruz*, 25-09-1969.

Marhé, Usha (2007). *Dulari – de weg van mijn naam*. Amsterdam: Van Gennep.

Martinus Arion, Frank (1961). *Ta amor so por*. Curaçao: Libreria Salas. (p. 21: *Ma ora solo ku luna lagabo pasa*).

www.sfeervoltrouwen.nl

THE MULTIFACETED ARTISTIC AND LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS OF MAY HENRIQUEZ

JOSETTE CAPRILES GOLDISH

Sometimes the most unlikely creative spirit arises to breathe life into a culture that is unknowingly waiting for that breath of inspiration. This, I believe, was the case when, in her early thirties, May Henriquez threw off her inherited mantle of *grande dame* of Curaçao's high society and decided to focus her efforts on the arts and the written word. In doing so, she became an active participant in and enabler of the development of an artistic body of work – both her own and that of other artists – as well as a pioneer in the use of our language, Papiamentu, where it had not been used before.

May was born May Alvarez Correa in 1915 and grew up in a world of privilege, surrounded by doting relatives and exposed to the many niceties of life available to those with financial means. In this world of merchants, traders, and entrepreneurs, the men in her family were mostly successful business leaders who spurred on the island's economy. The women, on the other hand, had a very different role. As young girls their primary role was to get married and have children. And once married, to quote Linda Rupert, professor of history at the University of North Carolina, they were expected to live "a vigorous social life that was an important component of their husbands' powerful business networks" (Rupert: 55-56).

May's early life seemed to reflect these priorities. At age 20 she made a wonderful match and married Max Henriquez, a descendant of Curaçaoan Sephardim who had been born in Caracas and schooled in Paris. A year later their first child was born. So far so good! May was clearly following the path expected of her.

But we all know that certain talents cannot be restrained, and so it was that fairly soon after her first daughter was born, May's life deviated from the norm for those of her society. She became an active member of a group of artists that used to assemble at the home of Dr. Chris Engels and his wife Lucila Engels born Boskaljon and began to make her mark there. These young men and women expressed themselves through different art forms, and during the get-togethers at the Engels residence they admired and critiqued each other's work (M. Henriquez, 2000: 3). They also put on group exhibits accompanied by lectures and performances and exposed the Curaçaoan public

to a varied collection of artistic creations which were new and exciting. While she was part of this group, May wrote poetry and painted and around 1947 she tried her hand at sculpture for the first time.

Very soon she was hooked. She quickly realized, however, that she would greatly benefit from some formal instruction. With much determination and contrary to what was considered appropriate for a married woman of her age and stature in Curaçao, she made arrangements to go to Caracas, Venezuela to further her career as an artist (J. Henriquez: 73). Her teacher in Caracas was a Spanish sculptor by the name of Ernest Maragall i Noble (1903-1991).

May returned to Curaçao armed with a more formal knowledge of her chosen form of expression and went about pursuing her dream of being a sculptress. She converted the carriage house of Bloemhof, the family's country home, into a studio and instead of keeping the doors closed while she worked, May installed lively colored curtains over the large entryway to allow for the natural ventilation of her make-shift studio space where she and the artist friends she favored would work (Diane Monique Henriquez, p.c., 10.12.2007).

May's ability to project feelings into her sculpted images was apparent from the start. Her 1948 sculpture entitled *Hamber* 'Hunger' reflects the images of horror that were coming out of postwar Europe. With great care she formed the hands that hold up the emaciated head of this figure. Although the pose and placement of the hands are somewhat reminiscent of Edvard Munch's 1893 painting entitled *Scream*, this plaster piece does not possess the sense of insanity found in Munch's work. Instead there is a feeling of quiet resignation in May's portrayal of hunger. The hollowed out face evokes sadness and desperation and it is almost unnecessary for the piece to have a title. This talent for pure expression is beautifully demonstrated in later works as well.

In 1949, May made another bold move and went to study with the well-known sculptor Ossip Zadkine (1890-1967) in Paris. Here she lived a dual life, staying with her husband and in-laws at the fancy Grand Hotel and joining her Bohemian artist friends during the day at Zadkine's studio (Diane Monique Henriquez, p.c., 11.12.2007). After her first exposure to Zadkine, May returned to Paris several times to attend his workshops and continue to improve her skills. During the following years her creations consisted not only of clay and plaster pieces, but also of sculptures carved out of rough stone, as well as mahogany and dried branches of dead trees that she dragged to her studio from the woods during her wanderings on the grounds of Bloemhof. No rock or twig escaped her notice. A small dried stick that most people would have ignored was carefully collected by May and with some polishing and

carving and a couple of nails, it became a ‘chuchubi’, Curaçao’s little sparrow-like bird, who often made itself at home on her porch.

Throughout this love affair with sculpting, May never gave up on the written word. When she sculpted and drew the images of her childhood nanny, called ‘yaya’ in Papiamentu, she also wrote the poem *Nostalgia* remembering the black ‘yaya’ with her velvet skin, smelling of powder and soap (M. Henriquez, 2001). Similarly, when she transformed a weathered tree branch found during one of her many walks into the sculpture she entitled *Daphne*, this too inspired a poem describing the process of deciding what to do with the piece of wood. Would it become Don Quixote ready to attack his windmills, or Tula, Curaçao’s rebel slave, crying freedom, or maybe the Greek goddess Daphne in flight? (M. Henriquez, 2001).

And so May continued to work in many media, executing some alluring pieces over time. Simultaneously, she encouraged and promoted many local artists, co-owned a gallery, and together with her husband, collected both local and foreign works of art. And, of course, she continued to write – creating playful as well as thoughtful poems in Papiamentu.

In 1947 May branched out beyond poetry and translated a radio play from English into Papiamentu. *The Monkey’s Paw* by W.W. Jacobs became *E Pia di Makaku* and was transmitted live by Radio Curom. Although not widely remembered, it was well received, and May became more interested in the theater arts than she had been before. She became active in the ‘Stichting voor Culturele Samenwerking’ or Cultural Collaboration Foundation also known as STICUSA. Its purpose was to promote an exchange of cultural ideas and events between the Netherlands and its colonies. The literary and theatrical aspects of STICUSA were, however, geared to the Dutch language. Performing in a tongue not native to an actor is a difficult endeavor, and truly reaching and affecting the local public in anything other than Papiamentu was also a problem. It took the wisdom and courage of theater director Paul Storm, sent from Holland to Curaçao by STICUSA, to determine that the main obstacle to a true take-off of the theater arts on the island in the early fifties was the lack of material in Papiamentu (Broek: 166).

As if it were her natural calling, May took on the challenge to fill this gap. She began to translate classical plays for a Papiamentu speaking audience. Better said, she began to write adaptations of classical plays. Her first attempt was an adaptation of Molière’s *Le Médecin Malgré Lui* ‘The Doctor in Spite of Himself’. She entitled this play *Ami Dokter? Lubidá!* ‘Me Doctor? Forget It!’ While she changed the names of the characters to make them more accessible to her Curaçaoan audience, she adhered

fairly closely to Molière's text. Here and there she modernized the play and made it fit the Caribbean locale. For example, instead of quoting Cicero like Molière had done, she referred to Kompa Nanzi's wise sayings in the spider stories known by so many of us in the Caribbean. But overall, she did not make too many changes. The play was performed at the Roxy theater in 1953 and was received with enthusiasm.
That same year she wrote the script for a locally-filmed short movie called *E cas a keda bashí* 'The house remained empty'. The movie was praised and enjoyed by the relatitvely small audience that saw it, and May decided to tackle another play by Molière. This time she chose to adapt *L'Avare* 'The Miser'.

From the perfect title *Sjon Pichiri* 'Mister Cheapskate' and throughout the text, we see a loosening of May's language and a greater use of the colloquialism and sauciness of Papiamentu that make it so expressive. When *La Flèche* is accused of stealing from the title character, the miser, Molière has him answering:

> How the deuce could one manage to rob you? Are you a likely man to have anything stolen from you, when you lock up everything, and keep guard day and night?

And Flecha's words chosen by May are :

> *Ata baina! Hende por horta sjon ? Sjon ta tranca tur cos bao di yabi cu candaal, anto pa ñapa para wárda di dia y anochi.*
>
> [What is this shit! Can people rob you? You lock up everything with keys and bolts, and to top it off you stand guard day and night.]

Baina was definitely not a word used in polite company in the 1950s, but it would have been used by someone of Flecha's stature. Bunchi Römer, a dear friend of May's and herself an actress as well as a theater director, said about May: "*su lenga no tabatin wesu*" 'Her tongue had no bones' indicating that there were no impediments to the words she chose for her characters, even if it meant the use of cruder expressions than those used in her own social circles (Brunehilda 'Bunchi' Römer, p.c., 4.5.2007).

May also had great fun turning the cook and coachman of *L'Avare* into Juan, a Portuguese speaking cook and chauffeur in *Sjon Pichiri*.

Juan:	*Con ken Patron desea papiar, con shafer o con cozineiro?*
	Mi haci dos trabalho.
Don Pepe:	*Cu tur dos.*

Juan: *Un méste ta primeiro.*
Don Pepe: *Cozineiro*

Which translates to:

Juan: Who does 'Patron' wish to converse with, with chauffeur or cook? I work both jobs.
Don Pepe: With both.
Juan: One must come first.
Don Pepe: Cook.

The use of the Portuguese word *cozineiro* instead of the Papiamentu *kòki* (cook), and in Juan's next sentence, the substitution of *primeiro* for the Papiamentu *promé* (first) were subtle choices by May. This use of language as well as his name, pronounced the Portuguese way, gave him an identity that was immediately clear to the Curaçaoan audience. His role elicited much laughter.

The next play written by May was *Laiza Porko Sushi* 'Laiza, Dirty Pig' a fantasy based on George Bernard Shaw's Pygmalion. For this work, May freed herself much more than before from the dialogues of the original piece, and her use of Papiamentu climbed to a different level. The language in this play and others that followed was expressive and unencumbered. Also the stage directions and scene settings were much more precise and well thought out. It is clear from this fourth play that May had become a much more sophisticated playwright after her experiences with the two Molière plays.

While the original Eliza in Pygmalion sold flowers outside a London theater, the opening scene of *Laiza Porko Sushi* is set with great detail in a well-known Curaçaoan location.

> The scene opens and we see the façade of the Cinelandia [theater].* The movie has just ended and it is raining. The door or gate of the movie theater is already closed and in the middle [of the stage], where there is a small overhang, there is a group of people who have stayed behind either to wait for the showers to end or to find a way to get home.

* The façade of the Cinelandia building is an art deco architectural tour de force.

> Near the door, close to the wall, there is a peanut vendor. She is sitting on a small bench in front of an upside-down empty potato box with a tray of [roasted] peanuts on top of it. In the peanut tray there are a few [paper] cones for the peanuts and a large pile of peanuts with a gourd measure placed in the middle. Next to her she has a bucket with some sweets and a box rests on top of the bucket.

This setting was one the audience was familiar with and which they had probably walked or driven past on their way to the performance.

A few minutes into the play, Laiza's precious peanuts are knocked over by the careless Freddy, causing Laiza to open her mouth for the first time, letting loose a stream of obscenities. May Henriquez's refined relatives who attended the performance must have gone into shock at her choice of words. But Laiza's language and character was perfectly envisioned, and the viewing public recognized her right away for who she was.

> *Waja kaja? Waja bo pepe! Weta kamina bo ta bai no Freddy, kaminda e bai bo'n tin, bai na mierda!!! [...] Esta sa ta odidu nó – zwaai tu mi pindanan basha bao den kaja, mira kon e pindanan aki a plèche. .... Ha bon, bisámi sin ta koi maula, hiza mi baki pinda bashabao, anto kore limpi bai asina, sin duna mi un cen chiki?*

> [Take a hike? Take a hike, your mother! Look where you are going, Freddy, or is it that you don't have anywhere to go? Go to hell!!! […] You are really a fucking idiot – knocking all my peanuts onto the street, look how the peanuts are all smashed …. All right, tell me if this is not a shitty thing to do, knocking over my peanut box and running away without giving me a penny?]

The performance was a resounding success. Actress Nydia Ecury's Laiza conquered the theatergoers with her expressive face and the words that May put into her mouth.

I suppose the genius of May's plays was due not only to the fact that she was able to translate from French, Spanish, English and Dutch, but that she was able to use Papiamentu to its fullest and at its juiciest. Between 1953 and 1979 fifteen of her theatrical adaptations were performed in Curaçao. Although most of these were comedies, she very successfully translated Jean Paul Sartre's difficult drama entitled *Huis Clos* in 1973, calling it *Porta será*. In this effort she stuck very closely to the script for this play which takes place in its entirety in a minimally decorated room that

is supposed to be the portal to hell or hell itself. Twenty years had elapsed since her first theatrical adaptation was produced. During those twenty years, the level of May's plays had registered significant improvement, and the Papiamentu speaker in Curaçao had also become a much more sophisticated theatergoer and appreciator of the arts (Brunehilda 'Bunchi' Römer, p.c., 4.5.2007).

May's contributions are too many to enumerate in this short presentation, but I would be amiss if I did not tell you about her books *Ta asina o ta asana?* 'Is it like this or is it like that?' and *Loke a keda pa simia* 'What remained as a seed'. In these two works she brought together her ethnic background and her knowledge of Papiamentu and collected and explained expressions, idioms, traditions, and word usages that had their origin among Curaçao's Sephardic Jews. Papiamentu, being a creole language, has borrowed its words from a variety of languages and ethnic groups. The Sephardic roots of many commonly used Papiamentu phrases are testimony to the deep-rooted influence left behind by the Jews who arrived on this island in the 1650s and always considered it their 'Dushi Kòrsou' – sweet Curaçao. Painstakingly May collected these expressions, and with great humor she recorded this aspect of her native tongue for posterity (Fouse: 114-115).

Hopefully this overview shows what one person can do if she or he wills it. Few who contributed to Curaçao's culture and art scene had the breadth and depth that May Henriquez displayed in her lifetime. And even fewer had the wherewithal to promote the work of others and combine their skill with sufficient financial backing to showcase not only their own work, but also that of collaborators and fellow artists. Clearly, she could have chosen to stay at home, play bridge, be a social butterfly, and attend charitable teas. But May Henriquez had much more to offer, and she gave it freely and with great pleasure to the people of this island that she so dearly loved.

REFERENCES

Note: The Papiamentu scripts of the theater plays are available in May Henriquez's archives, currently housed in the library of the Bloemhof Center for the Arts, Curaçao.

Broek, Aart G. (1998). *Pa saka kara. Tomo I: historia di literatura papiamentu.* Curaçao: Fundashon Pierre Lauffer.

Fouse, Gary C. (2002). *The story of Papiamentu: a study in slavery and language.* Lanham: University Press of America.

Henriquez, Jeanne D. (2002). *Kòrsou su muhénan pionero.* Curaçao: Archivo

Nashonal di Antia Hulandes.
Henriquez, May (2000). Trapi di arte: Ayera, awe, mañan. *Kristòf, XI-1*.
Henriquez, May (2001). *Liña, koló i ritmo – Trabou di palu, piedra, klei i pèn.* Curaçao: Portí Heru Publications.
Rupert, Linda M. (1999). *Roots of Our Future - a Commercial History of Curaçao.* Curaçao: Curaçao Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

TRANSLATION, ADAPTATION OR A NEW PLAY? TRANSLATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS OF THEATRICAL WORKS INTO PAPIAMENTU

LIESBETH ECHTELD
UNIVERSITY OF THE NETHERLANDS ANTILLES

1 Introduction

During the second half of the 20th century, there was a tendency in the Netherlands Antilles (Curaçao and Aruba in particular) to translate or adapt plays from world literature into the local language, Papiamentu. In general, the main objective of the translator (or adapter) seemed to be to bring literature closer to "the Papiamentu-speaking general public". This tendency was apparently supported by the policies of the then-existing STICUSA (an Antillean foundation of Cultural Cooperation with Holland)[1] and the, still-existing local Cultural Center, CCC (Curaçao Cultural Center). The role of STICUSA and CCC has been heavily criticized (see Rutgers, 1994 and Broek et al., 1998, 2006). Opponents have faulted these institutions for their paternalistic pro-Dutch role. Frank Martinus Arion, in the magazine *Ruku* (1969-1971), can be considered as one of the chief exponents of this tendency. These criticisms notwithstanding, the policies in question were powerless to deter a group of enthusiastic experts from translating and adapting theatrical works into Papiamentu over the past half century.

Apart from the desire to bring literature closer to the general Papiamentu speaking public the lack of presentable plays in Papiamentu was a stimulus to create these translations/adaptations, or "*transposities*", transpositions, as the local writer Colá Debrot called them, into the local language. It may have seemed easier to translate and adapt an existing play than to create a new one. The sudden outburst of translations and adaptations in Papiamentu of foreign plays in the 1960's and 70's resulted in a long list of titles, a partial listing of which can be found in Rutgers (1994) and Broek

[1] STICUSA: Stichting Culturele Samenwerking Antillen

et al. (2006). The compilation of a full listing would require additional research into personal, local, and international archival sources.

One might wonder what the motives were for choosing a certain play to translate or adapt. Was the choice based on mere coincidence, on personal preferences for the playwright, on the worldwide popularity of these plays at the time, or was the choice of a certain play influenced by the Dutch stage directors employed by STICUSA and CCC, who may have brought plays of their own taste to the attention of the translator/adapter to develop the local theater? Answering these questions would constitute a study on its own. In any case, a preliminary chronological study of the large list of titles of translations and adaptations into Papiamentu reveals a shift over time from plays of the English and French literary traditions, to plays from the Hispanic literary tradition.

It is worthwhile noting that the translations/adaptations of two of Alejandro Casona's works *Los árboles mueren de pie* (1949, translated/adapted by May Henriquez in 1965) and *La barca sin pescador* (1945, translated/adapted by the local writer Luis Daal in 1974), though not yet analyzed in the academic literature, are generally mentioned by literary critics in the rare studies which dedicate some attention to the world of the theater in the Netherlands Antilles in the broader sense. Adaptations of other plays by Alejandro Casona by C. Jacques Penso including *Farsa y justicia del Corregidor* (1962, adapted as *Justicia di Buricu*, year unknown), *La fablilla del secreto bien guardado* (1962, adapted as *E secreto di Naro*, year unknown) and *Entremés del mancebo que casó con mujer brava* (1962, adapted as *Matrimonio forzá*, year unknown) do not adhere as closely to the canon where adaptations and translations are concerned as much as do the above mentioned adaptations by Henriquez and Daal.

From the paragraphs above, it becomes apparent that assembling a sociologically, historically, and artistically contextualized inventory of all the plays translated or adapted into Papiamentu on Curaçao would be an extensive research project in itself. Such a project might take its inspiration from the compilation of adapted/translated Aruban plays, entitled *Aplauso! Un coleccion di obra di teatro na Papiamento*, published in 2006. This collection focuses on translations/adaptations in particular as well as on the world of theatre on Aruba in general. *Aplauso!* contains, besides original plays as *Mañan Dalia lo ta mi Dalia* (1978) by Denis Henriquez, adapted or translated plays from different times and places, including *Antigona* by Sophocles (496 BC - 406 BC), *The Miracle Worker* by William Gibson (1959) in adaptation/translation as *Un trabou milagroso*, and *Romeo and Juliet* by William Shakespeare (1564-1616) as *Romeo y Julieta*. *Aplauso!* is interesting because it includes material from the press as well as the rest of the broader world of literary criticism concerning the theatre in Aruba.

In “Teatro na Curaçao, despues di segundo guera mundial”, Bunchi Römer (1989) provides an interesting résumé of the world of theatre in Curaçao after the second World War. It is entirely justified that she mentions May Henriquez (1915-1999) as one of the most important adapters of plays from the French, Spanish, and English-speaking literary traditions. Her adaptations include those of M. Mihura’s *Maribel y la extraña familia,* as *Maribel* (1966); William Shakespeare’s *The taming of the shrew* (adapted/ as *Kanimi, pa mi kanibo* (1969); and Molière’s *Le médecin malgré lui* (adapted as *Ami, dòkter? Lubidá!* in 1953[2]) and *L’Avare* (adapted as *Shon Pichiri,* year unknown). The theatrical works of May Henriquez are so numerous, that a historically, socially, linguistically and artistically contextualized study of her translations/adaptations would comprise a major research project in itself.

In this article, I focus on a comparison of the translation/adaptation into Papiamentu of two of the works by playwright Alejandro Casona mentioned above, *Los árboles mueren de pie* and *La barca sin pescador*.

The main question that I pose is: to what extent are these texts in Papiamentu mere copies of the original, and to what extent have new elements been incorporated into them? In some cases the process of adaptation has yielded entirely new plays which do not have much in common with the original. One of the plays in the adaptation of which May Henriquez took such liberty is *Laiza porko sushi, un fantasia di May Henriquez basá riba e komedia Pygmalion di G.B. Shaw* (adapted from *Pygmalion* by G. Bernard Shaw), published in 1954, some eleven years before she translated/adapted Casona’s *Mata ta muri riba pia*. In this article, we will consider whether Henriquez incorporates as many local Curaçaoan elements into her rendering of Casona’s work as she did in her rendering of Shaw’s.

2 *Mata ta muri riba pia* (1965)

This play was first titled *Palu ta muri riba pia,* but, because of the ambiguity of this title in Papiamentu, was later changed into *Mata ta muri riba pia*. One might ask if this play got the same enthusiastic reception from the general public when it was performed in the 1960s and 1970s as did Henriquez’s adaptation of Pygmalion in the 1950s. Henriquez’s rendering of *Pygmalion* was a great success and the local newspapers dedicated a lot of attention to the play, and published excerpts from it, including some of the most hilarious lines. The reaction of the local press to *Mata ta muri riba pia* in 1965 is a subject for further enquiry.

[2] There are studies that mention 1952 as year of production.

Aruban writer Burny Every justifies her choice of *Antigona* for adaptation into Papiamentu as follows :

> E tragedia "ANTIGONA" a wòrdu elehí, pasobra mi tábata di opinion ku despues di dos aña di kurso mi tábatin hendenan kapas aki konfrontá públiko antiyano pa promé bes ku un di e gran obranan klásiko di antiguo Gresia na nos mes lenga papiamento. (Romondt: 21)
>
> [The tragedy "ANTIGONA" has been chosen, because in my opinion, after a two- year-course, I had capable people who could confront the Antillean public for the first time, with a great classical work from the ancient Greece, in our own native tongue, Papiamentu.]

Is Henriquez's motivation for the choice for *Los árboles mueren de pie* similar?

Frank Davelaar, one of the leading performing actors in those times, reports that the cast of the play included Bunchi Römer, Fifi Rademaker, Rina Penso and Lena Senior. Some of these actors would eventually form the Thalia Theatre Company on the 19th of January of 1967. It is very unfortunate that the archives of this company were lost in a fire.

The section of this article that follows will compare Casona's *Los árboles mueren de pie* (1949) to Henriquez's adaptation *Mata ta muri riba pia* (1965) both literarily (in terms of structure, content and theme) and linguistically (what are the linguistic concessions that the translator/adapter had to make in translating the original into Papiamentu?).

Structure

The structure of the translation/adaptation is the same as in the play of Casona, consisting of three acts with two scenes each. The story line, which does not differ between the two versions, is as follows:

Story line

Mr. Balboa has a heartless grandchild who he has thrown out of the house, without informing his wife (the grandmother). From that moment on, Mr. Balboa arranges to have fictitious letters sent to his wife, supposedly written by his grandson. The grandson eventually decides to return home, but the boat in which he is being transported is shipwrecked, and the grandson is presumed dead. Balboa asks a young man to imitate his grandson, and pay a visit to the grandmother together with a beautiful girl posing as the grandson's wife. While this fake couple pretends to be his

grandson and his wife, the real grandson, who was thought to be dead, arrives. Meanwhile, the grandmother has discovered how her husband has deceived her, but she decides not to say anything to the impostor or to the girl, as a token of appreciation of the happy moments that they shared together.

Roles

All of the main roles and additional roles of Casona's original play are found in Henriquez's adaptation, except those of Cazador and El ladrón de Ladrones. These roles include:

Elena, secretaria, played by local actress Miss Brígida
Mr. Balboa, actor unknown
La Abuela, actress unknown
Amalia, tipista, local actor unknown
Domi (a pastor in the original play) played by Ed Martina
Pajasu, played by Fifi Rademaker
Isabel (Marta Isabel in the play of Casona) played by Rina Penso
Pididó di Limosna, played by Ronnie Sillié
Tercio, played by Jopi (Hart?)
Mauricio, originally to be played by Frank Davelaar, who decided not to perform at the last minute. Who took over is as yet unknown;
Genoveva, actress unknown
Wela, originally to be played by Bunchi Römer who decided not to perform. Eventually performed by Lena Senior;
Felisia, kriá di Wela, actress unknown
Otro Hende, played by Jacques Penso

Stage Directions

It is interesting to compare the stage directions of both works. In general, the stage directions are less detailed in Henriquez's adaptation than they are in Casona's original:

Henriquez's adaptation
At the beginning of the first act:
(E esena ta parse un oficina di trabao, e tin lessenaar grandi, telefono, filing kabinet etc.
Na man robez tin un kortina diki, ku ora bo halé bo ta weta hopi paña kologá, peluka, sombré etc. manera pa disfráz –tin un spiel cu luz pa "make-up"-
Na man drechi tin un mesa cu algún stoel – Kada banda tin un porta i patras den fondo tin un porta sekreto – esta si bo no sá ku e tei bo no ta weté, e ta parse un kashi di buki –
Ademas tin hopi pida-pida kos gisprenkel rond, ku no ta pas total den un oficina: Un popchi manekin sin braza, un net di piskadó, dos tres ballon di koló, skopet bieeuw etc.
Escena ta habri ku Elena e secretaria papiandu ku un typista) [Mata ta muri riba pia (1965)]

[The scene is like a working office, containing a desk, a telephone, a filing cabinet etc.
At the left side, there is a heavy curtain that when pulled you can see a lot of hanging clothes, wigs, hats etc. as if for a disguise – there is a mirror with a lamp for "make-up". At the right side, there is a table with some chairs – There is a door at each side and in the back there is a secret door – in such a way that if you don't know it, you don't see it, it looks like a bookcase –
Beseides that, there are al lot of things scattered around, that don't fit at all in an office: A mannequin doll without arms, a fish-net, two or three colored balloons, an old rifle, etc.
The scene starts with Elena, the secretary, talking with a typist]

Casona's original:
Acto primero
A primera vista estamos en una gran oficina moderna, del más aséptico capitalismo funcional. (Archivos metálicos, ficheros giratorios, teléfonos, audífono y toda la comodidad mecánica. A la derecha – del actor -, la puerta de secretaría; a la izquierda, primer término, salida privada. La mitad derecha del foro está ocupada por una librería.)

La izquierda, en medio arco, cerrada por una espesa cortina, que al correrse descubre un vestuario amontonado de trajes exóticos y una mesita con espejo alumbrado en los bordes, como en un camarín de teatro.

(En contraste con el aspecto burocrático hay acá y allá un rastro sospechoso de fantasía: redes de pescadores, carátulas, un maniquí descabezado con manto, un globo terráqueo, armas inútiles, mapas coloristas de países que no han exisitido nunca; toda esa abigarrada promiscuidad de las almonedas y las tiendas de anticuario.
En lugar bien visible, el retrato del Doctor Ariel, con su sonrisa bonachona, su melena blanca y su barva entre artística y apostólica.

Al levantarse el telón, la Mecanógrafa busca afanosamente algo que no encuentra en los ficheros. Consulta una nota y vuelve a remover fichas, cada vez más nerviosa. Entra Helena, la secretaria, madura de aňos y de autoridad, con sus carpetas que ordena mientras habla.

May Henriquez uses some interesting expressions in Papiamentu, in the passage "*Ademas tin hopi pida-pida kos gisprenkel rond ku no ta pas total den un oficina*" to adapt Casona's "*En contraste con el aspecto burocrático hay acá y allá un rastro sospechoso de fantasía*".

Dialogue
Right from the first scene, it seems that May Henriquez follows the original, but skips some fragments of the dialogues. This tendency is to be found throughout the entire play:

Elena to a secretary: "*Tene masha kuidou, ley no ta pordoná!"* in the source text: "*Mucho cuidado con eso; tratándose de menores la ley es inflexible.*"

Tipista: *"E kestion di kolo'ei ta hacimi zorokló."* in the source text: *"Siempre se me olvida ese detalle del color."*

In general, the dialogue of the adaptation in Papiamentu is more vivid:

Elena; *"Korda ku aki un fout di mas chikí por kausa un katastròf – tin demasiado vida ta depende di nos – nos trabou tin un peliger. Meskos ku nos por gana gratitud di humanidad – meskos un stap* ***herái ta nos pataplún den wangalán****. Graba esei bon den bo sintí."*, in the source text: *Recuerde que en esta casa cualquier pequeño detalle puede ser una catástrofe. Muchas vidas están pendientes de nosotros, pero el camino está lleno de peligros;* ***y lo mismo podemos merecer la gratitud de la humanidad que ir a parar todos a la cárcel este misma noche. No lo olvide."***

Linguistic observations

The orthography used by Henriquez may reveal some aspects of earlier pronounciations of words in Papiamentu, for example: *drentandu* instead of *drentando*, *robez* instead of *robes*, *desilusjoná* instead of *desilushoná* and *pusibel* instead of *posibel*.

3 *Barku riba ankr/anker* (1974)

Story Line

The devil (performed by Frank Davelaar) makes a contract with Ricardo Jordán, a broker in financial need to assassinate a competitive businessman. Ricardo Jordan regrets his act and visits the family of the murdered businessman. There he learns to lead a simpler, but more rewarding life.

Structure

The structure of the translation/adaptation, with a division in "tres akto: e di dos i e di tres, sin interupshón" (NB the use of the accent is the same as the original by Casona.) The content of the two plays, as above, does not differ.

Roles

All of the main roles and additional roles of Casona's original play are to be found in Daal's adaptation, including:

Estela
Frida
Wela
Enriqueta
Ricardo
Jordán
Hombr na pretu (NB the missing ”e”)
Marco
Juan
Bankero
Konsehero 1
Konsehero 2

Stage Directions

Daal's adaptation:

Generally, Daal seems to follow Casona's source text almost literally, but adds a few extra directions of his own:

Ofisina de Ricardo Jordán. Un luho friw. Riba un mesa tin un "ticker" di kotisashón di Bolsa i varjos telefón. Na muraja tin varijos mapa ekonómiko ku sinta di diferenti koló, banderita grupá según e merkádonan grandi i sinta ku ta representá varjos vía di komunikashon. Tin un globo terakja grandi, riba un pedestal. Un oloshi grandi bòw di un balón di glas. Ta den imbjèrno.

Casona's original:

Despacho del financiero Ricardo Jordán. Lujo frío. Sobre la mesa, ticker y teléfonos. En las paredes, mapas económicos con franjas de colores, banderitas agrupadas en las grandes mercados y cintas indicadoras de comunicaciones. Una gran esfera terrestre, de trípode. Reloj de péndulo. Invierno.

In general, stage directions are less extended in both Henriquez's and Daal's adaptations.

Dialogue

Daal seems to conform closely to the source text, and does not use such vivid expressions in Papiamentu as May Henriquez does. As was the case with Henriquez's adaptation above, Daal seems to follow the original dialogue, but skips some fragments:

Ricardo on the telephone: *Aló! Londen?....Sí, sí, papja numa… Aki nos tambe. 4 punto hinté den méj ora. Pero mi ta ripití: no tin motibu pa alarmá. Nò, esej s ku nò, nunka! M'a duna*

orden terminante i bálido pa tur merkado. Kiko ku pasa, kumpra baj! Nada mas. Mashá danki.

In the source text:

¡Hola!, ¿Larga distancia? Sí, sí, diga… Aquí también otros cuatro enteros en media hora. Pero le repito que no hay ningún motivo de alarma. No, eso nunca; mis órdenes son terminantes y para todos los mercados.¡Pase lo que pase, compren! ¡Nada más gracias!

Linguistic observations

The orthography used by Daal may reveal some aspects of earlier pronounciations of words in Papiamentu, for example: *friw* instead of *friu*; *varjos* instead of *varios*, *bòw* instead of *bao*, and *imbjèrno* instead of *invierno*.

4 Conclusions

In general, both Henriquez and Daal remain quite close to the originals in their adaptations of Casona's plays. Henriquez has a tendency to use more colorful registers of Papiamentu in her adaptations than does Daal, whose Papiamentu normally follows the rhythms of Casona's Spanish text. Both adaptations deserve to be published using the current standardized orthography in order to help satisfy the increasing need for more theatrical works written in Papiamentu, both for the reading public as well as for performance. The staging of these and other adapted plays could be a catalyst for a revival of the theatre in Curaçao.

REFERENCES

Broek, Aart G., O. Boekhoudt & E. Lopes (1996). The Netherlands Antilles and Aruba (Overview). In D. Rubin & C. Solórzano (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Theatre, Volume 2, The Americas* (pp. 331-336). London: Routledge.

Broek, Aart G. (1998). *Pa saka kara. Tomo I: historia di literatura papiamentu.* Curaçao: Fundashon Pierre Lauffer.

Broek, Aart G. (2006). *De kleur van mijn eiland: Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao. Ideologie en schrijven in het Papiamentu sinds 1863. Deel I: geschiedschrijving.* Leiden: KITLV.

Casona, Alejandro (1997). *Los árboles mueren de pie*. First published in 1949 by Losada. In *Teatro 1*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada.

Casona, Alejandro (1997). *La barca sin pescador*. First published in 1945 by Losada. In *Teatro 1*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada.

Daal, Luis H. (1974). *Barku riba ankr*. Translation/adaption of *La barca sin pescador* by A. Casona. Curaçao: the author.

Echteld, Elisabeth (2008). *Toneelvertalingen en adaptaties; Laiza porko sushi, un fantasia di May Henriquez basá riba e komedia Pygmalion di G.B. Shaw, in een ruimere context*. (Lecture held at UNA, the 26th of May).

Henriquez, May [1964]. *Laiza porko sushi. Un fantasia di May Henriquez basá riba e komedia Pygmalion di G.B. Shaw*. Curaçao: [s.n.].

Henriquez, May (1965). *Mata ta muri riba pia*. Curaçao: [s.n.].

Henriquez, May (2001). *Liña, koló i ritmo. Trabou di palu, piedra klei i pèn*. Curaçao: Port'i Heru Publications.

Penso, C. Jacques [s.a.]. *Justicia di Buricu (obra teatral di un acto)*. Curaçao: [s.n.].

Penso, C. Jacques [s.a.]. *E secreto di Naro*. Curaçao: [s.n.].

Penso, C. Jacques [s.a.]. *Matrimonio forzá*. Curaçao: [s.n.].

Plaatsingslijst van de van mevrouw B. Römer ontvangen collectie, waarin ook stukken van de toneelvereniging "THALIA", ter opneming in het Letterkundig Documentatie Centrum bij het Centraal Historisch Archief.

Römer, Bunchi (1989). *Teatro na Curaçao, despues di segundo guera mundial*. Curaçao: I.L.A.

Romondt, van Alice (Ed.) (2006). *Aplauso! Un coleccion di obra di teatro na Papiamento*. Aruba: Editorial Charuba.

Rooy, Felix de (1990). De ontwikkeling van theater en film op de Nederlandse Antillen. *De Gids, 153,(7/8)*, 647-656.

Rutgers, Wim (1994). *Schrijven is zilver, spreken is goud. Oratuur, auratuur en literatuur van de Nederlandse Antillen en Aruba.* PhD dissertation, Utrecht.

BEHIND LITERARY SHADOWS: LITERARY DEVELOPMENT IN ARUBA FROM 1971-1996

QUITO NICOLAAS
TRANSLATED BY JOAN LESLIE

1 Introduction

Aruba and its literature have been through and defined by three key political events: 1) Autonomy in 1954; 2) Political reform in 1971; and 3) *Status Aparte* in 1986.

2 Autonomy in 1954

On December 15, 1954, the Netherlands Antilles was granted autonomy by The Netherlands. The desire to be dissociated from the mother country began during the Second World War and became more determined after Indonesia declared itself independent. Hence, this marked the beginning of a period in which one had the ability to participate – under supervision of the Netherlands – in discussions pertaining to economic and socio-cultural development. Throughout this dissociation process we also begin to notice the operation of new internal forces on the islands. Already, during the war self-awareness developed, as demonstrated by the fact that we increasingly started writing prose and poetry in our own language, Papiamento.

Until the end of the 1950s there was hardly any literary work published in Aruba, due to a number of factors, not the least of which was that Curaçao was the economic demographic, and cultural center of the Netherlands Antilles. The existence of the publishing houses *Ediciones Hooiberg* in the 1940s and *Cas Editorial Emile* in the 1950s did not mean that publication was a thriving endeavor in the Antilles. In Aruba things were still rather quiet on the literary scene.

In the 1950s Arubans mainly read literature written in English, which one could order by means of a coupon in the Sears magazine. Others ordered books from the USA through the Aruba Trading Company. Also in this period many books were exchanged among individual readers. Besides this there were poems recited by the residents in Savaneta in their parish building, and a poets' Sunday matinee in Club Don Bosco in Noord. In the years following the war there were many recitals done within the family

where books were also exchanged. It was during these years that one became acquainted with the, until then unknown, author Reinita Ras who published *Capricho di un amor* (1957), *Un resultado fatal* (1957), *Castigo di un desprecio* (1960), and *Tragedia di un pober curazon* (1960).[1]

Sticusa (Stichting Culturele Samenwerking) was founded on New Year's Day, 1956, in order to stimulate the cultural life on the ABC (Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao) islands. Following this, the Cultureel Centrum Aruba (CCA) was founded in 1958, and through the CCA music, theater, and dance groups were established. But in those days cultural cooperation under Dutch rule meant the acknowledgement and celebration of the culture of the Netherlands and not of the native culture on each separate island. Remarkably, there was hardly anything done by these official cultural agencies concerning literature. The stimulation of a literate culture apparently was not a priority.

3 Political Reform in 1971

It was not until the 1960s, when the Aruban economy started to expand, that the doors began to open. For example, the publication in Papiamento, of Aruban Folktales in *Cuentanan Rubiano* by Ernesto Rosenstand (1961) marked a new beginning alongside more regular publications in Dutch and English. Much of this literary awakening rested on the foundation of the work done by the Department of Culture and Education from 1963 onwards.

But after the student's riots in Paris (1968), the March-strike in Suriname (1969) and the May-revolt in Curaçao (1969), the spotlight gradually shifted closer to home. From 1968-1972 the highly visible literary review *Watapana* rolled off the presses (Rutgers: 246-248)[2]. At the end of 1974, the magazine *Brindis* appeared for the first time, mainly offering beginning authors a venue for publication, a task which would eventually be taken on by *Skol y Comunidad*. In Amsterdam, the literary journal *Kontakto Antiyano* was released in 1968 and its editorial board included the Arubans C. Berkel and J. Brooks.

The writers of the seventies were concerned with the problematic circumstances in Africa, especially with apartheid in South Africa. Eventually, the establishment and management of the Walter Rodney Bookstore was added to the activities of *Kontakto Antiyano*. With this initiative, an attempt was made to import Caribbean literature via Great Britain and in that manner make it known to the Antillean public. The shelves

[1] Earlier in 1944 *Laura Pastel* wrote her chronicle *Ons eilandje.*

[2] Rutgers, Wim (1996). *Beneden en boven de wind. Literatuur van de Nederlandse Antillen en Aruba*. Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij.

mainly contained literature written by authors from Africa and the African Diaspora, including W.B Dubois, Aimé Césaire, Amilcar Cabral, Frantz Fanon and of course Walter Rodney. All of these names were not directly linked in the popular mind to literary authors, but more to revolutionaries who had made a contribution to the process of Caribbean and African Diasporic self-awareness.
Those poets who frequently published in the 1960s, such as José Ramón Vicioso and Ernesto Rosenstand, were participants in the Sociedad Bolivariana. While there might have been discussions at that venue among writers concerning social issues, a strict division was maintained between politics and literature. From the 1970's on there is an increase in works exclusively written and published in Papiamento. A first step made in that direction was the lecture of Hubert Booi in June 1968, a year prior to the May Revolt in 1969 in Curaçao, that demanded the use of Papiamento in all Antillean media.[3]

When in 1963 the Bureau for Culture and Education was founded, it was supposed to protect and stimulate Antillean culture. At the time, however, no effort was made to stimulate or to create a literary atmosphere in Aruba. This already existed in certain circles, but was more the domain of elite clubs. Because of their elitist character, the clubs remained inaccessible to ordinary people. Shut out from literary society, some Arubans became to a certain degree acquainted with the phenomenon of selling stenciled booklets *from door to door*.

It was not until 1971 that a major strike led to the collapse of the ruling elite and establishment. It was the newspaper *FENETA* (1969-1971) which was established as a reaction to the revolt of May 30, 1969, which guided this process. This paper, which was directed by the socio-linguist and poet, RamónTodd Dandaré, was more focused on class struggle and the trade union ANAAB than on literature.[4] It was remarkable that during and after the strikes, despite the fact that most of the poets and writers in the sixties, seventies and eighties had teaching positions and could be considered as *change agents*, no writers movement arose from the social turmoil (in stark contrast to what happened in Suriname in the 1960s). In this connection, we should not forget that a number of writers joined political parties, some of whom became parliamentarians, party-leaders or even ministers.[5]

A second magazine that served as a catalyst for *literati*, was the teachers' magazine *Vorm* which was renamed early on as *Skol y Komunidat* (1969-1984), with RamónTodd Dandaré joining its provisional editorial board in 1977. It was not always clear on what ideological foundations *Skol y Komunidat* was based, but lively

[3] Ensayo riba Papiamento, Lecture by H. Booi on 30-6-1968 in the San Francisco club.
[4] In the aftermath of the ANAAB-strike the last issue of *FENETA* was published.
[5] Digna Lacle, Philomena Wong, Desiree Correa, Frank Williams, Robertico Croes and RamónTodd Dandaré.

discussions took place on its pages concerning the possibility of Aruban independence. Besides political topics, literary themes were given serious attention by its contributors, who included poets, writers of juvenile literature, and sociolinguists, making waves among the political and cultural elites on the island.
However, it was quickly realized that there was lack of sufficient cohesive forces to achieve sustainable results.[6] As a result, a vigorous scholarship policy (which was partly run by the Central Government until 1985) was pursued with the goal of replacing expatriates with Arubans – first in the education department and administration and then in medicine. It did not take long for the results of this policy to definitively change the face and identity of Aruba.
With the revolt in August 1977, the former cultural elite was replaced by a new one, which resisted the previous exclusive cultural focus on the Netherlands and insisted on the promotion of Aruban culture and language. This has given rise to significant publications and activities in at least three areas, including:

1. Education and Science: *Witboek Status Aparte*, John H. van der Kuyp/H.R. Fingal (1976), *Nos simbolonan di Union y Identidad, Teritorio Insular di Aruba* (1977), *Aruba's struggle for Independence*, John H. van der Kuyp (1978), *Aruba en onafhankelijkheid*, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague (1978), and *Sembra awe pa cosecha mañan*, Grupo Aruba (1985).

2. Literarature: *Keho na caminda*, Frank Booi (1975), *De witte pest*, Angela Matthews (1978), *Punto di vista*, Jossy Mansur (1981), *Cosecha Arubiano*, Frank Booi et al (1983), *Mosa's eiland*, Desiree Correa (1984), and *Yiu di tera*, Henry Habibe (1985).

3. Cultural activities: The annual independence celebrations on the 18th of March always include an important cultural element. With the opening of the National Library in 1982 the 'Cultural Month' program was also introduced, giving attention to literature as part of culture. Each year there has been a different theme, including: 'Papiamento', 'The Art of Story-Telling' and 'Our Literary Harvest'.

Undoubtedly these three processes have contributed to the reinforcement of Aruba's cultural identity and the broadening of its political culture. In addition, the essay-collection *Sembra awe pa cosecha mañan* (Groningen, 1986) brought a group of intellectuals together to publish scientific papers in Papiamento for the first time.[7]

[6] In the case of Curaçao we can observe that the aborted writers-movement was limited to two magazines *Vito* and *Kambio.*
[7] The themes were a reflection of their concern and vision: Function and problems in Aruban education (G.R. Herde), Possibilities and obstacles of Independence (R. Croes) Women in the labour-proces (L.A. Emerencia), Micro-states and their Independence (Q. Nicolaas) The actual economic situation in Aruba (R.A. Betrian).

In 1971, an anthology entitled *Di Nos* was published which included, among others, works by a few Aruban poets. It was not until 1983, however, that the first anthology containing Aruban writers only appeared, under the title *Cosecho Arubiano*. Poetry, prose, plays, and other literature by no less than 38 Aruban authors in *Cosecho Arubiano* helped to spark interest in local language, culture and literature laying a firm foundation for a country in *status nascendi*.[8]

4 Status Aparte in 1986

With the realization of the *Status Aparte* in January 1986, Aruba achieved the state of being a country – beside the Dutch Antilles − in the Kingdom of The Netherlands. From then on, Aruba had the freedom to aspire to its own goals. On the eve of the *Status Aparte*, work was done to realize the following institutions: the Instituto di Cultura (1978), the National Library (1982), the publishing firm Cas Editorial Charuba (1984), the replacement of Sticusa by the more progressive UNOCA (Union di Organisacionnan Cultural Arubano, Union of Aruban Cultural Organizations, 1986) and the Bureau Intellectuele Eigendom (1987). With these institutions, a modest literary infrastructure was created, and a foundation was laid for new initiatives, such as: (a) sustaining educational progress, (b) officializing Papiamento by means of a decree from the government, (c) introduction of Papiamento in primary education, and (d) introduction of the Cultural Month program (1982). Street names celebrating Dutch colonialism have been replaced by names of Aruban authors; Caya Lolita Euson and Caya Jose Geerman in San Nicolas are two cases in point. A management team has been installed for creating monuments and for furnishing museums.

The result of all these developments is that from the mid 1980s, Aruban society has been infused with extra dynamism and more literature began to be written for the Papiamento reading public. In the period from 1986 on, a new generation of authors and poets has arisen and an explosion of authors and book titles has taken place. During the first five years of *Status Aparte* (1986-1990), at least twenty book titles by authors who had not published previously appeared on the market.[9]

It has been observed that in Caribbean literature, a distinct pattern emerges whereby in an initial stage authors reside in their native country, but then a growing number of writers begin to publish from the metropoles in Europe, and finally the most successful Caribbean authors establish themselves in the USA. It is only now that

[8] An intellectual climate existed for discussions on politics, philosophical and socio-linguistic themes.

[9] With reference to the publications of B. Joung Fat, Tomas Figaroa, Lolita Euson, Pancho Geerman, Denis Henriquez, Frances Kelly, Tochi Kock , A. Krozendijk-de Cuba, Digna Lacle, Quito Nicolaas, R. Piternella, Ruben Odor (efm), Jossy Tromp en Frank Williams.

Aruban writers have started to make their presence felt in the Netherlands. At present at least eighteen Aruban authors are writing in Holland in both Papiamento and Dutch.

It was not until the 1990s that the first novel written by an Aruban appeared. In the novels *Delft Blues* (1995) and *De zomer van Alejandro Bulos* (1999) by Denis Henriquez and the novel *Eilandzigeuner* (2000) by Jacques Thönissen one will notice that the scene of action is not limited to Aruba. This distinguishes Aruban novelists from the three best known authors from Curaçao who have focused more on their colonial heritage, their imposed marginal role in Curaçaoan society, and the reconciliation between the black upper classes and the white minority on their island. Not much academic interest in Aruban society has been in evidence in The Netherlands and only a few publishing houses, such as De Bezige Bij, In de Knipscheer and Conserve initially dared to include Aruban authors in their portfolios.

One of Aruba's major strengths is its plurilingual society. Although literature in Papiamento and Dutch has been experiencing rapid growth, literature in English and Spanish, the other two major languages spoken on the island, has lagged behind. In the last two decades there have been less than ten major works written in English and even fewer in Spanish. Aruba cannot achieve a respected position in the Caribbean region without dealing with literature written in English and Spanish. My estimation is that it will not be long before Aruban writers will include in their ranks authors from recent waves of immigrants to Aruba from Santo Domingo, Columbia, Venezuela, and Peru, where reading, writing, and publishing have a longer tradition than on our island.

A major stumbling block that is hindering the advancement of literature and literary studies in Aruba is the scarcity of funds made available, especially from the Kingdom of the Netherlands, for the promotion of creative writing. But in the final analysis, it is our duty as Arubans to build on the momentum gained over the past few decades and transform Aruba into a society that reads and writes its own destiny, rather than having its destiny read and written for it by others.

SLAVERY AND EARLY TEXTS IN PAPIAMENTO

WIM RUTGERS
UNIVERSITY OF THE NETHERLANDS ANTILLES

1 Introduction

Important historical events are integrated into collective memory as they become reference points for future generations. Not only historians, but authors and poets as well, use these important moments in history as a source of inspiration for their literary works. Such a significant event in the history of the Dutch Antilles is for example the big May 30, 1969 strike and uprising of the working class in Curaçao, which has inspired many writers to produce poems, stories and even novels.
In this context, it is surprising that almost no writers have identified themselves with the 1st of July, 1863, the date of the abolition of slavery in the Dutch colonies. There are official poems and non-official 'voices' harking back to this date, but these are few and far between. The July 1st, 1863 abolition of slavery appears simply not to be a point of historic pride. This date was seen as positive for the *shons* (slave owners) who got financial compensation for their emancipated slaves. But nothing was given to these former slaves themselves, who were even obliged to serve their former owners for ten more years thereafter as part of the so called *paga tera* system.
In contrast, and understandably so, we see the role of August 17th, 1795, when the slaves, under the command of Tula, rebelled against the plantation owners. This date seems to grow in importance, due to a growing historical consciousness. The interest in this date has also intensified in works of literature written from that time onward. My presentation goes into two historical texts, written in the 19th century in Dutch and Papiamento, related to the great rebellion of 1795. These texts illustrate the transition from a Eurocentric to a more local vision of this critical historical moment.

2 Imagology

Imagology is the science that concerns itself with the image (imago) that we have of ourselves (auto-imago) and with the image (imago) that other people have of us (hetero-imago). Imagology investigates the image as evaluation, not as a search for an

objective truth. The imagological investigation can be (and has to be) textual, intertextual as well as contextual. Textual imagology investigates texts on the level of words, focusing on what is written, on what has been formulated, on which data are mentioned and which data are not mentioned, on what is considered positive and what has a negative connotation. The intertextual approach compares different texts with one another. Is there a difference between auto-imago and hetero-imago and what is the quality of that difference? Is it possible to explain these differences? The contextual approach relates what is similar to what is different and what is constant to what is changing in the imago due to historical and cultural developments. The question of power relations is very important in the studying of colonial and post colonial imagology. The contextual approach has much in common with postcolonial studies.

So the theme of this paper will be the analysis of two texts, one written at the beginning of the 19th century, decades before abolition, and the other written during the decade after abolition. What were the points of view adopted by the writers of these texts on this key event in the history of Curaçao? Which position (personal, cultural, historical) was taken by each writer?

Philip Phoel in 'De Curaçaosche Courant' (1825) vs. 'P' in the the 'Civilisadó' (1872)

The Dutch teacher Philip Phoel (1790-1869) lived in Curaçao from 1816 until 1847. He wrote his *Mengelingen* ('assorted facts or *faits divers*') on the history of the island in the Dutch language newspaper *De Curaçaosche Courant*. On April 9 and 16 1825 he published an extensive story on what had happened on and around August 17, in the year 1795. He arrived on the island in 1816, so his account was based on written documents and hearsay. This story appeared once again almost a half century later in the August, September and October 1872 issues of the newspaper *Civilisadó*, this time translated into Papiamento by an unknown person who hid his true identity behind the initial 'P'. P states that his translation is strictly literal, but careful analysis reveals that there are from time to time important differences between originals and their translation. Because we don't know anything about the translator, we are not able to comment upon and explore the social and cultural forces, which might have led to such differences in this case.

3 The textual approach

In his prologue Philip Phoel puts the uprising in Curaçao in a Caribbean context. He mentions the French Revolution that changed verdant Caribbean Islands into desserts. Negro slaves from Santo Domingo who during the revolution were deported to

Curaçao, brought the ideas of '*liberté, fraternité* and *égalité*' with them and tried to influence the slaves in Curaçao with their songs of freedom.
On August 17, 1795, the Knip plantation slaves refused to go to work. Their complaint centered around the poor daily food ration that was offered to them. Phoel writes about the uprising slaves as rebels and mutineers who committed acts of atrocity like looting and plundering. Phoel stresses that excessive drinking of alcohol – *awa di huramentu* - was the most important reason that the initially relatively quiet uprising soon got out of hand. Tula, the biggest man, was the leader, with his companions Bastiaan Carpata, Louis Mercier, a man who was called Toussaint, and others. According to Phoel, under the influence of what had happened in Santo Domingo all slaves planned, to get rid of the white people on the island. Imprisoned slaves were freed, stacks of corn were looted. Wherever possible, free blacks helped the slaves. The plantation owners fled to the protection of Willemstad, and none were killed because slaves still considered them to be superior.
The colonial government ordered soldiers and free burgers to defeat the uprising with their superiority of arms. But the army succeeded only after weeks, and the government had to use more and more soldiers to defeat the more than a thousand insurgent slaves. According to Phoel the captain had to poison the water and burn the maize to defeat the poorly armed slaves. It is clear that Phoel takes a colonial point of view in his writing of this specific part of his history.

4 The intertextual approach

It is very interesting to compare the original text in Dutch from 1825 with its translation into Papiamentu in 1872. P insists that his version was as much as possible a literal word-for-word translation from the original: *tantoe literalmeente (palabra pa palabra) koe noos tawata poor i koe Papiamentoe ta permiti*. But from time to time we see differences between the two renderings, in terms of content as well as in choice of words. Let me give some important and recurrent examples. When the original speaks about 'mutineers and rebels' the translator neutralises those words with negative connotation with words like 'slaves' or just speaks of 'them'. He avoids the use of the word 'negroes' and always calls the female slaves 'women'. P neutralises all words with negative connotations or simply skips those words in his translation. For example: 'were happily arrested' is translated into 'were arrested'.
P is not at all comfortable with Phoel's use of the word 'negro' instead of the word 'slave,' because Phoel's choice of words transforms a social and economic problem between free people and enslaved people into a racial problem between black and white. The whole translation demonstrates that P has great difficulty with the denigrating expressions that Phoel uses in his texts.

5 The contextual approach

P ends his translation with an epilogue about the actual situation in his own days, almost ten years after abolition, saying:

> Noos no poor kaba noos observasjoonnan sin fiha atensjoon di noos lesadónan riba toer e bieen koe emancipasjoon di katiboe nan a hasi, tantoe aki komo na otro loega; na kwantoe pena, na kwantoe soefrimeentoe eel a pone oen fien; eel a habri oen horizonte liempi, oenda speransa ta brilla, pa eesnan, koe ajera aïnda tawatien nomber degradante di katiboe; eel a iguala nan koe nan sjoon di ajera delanti di lei: laga nan mees koomprende awoor koe nan tien oen otro igualdad di boeska, eesta e igualdad koe oen mees boon comportasjoon, koe oen mees boon koemplirneentoe koe debeer nan social, ta doena!

In P's view, abolition brought great advantages to the former slaves. Emancipation put an end to their suffering and opened a new horizon for all inhabitants of the island. The former *shon* and the former slave are now equal before the new law and both have to act according to the new rules.

148

Why does P adopt such a different point of view and reach such different conclusions when compared to Phoel? The slave trade was officially banned in 1808, but slavery itself was as prevalent as ever in 1825 when Phoel made his contribution to *De Curaçaosche Courant*. Phoel was of European descent and belonged to the white island elite, albeit not to the highest class. In his *Mengelingen* Phoel displays great interest in his new country but he was of course a person of his time with views on politics and social life that belonged to the era and social milieu in which he lived. In contrast, P translated Phoel's history in the year 1872, nine years after formal emancipation and just before the complete liberation of all former slaves, who would soon become fully free and responsible to take their lives into their own hands.

There was also a difference in the medium of publication. The original text is in Dutch, but the translation is in Papiamentu. Phoel published in *De Curaçaosche Courant* (presently the oldest newspaper in the entire Caribbean) which was at the beginning of the 19th century a newspaper for the white elite on the island. *Civilisadó* on the other hand, was published after emancipation for *e pueblo nobo* 'for the new people', i.e., the newly emancipated population. It is remarkable that in 1872 P chose to translate material from a newspaper which had been published fifty years previously. It appears that newspapers in those times had a longer shelf life then nowadays is the case.

6 Conclusion

The three-fold contrastive analysis presented above of Phoel's original and P's translation shows that the dominant views on important historical events, such as the slave uprising on August 17, 1795 can change considerably over half a century. This demonstrates not only how every new generation develops new views about the past, but also how essential textual, intertextual, and contextual analyses are to any imagological study.

REFERENCES

Nooyen, R.H. (1974). *Tot Memorie; Bartholomeus Senior en Bartholomeus Senior Junior*. Willemstad: Zalm.

Manfred Beller & Joep Leerssen (Eds.) (2007). Imagology: *The cultural construction and literary representation of national characters. A critical survey*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Franz K. Stanzel et al. (Eds.) (1999). *Europäischer Völkerspiegel. Imagologisch-ethnographische Studien zu den Völkertafeln des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

Philip Phoel (1825). Mengelingen. *De Curaçaosche Courant*, April 9 and 16, 1825. P. (1872). Historia di Korsouw. *Civilisadó*, August 3 – 31, 1872.

3

FRESH PERSPECTIVES ON ABC-ISLAND CULTURES AND EDUCATION

A COCKROACH AS ROLE MODEL

HÉLÈNE GARRETT
EDMONTON, ALBERTA, CANADA

The trade winds in the ABC islands blow all year round from the same direction – northeast. This wind causes the *divi-divi* tree, a tree with very short green leaves, to grow in an almost gnarled and tortured contour, reminiscent of the burdened lives many of the early slaves had to endure. Like the *divi-divi* tree, which has withstood the century-old twisting and shaping of the trade winds, the Papiamentu people, their language, their culture, and their proverbs have maintained a non-conforming individuality. The Papiamentu language has survived intact in all its beauty for centuries. Its proverbs continue to amuse and to astound researchers. This study looks at the Papiamentu proverb, *Na tera di galiña, kakalaka no tin bos* 'In the land of the chicken, the cockroach has no voice' or 'In the land of the chicken, the cockroach can say nothing or has to be silent' and juxtaposes it to how Elis Juliana, Curaçaoan author and recipient of the Zilveren Anjer prize, presents his *kakalaka* (cockroach) in his book *Aventura di un Kriki* [The Adventures of a Cricket] (1960).

Creole folklore may be characterized as a cultural order in which the techniques of survival and pragmatic resistance to oppression are emphasized. Forbidden from openly celebrating their culture, slaves often used proverbs to convey hidden meanings. 'Deep speech,' argues Lang in *Entwisted Tongues* (2000), can be seen in slave proverbs to form a discrete sub-genre that portrays the tension between the "imperatives of rigid obedience and the expressive needs of the slaves." It follows then that the deep speech cloaked in these proverbs and sayings expressed a special social reality that may have been invisible to those who had no direct access to or knowledge of the linguistic and cultural repertoire of the slaves. There is as it were, a double layer where the first and immediate meaning hides the *double entendre*. This layer, this deep speech, is what the *shons* (colonial masters) were not privy to and could not fathom or understand. Often the elderly and more conservative elements of a society retain the use of proverbial metaphor. Metaphoric speech was frequently influenced by the reality of slavery and, in the case of Papiamentu, it has retained its vitality, use and attraction in this Creole's proverbs. Papiamentu proverbs may be indexed into various categories such as those dealing with animals, plants, food, natural resources, religion, etc. Though many proverbs may find their origin in Africa, there are those that can immediately be linked to the Bible. One of these is: *Mira*

splinter den wowo di otro, ma no mira balki den su mes wowo 'See the splinter in the eyes of someone else, but not the beam in his own eye' (see Matthew 7: 3-5; Luke 6: 41, 42). Proverbs are the riches of a culture which are passed on orally from one generation to the next. Proverbs may be defined as short excerpts from stories about life's lessons. They are filled with cultural symbolisms and convey the important issues in life such as health, inequality, and socio-economic relations. Proverbs transcend time and are succinct. They often are witty and, more than that, are often cloaked, as if wearing a veil. Many proverbs use animals (or insects) to depict human behaviour and in this way are able to *tapa kara* or to conceal their own identity or deeper meanings. Proverbs teach survival. They are little gems of wisdom, sometimes crude, that are cleverly packaged in such a way as to elude an immediate and direct linkage to a deeper meaning. In many instances, the ability to understand a proverb rests on the level of familiarity one has with a particular culture, a language or a geographical area.

Lang (2000) writes that proverbs have been used as covert criticisms against the powers that be, as well as vehicles for defining and imparting wisdom. Proverbs are created not only for cognitive reasons but also for their aesthetic value. Proverbs generally express some universal truth while presenting at the same time a rich imagery that conforms to the geography of a particular location and the various forms of discourse in use there (Lang: 85, 86). In *From Hidden to Open Protest in Curaçao* Joceline Clemencia (2001) explains the hidden or deep speech behind the song *Katibu ta galiña* 'Slave is chicken', a text she says refers to the way that slaves were both regarded and treated as animals and sold by the *shon* as if he were selling chickens. She writes:

> "Katibu ta galiña" expresses protest in an indirect and hidden way, criticizing the fact that the slave owners buy and sell people as if they were chickens. However, not one word is spoken explicitly about taking action against the *shon*, for this would endanger the slaves' very existence. That is why they spoke (*papia* means speaking as well as singing according to the elders) in a camouflaged way. To the ears of the *shon* and to the priests, the music sounded like a lament. They did not understand it as a protest and this is why many modes of expression of the slaves, have been characterized as stupidity, foolishness or dumb talk" (Clemencia: 435).

It must be noted though, that although the chicken (*galiña*) may in one instance be perceived as being weak, in another instance, for example, in confrontation with cockroach (*kakalaka)* the chicken may be considered to be strong. Negative insults always seem to follow the food chain downward.

Cockroaches are probably the most common insect pests in the human ecosphere, infesting nearly all venues for human habitation in nearly all climatic zones. Their presence is very repulsive and objectionable to most people. They are capable of transmitting diseases and have been found to be a major source of allergens. Typically their introduction into a house is via a grocery bag, suitcases or dirty laundry. Once inside a building, they quickly become established as they are prolific breeders, capable of producing several thousand offspring in a year.
Homeowners attempting to control cockroaches often use insecticide baits and boric acid, all of which are relatively easy to use. Cockroaches are swift running, flattened oval-shaped insects. The Papiamentu proverb, *Na tera di galiña, kakalaka no tin bos*, is echoed in many forms throughout the Caribbean, underscoring the reality of a predator's strength and a victim's vulnerability (Gombo Zhebes, 1885, and personal communication):

Early French Creole: *Ravette pas kamian tini raison douvant poule*.
Sranan Tongo: *Kakraka no ha reti na fowru mofo*.
Haitian: *Ravet pa jamn gen rezon devon poul*.
Trinidadian: *Yuh just like cockroach in front of fowl*.
Jamaican: *Cockroach nuh business inna fowl fight*.
Barbadian: *Cockroach ent ha nuh right at hen party*.

'Might makes right', the English version of this proverb, differs slightly in meaning from some of the above. However, it is still apparent that all point to unequal power relations, and 'voicelessness' in the victim's case. This feeling may be linked directly to the lack of power the slaves had in relation to their masters. The concept of one being more influential in economic standing and in class and thus in a position of power over the other is noted by the hen being able to do serious harm to the cockroach. Therefore, it might be wiser for one not to draw attention to himself if found in such an unequal situation. Hoogenbergen and Hoefnagels (1985) write about one instance of this proverb's usage:

> Na tera di galiña, kakalaka no tin bos: Sr. Leo Chance, minister pa Islanan Ariba, a yega di usa e ekspreshon aki durante un kumbre na Islanan Ariba, riba Status Aparte di Aruba. Ela bisa ku na e momentunan aki, e no ta papia nada pasobra, den su opinion, un kakalaka no tin nada di buska den un kouchi di galiña. Loke e ke men ta, ku e Islanan chikitu no mester entremeté nan den asuntu di e Islanan mas grandi (Hoefnagels & Hoogenbergen: 27).

> [In the land of the chicken, the cockroach has no say: Mr. Leo Chance, minister of the Leeward Islands, used this expression during a summit in the Windward Islands about the Autonomous Status of Aruba. He said that at this moment, he would not say anything, because in his opinion, a cockroach has no business in the chicken coop. What he meant was that, the smaller islands should not meddle in the affairs of the bigger islands.]

In the past this proverb may well have been taught to slave children and their descendants as a warning that he who wielded the power was master and thus those without power had no way to voice their opinions or values. From the proverb one can deduce that the *kakalaka* is clearly the underdog in relation to the chicken.

Elis Juliana adopts the underdog's perspective of what life was like during colonial times and in a humorous way writes about the disparity between the upper class (in this case the human class) and the lower class (insect class) as he introduces his cast of insect characters. Realizing that asymmetries of power do exist, Antilleans of old often adopted the practice of not speaking out. Through the eyes of a cricket and as he describes the *Kakalaka* family, Juliana lets this 'underdog' find his voice and perhaps even become a role model for family life, morals and values. No more self-rejection, but taking a rightful place while embracing a proud identity of being Antillean, Juliana rejects the proverb's association with self-silencing and self-erasure by ascribing to *Kakalaka* a voice that strives for consciousness of self-worth. Juliana expertly deploys a tongue-in-cheek approach to the serious and ordinary themes of life, as he pokes fun not only at his own idiosyncrasies but also at those of his fellow human beings. The cricket introduces himself in this way:

> Halo, ke tal? Eee...dispensá mi e familiaridat. M'a lubidá ku ta ku HENDE mi ta papia. Segun mi a tende, hende no sa gusta pa trata nan ku muchu frankesa. Pero siendo ami un INSEKTO, mi por a lubidá esei, komo den nos bida, nos kultura, no ta nesesario hunga papel di hipókrita. Nos ---krikinan --- semper ta trata otro sin ningun klase di pantomina. No ku ami ta kritiká HENDE komo pantomina. Esei no ta mi intenshon. Pero si mi por a hasi esei kaba, anto mi ta pidi mil bes dispensa, komo mi no ke pa hende pensa ku nos --- krikinan --- ta karesé di edukashon, pa nan bin haña mas rabia riba nos di loke nan tin kaba. Nos ta bon eduká den tur sentido. Mi mes, por ehèmpel, ta dòktor den krikilogia. No muchu tempu pasá m'a finalisá mi estudio na e universidat di mas grandi den mundu di kriki. Pero pèrmiti mi introdusí mi mes. Mi nomber ta Krikilokoltafis Sualimethadoris, i pa kariño nan ta yamami Kriki (Juliana: 3).

> [Hello, how are you? Oh...forgive me for being informal. I forgot that I am speaking to PEOPLE. According to what I have heard, people usually do not like being treated with such frankness. But seeing that I am an INSECT, I am apt to have forgotten that, because in our way of life, our culture, it is not necessary to play the role of a hypocrite. We --- crickets ---always treat each other without any kind of pretense. Not that I am criticizing PEOPLE as pretending. That is not my intention. But if indeed I did so already, I ask for forgiveness a thousand times, as I do not want that people think that we --- crickets --- lack education, so that they will not get even angrier with us than they already are. We have been well educated in every sense of the word. I, for instance, am a Doctor of Cricketology. Not too long ago, I finished my studies at the greatest university in the cricket world. But let me introduce myself. My name is Krikilokoltafis Sualimethadoris, and they call me Kriki for short].

What is noticeable immediately is that *Kriki*, as I will refer to him now that he has introduced himself, is indeed criticizing humans for their tendency to play the hypocrite, and to not say what they mean. Kriki's use of deep speech here could be called an act of camouflage deploying cultural euphemisms rooted in the experience and way of life of slavery. During slave times, this indirect way of speaking, masked and thus hidden from the *shons*, was practiced and cultivated as an art form. It was a means of survival in an environment where slaves had no possibility of speaking their minds freely.

In *The Adventures of a Cricket*, we see Dr. Kriki meeting with various insects who all have been bestowed with human characteristics such as naïvety, conniving duplicity, suspicion and viciousness, pompous and arrogant manners of walking and speaking, among others. In this way, Juliana lets them express themselves and allows them indeed a 'voice' that can be heard. Though Kriki does not comprehend what drives his fellow insects, he passes no judgement but only notes and records what he encounters for his research purposes.

The cockroach is introduced in the last chapter of *Aventura di un Kriki* when Kriki jumps from a porch and lands in a crack in the foundations of a house. Brother Kakalaka, referred to as a Sailor Cockroach (a type of cockroach known locally by its particular markings) is there. He addresses Kriki in a friendly manner asking him how he is doing. Kriki is slightly nauseated by the stench of Brother Cockroach and is caught in a fit of sneezing. Brother Cockroach invites Kriki to his home. Since he is out doing research anyhow and does not want to offend anyone, Kriki decides to follow Brother Cockroach. One of the most notable things about cockroaches is that

they shun the light. They live in dark places. Thus when Kriki enters the Kakalaka home, he finds it too dark and he asks if there are any lights. Brother Kakalaka obligingly lights a lamp that emits lots of smoke and very little light, and Kriki is finally able to make out a nearly empty room with just a table and some benches. After a while, when his eyes have adjusted to the darkness, Kriki is also able to distinguish that there are about twenty to thirty young ones curled up together into a ball in one corner and a pile of garbage in another corner. Kakalaka is very hospitable and offers his guest something to drink. Kriki, who has a hard time breathing due to the stench, declines the offer and notes that he does not see anything that might be offered to a visitor, except something from the garbage heap. This creature is certainly different from the others that Kriki has encountered during his research, yet in no way is he inferior.

Humor is clearly evident when one of the little ones wakes up and toddles over to the table where Brother Kakalaka and Kriki are sitting.

> Un di e yuchinan ku m'a hasi na soño, a gatia bini na mesa i despues di a keda ta mira mi, batiendo su boka, a puntra su tata na lenga chikí: "Shaki pai teshe pa nosh kome? Lanta e otonan pai?" Ta klaru ku mi nèrvionan a subi pió ainda i m'a hala poko atras riba mi banki, loke a hasi e kriatura bisa strañá: "Atá pai, e ta bibu ainda; mila pai, mila!" (Juliana: 47).

> [One of the little ones who I had thought was asleep, toddled over to the table and after staring openmouthedly at me for a while, he asked his father in his little child's speech: "Ish that what you bringed us to eat? Should I wake up the others, Daddy?" I became a bit more nervous at this, and I moved around a bit on the bench which caused the little one to say surprised: "Look Daddy, he ish still alive, see Daddy? Look!"].

Obviously Dad Kakalaka is babysitting his brood while Mrs.. Kakalaka is out working. When Mrs. Kakalaka returns home from her quest to find food for the family, her husband introduces her to Kriki. Mrs. Kakalaka explains her concerns over what she has learned during her forage outside the Kakalaka family dwelling, which incidentally, is right below a 'human' family's dwelling. She describes in horror how the human family has tried to eradicate the cockroaches from their house:

> "Kruuu, aki riba?" el a kreis segun el a span wowo asina grandi. "Aki nan tin un siman kaba ta flit ku un venenu mashá brabu; e holó so ta duna bo benesteipi." (Juliana: 48, 49).

[Yikes, up above here?", she screeched opening her eyes very wide. "Here, they sprayed the whole house for over a week already with the most potent and deadly insecticide; the fumes alone will bring on convulsions."].

Explaining to Kriki what goes on outside in the 'human' world, Brother Kakalaka recounts some of his experiences of how these 'animals' react upon seeing one of his own. Juliana gives Kakalaka the opportunity to voice his thoughts, views and opinions in a comical manner:

"Ai, mi konosé nan basta," el a bisa ku kara triumfante. "Sigur no! Mi konosé e sorto di animalnan ei hopi bon. Mi konosé Chana, mi konosé Michi, mi konosé Yana i mi konosé Pablo, e machu. Mi sa presisamente kon kada unu ta reakshoná ora nan mira un matros. Por ehèmpel, si esun Michi mira mi huma so i hisa su bela pa bini riba mi, mi ta dobla bai den su derekshon. E ta sera wowo, keda para ta grita; mashá kayeru; i ei ta mi chèns pa mi sèt ola, bai. Chana esei ta hasi manera e no a mira mi i e ta sak pokopoko pa kita su slòf. E or'ei mi ta probechá kore pero si e lanta muchu lihé mi ta bula den su kara. E ta laga slòf kai, grita disparati, tira man zuai mi benta leu i...ayó zulia! Pero e Yana sí ta peligroso. E ta dal ku loke e tin e momento ei den su man, i si e ta man bashí e ta buska pa mata bo ku man mes. A yega di pasa mi un chasko ku nunka mas mi no por lubidá. E Yana a yega haña mi ta hole na rant di un tayó di guiambo, bira manera orkan ku welek ku bos asina brabu ku m'a spanta, turdi, bai kai den e tayó. Atami awó ta hala pagai den lebelebe. El a tira man piki mi pa plèchè, pero mi kurpa guiambá a slep sali i mi úniko salbashon tabata: subi su pal'i man drenta su manga bai den su bus...i kinipí." "El a gusta?", m'a puntra, bibando ku e aventura. "Keda ketu palúa!", el a bisa hariendo ku malisia. "I tabatin ko'i kinipí tambe. El a guièrta pió ku gueli, ranka shimis kibra fo'i su kurpa...i ei tabata mi skapatorio." (Juliana: 49)

["Oh, I know them well enough," he said smugly. "For sure! I know that particular group of animals very well. I know Chana, I know Michi, I know Yana and I know the male, Pablo. I know exactly how each one reacts when they see a sailor cockroach. For example, if the one called Michi even sees my shadow or if she lights a candle to try to catch me, I just do a double turn and crawl right toward her. She will shut her eyes, stand there screaming, beside herself, giving me the chance to take wing and escape. Chana now, she pretends not to see me, and slowly bends

down to remove her slipper. At that time I will try to run away, but if she gets up too quickly, I will just jump in her face. She will let go of the slipper, yell bloody murder, swinging her arms wildly trying to fling me away and...I'm free. It is Yana, however, who is very dangerous. She will hit with whatever happens to be in her hands at that moment, and if she is empty handed, she will try to finish you off with her bare hands. Something funny happened to me that I will never forget. The one called Yana once found me sniffing at the edge of a bowl of okra soup. Well, she turned into a rage as savage as a hurricane with thunder and lightning. She scared me, and I fell into the bowl of gumbo soup. She plunged her hand into the stew trying to fish me out but my body, now covered with the slimy okra soup, was too slippery. My only way of escape was to crawl up onto her arm, scurry up her sleeve and scamper up to her bosom...and pinch." "Did she like that?", I asked. "Be quiet, you clown!", he said smiling wickedly. "And plenty there was to pinch too! She screamed louder than our own well known screeching beetle. She tore off the blouse she was wearing and...here was my chance to escape."]

Tender feelings and affection between husband and Mrs. Kakalaka are displayed when Juliana writes:

> El a kohe un man di su kasá (does this not lend the idea that they were married, albeit in the insect manner) pone na su kara. Esei a hari chikitu asina i kinipí wowo. Tabata un momento mashá romántiko ku mi no a spera di presensiá. (Juliana: 50)
>
> [He took his wife's hand and laid it against his face. She smiled shyly and winked at him. It was a very touching, romantic moment, one I would never have thought to witness.]

Elis Juliana takes this historically dirty, shunned, and unwanted insect and turns him into a role model for family values, making Dr. Phil and Oprah take a back seat. As a cricket, Juliana gains entrance into the *Kakalaka's* family's home. The reader is caught up by the loving care the *Kakalaka* family unit displays. As such, this unsavory creature does indeed find a voice to speak and to teach us all something. Kindness, humbleness, loving care, the ability to laugh at oneself while not ridiculing another's ways, protecting and nourishing one's loved ones are but some of the things that spring to mind upon reading Juliana's rendering of Kakalaka. Would that we all

possessed such qualities, Juliana seems to say when he introduces this creature. A role model? Indeed!

REFERENCES

Clemencia, J. (2001). Katibu ta galiña: From Hidden to Open Protest in Curaçao. In James Arnold (Ed.), *A History of Literature in the Caribbean*, Vol. 2 (pp. 433-442). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Cohen Henriquez, P. & D. Hesseling (1935). Papiamentse en Negerengelse Spreekwoorden. *De West-Indishe Gids*, *17 (6)*, 161-172.

Garrett, H. (2004). *Translating Papiamentu*. Unpublished dissertation. Edmonton.

Hearn, L. (1885). *Gombo Zhèbes, Little Dictionary of Creole Proverbs.* New York: Will Coleman. Digitalized by Google.

Hoefnagels, P. & H. Hoogenbergen (Eds.) (1985[2]). *Buki di Proverbionan antiano: Antilliaans Spreekwoordenboek.* (First published in 1980). Curaçao: De Curaçaosche Courant.

Juliana, E. (1985[2]). *Aventura di un Kriki. Konta pa e mes.* (First published in 1960). Curaçao: Drukkerij Scherpenheuvel.

Kruger, C. (2008). Personal email communication. Calgary.

Lang, G. (2000). *Entwisted Tongues: Comparative Creole Literatures.* Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Moniz Kong-A-San, R. (2008) Personal email communication. Cayenne.

(1989[2]). *E Testament Nobo di nos Señor i Salbador Jesu-Christo*. (First published in 1983). Curaçao: Sosyedad Biblico Antiyano.

http://antanlontan.chez-alice.fr/proverbe.htm#p

http://antanlontan.chez-alice.fr/proverbe.htm#p

http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/pages/history

http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/pages/history

BRUA IN COURT, AFRO-CURAÇAOAN RITUALS AND THE NORMATIVE ROLE OF POPULAR BELIEF.[1]

BASTIAAN VAN DER VELDEN
UNIVERSITY OF THE NETHERLANDS ANTILLES

1 Introduction

According to professor René Römer, one of the main goals for the founding of the Law School of the Netherlands Antilles in 1971, was to teach Antillean law, which is mainly based on Dutch law, on an academic level. Professor Römer (one of the founding professors) clearly understood, however, that the teaching of law at the new Law school would have to be done in such a way as to acknowledge and remain sensitive to the historical and sociological background of Antillean society and to stay in contact with its Caribbean roots (Römer, 1975: 129; Kunst, 1971: 1074). Professor Römer was not only involved in the founding of the Rechtshogeschool, but he was also teaching sociology there, and later he was appointed Rector of the University of the Netherlands Antilles.

In preparing a textbook on the legal history of the Netherlands Antilles, my interest was drawn by the anthropological research undertaken by Father Brenneker published in the 1970s (Van der Velden, 2008: 301). His publication on Curaçao, Aruba and Bonaire folklore includes a huge collection of interviews. He saw himself as an amateur scientist and therefore he chose to carefully record his observations, rather than to make a lot of interpretations about them. He published most of his work in Dutch, but he and his fellow researcher Elis Juliana communicated with the local population in Papiamentu, the creole language spoken on Curaçao, Aruba and Bonaire.[2] Many of their interviews are registered on tape.

[1] I would like to express my thanks to Britta Behrendt, Curtis Pew, Nicholas Faraclas, Ronnie Severing and Viola Heutger for their comments on previous drafts of this text.

[2] Brenneker is one of the few authors to write about Curaçaoan *brua*. There are some others, but none of them wrote in such a detailed way about the different roles of *brua* as Brenneker did. The exact dating of the oral history recorded by Brenneker is quite difficult. He wrote down most of it in the 1960s, and apparently some events go back to the 1920s. His positioning in society as a white Roman Catholic priest makes it probable that he did not have full access to all of the detailed information concerning *brua*-rituals. None the less, his information on the different roles of *brua* in society, especially where this concerns the law, is corroborated by other research conducted on Afro-Caribbean spirituality (i.e. Vodou or Vaudou from Haiti, Louisiana Voodoo, Santería in Cuba, Candomblé in Brazil and Obea in many English speaking islands of the West Indies and Guyana).

By studying the work of Brenneker, I was able to formulate a hypothesis concerning the role of *brua*, the local version of Afro-Caribbean religion, within the legal system of the Dutch Antilles. On the one hand, *brua*-practitioners were consulted to influence the rule of Law in the courtroom, that is, to influence the minds of judges, public-prosecutors and witnesses in order to get a favorable judgment for their clients. On the other hand, *brua* was used to obtain justice when one did not want to make use of the official legal system.

2 Law and other methods of social control

In this section I adopt a sociological approach to law. 'Law' is a form of social control, a rather elaborated, advanced form, with rules, written laws, official structures and institutions such as judges, police and prisons. This advanced form is not the only means that society uses to control aberrant behavior. People who disobey certain social norms or rules can be controlled in this way, but there are also less elaborate ways of control. People can become victims of gossip, public ridicule, social ostracism, insults, and even threats of physical harm by other members of their community (Posner, 2000). These forms of informal sanctions are very effective in small-scale societies or societies where a majority of the citizens have no access to the formal legal system. The lack of officials in small societies to act in the name of 'the Law', i.e. to arrest and prosecute criminals, makes it necessary for citizens to find other methods of control.

When this 'soft' approach does not work, the community can shift to still other methods of regulation, including the use of witchcraft, sorcery and magic (here to be used as synonyms). A strict line between common gossip claiming that magic has been used in a particular instance, and the actual use of magic, cannot always be determined. By writing down formulas, by expressing them, and by organizing rituals, people can protect their property, take revenge, etc. According to sociologists, magic is a useful way to prevent crimes and to control aberrant behavior.[3]

The distinction between magic and the formal legal system is sometimes hard to trace. Courts are institutionalized, laws written and legal officials act as state representatives, not as private persons. On the other hand, this official system uses many formulas and rituals that in many ways resemble those used in magic. For example the Judges on Curaçao pronounce their judgments starting with the words *In naam der Koningin* 'In the name of the Queen' and wear ceremonial gowns (Besluit van 12 februari 1869 (PB 1869 no. 2); Ostwaldt, 2006; Lemmonier-Lesage, 2006).

[3] http://anthro.palomar.edu/control/con_2.htm

3 *Brua*

The substantive *brua* [brūa] can be characterized as a way to use 'supernatural' powers together with everyday materials like a piece of soap, some earth or a bottle filled with objects to influence the outcomes of problems of daily life. Illnesses are cured, a rival in a love triangle is eliminated, misfortune is avoided, etc (Van Meeteren, 1977: 149; Rutten, 2003; De Pool, 1961: 78; Schenker, 1997).

Brua-practitioners can explain the meaning of an omen: a nail found next to your house, a lizard that crossed your way, or a ribbon inexplicably found on your door. They possess remedies, cures and rituals to avert disasters, to explain omens and to avoid problems (Rutten, 2003: 65). The word *brua* originates from Spanish *brujo/a*.[4]

Brua-practitioners do not form part of organized groups as do practitioners of Haitian Vodou, Santería or the Montamentu movement introduced on Curaçao from the Dominican Republic after 1950 (Bernadina 1981). Initiation is not necessary.[5] Group meetings are rarely held. In most cases individual practitioners offer their services to the public (Van Meeteren: 150-151; Brenneker: 2411; Fernández Olmos & Paravisini-Gebert, 2003: 101). In the Caribbean region, South America and the South of the USA, related rituals of African origin exist in different forms, and are integrated with local Amerindian beliefs and the rituals of the Roman-Catholic and Protestant churches in different ways.[6] A strict differentiation of *brua* from other Afro-Caribbean rituals is not the goal of this paper, and probably is not necessary for present purposes (Römer, 2000).

One of the characteristics of these Afro-Caribbean rituals is the fast and effortless way they adapt to new forms, and incorporate traits, rites, and symbols of other religions (Fernández Olmos & Paravisini-Gebert, 2003: 15, 24). In Curaçao society, it is a taboo to speak about *brua* (Van Hulst, 1997: 322). *Brua* is often considered to be oldfashioned, backwards, and talking about it inappropriate.

Most probably *brua*-treatments and -rituals exist for most of our every day problems. From the point of view of people involved in *brua*-practices, it is a strange idea to extract only one special category, the magic of legal spells, from their holistic religious beliefs. This is especially because in the Western world this particular aspect of Afro-Caribbean religions sometimes receives all of the attention, disregarding their other more positive social and medical aspects.

---

[4] In Puerto Rico *brujos* and *brujas* perform a similar task to that performed by Curaçaoan *brua*-practitioners (see: R. Romberg, 2003). The *brua*-practicioner is called "hasidó di brua" in Papiamentu. The verb *brua* [bruā] means 'to make a mess' or 'to confuse'.

[5] Many Haiti Vodouisants are not initiated, and they are referred to as being *bossale*; it is not a requirement to be an initiate in order to serve one's spirits. On Curaçao, a *bozaal* was an enslaved Afro-American born in Africa.

[6] People on Curaçao who were in need of 'stronger' *brua* went to *brua*-makers in Haiti, Santo Domingo, Saint Thomas, Mexico, Trinidad and Venezuela (Brenneker: 2392, 2408, 2410-2412, 2415-2416, 2451; Juliana, 1987: 63; Meyer, 1973: 171-172; Römer, 1990: 503-508).

4 Influencing witnesses and the judge in the courtroom

One aspect of *brua*-rituals deals with conflicts between citizens and government.[7] *Brua* folklore is complete with stories of *brua*-influenced interference with the formal legal system. For instance it is said to be quite easy to mislead the police (Brenneker: 1641): 'when you have stolen a lot of money, bury it under the step of the front door. They will never discover it.' Also due to certain signs, the police will know in advance that a murder will be committed, and by whom (Rutten, 2003: 64-65).

A *brua*-practitioner on Curaçao explains about the use of 'Magenique' as learned from someone from Haiti. This ritual is useful for making witnesses testify in your favor in the courtroom, or at least to silence them.[8] 'You have to cut open a cow's tongue and then put the names of the witnesses and judge, written on a piece of paper, together with some made-up false statement. Sew it all together with needle and thread. When the witnesses stand before the Judge, they will have forgotten all the facts at once.'(Marcha & Verweel, 2003: 52; Brenneker: 273). Brenneker gives another version of this recipe, where the *brua*-practitioner tries to influence a judge. 'On the day of the trial, he goes into the countryside in the early morning to catch a large *blòblò*, a big blue lizard. He has to catch it with his hands, and it has to be alive, then he sews the throat of the *blòblò* shut. When the animal puts its tongue out, it is torn off, and the *brua*-practitioner will say that this or that person may not say anything to defend himself. Because the mentioned person will not say anything at all, the *brua*-practitioner will win in court.'[9]

Brua also provides help to intimidate judges. Maikel was a specialist in making healing baths. Brenneker states that (1123): 'On a certain day, he was summoned to come to the courthouse. In the courtroom, he crossed his legs, so the judge could see the sole of his foot. There he had written that the judge had to be very careful.' In another case, the fact that a black *chuchubi pretu* bird flew through the courtroom made the judge so upset, that for the severe crime at hand, the punishment ordered by the judge was unusually lenient.[10]

Advice can be given by *brua*-practitioners regarding the appropriate clothes to wear in the courtroom: 'A girl was in jail because she had murdered her new-born child. Her mother, an expert in *brua*-practices, visited her before the day of the trial. The girl was given some purple clothes and told that she ought to wear them to court. She arrived dressed in purple, was found innocent and could go home the same day.'(Brenneker:

[7] The Roman-Catholic priest has a role in these stories, comparable with the one played by the state officials (Brenneker: 2394).

[8] In Suriname (Dutch Guyana) 'Obia' is used in a similar way (H.D. Benjamins & J.F. Snelleman: 516).

[9] Other similar examples by Brenneker: 1636. Similar examples in the Shango cult of Trinidad (Simpson 1965: 81-82; M.J. Herskovits & F.S. Herskovits, 1947: 266-269) do not describe any Shango intervention in court cases.

[10] Brenneker: 668; The *chuchubi* bird is also an omen announcing a possible death (Rutten, 2003: 65).

1644). When *brua*-practitioners or their clients are acquitted, this adds appreciably to their status as *brua*-practitioners (Brenneker: 2412).
The relation between the person in front of the judge (the client) and the *brua*-maker is quite a delicate one. When the assistance of the *brua*-maker is requested, it is important to fulfill the promise made in exchange for the aid. When this promise is not fulfilled, the process in court can end in a very negative way for the ungrateful client. In certain cases the aid of a *brua*-practitioner is useless, especially when those who reign over the spiritual world consider a certain act as unacceptable, in which case the perpetrator will invariably be convicted by the judge, who 'works' in this case as an instrument.
Brua is also useful when you are in jail. The *brua*-man Ipi Man Patrás was able to escape from jail every night, and no one knew how. His wife even complained about this fact to the police, but they said that they counted all the inmates every night and no one was missing. The man was probably capable of transforming himself into a crab and walk out of the jail, which was at that time in Punda next to the sea.[11] The powers of the female *brua*-practitioner called Ladìn were so intimidating that all of the police officers and prison guards were frightened of her, and none of them dared to come close to her (Brenneker: 1431-1432). She wore a special talisman, and everybody considered this her source of power.

5 Dispute resolution with *brua*

Brua-rituals can be used by both parties in a dispute, offenders and victims. 'When you have killed someone, you have to throw the knife or gun into the sea. Go to the shore or to the bridge, look for a big wave to come, turn around and throw the weapon over your head into the sea. The police will never find the offender.' (Brenneker: 1650). *Brua* may also be used to locate the person who committed a crime: 'If someone has been killed, and the person who did this is unknown, then the dead body is placed in the coffin with the belly downwards and a chain is fastened to the leg of the corpse. This can also be done when the body is not yet in the coffin. The person who committed the crime will soon happen to come along.'[12]
When the community was of the opinion that a person committed a murder, an investigative ordeal could be used to show who committed the crime. The dead body was placed on the floor, and the suspect had to jump over the dead body, *balu morto*, when possible three times. The legs of the perpetrator would become so heavy, that it would be impossible for him or her to jump (Rutten, 2003: 20-38). According to

[11] Brenneker: 267; 670. The transformation of men into animals is also an inseparable part of vodou (Fernández Olmos & Paravisini-Gebert 2003: 127).
[12] Brenneker: 1146-1147, 1661; for Surinam, see Kohler, 1912: 392-403; for Guyana, see Moore, 1995: 145; for Jamaica, see Madden, 1835: 70.

Father Brenneker's informants, people were even brought by the police to the home of the deceased or to the hospital to perform this ritual.[13]

By lighting a candle (preferably one used at a funeral, otherwise a simple one) and invoking some Saints, lost or stolen property can be returned (Van Meeteren, 1977: 163-165). The thief will get a 'warm' conscience (Brenneker: 1139, 1641): 'When he has stolen, he will become so light-headed that he will betray himself and the police will arrest him soon after.' The flame of the candle will be directed towards where the lost property can be found. The victim apparently does not want to go to the police directly, but uses *brua* so that the thief will become reckless and be finally arrested by the police.

Quarrels between neighbors could be resolved in various ways (Brenneker: 1140-1143, 1620, 1659-1660). By placing the right objects in front of their home, one could intimidate a neighbor, for example to stop their insults (Brenneker: 270). If you yourself are not capable of stopping the insults, it is possible to hire a professional woman to call someone names (Brenneker: 1141).

When disputes or payment problems arise with someone to whom you rent a place and the formal legal system is too costly or problematic, there are other means of obtaining justice: 'You rent a house, but the tenant does not pay. You do not want to use violence or force, which can result to troubles or even bad spirits. You must go to the graveyard, collect some sand on the spot where they have unearthed a corpse, and put back in this hole a quarter guilder. Mix it up with Voladora-powder and a bewitched stone, then grind it all. Spread this powder near the house. Within two or three days the delinquent tenants will leave.' (Brenneker: 268, 1643-1644)

6 Social norms

This paper makes it clear that *brua*-practices can be used to enforce all kinds of social norms: a man committing adultery is in danger[14], a tenant has to pay, a murderer has to be found and a thief is trespassing social norms. *Brua* is used to enforce the same norms enforced by the formal legal system. This social function of *brua* can be compared with that of adages and sayings whose normative function in the case of Jamaica is described by Watson as follows: 'A saying is a phrase or maxim used to warn, to remonstrate, or otherwise implant the fear of retribution or social control in the consciousness of the listener' (Watson: 1-3).

[13] Brenneker: 285-286. A more modern ordeal is also described. A photo is made by the police of the eyes of the murdered person. On this image a picture of the killer will be burnt (Brenneker: 2398).

[14] I heard a story of a young man who promised to marry a girl. But he broke his promise, and left, although he was warned not to leave the island. On the boat to Europe, approaching his harbor of destination, he got sick, and his temperature got higher and higher. The ship's doctor could not find any remedy. Finally, the boy died. See also: Brenneker: 2383, 2388, 2415.

Murderers ought to be aware that the spirit of the murdered person will pay them special attention (Brenneker: 1117). 'Society demands that someone who harmed another person in a bad way has to confess this before dying. Those who fail to confess before dying will become an *alma malu*, a wicked spirit. Those who enriched themselves be performing *brua* against others, definitely belong to this category.' (Brenneker: 271, 1117, 1121, 1124, 1125)

7 Conclusion

Curaçaoan *brua*, as an Afro-Caribbean spiritual practice, can be compared with other similar belief systems in the region, such as Vodou, Santería, and Obeah. All of these Afro-Caribbean spiritualities play a normative role in society by enforcing values and resolving conflicts. Furthermore, Hall writes that: '[b]eliefs which the Europeans called pagan, especially the belief in magic, constituted an authority system over which Europeans had little control.' (Hall: 33-34)

Certainly, a great number of Curaçaoans did not have access to the official legal system until after 1863, the year of abolition of slavery in the Dutch West Indies. Apparently they did not consider this system to be a fair or trustworthy means to solve their problems. More recently, with the decline of the rule of law in Haiti, the people have had more and more recourse to Vodou to solve legal problems (Kuyu, 2008). Fernández Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert explain that Obeah was used to accomplish 'goals that are often outside the client's direct control.' (Fernández Olmos & Paravisini-Gebert, 2003: 139). In many cases the formal legal system and the belief system of *brua* condemn the same crimes: theft, murder, adultery, etc. In many cases, the technical nature and elite control over the official legal systems of dispute resolution are avoided by people who make use of the easily accessible methods of the *brua*-maker. This aspect of its legal history puts Curaçao squarely in line with the rest of the Caribbean.

It is Friday afternoon, the 3rd of August 2007. I'm sitting in the office of a colleague, talking about what is happening at the University. We talk about the trees behind the library that have to be cut down. The library has to be expanded, and behind it is a very old tree. My colleague can not imagine that someone would cut it down; and it will prove to be very difficult to find someone who will do this. 'When you cut down the oldest tree on the premises, someone of the family will die soon after. No one will make such a provocation.' We try to make some jokes about it, maybe there is a foreigner who will do the work? A slightly uncomfortable silence follows this exchange. I remember exactly the same story written down by Brenneker decades

ago.[15] Even without the direct help of the *brua*-man, this oral history will stay alive, and continue to play a normative role in Curaçaoan society.[16]

REFERENCES

Allen, Rose Mary (1989). Brua als geneesmiddel, ziek zijn binnen de Curaçaose cultuur. *Plataforma, 6, 1,* 25-28.

Beckwith, Martha W. (1929). *Black Roadways: a study of Jamaican folk life*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Benjamins, Herman D. & Johannes F. Snelleman (Eds.) (1914-1917). *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indië.* Den Haag/Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff/E.J. Brill.

Bernadina, Frieda M. (1981). *Montamentoe. Een beschrijvende en analyserende studie van een Afro-Amerikaanse godsdienst op Curaçao*. Master's thesis, University of Amsterdam (UVA).

Brenneker, Paul (1969-1975). *Sambumbu: Volkskunde van Curaçao, Aruba en Bonaire.* Vol 1-10. Curaçao: The author.

Fernández Olmos, Magarite & Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert (2003). *Creole Religions of the Caribbean: An introduction from Vodou and Santeria to Obeah and Espiritismo.* New York: NYU Press.

Hall, G.M. (1971). *Social control in slave plantation societies: A comparison of St. Domingue and Cuba.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

Herskovits, Melville J. & Franses S. Herskovits (1947). *Trinidad village.* New York: A. Knopf.

Hulst, Hans van (1997). *Morgen bloeit het diabaas: de Antilliaanse volksklasse in de Nederlandse samenleving.* Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.

Juliana, Elis (1987). De tamboe op Curaçao. *Bzzlletin, 16, 143,* 59-65.

Kohler, Josef (1912). Zum Negerrecht in Surinam. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, 27,* 392-403.

Kunst, A.J.M. (1971). Rechtshogeschool van de Nederlandse Antillen. *Nederlands Juristenblad, 37,* 1074.

Kuyu, Camille (2007). Réponses vodou aux demandes de justice et d'accès au droit en Haïti. In Jacques Hainard, Philippe Mathez & Olivier Schinz (Eds.), *Vodou* (pp. 143-163). Genève: MEG.

[15] Brenneker: 1147, 2310-2311, 2383, 2388. See also Beckwith: 'Other acts are to be avoided lest they pay the penalty of death to the immediate family. Never add to a house or cut down an old tree.' (Beckwith: 87)

[16] Drs. M. Groenewoud, head of the UNA library, has since informed me that even though the new library building is almost ready, the old tree is still standing.

Lemmonier-Lesage, Virginie (2006). Les arrêts de règlement rendus en robes rouges. In R. Schulze (Ed.), *Symbolische Kommunikation vor Gericht in der Frühen Neuzeit* (pp. 197-212). Berlin : Duncker & Humblot.

Madden, Richard R. (1835). *A Twelvemonth's Residence in the West Indies, during the transition from slavery to apprenticeship*. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard.

Marcha, Valdemar & Paul Verweel (2002). *De cultuur van angst: De paradoxale culturele ketenen van angst en zwijgen.* Amsterdam: SWP.

Meeteren, Nicolaas van (^{2}1977). *Volkskunde van Curaçao*. Facsimile of 1st edition (1947). Amsterdam: Emmering.

Meyer, A. (1973). Bijgeloof. In L.W. Statius van Eps & E. Luckman-Maduro (Eds.), *Van scheepschirurgijn tot specialist, 333 jaar Nederlands-Antilliaanse geneeskunde* (pp. 171-172). Assen: Van Gorcum.

Moore, Brian L. (1995). *Cultural Power, Resistance, and Pluralism: Colonial Guyana, 1838-1900*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Ostwaldt, Lars (2006). Was ist ein Rechtsritual? In R. Schulze (Ed.), *Symbolische Kommunikation vor Gericht in der Frühen Neuzeit* (pp. 125-152). Berlin : Duncker & Humblot.

Pool, John de (1961). *Zo was Curaçao*. Original title: Del Curaçao que se va (1935). Amsterdam: Holdert.

Posner, Eric A. (2000). *Law and Social Norms*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Romberg, Raquel (2003). *Witchcraft and Welfare: Spiritual capital and the business of magic in modern Puerto Rico*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Römer, René A. (2000). *De Curaçaose samenleving*. Curaçao: Amigoe N.V.

Römer, René A. (1975). Hoger onderwijs in de Nederlandse Antillen. *Kristòf, 2*, 129.

Römer, René A. (1990). Curaçao in het Caribische gebied. *De Gids, 150*, 503-508.

Rutten, A.M.G. (2003). *Magische kruiden in de Antilliaanse folklore: etnofarmacologie van het Caribisch gebied*. Rotterdam: Erasmus Publishing.

Schenker, I. (1997). *Volksgeneeskundige aspecten van brua op Curaçao, een niet-westerse kijk op ziekte en gezondheid*. Doctoral dissertation, Nijmegen.

Simpson, George E. (1965). *The Shango cult in Trinidad*. Puerto Rico: Institute of Caribbean Studies.

Velden, Bastiaan D. van der (2008). *Ik lach met Grotius, en alle die prullen van boeken, een rechtsgeschiedenis van Curaçao,*. Curaçao: Universiteit van de Nederlandse Antillen.

Watson, G. Llewellyn (1991). *Jamaican Sayings: With Notes on Folklore, Aesthetics, and Social Control*. Tallahassee: Florida A & M University Press.

TRAINING TEACHERS IN BONAIRE: FLEXIBILITY AND CREATIVITY FOR SELF RELIANCE AND SUSTAINABILITY

M. BAK-PIARD
UNIVERSITY OF THE NETHERLANDS ANTILLES, CURAÇAO

Bonaire is a relatively small island in the Caribbean with not more than 12,000 inhabitants. Bonaire is one of the groups of islands forming the Dutch Antilles, which in turn form part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. In relatively small communities and subcultures, education, health and other services are often limited. In such cases these small communities are largely dependent on services from outside. Thus, teacher training courses at most levels were not available in Bonaire until 5 years ago. Those who wished to pursue higher education had to attend an institution on one of the larger neighboring islands, in Europe, or on the South American mainland. Consequently, many of Bonaire's most talented young people have been obliged to leave their native island to further their educational development, and only about 10% of these young people return to their homeland.

As a result, the island has become structurally dependent on the importation of highly skilled labor from abroad, which costs the government large sums of money every year. These foreigners are generally less familiar with local culture and the (educational) situation in Bonaire than those born and raised on the island itself. One predictable result is a lack of adequate teaching methods adapted to the local pupils' perceptions of their environment. In addition, few, if any, attempts are made by those from abroad to invest their time and energy in sustainable development in education, since most of them (for instance, those from the Netherlands) are employed in Bonaire for from 3 to at most 6 years. Subsequently a new crop of educators is recruited.

Several initiatives have been put into place in the past to draw young people from Bonaire who had studied abroad back to their island in order to create a highly qualified native-born workforce. Having such a cohort of qualified locals would be beneficial to the growth and development of the island into a more independent and self reliant society. So far these efforts have not been very successful in recruiting

such young people who now live off the island and who for the most part are not very eager to move back to a small island with relatively few educational opportunities.

After several unsuccessful attempts by various institutions to expand tertiary level educational programs in Bonaire, the University of the Netherlands Antilles (UNA) started a Bachelor degree program in the teaching of Papiamentu at the lower secondary level on the island in 2004. Two years later local training also began for teachers at the basic education level with the help of development funds from various agencies. Before that it had only been possible to take higher level teacher training courses at the UNA in Curaçao.

A measure of this new program's success is the fact at the moment 11 of the 14 students in the lower secondary school teachers' training program have successfully completed their studies and the fact that these graduates are all currently employed as teachers, policy advisers or material developers on Bonaire itself. One of the remaining three students moved to Curaçao to complete her studies while the other two students are expected to graduate in Bonaire during the current academic year. For the first time in the history of Bonaire a high-quality Bachelor degree program has been offered to students living on the island. With an 80% graduation rate and an even higher on-island retention rate, the program is successfully training island born professionals whose talents and skills remain on Bonaire, contributing to the sustainable and long term social and economic advancement of the island.

This initiative is already having a positive impact. A survey of 1500 pupils at the largest middle school in Bonaire revealed that the three most highly rated teachers at the school are graduates of the new local Bachelor degree program[1]. Some of the graduates of the program have become supervisors and teachers at the local elementary teacher training college, so that now, for the first time, more than 50% of the staff members at this high school are from Bonaire.

From the applications for the initial intake of candidates for the new Bachelor degree program, it became apparent that the majority of the applicants were adults who had day-time jobs, families and numerous other responsibilities in a variety of public service projects around the island. These were people who were deeply rooted on the island and who would not be inclined to go abroad to seek higher education, despite their great need, desire, and capacity for further training. The applicants could be compared to centipedes, each of whose dozens of able arms performed the tasks of dozens of people. Such dynamic social actors form the backbone of many small island societies. It was precisely these "centipedes" who, barely having a moment of spare

[1] Survey Scholengemeenschap Bonaire 2008

time left in their lives, wanted to take on this time-consuming and difficult Bachelor program. It would be futile to attempt to offer daytime Bachelor courses to this group, so a flexible and creative approach to scheduling was required to make night and weekend courses available to them.

Flexibility and creativity were also required in the acknowledgement and mobilization of candidates' past training and experience. In this case, use was made of the seven competencies which are recognized by all teacher training colleges in the Netherlands and the Dutch Antilles. These include interpersonal, pedagogical, professional/ didactic, and organizational competencies, as well as the ability to work together with colleagues, the ability to work in harmony with the school environment and the capacity for self-reflection and self-development. Candidates were therefore made aware of the multitude of knowledges, skills, qualities, and talents that they had already acquired and cultivated as teachers, parents, and community workers.

Each potential candidate was encouraged to assemble an intake portfolio in which they attempted to forge a link between the capabilities that they had previously acquired and those which they needed to successfully complete the new Bachelor program. Candidates' starting levels would therefore almost never be zero. Living on an island where they must perform their duties with limited facilities, these "centepedes" had become very creative in order to get by with what little they have at their disposal, utilizing their expert knowledge of the culture and of the written and unwritten laws of the island as well as their well-functioning informal networks.

After careful screening, about half (15) of the group of applicants was selected to begin the program. The initial objective was to prepare and guide at least half this group of 15 in such a way that they would successfully complete their degree. In fact, 75% have already achieved that goal. For a community of 12,000 the preparation of a dozen graduates, who plan to remain on the island and perform the work of a dozen more each, is a significant achievement.

A flexible and creative conceptualization of resources was also an important element in the sucess of the program. Program staff and students activated their local networks to establish and maintain a positive working relationship with local schools, who provided classrooms, computer rooms, conference rooms, and audio-visual equipment for the use of the program at minimal cost. Local libraries made space for program course materials. While island government funds were not available for supporting the project, several civil servants selflessly offered their support wherever and whenever they could.

Logistical flexibility and creativity also played a key role in the program's success. Over the last 5 years, UNA has acquired its own Bonaire based lecture room where students can attend lectures and work with computers. The UNA also now has its own office in Bonaire which students and faculty can contact if they have any questions. Today the island government and UNA are both working hard to provide scholarships for students who wish to continue their studies in Bonaire. The island's public library has a collection of UNA manuals for the students. Despite these advances, erratic airline service for the transport of teaching staff from the main campus in Curaçao have made flexibility and creativity in the design of teaching modules an important element in the program's success. Group study, independent study, and online study utilizing platforms such as Blackboard' play an essential, yet complementary role in relation to face-to-face classroom interaction between teachers and students.

The flexibility and creativity of program staff and students in responding to local circumstances was put to the ultimate test when the limitations of the island based health care system led to the death of one of the students in the program. The danger of such a situational factor is the high level of emotional stress which could cause students to become scared and demotivated and consequently to abandon their studies. Due to prevailing superstitions on the island, some students believed that the group was cursed and that sooner or later a similar accident would befall them. At such moments, both staff and students were called upon to use their own strength and the strength of the group to rise to the ocassion, instead of giving up and abandoning the training.

Flexible and creative coaching and supervision has not only been crucial in confronting crisis, but it has also been of critical importance as students advance toward graduation, where individual work has to be performed. At this stage the roads of the students diverge after years of working together as a team. In these final stages, it is the task of the supervisor to continue to motivate and guide individual students.

After reading the above, should we conclude that nothing went wrong with the implementation of the program? Nothing could be further from the truth. As with all new training colleges everywhere in the world, a great many things turned out differently from what we had hoped or expected, especially in the first few months when student cards and course materials did not arrive on the island on time, etc. However, a conscious choice was made from the start to explore all of the possibilities in every situation in a flexible and creative way, and to avoid approaching situations as problematic, limiting and oppressive. There were thousands of reasons for discontinuing the project along the way, and even twice as many reasons not to initiate the project. Nevertheless, there were at least an equal number of reasons to start the

project and to persevere until the end. A driving force behind the project was the project leader, whose knowledge, positive disposition, and flexible and creative leadership and organizational skills inspired students to stay on track in order to reach the coveted finish line.

In the final analysis, flexibility and creativity must be matched by consistent quality control. As demonstrated above, allowance must be made for local conditions and the particular circumstances of individual students. This is desirable as long as it does not affect the quality of the training. All students must successfully complete all of the requirements of the program so that as graduates they are capable of demonstrating their newly achieved competence in their profession. For this reason, students were presented with a challenging curriculum by teaching staff of solid stature. It was a hard struggle for most of the students, involving sleepless nights, the shedding of tears, and moments of despair and exhaustion, yet those who have graduated have done so with the knowledge that in the end their Bachelor degree represents a real and qualitative leap forward for themselves as well as for the self reliance and sustainability of the educational process in Bonaire.

REFERENCES

Bak-Piard, Maxy (2004). *Wat betekent de studie aan inspannigen? Hoe gereed ben ik?* Internal report, University Netherlands Antilles.

Bak-Piard, Maxy (2004). *Studiehandleiding en werkboek Studieloopbaanbegeleiding jaar 1, 'Verkenning en Herkenning'*. Internal report, University Netherlands Antilles.

Directie Jeugd en Jongerenontwikkeling (2005). *Programma 'Kans op Perspectief*. Bonaire: Eilandgebied Bonaire.

Dossier waarderingen van (afgestudeerde) studenten, gastdocenten, instituutbegeleiders e.a. Internal report, University Netherlands Antilles.

Korthagen, F. (1998). Leren reflecteren: naar systemathiek in het leren van je werk als docent. In L. Fonderie-Tiere & J. Hendriksen (Eds.), *Begeleiden van docenten. Reflectie als basis voor professionele ontwikkeling in het onderwijs* (pp. 43-56). Baarn: Nelissen.

Lijst afstudeerproducten van de studenten papiamentu te Bonaire (2009). Internal report, University Netherlands Antilles.

Manuel-Eliza, D. (2004), *Samen opleiden, informatiebrochure werkplekleren, tweedegraads Lerarenopleiding papiamentu, Engels en Nederlands.* Internal report, University Netherlands Antilles.

Quast, Laura (2006). *Lista di Chekeo pa kontenido di portfolio*. Internal report, University Netherlands Antilles.

SBL-competentievensters voor Leraren, www.lerarenweb.nl

Snetselaar, Marion (2004). *Flexibele instroomprofielen voor de voltijd- en deeltijdtrajecten van de tweedegraads Lerearenopleiding Algemene faculteit* (AF). Internal report, University Netherlands Antilles.

Studenten-enquêteformulier 'Conceptuele en vaardighedenlijn 2004-2005', Algemene Faculteit. Internal report, University Netherlands Antilles.

Studiegids 2004-2005 van de Algemene faculteit van de Universiteit van de Nederlandse Antillen, Tweedegraads Lerarenopleiding Papiamentu, Engels en Nederlands. Internal report, University Netherlands Antilles.

www.diraz.an

www.banboneirubek.com

TOWARD A NEW THEORY AND PRACTICE OF LEARNING: A HOLISTIC AND INTEGRATED APPROACH

RICHARD HOOI
UNIVERSITY OF THE NETHERLANDS ANTILLES

Curaçao is a society that integrates three cultural heritages: African, European, and Indigenous. For thousands of years and in all three of these traditions, education was a holistic and integrated process. But during the colonial period, a transformation occurred in Europe that had profound effects on how learning and education were viewed and practiced. While African and Indigenous children remained nested in a holistic and connected network of co-learners, the European child was gradually relocated as a learner into a classroom, which was and still is in many ways outside of the matrix of his or her community. Education was thus transformed from a process that taught children the practical skills for subsistence and problem solving in their immediate environment and their local community to a process of disembodied, de-contextualized, abstract learning. During the process of colonization, this compartmentalized and disconnected approach to learning was imposed not only on people of European descent, but also on people of African and Indigenous descent in colonized territories like Curaçao.

Colonial education is by nature exclusive, producing a small class of people who achieve the highest level of education (university graduates) but leaving behind the great majority of people who at one point or another 'fail' and are excluded from advancing to the next stage of their studies. Traditional African and Indigenous education is inclusive by nature, that is, all members of the community engage in the educational process as co-learners and all are equipped with the skills that they need to become respected and productive members of society. No-one fails, everyone succeeds.

The results of the imposition of colonial education in Curaçao has had very negative effects, with 45% of students failing to obtain a secondary qualification, and less than 10% earning even a Bachelors degree or its equivalent at the tertiary level. The consequences have been devastating in terms of juvenile delinquency, the lack of trained Curaçaoans to take the most highly qualified and most highly paid positions, the 'brain drain' of those Curaçaoans who do succeed in their studies, who end up using their education not to contribute to their own community in Curaçao, but instead to take up residence in the Netherlands, the US, or elsewhere, etc. Perhaps it is time

for people in Curaçao and elsewhere to take a fresh look at their African and Indigenous educational traditions in order to re-orient the present system in a direction that better serves them as individuals, their families, and their communities.

Far from being 'primitive' or 'backward' many traditional African and Indigenous educational practices correspond to some of the latest scientific thinking about learning and the brain. Some of the most advanced neurological, sociological, and pedagogical research has sharply criticized the predominant models of education in Europe, the US and those countries that were colonized by those nations as being passive, mechanical, linear, compartmentalized, and narrow. Traditional African and Indigenous education, on the other hand, is not passive because children learn by doing practical work that has direct benefit for their communities. It is not mechanical, because it works with nature rather than against nature, and forms part of the natural cycles and patterns of work that constitute the subsistence rhythms of the community. It is not linear, because it is a life-long process where learners co-operate to achieve common goals (and not a competitive race for a degree) and because it stresses connectivity between people and subject matter. It is not compartmentalized, because each area of learning is embedded in all others with a focus on connections rather than on separate disciplines and specialties. It is not narrow and exclusive because people are taught to critically analyze and creatively synthesize their realities in such a way that the world becomes a classroom and all community members are life-long teachers and learners who share a diversity of points of view and a full array of teaching methodologies that exploit all possible educational strategies to maximize synergistic learning.

What I am proposing is a new view of education that integrates the best of our African, Indigenous, and European traditions with the latest findings and theories of educational science and related sciences, such as psychology, neurology, linguistics, sociology, nutrition, etc. This new view is based on two fundamental principles: holism and integration. A holistic view of education sees education as an activity which must work simultaneously with all facets of the learner's existence: physical, cognitive, affective, social, political, spiritual, economic, creative, playful, etc and take maximum advantage of all these aspects of human experience in a dynamic way to create a community of co-learners engaged in a process of life-long learning. An integrated view of education focuses on connections, and locates learning in the cultivation of dynamic relationships at every level, from the synapses between neurons in the learner's brain to the forging of new networks of learners at the local, national, and international levels.

In this new conceptualization of education, all members of the community become active participants in the learning process, the entire community becomes a classroom and parents, children, elders, musicians, storytellers, writers, agricultural workers, industrial workers, office workers, fisher-folk, merchants, everyone takes an active

part in teaching and learning. Learners become actively engaged in identifying, analyzing, and solving real community problems. Education is by nature political. If we do not take control of the educational process in our own interests, it will continue to be controlled by others in their interests. If we do take control over the educational process in our own interests, we can infuse learning with a politics of community awareness and service that produces responsible, active, and engaged community members, dedicated to making Curaçao a great place to live.

Colonial education has also been criticized for placing too much emphasis on competition and individualism. This type of education has produced high levels of social and economic inequality and violence that have resulted in the countless conflicts and economic crises that now threaten to make the world a less politically and economically secure place in the future. A connectivist view needs to be promoted not only in the way in which we think about the human brain, but also in the way that we think about society and economy. Co-operativism can be seen as the application of connectivism at the socioeconomic level. Students need to be encouraged to establish and participate in co-operative social and economic endeavors designed to promote mutually beneficial connections between people in projects whose goal is to enhance the quality of life for all at both the individual and collective levels.

This new understanding of education is by its very nature pluri-lingual and pluri-cultural. The latest findings in linguistics and the science of the brain make it clear that it is not only possible, but also cognitively and psychologically preferable for Curaçaoan children to use their knowledge and mastery of Papiamentu to gain competence not only in Dutch, but also in English, Spanish, and other languages from their earliest years of formal education. Using Papiamentu as the language of initial instruction and literacy and introducing Dutch, English, and Spanish as second languages from pre-school onward would ensure that students gain a strong foundation in their own language and culture, and this would permit them to more easily master other linguistic and cultural codes.

Our schools should be firmly rooted in Papiamentu language and Curaçaoan culture. This does not mean that schools should ignore Dutch, English, or Spanish. On the contrary, the best way for our children to master Dutch, English, and Spanish is to give them a good foundation in Papiamentu from the beginning, but also from the beginning to give them as much exposure as possible to Dutch, English, and Spanish. To achieve this, every pre-school should have a Dutch space, an English space, and a Spanish space, where children begin to master listening and oral competences in those languages so that eventually they can use their reading and writing skills in Papiamentu to become literate in Dutch, English, and Spanish as well. These Dutch, English, and Spanish spaces should also be utilized to impart cultural competences to pre-school children, who can use the strong grounding that they acquire in Curaçaoan culture to expand their cultural repertoires to include cultural elements from the

Dutch, English, and Spanish speaking Caribbean as well as from The Netherlands, the US, Venezuela, and other countries.

Every possible methodology and a multiplicity of worldviews and points of view must be mobilized in the educational endeavor. Current methodologies used in schools utilize a very limited range of human capacities for learning. The focus is on the cerebral cortex as an avenue for the acquisition of knowledge. Other parts of the brain and other parts of the body are excluded. A holistic and integrated view of education must mobilize the whole brain and body in the educational process. The emotions, movement, pleasure, rhythm, etc, all need to be harnessed synergistically to take maximum advantage of every opportunity for learning. For example, our experience using music and rhythm for teaching language skills in Papiamentu have proven to be much more effective than the standard lecture and memorization methods.

The connections between learners and their external and internal physical environments need to become a much more prominent part of the educational process. The dependency that we as human beings have on our physical environment has been de-emphasized by colonial education, and this has contributed to the current ecological crisis. If people do not understand that their very existence on this planet is impacted positively or negatively by every human act, from driving a car to using a cloth bag for grocery shopping instead of plastic bags, we face extinction as a species.

Although schools are beginning to make awareness of our connectivity with the external physical environment part of the curriculum, awareness of our connections with our internal physical environment is limited. Learners are human beings with physical brains and bodies. Colonial education has been criticized for treating learners as disembodied abstract operators, rather than as living, breathing human beings. Schools ignore the fact that there are certain dietary practices, foods, and supplements that can enhance the learning experience, and others which can hinder it.

A holistic and integrated approach to education would ensure that learners understand the connection between food and learning and would ensure that learners get the ‘brain foods’ and supplements that they need to get the most out of their educational endeavors. In former times, Curaçaoan students were routinely given vitamin supplements in schools, but this practice has been discontinued. Instead, our children are consuming increasing amounts of junk food laced with sugar, salt, saturated and trans-fats, caffeine, and other addictive substances that make them hyperactive, hyper- and/or hypoglycemic, hypertense, and thus unable to learn. These poisonous foods are sometimes made available to children right on the school premises themselves. At present, nutrition and health courses in our schools do not provide students with a critical understanding of the connections between their diet, their bodies, their wellness, and their ability to live and learn. While it is true that many schools are involved in campaigns against drug abuse, few are doing anything about junk food

and the epidemics of heart disease, high blood pressure, diabetes, and cancer caused by it.

In this short article, I have attempted to outline some of the contours of a new holistic and integrated educational theory and practice. This is a work in progress. I invite the reader to reflect on the ideas presented here and interact with them in a critical and creative way. We can no longer afford to de-contextualize, fragment, and compartmentalize the educational process. We need to harness all of the educational traditions, all of the available methodologies, and all of the latest scientific findings to create new ways of thinking about and bringing about a community of co-learners dedicated to life-long learning.

CULTURAL EDUCATION: EDUCATION IN CULTURE VERSUS CULTURE IN EDUCATION

RUBY ECKMEYER
DIRECTOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE OF ARUBA

1 Introduction

The focus in this chapter is on the various definitions, terms and approaches used in the field of education and culture. According to Raymond Williams (1981: 87 quoted in Nurse, 1986): *"Culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language."* Attention will also be paid to the context in which the definitions and terms are used, referring to the article by Brian Bullivant, "Culture: Its nature and meaning for educators" (2006: 27). Furthermore this paper will focus on the final report of the European conference, entitled *Promoting Cultural Education in Europe; A Contribution to Participation, Innovation and Quality* and on a worldwide UNESCO survey project conducted by Anne Bamford in the year 2006.

2 "Cultural Education"

It is remarkable that efforts to define cultural education generally focus on various artistic disciplines, while inter-disciplinary approaches remain widely unconsidered. It is also remarkable that in fact most of the arts disciplines do not have to do with the arts as such. This is based on the fact that most cultural education teachers are not involved in the (contemporary) arts business themselves, and therefore, in a sense, they attempt to provide arts education without the arts. Students cannot experience the passion that artists feel while working on a piece of art in their studio. They can only experience the environment and atmosphere of a museum, an art gallery or a theater.

A few countries are dealing with cultural heritage as an integral part of the arts curriculum in their schools. This is particularly the case in countries where there is a political need for nation (re-)building. While the definitions formulated for cultural heritage education in such countries do indeed have an inter-disciplinary character, this is often limited to links made to the history curriculum. In any case, even in these

countries, discussions concerning the methodologies utilized in of cultural education / arts education are still not very advanced.

In general, it can be concluded that in spite of all the arguments put forward to make cultural education a vital element in any general education curriculum, cultural / arts education is still constantly in danger of being marginalized almost everywhere. For this reason, it is very important to persistently present convincing evidence of the contributions of cultural education / arts education to the development of competences that are more indispensible than ever in today's workplaces.

3 Partnerships between education and culture

In many countries, government plays a major role in supporting cultural education. Education and culture continuously evolve in close relationship with a given nation's political, social, and economic environment. Within the governmental structures of a number of countries, however, there is often a lack of coordination among education, culture, and youth authorities when it comes to the distribution of responsibilities for cultural education.

Based on the results of a worldwide survey sponsored by UNESCO, Anne Bamford concludes that besides government, industry, charities and foundations, international organizations, galleries and trade unions have become important partners in funding and promoting cultural / arts education and that: "Contrary to the belief that the provision of arts education is a core responsibility of education systems, it appears that in practice a large number of non-education related governmental and also non-governmental organizations directly contribute to arts education." (2006: 31)

The general situation in many countries appears to be that the central government provides basic support for cultural education. However, to create quantitatively and qualitatively effective programs, additional support is needed from cultural institutions, industry, NGOs, and individual artists. This seems to be the case regardless of the nation's level of economic development. The substantial role played by individuals and organizations beyond the public sector has been and continues to be inadequately considered by most governments in policy planning and implementation.

In the area of arts education, systematic and comprehensive cooperation between both schools and art institutions as well as between teachers and artists must move to center stage. The same applies to cultural education, which must develop in close

cooperation between schools and cultural institutions. This means that there should be structural relationships between all of these stakeholders built into all levels of policy development and implementation.

4 Education in culture versus Culture in education

In most school systems worldwide, the emphasis in the curriculum is on technology, science and business, at the expense of the arts, humanities and physical education. Innovations in education systems during the last decades have in many cases led to a proliferation in the number of subjects taken by students, especially at the secondary level. Unfortunately, this expansion in the number of subjects offered has more often than not been accompanied by an actual reduction in the number of modes of intelligence that are cultivated, and by an even greater contraction in interdisciplinary programming.

A new and innovative concept of cultural education must replace the existing one, that equates cultural education and arts education. Education that focuses exclusively on the knowledge of the practical skills involved in a particular art discipline is not adequate. The scope of the curriculum must be broadened to include the social context of world, national and regional art history, and world, national, and regional cultural history, not only as separate subjects, but also as an integrated part of every class that a student takes. The most important innovation should be the integration of cultural material and cultural history into the curricula of all disciplines. The teaching of cultural education as a discipline is what I refer to as *education in culture* and the integration of cultural education into the other disciplines is what I refer to as *culture in education.*

I would like to explain this statement by comparing the role of culture in education and in society as a whole with the role of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) in education and in society as a whole. In schools, ICT is not only taught as a separate discipline, but ICT is also integrated into all other disciplines. Outside of the classroom, ICT plays a vital role in all sectors of society. This is illustrated in the following curricular framework for ICT:

Discipline / **Curriculum**	Theoretical skills in ICT	Practical skills in ICT
ICT Education	Education in the **Theory of ICT**	Education in the **Practice of ICT**
Other Disciplines	ICT integrated into **other disciplines**	ICT **in society**

As shown in the curricular framework below, culture / art education should cover the same ground as ICT:

Discipline / **Curriculum**	Theoretical skills in Culture / Arts	Practical skill in Culture / Arts
Culture / Arts Education	**Education in the Theory of Culture / Arts**	**Education in the Practice of Culture / Arts**
Other disciplines	Culture / Arts skills integrated into **other disciplines**	Culture /Arts skills **in society**

Unfortunately, while the importance of ICT is generally recognized and a curricular framework for ICT that corresponds roughly to the one outlined above has been implemented in most countries, the importance of cultural / arts education is rarely acknowledged, so that an adequate curricular framework is rarely formulated (and even more rarely implemented) to teach it.

For this reason, cultural institutions and educational institutions have a very important role to play in the promotion of a change of thinking in development and educational strategies worldwide. For too long decision makers have paid attention to economy and technology, forgetting the basis of all human development, which is the culture of each society. For too long the input and value of cultural education in the daily economic and technological development of our “knowledge based” society has been overlooked.

5 Conclusion

It is obvious that there is, as yet, much to be done so that the general public can recognize the value of cultural education in our educational system as well as in our society. We must stop the marginalization of cultural education in the educational system. The importance of partnerships between educational and cultural institutions and actors should be established. A holistic approach to cultural education, as a discipline and as an integrated element in education and in society, should be endorsed and promoted. In the end, no *healthy* economic and technological development is possible without a holistic approach that emphasizes not only the satisfaction of needs and desires (the body) and knowledge (the mind), but also spiritual values (the soul).

We should never forget that culture / arts education provides us with tools which we can use to construct our identities, to promote our self-esteem, to express ourselves, to think out-of-the-box, and to give a voice to our emotions and passions.

REFERENCES

Bullivant, Brian M. (1989). Culture: Its Nature and Meaning for Educators. In James A. Banks and Cherry A. Mc Gee Banks (Eds.), *Multicultural Education. Issues and Perspectives* (pp. 27-45). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Caribbean Community Secretariat (1997). *Regional Cultural Policy of the Caribbean Community.* Georgetown: Caricom Secretariat.

Nurse, Keith (2006). *Culture as the Fourth Pillar of Sustainable Development.* London: Commonwealth Secretariat.

Williams, Raymond (1981). *Culture.* Glasgow: Fontana Paperbacks.

Wimmer, Michael (2006). *Promoting Cultural Education in Europe. A Contribution to Participation, Innovation and Quality.* (Pre-Conference Reader for the European Conference). Graz: Austrian Ministry of Education, Science and Culture.

http://www.cultuurnetwerk.nl

http://www.unesco.org

THE PROCESS OF RECULTURALIZATION IN ARUBA AND OTHER MULTICULTURAL SOCIETIES

INGRID KUIPERDAL
ORANJESTAD, ARUBA

In this brief commentary, I would like to put forward some unique ideas on cultural concepts that will help to develop our thinking about human development and human relationships. Living and working in a multicultural island like Aruba, one is faced by a diversity of cultural attitudes that give rise to a diversity of challenging and often stressful circumstances between culturally different groups. To explain this, I would like to use the definition of culture formulated by *UNESCO* in 1982, which states that "Culture comprises the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or a group." I would add that *cultural attitudes* are the ways in which we as a people deal with distinctive features among different cultures.

When we consider what is happening around us, we realize that many of the conflicts and struggles in organizations and in societies do not exist merely because of a lack of knowledge of the different features between cultures, but there is rather a lack of a cultural consciousness. We never learned how to approach differences in culture with a positive attitude. Equipped with the appropriate tools, individuals and groups could consciously decide to approach differences between cultures in a more creative and constructive way, providing opportunities for learning and for human development, rather than adopting negative attitudes, which detract from learning and human development.

Based on cultural psychologist Michael Cole's concept of culture as the medium of human development, I call this process of transformation of cultural attitudes *reculturalization.* Reculturalization occurs when two or more cultural groups that have been living and working together consciously decide to deal with their differences in a positive and constructive way. The beauty of this process is that both cultures can maintain their individual characteristics, but because of the synergizing between them, they can also explore the possibility of creating new cultural forms that permit greater social harmony and creativity.

Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky developed a theory about the cultural-historical basis for human development. Vygotsky sequences inter-psychological processes (e.g. between for instance cognition and emotion) before the intra-pychological processes (e.g. between different types of emotions like anger and hate) in human development. As Vygotsky and others have observed, culture is the place where human character and personality are formed. Therefore it is of paramount importance to attach human development to cultural development and to look for solutions in human relationships in the realm of cultural relationships. The idea of reculturalization that I advance in this paper builds on those premises.

If we analyze the multicultural situation of Aruba, we might be led to believe that the island is in a state of deculturalization instead of in the process of reculturalization. We observe and comment on the devaluation of learning, values and norms, and the resulting negative behavioral patterns among our youth and young adults. To whom can we attribute this deculturalization? Are non-traditionally Aruban cultures to blame for this? Are Latin American and Caribbean immigrants or American and European tourists destroying our values and norms? Or is our failure to consciously look into and embrace the differences between the various cultures that make up contemporary Aruban society to blame instead? Shouldn't we be consciously dealing in a constructive, creative and positive way with the fact that even though we are different we have to live together on the same island and the same planet? Or as Hugo Chavez, the president of Venezuela once asked: Is there any other planet that we could emigrate to? Aruba is, was, and always will be a multicultural society. Aruba needs scientific and spiritual/ethical guidelines as to how we should deal with our multiculturality in order to benefit fully from it.

Some sectors in Aruba are already benefiting economically from being 'multicultural' if we only look at some of the multinationals that are doing business on the island such as Valero, Marriott, Burger King, Luis Vuitton, etc. This so-called economic progress however, does not bring about similar benefits socially, educationally or even culturally. One of the main reasons, I believe, is that we have not been educated to take control as people over these economic activities to make sure that they serve our social and cultural interests, instead of those of the multinational corporations. We are not conscious enough about the need and the benefits of the process of reculturalization. A society develops as its culturality develops!

Aruba is a perfect testing ground for reculturalization. For example, Papiamento was created by people of different language backgrounds that lived and worked together on Aruba and neighboring islands. In our efforts to develop a national cultural policy,

we should include our multicultural situation as a transversal line throughout the different chapters of the policy. The need for reculturalization will be obvious. For instance, Aruban children could be trained in our schools to embrace and master speaking, understanding, reading and writing in not just one, or two, or even three, but all four of the major languages of Aruba: Papiamento, Dutch, English, and Spanish.

If enrichment is the result of any individual culture being touched by other cultures, how much greater would the benefits be if a group of cultures made a conscious decision to create a continuous and consistent positive interchange of cultural artifacts, languages, ideas, values etc? Gestalt psychology demonstrates that the whole is more than the sum of its parts. Reculturalization posits the emergence of a greater 'something' when the different parts of that 'something' are put together in a positive, intelligent, spiritual/ethical, logical and functional way.

The conditions for re-culturalization in a multicultural society include the following:

a) Cultural identity. There is a relation between the level of reculturalization and the level of cultural identity of a society. A society with a secure cultural identity where people know, understand and agree on who they are, what they stand for, where they are coming from and where they are going to, is better equipped for reculturalization than a society that is still seeking its cultural identity. Societies with such security in their own identities are humble enough to open themselves up to other cultural influences and are not arrogant towards other cultures or societies.

b) Openness to the influence of other cultures. An open mind is a growing mind, open to the other cultures, their achievements, their ways of life, etc.

c) Positive socio-emotional attitudes. Positive socio-emotional attitudes provide the foundation for the process of reculturalization. For reculturalization to succeed we need to avoid tendencies to defend our own and to let go of our mentality of scarcity and competition.

d) Institutions. The smoothness of the reculturalization process depends on education that provides familiarization with underlying principles and guidance to promote attitudes of willingness to change paradigms of how cultures that live together should behave.

e) A renewed sense of human possibilities for social and cultural transformation.

The principles of reculturalization are those that form the common core of most spiritual, religious, moral, and ethical systems worldwide, including the following:

a) The blessing principle. Seek first to be a blessing before seeking to be blessed (where a blessing is a positive contribution to someone's life).
b) The principle of giving. It is more blessed to give than to receive.
c) The principle of sowing and reaping. What you reap is what you sow. Sow positively to reap likewise.
d) The equality principle. Do unto others what you would like others to do unto you.
e) The wisdom principle. Seek knowledge and understanding to find wisdom (where wisdom is defined as applied knowledge and understanding).
f) The love principle. Love your enemies. Love your neighbor as you love yourself.

REFERENCES

Bruner, Jerome (1996). *The culture of education*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Cole, Michael (1996). *Cultural psychology: A once and future discipline*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Freire, Paulo (1998). *Teachers as cultural workers: Letters to those who dare teach*. Translated by Donaldo Macedo, Dale Koike, and Alexandre Oliveira. (First published in 1993 as *Professora sim, tia não: Cartas a quem ousa ensinar* by Olho d'Agua, São Paulo). Boulder: Westview Press.

Rosalia, René V. (1997). Tambú: de legale en kerkelijke repressie van Afro-Curaçaose volksuitingen. Zutphen: Walburg Pers.