Crossing Shifting Boundaries

Language and Changing Political Status in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao

Edited by
Nicholas Faraclas
Ronald Severing
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GAINING PERSPECTIVE ON PAPIAMENTU: MILESTONES AND ACHIEVEMENTS[1]

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1 Introduction

In 1747, a Dutch sailing vessel named the "Jonge Johannes" plied between Curaçao and Venezuela. On a trade mission from the cocoa village Chuao (Venezuela) back to the Curaçao harbor, an English privateer confiscated the vessel because the privateers assumed it was a Spanish ship and England and Spain were fighting each other at the time in the so-called War of Jenkins Ear. The vessel was eventually released after legal proceedings. According to the handwritten case files that appeared in print nearly two-hundred years later in 1936 (Towle, 1936; Klooster, 1998: 68 note 19), when asked about which language was spoken aboard the captured ship, one of the crewmembers named Soorbeek answered 'Broken Spanish and broken Dutch, which is called *Poppemento* Spanish' and another crewmember Lopes answered 'Dutch, Spanish and, *Poppemento*, but mainly *Poppemento.'* To the subsequent question as to whether *Poppemento*[2] was commonly spoken in Curaçao, Lopes answered 'Yes'.

Henny Coomans and Maritza Coomans-Eustatia[3] (2004: 156) describe this marvelous discovery in a facsimile edition of the earliest known Papiamentu dictionary. A page on the above mentioned proceedings was included in that edition. Coomans and Coomans-Eustatia allege that this case file is the oldest written source attesting to the fact that Papiamentu was the common spoken language on Curaçao in 1747 *and* that this language already had its own name. Until that time, the handwritten letter from 1775 by merchant Andrade to his beloved was the oldest proof for the existence of Papiamentu as a language (Emmanuel & Emmanuel, 1970: 256). Although the name of the language was not actually mentioned in that letter, it was clearly written in Papiamentu. Therefore, they are of the opinion that for the time being, 1747 can be considered to be the year from which we have the first evidence of the use of the word Papiamentu to refer to the language most commonly spoken on Curaçao.

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[1] Also, see Severing, 2009, and www.una.an: Woorden en daden (in preparation).

[2] Other errors in the text leads one to suspect that the manuscript had mentioned *Pappimento*, cf. Coomans & Coomans-Eustatia, 2004.

[3] The historian W. Klooster (1998) refers to the 'Interview with Daniel Soorbeek, master of the sloop the *Jonge Johannes* in Towle, 1936: 433'. Coomans and Coomans-Eustatia (2004: 158) indicate that Prof. Dr. Wim Klooster told them this and granted them the privilege to publish 'his discovery'.

Illustration 1 A section from the oldest known text in the Papiamentu language (1775)
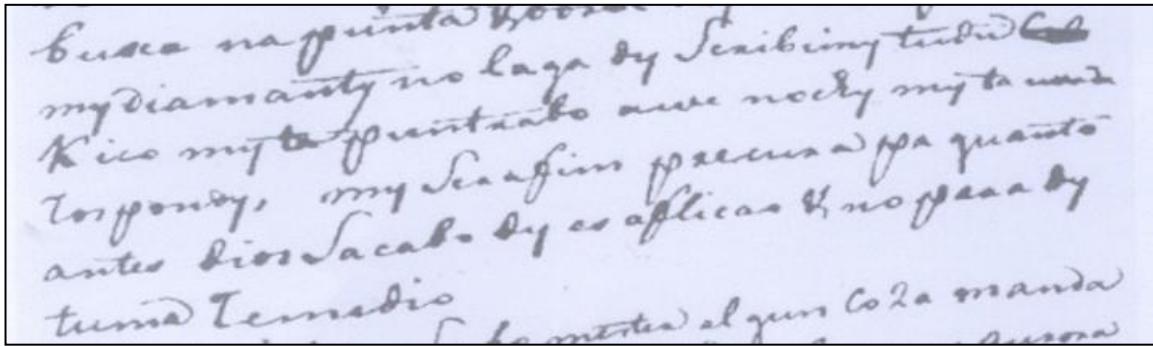
Transcription: My Diamanty no laga dy Scribimy tudu Kico my ta puntrabo awe nochy my ta warda Rospondy, my Serafim precura pa quanto antes Dios Sacabo dy es aflicao & no para dy Tuma remedio

[My diamond do not fail to write me everything That I ask you tonight I am waiting for (an) answer, my Seraphim see that as soon as possible God relieves you from this misfortune and don't cease to take the medicines]

This historic anecdote serves as a prelude to the brief history of Papiamentu which follows. In that discussion, we will mention a number of milestones and achievements that have contributed towards the development of Papiamentu. The debates, no matter how fierce, about the status of this young language are no doubt important to Papiamentu's development process, but these milestones and achievements are even more important, because they are the most reliable indicators of Papiamentu's vitality and viability. In addition to reviewing the historical development of the language, we will also review current developments that shed light on the position of Papiamentu at the end of the first decennium of the new millennium, in order to gauge the prospects for the conservation and further development of the language.

2 Early work in and on Papiamentu

To get a sense of the position of Papiamentu in relation to the other languages used in the community around 1800, we quote from the book, *Beschrijving van het eiland Curaçao en onderhoorige eilanden. Uit onderscheidene stukken, bijdragen en opmerkingen opgemaakt, door een bewoner van dat eiland.* [*Description of the island of Curaçao and dependent islands. From distinguished documents, contributions and remarks, by an inhabitant from that island.*] This book, anonymously published in 1819 by the teacher Gerrit van Paddenburgh, caused a great deal of controversy at that time, attracting the intervention of the government in general, as well as of the

public prosecutor in particular. Paddenburgh gives an outline of the language situation on Curaçao when he describes the language, customs and government of the island.

"De vorige bewoners van dit eiland Indianen zijnde , onder Spaanſche overheer(s)ing geraakt , heeft zulk een mengelmoes of *jargon* doen geboren worden , hetwelk door de komst der Hollanders nog veranderd is. Het *papiament* (van *pappiar* , *ſpreken*) beſtaat uit bedorven Spaansch , Indiaansch en Hollandsch , arm in woorden , zonder buiging , voeging of geſlacht onderſcheiden , maar rijk in hevig door de keel uitgeſproken wordende ſchelle klanken , en vooral in ſcheldwoorden. Onverdragelijk is dit gekakel voor het fijnere oor van den Europeaan bij zijne eersſte aankomst , en moeijelijk kan men zich aan dit kalkoenen geluid gewennen. Niet alleen de Negers , Mulatten en andere kleurlingen ſpreken dit *jargon* , maar ook de blanken , vooral de blanke Creolen , wier kinderen , door Negerinnen gezoogd , door dezelve de eerſte indrukſelen ontvangende , niets dan Creoolsch of Papiament ſpreken , en dan naderhand het Hollandsch of Nederduitsch doorgaans gebrekkig en onvolkomen leeren , hetzelve nog gebrekkiger lezende en ſchrijvende. Deze kwade gewoonte , vooral onder de ſchoone kunne , is zoo ingeworteld , dat daaraan geen verbeteren ſchijnt te zijn. In verſcheiden huisgezinnen , is het Nederduitsch zoo bekend als het Arabisch ; en echter rekenen zij zich van Nederlandſche afkomst.
...
Engelsch , Fransch , Spaansch en Hoogduitsch wordt hier door kooplieden en de beſchaafde klasſe veel geſproken ; vooral ook Neger- of Colonie-Fransch en verbasterd Deensch." (NN, 1819: 71-73)

[The former inhabitants of this island being Indians, coming under Spanish oppression, originated this mishmash or *jargon*, which was modified later on due to the arrival of the Dutch. *Papiament* (from *pappiar*, *to talk*) consists of bad Spanish, Indian and Dutch, poor in words, without grammatical distinctions, but rich in strongly spoken sharp sounds from the throat, and particularly in abusive words. This cackle is unbearable for the finer ear of the European upon his first arrival and one finds it difficult to get used to its gobbling sound. Not only the Negroes, Mulattoes and other colored persons speak this *jargon*, but also the whites, especially the white Creoles, whose children – breastfed by Negresses from whom they receive the first impressions – speak only Creole or Papiament, and afterwards generally learning the Dutch or Low German language poorly and imperfectly, and even more poorly as regards reading and writing. This bad habit, particularly amongst the women, has taken root to such an extent that one doubts there is hope for improvement. In various families, Low German is as well known as is Arabic; although they still consider themselves of Dutch origin.
...
English, French, Spanish and High German are often spoken by merchants and the civilized class; especially also Negro- or Colonial-French and corrupted Danish.]

This extract, which presents some shocking attitudes toward language in the colonies, must be seen in perspective against the backdrop of linguistic chauvinism and rivalry that prevailed at the time. For instance, the French magazine *Mercure* compared the linguistic usage of a Dutch loving couple with 'the cawing of two hoarse crows', and it took until 1869 before the first speech in Dutch was allowed to be made in the Belgian parliament. It is therefore not entirely strange for Paddenburgh to judge Papiamentu in such a harsh manner, based on the eighteenth century bias towards languages whose grammar resembles that of Latin with all of its cases, conjugations and declensions. The absurdity of such criteria becomes apparent when we consider that while English has a grammar which is singularly lacking in Latin-type morphology, nobody would doubt its status as a world class language.

It is also interesting to note this early mention of the role of the nursing mother, *min* or *yaya*, with regard to the propagation of Papiamentu. Paddenburgh's complaint in this regard was to be repeated many times by future commentators. As the women and especially the children of the white upper class spoke Papiamentu in their daily lives, Papiamentu increased in prestige, and when the language was attacked, there were thus powerful defenders available to defend it. Paddenburgh's statement that the merchants and the upper class on Curaçao spoke English, French, Spanish and Dutch provides a reasonable sociolinguistic snapshot of his times.

A printing press arrived on Curaçao in 1812 and in that same year the first printed material originating on the island was published on it: *De Curaçaosche Courant* (Hartog, 1944). Unfortunately, no copies can be found of the very first booklet published in Papiamentu which dated from 1825 or 1826 and was entitled *Declaracion corticu di catecismo pa uso di catholica di Curaçao*. The oldest surviving printed document in Papiamentu is a four page letter from Paus Gregorius XVI which was translated into Papiamentu by the apostolic vicar Niewindt and dates from 1833[4]. The *Catecismo Cortico*, which for the time being could be considered to be the oldest printed book in Papiamentu, was published shortly thereafter in 1837[5].

Half a century later, in 1879, the *Boletín comercial* began publication, making it the oldest daily newspaper in Curaçao (Hartog, 1944). Four years later, in 1883, the *Amigoe di Curaçao* was first published as a weekly periodical in both Dutch and Papiamentu.

The debate around the use of Papiamentu in the schools, which at that time were mostly run by the Catholic Church, heated up regularly in these newspapers. Two

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[4] This 4 page document from 1833 was published by the Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma as a facsimile (Niewindt, 2002) with introductory texts (Coomans en Coomans-Eustatia, 2002; Severing, 2002).

[5] The book from 1837 by Niewindt is included in the "Memory of the World" Register and is sometimes mistakenly considered to be a reprint of the first and oldest book in Papiamentu, which dates from 1825/1826 (also by Niewindt). It was published by the Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma as a facsimile (Niewindt, 2001) with a brief introductory text.

constantly recurring complaints were that the use of Papiamentu in education was not only keeping people ignorant but that it was also preventing people from learning Dutch properly. Despite the vicious attacks, there were defenders of Papiamentu. Father Wahlen, the editor of *Amigoe di Curaçao* supported the use of Papiamentu in education, particularly for the poorer students in the countryside. Others, such as a group of fathers in 1902, argued that if one were to attempt to replace Papiamentu with Dutch, it would be a violation of the patrimony of Curaçao.

Although the church's position in this debate shifted from time to time, a few other defenders emerged such as Father Zwijsen, his assistant Alfredo Sintiago, and the periodical *La Cruz*. In the words of Santiago: "Papiamentoe ta un plantji, propio di suela di Curaçao, Bonaire i Aruba; un plantji indígena, koe a crece aki i koe tin bida: es plantji singular Holanda mester cultiva manera un cos procioso" (*La Cruz*, 1902: May, 21) [Papiamentu is a small plant, indigenous to Curaçao, Bonaire and Aruba, that has grown here: Holland has to cultivate it as a precious thing] and "nos idioma ta un lenga, koe tin un porvenir mescos koe cualkier otro lenga" (*La Cruz*, 1902: June, 18) [our language is a real language and has a future like all other languages]. The editorial staff of *La Cruz* even argued that all official governmental documents be published in both Dutch and Papiamentu.

As of 1900, the first Papiamentu poems were published in *La Cruz*, but it is especially Joseph Sickman Corsen and his famous poem 'Atardi' that put Papiamentu poetry on the literary map and clearly demonstrated the beauty of Papiamentu as a poetic language. This poem's historical significance was not only literary and aesthetic, but also political, because it demonstrated that literature of high quality could be written in Papiamentu.

The history of Papiamentu and the other languages on Curaçao is reasonably documented. In particular, old volumes of newspapers and reports from the schools inspectorate contain considerable information[6].

In light of current debates about the use of Papiamentu in education, it is interesting to note that in the 19th century, there seemed to be a general pragmatic acknowledgment that the best way for Curaçaoans to learn foreign languages is through the language they know best, Papiamentu. Booklets were therefore published where Papiamentu was used to teach Dutch and Spanish, such as: *Hollandsche Spraakkunst, ten gebruike der algemene armenschool, in de gemeente van H. Rosa, op Curaçao* (1849) [Dutch Grammar, for the use of the general poor school in the congregation of Santa. Rosa, on Curaçao]; and: *Guia para los Españoles hablar Papiamento, y viceversa, para que los de Curazao puedan hablar español* (1876). Booklets designed for Dutch religious

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[6] In this connection, one may refer to the thesis of Toos Smeulders (1987) on Papiamentu and education, as well as to books and articles by Wim Rutgers, such as *Het Nulde hoofdstuk van de Antilliaanse literatuur* (1988) and *Letterkundig leven rond de eeuwwisseling* (1992) and by Florimon van Putte such as *Dede Pikiña ku su bisiña* (1999). Rutgers and van Putte have also written on the history of Papiamentu and on the language politics in the Dutch colonies (Groeneboer, 1997).

personnel to learn Papiamentu and Spanish were also published, along with a few multilingual dictionaries. Educational materials for the children of slaves and emancipated slaves who received their religious instruction in Papiamentu were printed, as well as guides for learning how to read and spell in Papiamentu.

3 Language planning, and milestones and achievements in diachronic perspective
Didactical materials and the availability of a uniform spelling and a grammar standard are highly important for the propagation and status of a young language like Papiamentu. Work has been progressing in all of these areas with respect to Papiamentu for almost one hundred years; therefore there are a number of printed materials available that address these questions.

One speaks of language planning when a community makes conscious efforts to influence their present and future language situation. Such planning can be translated into policy through the intervention of political institutions, in which case one can speak of language politics and language policy. Language planning is of great importance for any nation. In order to make sure that a planning exercise covers the necessary areas, a distinction is made between status and corpus planning. Status planning is focused on the social position and status of the languages spoken in a given community, while corpus planning focuses on the structure of these same languages. Corpus planning may be further subdivided into corpus planning per se, which normally involves the production of materials and distribution planning which concerns itself with the distribution of these materials. Alternatively, language planning can be divided into three distinct areas: status, corpus and distribution planning (Cooper, 1989).

In countries such as Curaçao where compulsory education ensures widespread access to and participation in formal education (>90%), schools can become major venues for the implementation of language planning and policy. Consequently, it has been found that schools are the most reliable distribution channels for the government when it comes to the dissemination of materials in Papiamentu.

In order to provide a panorama of the historical development of Papiamentu, we proceed to place the already mentioned and other unmentioned achievements and milestones in chronological order. As mentioned above, the existence of the name Papiamentu is documented from 1747 and the first known written text dates from 1775. From the early 19th century onward, books, newspapers and magazines were published in the language, while a body of literary works began to take shape toward the end of the same century. During the Second World War, the European colonies (including those of the Dutch Caribbean) were promised more independence. In 1954, the Antilles became self-governing within the Kingdom of the Netherlands. In 1958, a

motion for the use of Papiamentu instead of Dutch in the Curaçao parliament was passed. Nurtured by external movements and internal impulses, Papiamentu made its entry into the proceedings of the Island-parliament and "de Staten", the parliament of the Antilles. In 1976, by official order the parliament of the island-territory Curaçao unanimously adopted the Papiamentu orthography designed by Jonis, Maduro & Römer as the spelling to be used in schools on the island for the next thirty years. In 1983, the government established the *Sede di Papiamentu*, a bureau whose primary task was to introduce Papiamentu as a compulsory subject at the elementary school level in 1986.

Figure 1 gives a summary of milestones and achievements in relation to Papiamentu up until the year 2000, listed in chronological order.

Year	Milestone/achievement
1747	Mention of Papiamentu as Poppemento
1775	First document in Papiamentu
1833	First printed text in Papiamentu
1837	First printed book in Papiamentu
1871	Weekly periodical in Papiamentu *Civilisadó* begins publication
1905	Poem *'Atardi'* published by J.S. Corsen in *La Cruz*
1958	Papiamentu permitted to be used in the proceedings of the Island Council
1961	Papiamentu permitted to be used in the proceedings of "de Staten"
1976	Official spelling for the Island-territory determined by Island Council of Curaçao
1983	Bureau *Sede di Papiamentu* founded
1986	Papiamentu introduced as a compulsory subject at the elementary school level

Figure 1 Chronological list of milestones and achievements related to Papiamentu up until 2000 in Curaçao

4 Papiamentu in the new millennium: Milestones and achievements in synchronic perspective

Beginning in 1999, a series of major reforms have entailed drastic changes in the sphere of education on Curaçao. Another important event is the establishment by the Curaçao government of the *Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma* (FPI) in 1998 to cater for the languages taught in schools on the island, with a particular emphasis on Papiamentu. It is therefore appropriate to begin our discussion of contemporary milestones and achievements with regard to Papiamentu with events that have taken place since the year 2000. Many of these educational reforms have incorporated plans to give Papiamentu a larger role at all levels of formal education, including introducing Papiamentu as a compulsory subject in the lesson schedule at the secondary level.

The community of Papiamentu speakers has succeeded in expanding their language into new domains. Broadcast media and the internet have helped to expand the scope and impact of Papiamentu. Papiamentu is virtually the sole language used for broadcasting on 25 of the 27 radio stations on Curaçao. The three local television stations mostly present programs in Papiamentu. There are two newspapers printed in Dutch, one in Spanish and eight in Papiamentu. A measure of Papiamentu's vitality as a language is the extent to which it is utilized in new media applications. In order to get a rough impression as to whether or not Papiamentu plays a role on the internet, we have attempted to determine how often Papiamentu is mentioned online. In the first graph in figure 2, the total number of speakers worldwide of the European Caribbean languages English, Spanish, French and Dutch and the Caribbean Creole languages Haitian and Jamaican are compared with the number of speakers of Papiamentu on Curaçao. The second graph in Figure 2 presents the number of hits on the internet for the English language names of the seven languages concerned: English, Spanish, French, Dutch, Haitian, Jamaican and Papiamentu/ Papiamento[7]. The third graph in Figure 2 presents the number of hits on the internet for the own language names of the seven languages concerned.
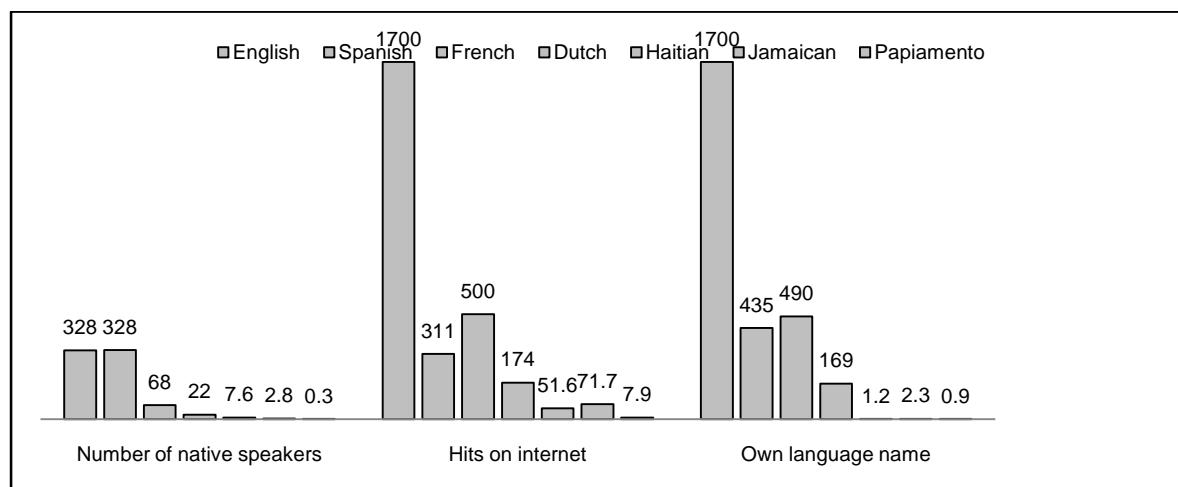
Figure 2 Number of native speakers[8], hits on the internet for English language names, and hits on the internet for own language names for seven languages, all in millions of speakers or millions of hits)

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[7] The number of hits is biased by the fact that the language names in English are homographs of adjectives derived from other nouns like England, Spain, France, Haiti and Jamaica. This will generate false hits for these languages but not for Dutch and Papiamentu. Neither does using the own names of the languages eliminate bias. For instance, the Spanish adjectives *españoles* and *españolas* referring to the Spanish language are not counted. Nevertheless, test sessions have shown that our methodology was acceptable for our purposes; in spite of the fact that the noun Papiamentu only refers to a language and not a country.
[8] Source: en.wikipedia.org, using estimates of Ethnologue: Languages of the World

The graphs show that Papiamentu is present on the digital highway. Compared with many other languages of the world Papiamentu has a significant presence for its size, as do Haitian and Jamaican. Although these figures should not be taken as more than indicating rough numbers and orders of magnitude, they suggest that Papiamentu is being used and discussed on the internet.

The availability of educational materials is another measure of language vitality. A breakthrough in this area occurred with the introduction of the new educational structure for secondary schools in 1998, which stipulated that Papiamentu should become a compulsory subject. The already existing series of textbooks in Papiamentu for secondary technical and vocational training schools, *Papiamentu Funshonal*, was to be replaced. Some financial resources were made available for the development of a suitable series of textbooks for Papiamentu at the secondary level, and to this end the FPI together with the Antillean institute (SPLIKA) in the Netherlands developed the *Mosaiko* series. *Mosaiko* utilizes a functional-communicative approach which has set the trend for the further development of didactic materials for schools at the pre-secondary levels.

In 2002, Papiamentu was officially made a language of instruction at the primary level. The fact that Papiamentu is now a compulsory subject in secondary education and a language of instruction in elementary education is proof that after many decades of debate, the government has acknowledged its importance. Moreover, as of 3 September 2010, the government of the Netherlands has proposed to include Dutch, Frisian, Papiamentu (for the ABC-Islands) and English (for the SSS-Islands)[9] in the constitution of the Dutch kingdom.

In education, the importance of a given language can be measured along two dimensions: up to what level and how broadly across the curriculum the language is used. A language like Papiamentu, which is used and taught at all levels and which is the medium of instruction at some levels ranks high on the scale set up by UNESCO (2003) for this purpose.

In 2001, the University of the Netherlands Antilles (UNA) established teacher credential programs in the form of a Bachelor of Education degree in Papiamentu. This was followed in 2007 and 2008 by the creation of three professorial Chairs and the appointment of three professors in literature, linguistics, and language acquisition, all with a focus on Papiamentu, which has allowed for the establishment of a Masters of Education program with an emphasis on Papiamentu. In 2011, a Master of Arts program with a focus on Papiamentu will be up and running as well. These historic developments represent a qualitative step forward in Papiamentu's struggle for recognition and valorization.

When Papiamentu was introduced as a subject in primary education in 1986, the *Sede di Papiamentu* equipped the schools with the textbook series entitled *Papiamentu nos*

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[9] ABC stands for Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao; SSS for the Windward islands St. Maarten, Saba, St. Eustatius.

Idioma, which after 30 years is now being replaced by new series of textbooks that correspond to Papiamentu's new status as language of instruction and language of initial literacy at the primary level. From the turn of the century onward, as funds have gradually become available, institutions such as the FPI have been busily developing textbook series to meet these new needs. Beside *Mosaiko, Papiamentu pa Enseñansa Sekundario* has been developed for students at all levels of secondary education, *Trampolin* has been developed for infants at pre-primary level (4-6 years), *Salto* for lower primary level students learning to read in Papiamentu as their language of initial literacy (6-7 years), and *Fiesta di Idioma* for students at other levels of primary education (7-12 years).

In addition to textbooks, more and more readers are being published. Original literary works remain scarce both for youth and for adults. However, this does not apply to poetry, where Papiamentu has emerged as the language which people feel is the most suitable for poetic expression. Although the volume and quality of didactic materials for reading Papiamentu in curricular activities has increased noticeably, such materials are still often unavailable in the proper quantity at the precise moment when they are required. Despite these challenges, however, great progress has been made, with approximately 39,000 pupils working through learning programs in Papiamentu daily.

The government has played an important role in these developments in the past decennium. In 2003, the first exams in Papiamentu were taken by students at the end of the four-year secondary VSBO technical and vocational training cycle, an event which was followed by the signing of the Deltaplan[10] (including a language plan) in 2005 and the publication by the Council of Ministers of a vision paper on language policy in 2006[11]. All of this provided the foundation for the passage of a unique series of laws enhancing the status and function of Papiamentu in Curaçaoan society. In 2008 legislation was adopted concerning Papiamentu as language of instruction in primary schools and as compulsory subject in secondary schools. The schools offering secondary vocational training and education can use Papiamentu as language of instruction, on certain conditions. One of these is the availability of textbooks, so we expect that there will be more and more subjects taught in Papiamentu.

From 2010 students completing the secondary academic HAVO cycle take their exams in Papiamentu, and in 2011 students completing the advanced secondary academic VWO cycle will also take national central exams in Papiamentu. The growing importance of Papiamentu in education is evidenced by the fact that the role

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[10] A performance operation plan, to solve the problems of drop outs and youth unemployment by introducing an education system offering developing opportunities to all young people.

[11] For the first time in history new educational laws were published in booklets (Vries & Menckeberg, 2009) and furthermore made available on internet: www.minoc.an by the Minister of Education and Culture of the Netherlands Antilles.

of Papiamentu is now codified in the national regulations on primary, secondary and vocational training.

In many ways, the law of 2007 which established Papiamentu, Dutch and English as the official languages of the Antilles, coupled with the national decision in 2008 that determined the spelling of Papiamentu and Dutch, represent the most significant victories yet in the struggle for recognition and promotion of Papiamentu[12]. Jointly sponsored by FPI and UNA, a national Papiamentu dictation has been held for several years now and has become a well-attended event. Interest is increasing for the establishment of a national Papiamentu dictation for the youth through a national school competition sponsored by the Public Library and FPI and for a Papiamentu spelling bee.

The availability of tangible products is essential to increasing the prestige and prominence of Papiamentu within the community. Such products can generally be classified as meeting needs either for language modernization or for language conservation. In the area of language modernization, textbook series, readers, and literature in Papiamentu, as well as reference materials on the language, such as dictionaries, wordlists, bibliographies, and online spelling checkers are increasing in quantity, quality, and availability. In 2009, the ministry and the FPI jointly published a useful work, entitled *Ortografia i Lista di palabra Papiamentu, Buki di oro* which sets down norms for the writing of Papiamentu. In the area of language conservation, the Libri Antilliani institute and the FPI have jointly provided a number of facsimile editions of and online links to older texts in Papiamentu, bibliographies are being developed of works written on and in Papiamentu, and various libraries have established Antillean collections. Figure 3 gives a summary of milestones and achievements in relation to Papiamentu during the first decennium of the new millennium, listed in chronological order.

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[12] Ordinance of the 28th of March 2007, Official Languages, P.B. 2007, no. 20
Regulation, Spelling Papiamentu and Dutch, P.B. 2008, no. 88

Year	Milestone/achievement
1998	Papiamentu made a compulsory subject in the secondary education
1998	Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma founded for language planning
2000	First *Arte di palabra*: annual school competition for prose and poetry in Papiamentu
2001	Papiamentu accepted as a language of instruction in Primary Education
2001	Bachelor degree training in Papiamentu established at the UNA
2001	Spelling Checker in Papiamentu developed for Microsoft Office 97 and 2000
2003	Examination in Papiamentu as a subject for VSBO secondary vocational training
2005	Deltaplan signed, including a language plan designed by the Minister of Education
2006	Vision paper on language policy passed by the Council of Ministers
2006	First Annual National Public Dictation in Papiamentu sponsored by FPI and UNA
2007	Legislation of Papiamentu, Dutch and English as official languages
2007	Professorial Chair in Literature Papiamentu established at the General Faculty, UNA
2008	Legislation of the spelling of Papiamentu and Dutch
2008	Legislation to reform Primary Education: Papiamentu language of instruction
2008	Legislation for Secondary Education: Papiamentu as compulsory subject
2008	Legislation for secondary vocational training and education (H3T1; A13)[13]
2008	Professorial Chair in Language Acquisition (Papiamentu) established at UNA
2008	Professorial Chair in Linguistics (Papiamentu) established at UNA
2009	*Buki di oro* published with revised official spelling of Papiamentu and wordlists
2009	Master of Education in Papiamentu, Dutch and English established at UNA
2010	First Papiamentu examinations as subject for HAVO secondary academic cycle
2011	First Papiamentu examinations as subject for VWO secondary academic cycle

Figure 3 Chronological list of milestones and achievements related to Papiamentu in the new millennium in Curaçao

UNESCO (2003) identifies six criteria which can be used to evaluate a given language's level of vitality or state of endangerment, two further criteria to assess language attitudes, and one final criterion to evaluate the urgency of documentation. These nine criteria are also useful for characterizing a language's overall sociolinguistic situation.

The six criteria for measuring language vitality/endangerment include: (1) intergenerational language transmission; (2) absolute number of speakers; (3) proportion of speakers within the total population; (4) shifts in domains of language use; (5) response to new domains and media, and (6) materials for language education and literacy. The two criteria for assessing language attitudes and policies concerning both dominant and non-dominant languages are: (7) governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status and use, and (8) community

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[13] Vries & Menckeberg, 2009: 192. On Curaçao and Bonaire instruction can be given in Dutch or Papiamentu, dependent on a range of factors.

members' attitudes towards their own language. The final criterion (9) is concerned with the type and quality of documentation.

In Figure 4, we apply these nine criteria to the current situation of Papiamentu in Curaçao, listing side-by-side the nine criteria, the score for each, the meaning of each score, and finally how we arrived at each score.

	Criterion	Score	Meaning	How the score was arrived at
1.	Intergenerational Language Transmission	5.0	Safe	All age groups, including children, use the language.
2.	Absolute Number of Speakers			106.054 speakers in Curaçao (Antilles: 176.675) (www.cbs.an: census 2001)
3.	Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population	4.5	Unsafe/Safe	Nearly all speak Papiamentu.
4.	Shifts in Domains of Language Use	5.0	Universal use	Papiamentu is used in all domains and for all functions.
5.	Response to New Domains and Media	5.0	Dynamic	Papiamentu is used in all new domains and media.
6.	Materials for Language Education and Literacy	4.5	(Good/ superlative)[14]	Papiamentu has an established orthography and literacy tradition with a wide variety of published works. Papiamentu is used in education and partially used in written form in administration
7.	Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies, including Official Status and Use	4.5	Equal support	Besides Papiamentu, two other languages are protected as official languages. Non-dominant languages are not threatened.
8.	Community Members' Attitudes towards Their Own Language	3.7	(fair/good)	Most members support language maintenance. Some are indifferent or may even support language shift.
9.	Type and Quality of Documentation	4.0	Good	There is at least one good grammar, a few dictionaries, texts, literature, and everyday media; adequate annotated high-quality audio and video recordings.
	Average	**4.5**	**High level of Vitality, Low level of Endangerment**	

Figure 4 Language Vitality Index (UNESCO): Evaluating the Situation of Papiamentu in Curaçao

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[14] For this factor, the UNESCO list only mentions the grade and not the meaning. The 'meaning' used here matches those which can be found for criterion 9 on the UNESCO-list. Superlative=5; Good=4; Fair=3 (UNESCO, 2003: 16).

UNESCO offers these criteria as general guidelines only. However, to obtain an indication of the overall result of our assessment of Papiamentu, the scores were simply averaged. The average score of 4.5 for Papiamentu is close to the maximally safe score of 5.0, indicating a high level of vitality and a low level of endangerment for the language.

5 Conclusion

Over the past few centuries, but especially since the beginning of the current millennium, Papiamentu has been consistently gaining ground in terms of its status and function in Curaçaoan society. Despite unfounded negative attitudes against Papiamentu as a 'corrupted' language which could have 'detrimental' effects on learning in general and on the proper acquisition of other languages in particular, Papiamentu has become more and more widely accepted as a language of instruction and a language of initial literacy in the schools. New legislation, especially since the year 2000, designating Papiamentu as one of the official languages of the island, has laid the foundation for further expansion of its use into domains such as the judicial system which up until now have remained almost exclusively Dutch. An ever accelerating series of events has taken place, including: 1) the exponential increase in materials for educational use, linguistic research, language planning, mostly by the Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma, the Curaçaoan institute for language planning); 2) the expansion of the daily use of Papiamentu by the media; 3) the creation of three professorial chairs focused on Papiamentu by the University of the Netherlands Antilles; and 4) the consideration of a proposal to include Papiamentu in the constitution of the Dutch kingdom. All these achievements make Papiamentu stand out among the creole languages of the world as having excellent chances of surviving and thriving as a vibrant Caribbean language. This uniquely positive outlook for Papiamentu is corroborated by the criteria developed by UNESCO (2003) to measure language vitality and endangerment. The case of Papiamentu demonstrates that when a Caribbean creole community stands united in support of its linguistic and cultural heritage, seemingly insurmountable centuries-old barriers can be overcome.

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TOWARDS AN EVIDENCE BASED CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY OF KNOWLEDGE, HOW THE ARUBAN MULTILINGUAL MODEL MAY PROVIDE A SOLUTION

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Introduction

In an increasingly globalised society where the fostering of strategic partnerships is very important, communication plays an important role. The authors of this paper argue that multilingualism should be encouraged in the Caribbean in order to broaden the evidence based community of knowledge in the region. Despite new forms of information sharing technologies, language still is a major dilemma for the process of communication. The authors present an Aruban multilingual model for primary schools, called the *Scol Multilingual* and argue that the encouragement of multilingualism in the Caribbean region, could bridge important gaps between local identities and cultures and wider Caribbean identities and cultures.

We have recently seen a substantial increase in the information that is presented on the World Wide Web regarding issues that affect the Caribbean. The 2009 Internet World Stats Report has indicated that the Caribbean is home to approximately 9 million internet users. This roughly amounts to 25% of the entire regional population (Internet World Stats, 2009). Presently there are numerous online Caribbean databases that interconnect various libraries in the region, which clearly is an indication that geographical information interconnectivity is on the rise.

However, there are still major concerns challenging our region with regard to the construction of an evidence based Caribbean community of knowledge. Issues such as language comprehension, sibling island rivalry, the colonial mentality, inaccessibility of information and the inability of regional 'funds of knowledge' to enter the mainstream are still obstacles that have to be dealt with if we are to reach our goal of a Caribbean community where knowledge and information is shared in an open, understandable and transparent manner (Allahar, 2005; Lamming, 1991; Meeks, 2010).

Aruba is currently piloting a multilingual model for primary schools where children are exposed to a total of four different languages from the age of 4 (Grupo Modelo di Idioma, 2002). In this particular school children will be taught that communication in different languages is an asset and not a barrier. These children will also discover that as Caribbean citizens we can learn from one another, on the basis of a confidence in our own perspective. By involving the entire multilingual community in the process of sharing oral and written experiences at an early age, we aim to foster a strong sense of self esteem and cooperation, despite our multiple identities. This can be accomplished by promoting active participation by all citizens in the educational process. Based on the particular Aruban multilingual demographic constellation, we describe possible ways of bridging the barriers mentioned earlier. Working together in communities of practice with information professionals, librarians, researchers, educators and the overall community, we can overcome the many obstacles we face as Caribbean people.

In the first section of this article, we discuss the effects of colonial language policies on Caribbean people's perspective on languages. Secondly, some light will be shed on the accessibility of Caribbean knowledge in the region and the world. In the third section we will describe the role of academia with regards to collection and distribution of evidence based information. The prevailing language paradigms in the Caribbean will be juxtaposed in the fourth section. Fifthly, the model of the Aruban Multilingual School will be presented. In the last section we will illustrate the benefits of a multilingual society when it comes to addressing information discrepancies in the Caribbean.

Colonial language politics and its effect on knowledge distribution
One of the main obstacles that have made sharing of information in the Caribbean difficult is the fact that there are multiple languages competing for dominant status spoken in the region. This has led to the isolation of the transfer of information along metropolitan language lines. The British, Spanish, French and the Dutch Caribbean never fully enjoyed the benefits of having empirical knowledge that could be shared across the boundaries of the linguistic enclaves established by each colonial power in the region. Knowledge of the old man under the tree in the depths of San Pedro de Macoris, or the medicinal recipes of the Orisha *sistah*[1] in the country side of Trinidad and Tobago or the story of Juancho in the traditional Aruban *cunucu*[2] house in the heart of Casibari, has never been disseminated and appreciated throughout the entire Caribbean. Language and access to communication technologies have been of course

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[1] *Sistah* refers to a church sister, who practices Afro Caribbean Orisha worship.
[2] rural area

a major impediment, but even with all the information technology available these days, the above stories still never reach the mainstream.

Regional universities, like the University of the West Indies and Universities in Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico have traditionally catered to students from their own language constituencies. Very few grants or subsidies are awarded to students from outside the region where each university is located[3]. Language politics, heavily influenced by colonialism, has led the inhabitants of many islands to think that 'their' metropolitan language is superior to the others and that standard metropolitan varieties of European languages are superior to the creole languages spoken by people in the Caribbean (Meeks, 2010; Faraclas, 2010; Pereira, 2008; Richardson, 2010).

Colonial policy was geared towards Caribbean cultures being carbon copies of metropolitan cultures; clothes had to be similar, society had to be identical and languages had to be indistinguishable from those of the metropole. The colonies have also adopted European nationalistic philosophies and have emulated these ideas and attitudes. The Federation, Carifta, Status Aparte and the relationship between the Spanish Caribbean and its 'stepbrother' Puerto Rico, have demonstrated the difficulty of Caribbean nations to work together. The language policies that have been implemented over the past few centuries in the Caribbean have all been aimed at the imposition of a single standardized dominant metropolitan language.

Multilingualism has not been encouraged because it has been seen as a threat, first to the political elites from the metropole during the colonial period and then to the local metropolitan-educated political elites after Independence. The reasoning goes like this: If language gives access to knowledge and knowledge gives power, then the more languages a person or group understands and can express itself in, the more power it acquires. Therefore, to preserve the power within a certain limited group, the standard metropolitan language to which that group has exclusive or preferred access is imposed as the only "official" language, while access to higher education in the imposed language is severely restricted. Such psycho-cultural factors as the imposition of monolingualism have played a key role in the imposition of political and economic systems of domination in the Caribbean (Faraclas, 2010). Today, in Europe and in America monolingualism is still commonly seen as a positive ideal. "In America we speak English, not Spanish", is a common slogan of US politicians in their election campaigns. Up to this day, people still expect academic papers in Aruba,

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[3] The University fees of the University of the Netherlands Antilles, the University of Aruba and the University of the West Indies have been set considerably higher for international students, including those from the Caribbean. UNICA, the inter-university organization for the Caribbean, has attempted to put in place agreements that would effectively allow students from any part of the Caribbean to pay local tuition at any other Caribbean university.

Curaçao and Bonaire to be written in Dutch[4]. This imposed monolinguism has had many unfortunate consequences. In the next section we will delve a bit deeper into one of these: the inaccessibility of Caribbean knowledge.

The accessibility of Caribbean knowledge
As we have already mentioned, the Caribbean is not homogeneous when it comes to language. But this lack of homogeneity has two aspects. Traditionally, Caribbean peoples have been pluri-lingual and pluri-cultural since before the arrival of the Europeans at the end of the 15th century. But when the Europeans arrived, they began to carve out separate enclaves where each rival colonial power attempted to impose its own language as a language of domination. While this in one sense added quantitatively to the net number of languages spoken in the region, it has had an overall negative qualitative impact, because it has devalued the languages spoken by the non-propertied classes while simultaneously depriving these same non-propertied classes from access to higher education in the dominant language. How likely is it for a researcher from the Spanish Caribbean to browse for evidence based information in the English language and vice versa? Generally speaking, both researchers will most likely opt for what they're most comfortable with. This in practice usually means that the information is limited to what is accessible in the one standardized European language that has been imposed as a single language of instruction on each researcher by the educational system that his/her society inherited from the colonialists. Not only are most Caribbean researchers limited by this linguistic 'enclave mentality' that deprives them of access to information in other languages about the Caribbean from neighboring linguistic 'enclaves', they are also ill equipped linguistically and culturally to grasp the context of what little information that manages to break through these artificial enclave boundaries which remain one of the most debilitating legacies of European rivalries in the region.

As Caribbean researchers, it is of utmost importance that we promote regional partnerships so that we can share our problems, interests, perspectives, projects, and publications with those who are geographically, politically, economically, and culturally closest to us, instead of continuing to look almost exclusively to our distant metropoles for inspiration and recognition. This raises the following question: Is this lack of sharing of regional knowledge a matter of availability, accessibility or mentality?
When analyzing the most popular sources of information on the island of Aruba, one can conclude that a limited quantity of information concerning the Caribbean is presented. On Aruban cable television, there is only one commercial station from the Caribbean, namely Tempo music channel. There are a limited number of radio

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[4] Based on observations of students' theses at the IPA and UNA dissertations.

programs that address Caribbean issues, and local newspapers do not provide much in the way of relevant regional reporting. Obtaining access to quality evidence based information about the Caribbean usually requires determined and conscious effort on the part of the person seeking such information.

Assuming that the requested information is available, what can we then say about its accessibility? At present, the internet is the principal medium for accessing information worldwide, especially for people with limited physical access to major research institutions, which are few and far between in the Caribbean (Durrant, 2006). If we look at the Aruban information infrastructure, we see that there is still a huge amount of knowledge and information that is neither documented nor placed on the World Wide Web. This highlights the urgency of documenting local knowledges and information and making them accessible before they are lost forever.

But Caribbean academics, who have maximal access both to local Caribbean sources as well as to the internet generally tend to seek information from metropolitan sources. This means that apart from matters of availability and accessibility, attitudes play a significant role in the Balkanization of access to information in the Caribbean. Perhaps what we are dealing with here is in part a symptom of our sense of inferiority in relation to all things metropolitan (Garvey, 1986). Perhaps too many of us still feel that the only valid and valuable knowledge must come from Europe or the United States of America, and that knowledge from our own Caribbean region or even our own co-citizens is not as valid or as valuable. In the following section we will focus on the role of research within Caribbean institutions of higher learning, and on how our particular Caribbean cultural, linguistic, psychological, and political realities present challenges and opportunities for researchers in the region.

Academic institutions contributing to evidence-based information

The Aruban teacher training institute, *Instituto Pedagogico Arubano* (IPA), plays a significant role as an agent of information collection/dissemination and social change in Aruban society. The Centre for Educational Research & Development (CIDE) is the department of the IPA assigned with the task of assisting students with their research projects. The research department also has responsibility for supporting the educational research infrastructure on the island by conducting numerous studies in the fields of education, language, culture and society.

The CIDE is currently concerned with issues surrounding the publishing and sharing of research based information. These include the creation of communities of practice where teachers and information carriers can work in close proximity, where teachers can share local knowledge with their pupils, where students can gain access to oral and written information on a comprehensible level and where the integration of

Caribbean knowledges into the modalities of information and communication technologies (ICT) is encouraged. These processes are essential if we are to prevent the neo-colonization of our students' young minds that takes place via our globalized channels of information. Many Caribbean children are growing up with American pop stars as their main role models. In an increasingly Americanized world, western images are constantly bombarding us through our television screens.

Many of our children do not see images of people who look like themselves, talk like themselves or think and act like themselves in our information and entertainment media. However, there are also interesting initiatives taking place to bring Caribbean culture closer to our young people. The *Biblioteca Nacional Aruba* recently organized a seminar about *Compa Nanzi*[5], by inviting scholars from the Caribbean to discuss this internationally respected fictional spider from an academic perspective. They also premiered the first *Compa Nanzi* cartoon in Papiamentu (*Kompa Nanzi y su kuminda preferí*, 2010).

There are a number of areas in which libraries, archives, and other data collection centers could play a role in increasing the accessibility and usability of information from the Caribbean. Working together in communities of practice, librarians and other information professionals could play a key role in collecting Caribbean data and making these accessible to other stakeholders. Using this data, curriculum developers could assemble information packages for teachers containing evidence-based Caribbean knowledge. With this same goal in mind, authors of children's books could integrate more Caribbean based information into their work. Given their popularity, the local electronic and print media could begin to strategize as to how best to assist their communities in gaining more access to local and regional funds of knowledge.

In 2008, the University of Aruba started a PhD program, where researchers are trained to look for solutions to the island's contemporary problems. In addition, the IPA is producing teachers who are being trained to conduct action research in their classrooms, schools and *barrio's*[6], thereby transferring vital skills to their pupils in the process. One of the appealing features of these research initiatives is the focus on local and Caribbean perspectives. To help combat our sense of inferiority, it is imperative for our researchers to acknowledge and valorize the Caribbean as the subject/object of transformative research. As educational researchers we deem it our responsibility to set an example in the hope that, in a community of practice with information workers, we can succeed in refocusing the attention of our politicians, policy makers, educators, health specialists, and our entire communities from the metropoles back to the Caribbean.

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[5] *Compa Nanzi* (Papiamento) is one of the most important characters of West African and Caribbean folklore. He is also known as Ananse, Kwaku Ananse, and Anancy; and in the Southern United States he has evolved into Aunt Nancy. He is a spider, but often acts and appears as a man.
[6] In Aruba, a *barrio* can refer to a neighborhood, small district, or suburb.

Caribbean language and education: Three positions

From our regional analysis on language planning in the Caribbean and through empirical data on the development of Papiamento/u throughout the years, we have identified three emergent positions on the issue of language policy in education: the metropolitan language position, the native language position, and the multilingual position.

The supporters of the metropolitan language position contend that the language of the metropole is the best option for initial literacy and language of instruction at all levels of schooling. They argue that the metropolitan languages are 'world' languages and they offer greater opportunities than any others for advancement in our globalised societies. They argue that many Caribbean students, upon finishing secondary school, go on to further their studies in the metropoles, therefore they must have the maximum mastery possible of metropolitan languages to succeed academically. However, many Caribbean students are native Creole speakers of languages such as Papiamento/u, French lexifier Creoles, English lexifier Creoles and other non-standard varieties. Although supporters of this position often value their native languages to some extent, they often say that creole languages are limited in their scope, that they are only spoken on a few islands, and that they are inferior in grammar and vocabulary and therefore one cannot advance their careers with these 'inferior' languages.

The second position we refer to is the native language position. The supporters of this position advocate the use of the child's native language as the language of initial instruction and initial literacy. They argue that the advantages to incorporating native languages into the school curriculum include the following: 1) cognitive advantages: initial literacy and instruction in native languages provides a strong foundation that children can later use to learn all other subjects, including metropolitan languages; 2) affective: the use of the native language in school increases children's self esteem and their positive sense of their own language, culture, community, identity, etc.; 3) psychological advantages: children succeed better when they begin their studies in a language that they know and this initial success gives them the confidence to succeed throughout their academic careers; 4) social advantages: when children learn in the language of their community, it allows all community members (especially parents) to become more involved in the education process as well as increasing children's motivation to use their education to play a positive role in their local communities, instead of running away to the metropole as part of the 'brain drain'; 5) pedagogical advantages: the first principle of education is 'use the known to teach the unknown', so that using the native language makes it easier for teachers to ensure that all of their students have mastered all of the skills and competences necessary to succeed in school. Those who take the native language position often see native languages as vehicles of emancipation. They argue that it is important for the local population to

think, reflect and express themselves freely in their own native languages. They see European languages as being synonymous with colonialism and oppression against local populations, and they consider the elites in contemporary Caribbean societies as neo-colonialists who have internalized oppressive language policies in order to expand their range of power.

Finally, the multilingual position attempts to synthesize the valuable insights of both the metropolitan language and the native language positions. Advocates of the multilingual position argue that speaking one's native language as well as multiple second and third languages (including metropolitan languages) is an asset in an ever increasingly globalised society. Thinking, reflecting and expressing yourself in your native language builds the foundation to learn many other languages. And being multilingual could be beneficial for trade relations, tourism and the overall transfer of knowledge. Supporters of this position do not discount the value of foreign languages, but embrace them as essential elements in a child's education, while at the same time ensuring native languages their rightful place in the curriculum. We will now illustrate how the multilingual position can be translated into educational practice by giving a brief explanation of the Aruban multilingual school program.

Scol Multilingual in Aruba

Aruba's language situation is peculiar in the sense that the majority of the population can communicate, at least at the most basic level, in the languages of Papiamento, Spanish, English and Dutch. Despite this admirable fact, there has never been a systematic language planning policy in place to deal with this phenomenon until recently (Pereira, 2008). Aruban multilingualism is a product of political, economic, cultural and demographical processes that have taken place throughout the island's history (Richardson, 2010). Groundbreaking scientific research on Papiamento, multilingualism, ethnic and creole studies by local and international scholars alike have contributed to a mind shift with respect to the place and function of language within the context of education. These studies have questioned the role of Dutch as the language of instruction in Aruban schools (Prins-Winkel, 1973; Severing, 1997; Pereira, 2008; Faraclas, 2010).

In 2007 the *Proyecto Scol Multilingual* was approved by the Aruban parliament. The multilingual schools proposed under this project will feature the four main languages spoken on the island and will primarily focus on Papiamento as the language of initial instruction and initial literacy in Aruban primary schools (Department of Education, 2002). To ensure a responsible evaluation and implementation process, a research team consisting of experts has been assembled from the University of Puerto Rico, the University of Aruba and the IPA. The premise of their research approach can be found in community-based action research theory, which stresses participatory input from the entire society (Faraclas, 2010; Stringer & Faraclas, 1987). The proposed goals of

the multilingual school are firstly, to achieve higher student performance rates at all educational levels and secondly, to achieve an overall improvement in students' language aptitude. The implementation frameworks for the multilingual school in Aruba are presented in table 1.

Table 1 Multilingual model for primary education in Aruba (Grupo Modelo di Idioma, 2002)

Grade		P-1	P-2	B-1	B-2	B-3	B-4	B-5	B-6
Language of Instruction		**Papiamento**					*Transition*	*Transition*	**Dutch**
Subjects	**Papiamento**	Papiamento remains the **most important language subject** throughout primary education and is the first language in which children develop their vocabulary, sense of grammar and language skills, including learning to read and write							
	Dutch	**Familiarization**: while children are learning to read and write in Papiamento, they develop their oral knowledge of Dutch in a playful, communicative way				**Systematic instruction**: Once children know how to read and write in Papiamento, they start transferring their knowledge and skills to Dutch, expanding its uses and preparing themselves to be able to learn in Dutch			
	English	**Familiarization**: while children are developing both Papiamento and Dutch, they are stimulated in a playful way to keep expanding their oral knowledge of English, acquired earlier through the media				**Systematic instruction**: children transfer and develop their written skills in English, and prepare themselves to be able to use English as a possible language of instruction			
	Spanish	**Familiarization**: children are encouraged from an early age to develop oral knowledge of Spanish, building on encounters with the Spanish language in the Aruban and regional contexts, the media, and cultural expressions (e.g music)					**Systematic instruction**: children now learn to read and write Spanish, expanding their communication skills		
Literacy development		Preparing for initial literacy in **Papiamento**	Literacy development in **Papiamento**	Literacy development in both **Papiamento** (advanced) and **Dutch** (initial)		Literacy dev. in **Pap, Dutch** (advanced) and **Eng** (initial)	Literacy development in **Papiamento, Dutch, English** (advanced) and **Spanish** (initial & advanced)		
Integration and transition		**Content Based Approach**: Languages and content areas are integrated in different forms, ranging from integrating the topics of the content areas in the language subjects (e.g. a text about the current geography subject in the English class) to integrating the languages as mediums or sources in the content areas (e.g a Spanish broadcast about a history subject in the history class)							

Proyecto Scol Multilingual represents a new approach to language and cultural education. This project is about learning naturally, departing from the knowledge of one's own language. Languages are offered within their local and Caribbean cultural

context, introducing the children to both the form and structure of the language and its uses in everyday life. English for example will not be taught initially using the British varieties for the language, but instead using Afro-Caribbean and American varieties with which children are more familiar, expanding gradually to other variants. The same goes for Spanish where children come to school more familiar with the Latin-Caribbean varieties than with the European varieties of that languages.

Conclusion: Benefits of a multilingual society

A multilingual society would have many benefits for bringing Caribbean people together. We will now illustrate a few models depicting the various benefits of such a society.
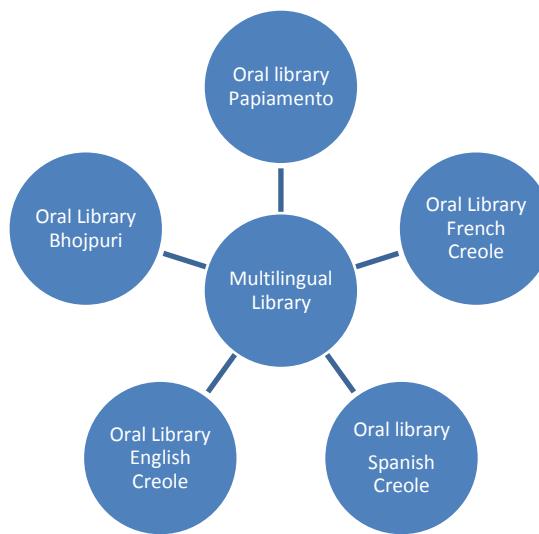
Figure 1 Model of an extended multilingual oral library

A multilingual society has an extensive oral history, which can be captured and documented in a multilingual oral library. In this extended oral library, local information centers that employ workers who are multilingual could collect information from 'funds of knowledge' in isolated regions. These informants, or as we call them, extended oral libraries, may provide empirical knowledge that could be very valuable for fields as science, pharmacology, etc. A knowledge transfer is facilitated between these valuable informants and the information workers who can then, together with universities and other institutions, analyze, translate (if needed) and digitalize this information for all in the Caribbean and the world to make use of on the world wide web.
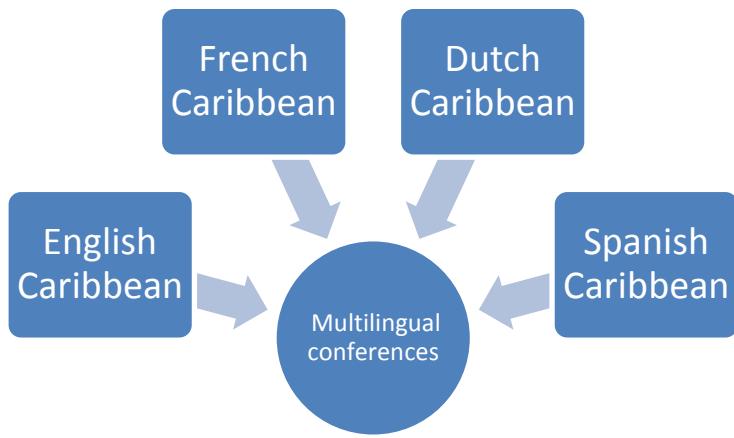
Figure 2 Model of Multilingual Conferences

With the entire Caribbean region speaking multiple languages, larger numbers of academics could participate in a variety of international conferences. At present, most international meetings in the Caribbean region are attended almost exclusively by speakers of the particular metropolitan language of the territory where each particular meeting is held. But being a multilingual and multicultural community, papers could be presented and read in multiple languages, much to the benefit of all present. Multilingual Caribbean people could become the bridges between the enclosed academic worlds of the metropolitan enclaves, ensuring knowledge transfer across these linguistic and cultural divides. The multilingual resources of the region would begin to be acknowledged and valorized instead of being ignored and undermined. Being multilingual would instill a sense of pride in the inhabitants of the region. Arubans are quite proud to be able to communicate in multiple languages.

While we do not claim to have a strategy for overcoming all of the many existing barriers outlined above to the establishment of cross-Caribbean communities of knowledge, we believe that through the implementation of a systematized multilingual approach in the school curriculum, intra-regional communication and knowledge transfer would be facilitated and the Caribbean region could once again become an important regional and global crossroads where knowledge from different monolinguistic worlds could be made accessible to a greater public.

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WILL PAPIAMENTU SURVIVE ON BONAIRE?

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Introduction

Bonaire currently finds itself in a period of historic transformation. In this article, I will discuss a number of the changes afoot and try to answer the question as to whether the Papiamentu language has a chance of survival on Bonaire despite these changes. First, I will give a brief sketch of the most important transformations experienced thus far as a result of Bonaire's shift in political status. Second, I will discuss the status of Papiamentu. Subsequently, I will explore why Papiamentu has already survived 300 years and what this means for the future of Papiamentu.

Bonaire in a time of change

One can easily tell that everything is changing on Bonaire. There are more Dutch, Spanish and English newspapers and magazines on the island[1]. Newspapers now contain more articles that discuss local language issues and there are more Papiamentu and Dutch-speaking radio stations than five years ago[2]. In politics, there is considerable ambivalence about current plans to become a municipality of the Netherlands. In all probability, however, as a result of the recent referendum on its political status, Bonaire will become an exceptional municipality of the Netherlands in October 2010 – just like the other 'BES'-Islands (Bonaire, St. Eustatius and Saba). Within the civil service, various experts from the Netherlands have been deployed, the so-called 'Quartermasters', who – together with local officials – are to realize the integration of Bonaire on both a policy and implementation level into the body politic of the Netherlands. The media discuss the considerable tensions that have accompanied this process, due to the deployment of mainly European Dutch citizens, rather than Bonaireans or Antilleans. One is aware of this in the Netherlands as well. Much is going on in the field of education; Dutch-dominant schools are being established and there are discussions on changing the relative position and status of Papiamentu and Dutch.

The street scene is also changing. There are many more people around, especially tourists. Three or more cruise ships visit the island on a weekly basis during the cruise

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[1] Such as the *Amigoe*, the *Antilliaans Dagblad*, *De Telegraaf*, *El Periódico*, *Xpedition.*
[2] Nowadays, Bonaire has an additional TV-channel, namely 'MiTv'.

season. There is much more traffic in the streets, also more cyclists, although there are hardly any cycle paths and no traffic lights[3]. Suddenly, on a traditional market day in the town Rincon, there is a Dutch stand with secondhand items – in the midst all kinds of traditional merchandise. Private properties are up for sale all over the island at very high prices. Increasingly more South Americans and European Dutch citizens are being seen everywhere from the dentist's office to a game of dominoes under a tree.

The position and status of the Papiamentu
One of the themes currently preoccupying many minds on the island is the question as to what will happen to the Papiamentu language when Bonaire becomes an exceptional municipality of the Netherlands. Within a short period, numerous organizations have been established with amongst others the objective of protecting the Papiamentu. A conference was held recently with the title 'Papiamentu na kandela' [Papiamentu under fire]. Speakers at this conference presented papers on themes such as 'Papiamentu within the Dutch Kingdom' (R. Seferina), 'Terminology in the Papiamentu language' (R. Todd-Dandaré) and 'The Dutch language within the constitution and the consequences thereof for the Papiamentu language' (M. Dijkhoff).

E. Carolina and M. Ramirez-Silberie presented the results of a survey of opinions amongst the teachers and the management of a large secondary school as to whether children of Dutch-speaking parents, who have only been on Bonaire for a few years, should be exempted from the taking Papiamentu as a subject. Papiamentu is a compulsory (examination) subject on the ABC-Islands – just as the Dutch language is in the Netherlands. At the school in question, there are students with different language backgrounds: Spanish, Chinese, English, Papiamentu, Dutch, Hindi, Sranantongo, Portuguese, etc. However, according to the researchers, the proposed exemption (sponsored by Dutch-speaking parents and a number of Dutch-speaking teachers) would actually apply mainly to the children of Dutch-speaking parents and not to the other non-Papiamentu-speaking pupils at the school. The Dutch-speaking parents based their demands on a sentence in the law that was introduced in 2007 by the Minister of Education, which states that when youngsters stay on Bonaire for only a short period of time, they should be allowed to choose subjects like German and French instead of Papiamentu.

The same Minister attempted to establish a more favorable status for Papiamentu and English in the Netherlands, just as has been recently achieved for the Frisian language. However, this attempt has failed for the time being, and it appears that it will take at least eight more years before there is clarity on whether Papiamentu will become part

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[3] The lack of traffic lights should not be seen as a deficiency. It is a conscious policy in the framework of nature conservation. Everything is organized around traffic circles and rotary intersections. The many cyclists on the highways cause much less hindrance than the donkeys and goats walking on the streets.

of the constitution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, or in any case enjoy the protection that Frisian presently enjoys. Could Papiamentu remain – just like the Frisian language – a second tier official language, used in some localities as a language of instruction at school and an official administrative language within the Kingdom? Will similar financial resources to those now available for the development of Frisian also become available for the development of Papiamentu?

The language situation still causes considerable controversy within the community and overall, opinions on the language issue and on that of the integration of Bonaire into the Netherlands threaten to split along ethnic dividing lines. As suggested above, there currently exist areas of tension between the 'original inhabitants' of Bonaire and recently arrived European Dutch citizens. Claims of 'Re-colonization of the island by the Dutch' and 'Dominance from the side of the Dutch' are being made more and more frequently. Many people fear that Papiamentu will be subjected to great pressure and eventually disappear in Bonaire, due to the large influx of Dutch citizens and the integration of the island into the Netherlands.

However, is this a reasonable fear? It is not difficult to arrive at the conclusion that the main language spoken on Bonaire will soon shift from Papiamentu to Dutch. Almost all of the present 15,000 inhabitants on the island command the Dutch language to some extent, and the legal and educational systems are based largely on those of the Netherlands. A 50-percent growth in the population is predicted within ten years – from 15,000 inhabitants to 22,500 (Antilliaans Dagblad, February 2010). It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that within some 15 years' time, half or more of the inhabitants of Bonaire may consist of European Dutch citizens or their descendants, whose political, cultural, and economic interests will need to be catered to. However, does this automatically imply that Papiamentu will disappear in Bonaire?

Papiamentu: A language that has survived despite the odds
Many languages vanish in the world on an annual basis, and Papiamentu is by no means among the world's most widely spoken languages. Is it therefore not astonishing that a language such as Papiamentu has succeeded in maintaining itself for more than 300 years, in close contact with such widely spoken languages as English, Spanish and Dutch? What could possibly be the reason? I have listed a few below:
   1 Many Dutch people have embraced Papiamentu and adopted it as their own language in the past and continue to do so. For Papiamentu speakers, such Dutch people are like godparents or '*Yaya*'s'
   2 Papiamentu not only has informal 'guardians of the language' such as the children, but also formal guardians such as the University of the Netherlands

Antilles (the UNA) and various other institutions on Curaçao and Aruba which have ensured there is attention paid to the development of Papiamentu

3 Papiamentu has 'that special something'!

4 There is a will on the Dutch Leeward Islands of Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao to preserve and develop Papiamentu.

The *Yaya's*

Anthony Grant (2008: 80-82) lists the various theories advanced by scholars concerning the emergence of Papiamentu. Surprisingly perhaps, the Dutch themselves played a non-trivial role in this process. Just as there were Dutch people who rejected all that was not Dutch in the Antilles, there were others who embraced local Antillean culture and Papiamentu. The same holds true at present. While there are Dutch secondary school students in Bonaire today whose parents want them to choose French or German instead of Papiamentu as a subject, there are also Dutch primary school students in Bonaire today whose parents want them to receive more hours of instruction in Papiamentu. This is presently the case in the Pelikaanschool. Although the teaching language at this school is Dutch, the parents are lobbying for more hours of Papiamentu at school. Nowadays, there are even persons of European-Dutch origin who give (authorized) Papiamentu lessons at the secondary school as if Papiamentu were their mother tongue. Others of Dutch origin have played a leading role in promoting the status of Papiamentu, developing materials and curricula in the language, etc. All of these people have affection for Papiamentu and have cherished and nurtured the language. These people can therefore be considered to be modern *Yaya's* of the language.

The guardians

Children on Bonaire, who do not have Papiamentu as their mother tongue more often than not end up speaking Papiamentu with other children. So while their parents may be arguing over the best language policy for Bonaire, the children have already formulated and implemented their own policy, and as such can be said to be the informal 'guardians' of Papiamentu. Drop by any school on Bonaire, even a school where Dutch is the language of instruction. Children are often brought up multi-lingually. A father speaks Swedish and a mother English, a father speaks Dutch and a mother Spanish, a father speaks English and a mother Papiamentu, etc. However, in the schoolyard or at each other's homes, the children will speak a lot of 'Papiamentu' with each other. As long as the children on Bonaire – in spite of their background or mother tongue – choose to speak the Papiamentu among themselves, it is highly unlikely that this language will disappear. In all probability, these children are the future teachers, doctors, lawyers, linguists, politicians, artists and writers of the island.

The UNA and other institutions also play their role as more formal guardians of Papiamentu. Papiamentu has taken enormous steps forward over the past few decades. In his acceptance speech upon his appointment to a special professorial chair at the UNA, R. Severing (2009) briefly summarized the history of Papiamentu, which includes an impressive list of achievements which can even be supplemented with a few unmentioned milestones, such as the existence of 3rd degree teacher credential programs on Curaçao and Bonaire delivered by people such as J. Clemencia and R. Hooi and the successful graduation of the first students to complete the 2nd degree teacher credential program in Papiamentu on Curaçao in 2006, and on Bonaire in 2008, which means there is now a fairly large cohort of experts present on the islands with a bachelor level degree in Papiamentu. Aruba also has a long history in similar programs, and experts in Papiamentu there regularly conduct and publish their research. The recent appointment of three professors in language at the UNA, one of whose responsibilities is the implementation of a Masters level program in Papiamentu, how can anyone claim that the language is being neglected to the point that it is in danger of disappearance?

Papiamentu has 'that special something'!
Papiamentu is a creole language, spoken and written by approximately 200,000 people in the Caribbean and another 100,000 people in the Netherlands. Using the criteria set down by Mc Whorter, Grant (2008: 83-84) indicates that the structure of Papiamentu as well as its status both inside and outside the Papiamentu-speaking community is different from that of most other creole languages. What Papiamentu shares with many other creole languages is the fact that it is relatively easy to learn.

The will to preserve and develop Papiamentu
There are differences between the 'Papiamentu' of Curaçao and the 'Papiamento' of Aruba with regard to the written language. Curaçao has chosen a more phonological approach to spelling, while Aruba has adopted a more etymological approach. Bonaire has not made a definitive choice yet, but for the time being uses the Curaçaoan orthography. Just as is the case with most other languages, there is local (island specific) lexical and phonological variation in Papiamentu. Despite these differences, there is unanimity amongst the ABC-Islands with regard to the preservation and development of the Papiamentu language – contrary to the situation in Surinam, where there is no agreement on which language they want to develop and use as national language. The message throughout the ABC Islands is loud and clear: "Don't mess with Papiamentu".

Papiamentu now serves as one of the most important languages of instruction at the primary level. It is an examination subject at the secondary level and even at

universities it is used in some venues as the language of instruction. On the three ABC-Islands, there are various institutions that concern themselves with developing policy and educational materials, organizing lectures, holding national competitions, etc, all for the promotion of Papiamentu. As indicated earlier, the government has also taken measures to raise the status of Papiamentu so that it now is on equal legal footing with Dutch and English.

Conclusion

In the final analysis, it does not seem probable that the status and position of Papiamentu language will deteriorate in Bonaire, despite the imminent political changes. Papiamentu appears at present to be powerful enough to protect its position and status and further develop itself. As long as the children on Bonaire – despite their background or mother tongue – choose to speak Papiamentu with one another, as long as there are Dutch citizens (*Yaya'*s) around who for whatever reason believe that Papiamentu should remain an available language, as long as learning Papiamentu remains easier than learning other official languages on the Antilles such as Dutch, English and Spanish, and as long as the ABC-Islands continue to work together for the preservation and development of Papiamentu, the language will continue to thrive on Bonaire and in the rest of the Leeward Islands

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LANGUAGE USE, LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND IDENTITY AMONG CURAÇAOAN STUDENTS IN THE NETHERLANDS[*]

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Introduction

Although the sociolinguistic situation of the ABC-islands is often mentioned in the literature as exceptional compared to that of other creole societies, few studies have been dedicated to the topic so far. What makes the situation of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao rather unique is the fact that their societies cannot be characterized as classical cases of diglossia, contrary to many other creole societies (Winford, 1985).

Abstracting away from the many definitions of diglossia that have appeared in the literature since Ferguson (1959), we can describe a diglossic society as a community in which two or more language varieties are used for different purposes and under different circumstances. In the prototypical case, there is one (official) variety used in formal situations (government, education, religion and media) and another (unofficial) variety used for informal, daily communication. Often, the differences in use are related to social inequality of the speakers and the languages involved.

Winford (1994: 45) explains the greater degree of autonomy and acceptance of Papiamentu by highlighting the fact that it is not related to Dutch, the only official language of the Netherlands Antilles until 2007[1], and, hence, it is not part of a linguistic continuum. In other creole societies, we often find a continuum consisting of a European language and creole varieties that are lexically related to it, and therefore not regarded as autonomous linguistic systems.

For centuries the use of Papiamentu was limited to informal situations and suffered severe repression and discrimination by the Dutch colonial authorities (Van Putte, 1999), but this situation has undergone radical changes over the course of the last decades. As observed in Severing & Weijer (2008: 249-250), Papiamentu has been used in the separate Parliaments of the ABC-islands and for the publication of an

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[*] We are very grateful to our informants, who anonymously filled out the questionnaire.
[1] As pointed out in Severing & Weijer (2008: 247) Dutch was the official language up until October 2007. In March 2008 a bill was passed which designates Dutch, English and Papiamentu as the three official languages in the five islands of the Netherlands Antilles: Bonaire, Curaçao, Saba, St. Maarten and St.Eustatius. In 2003, Aruba opted for two official languages, namely Dutch and Papiamentu.

increasing number of government documents since 1954. Moreover, it is the only or leading language utilized in 8 newspapers, 25 radio stations and three TV-stations. Since 1986 Papiamentu has also played an increasing role in the school system, especially since 2001 when an ambitious new policy of Foundation Based Education (Enseñansa di Fundeshi) was introduced, with Papiamentu as the language of instruction (Severing & Weijer 2008: 251).

The rather unique sociolinguistic situation of Papiamentu gives rise to many questions regarding language use and language attitudes among its speakers. An initial attempt to formulate these questions and find their answers is found in Garrett (2008), to be discussed in the next section.

Garrett (2008)

The main goals of Garrett's study are to investigate the Dutch/Antillean identity of the Curaçaoan population, their attitudes towards Papiamentu and the actual use of Dutch and Papiamentu in different situations. The study is based on a questionnaire (included in appendix 1) that initially was filled out by e-mail and during phone interviews and later distributed at various schools and in public during a visit to Curaçao. In the end, 125 informants collaborated, 61 males and 64 females, with an age range varying from 13 to 70. The results of the study can briefly be summarized as follows (Garrett, 2008: 42):

1. Speakers of Papiamentu on Curaçao are pluri-lingual and pluri-cultural;
2. They make conscious choices in selecting the linguistic and cultural codes in different situations;
3. There is an extended use of Papiamentu at work and with strangers among young people, which points at a transformation from a diglossic society to a truly pluri-lingual society, where two or more different languages are used in the same domains;
4. Papiamentu speakers adopt multiple identities and feel equally comfortable with their identity as Antilleans and as citizens of the Netherlands, especially the younger generation;
5. The higher valorization of Papiamentu and stronger sense of positive identity as Antilleans among the younger generation has created a greater openness towards other languages, cultures and identities.

The majority of Garrett's informants filled out the questionnaire in 2002, one year after the radical reorganization of the education system. In order to investigate the general tendencies among young people observed by Garrett as well as possible changes due to emigration, we carried out a similar survey among Curaçaoan students in the Netherlands in October 2009.

On the basis of Garrett's conclusions we formulate the following main research questions:

1. Do Curaçaoan students in the Netherlands share certain characteristics with their compatriots in Curaçao, in spite of their residence in the Netherlands?
2. Are the differences in age and education level observed by Garrett corroborated by Curaçaoan students in the Netherlands?

Methodology

The original questionnaire used in Garrett (2008), was posted on "Thesistools", a format available on the Internet to carry out online surveys. As a next step, Curaçaoan students were contacted by means of "Facebook", an online social network, with a request to fill out the questionnaire. The second author initially contacted students from her own personal network on "Facebook", who forwarded the survey to friends and fellow students from Curaçao. All informants received a request to fill out the questionnaire, without further information. Some of the students contacted the second author to be sure that they had to refer to their present situation, as students from Curaçao living in the Netherlands.

In the end, 180 students filled out the questionnaire. 130 of them were complete and hence selected for this study. The age range of the informants varied from 16 to 32, with an average of 22.7. There were 83 female and 47 male participants.

Results

In this section we will present and discuss the results of the survey, following the order of the original questionnaire. Section 4.1 contains questions concerning identity and citizenship. Section 4.2 covers language attitudes, in particular the importance of Papiamentu in carrying out certain activities. Section 4.3 deals with the actual use of Papiamentu and Dutch.

Questions about identity and citizenship

Garrett's questionnaire contains 10 statements related to identity and citizenship, to be evaluated by the informants in terms of agreement versus disagreement. It is crucial to observe that the Netherlands Antilles are part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and, consequently, their inhabitants are Dutch citizens and have Dutch passports. One of Garrett's goals was to investigate how this Dutch citizenship relates to the (dual) identity of the Curaçaoan population. Our survey contains 9 of the statements from the original questionnaire. Unfortunately, statement 10 "I am a person who is critical about the Netherlands" was not included, presumably due to a technical failure.

In this section we present the results separately. First, the statements concerning Dutch identity and citizenship are presented (statements 1,2,6,7), followed by the statements

about Antillean identity (statements 3,4,8,9). For the ease of exposition, the categories *agree* and *strongly agree* are grouped together, as well as *disagree* and *strongly disagree* and all results are presented in percentages. Appendix 2 contains the absolute numbers and the distinction between *strongly agree* and *agree*, as well as *disagree* and *strongly disagree*.

Dutch identity and citizenship
The following statements concerning Dutch identity and citizenship were included in the questionnaire:
1. I am a person who is bothered to say that I am a Dutch citizen.
2. I am a person who feels strong ties with the Netherlands.
6. I am a person who considers it important to be a Dutch citizen.
7. I am a person who makes excuses for being a Dutch citizen.

	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
STATEMENT 1	16.9%	26.9%	56.2%
STATEMENT 2	16.2%	43.1%	40.7%
STATEMENT 6	39.2%	46.9%	13.8%
STATEMENT 7	4.6%	15.4%	80.0%

Table 1 Results: Statements concerning Dutch identity and citizenship

From these results we can conclude that Curaçaoan students in the Netherlands share a positive attitude towards their Dutch citizenship: only 16.9% are bothered to say that they are Dutch citizens (statement 1), only 4.6% make excuses for being Dutch citizens (statement 7) and 39.2% consider it important to be Dutch citizens (statement 6). Notice, however, that this positive attitude is not based on strong ties with the Netherlands, which are only found among 16.2% of the informants (statement 2). Presumably, this contrast can be explained by the fact that their Dutch citizenship is important to the students: it gives them access to the Netherlands and to the facilities required for their studies. Also, they will encounter few difficulties with their Dutch citizenship in the Netherlands. On the other hand, they will probably experience a substantial cultural gap with their homeland, accounting for the low percentage of people who feel strong ties with the Netherlands. Furthermore, as we will see in section 4.3, their most important language to communicate with family and friends is Papiamentu, indicating that their social network mainly consists of compatriots.

Antillean identity
The questionnaire contained the following statements concerning Antillean identity:
3. I am a person who tends to hide the fact that I am an Antillean.

4. I am a person who is happy to be an Antillean.
5. I am a person who identifies with other Antilleans.
8. I am a person who considers himself to be an Antillean.
9. I am a person who feels held back because I am an Antillean.

	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
STATEMENT 3	4.6%	10.0%	85.4%
STATEMENT 4	86.2%	12.3%	1.5%
STATEMENT 5	59.2%	29.2%	11.5%
STATEMENT 8	85.4%	9.2%	5.4%
STATEMENT 9	18.5%	20.0%	61.5%

Table 2 Results: Statements concerning Antillean identity

It is clear from these results that Curaçaoan students in the Netherlands are very positive about their Antillean identity: 86.2% are happy to be Antilleans (statement 4). This positive attitude is further supported by the results for statements 3 and 9: only 4.6% tend to hide their Antillean identity (statement 3), although there is a risk of being held back according to 18.5% of the informants (statement 9). The relatively lower percentage (59.2%) of informants who identify themselves with other Antilleans (statement 5) is rather surprising, but a substantial part of the informants are neutral in their answer. This may be explained by two facts: the lack of identification with Antilleans who are originally from other islands (like Bonaire and the Windward Islands of Saba, St. Eustatius and St. Maarten), because some Antilleans have a strong insular identity. Alternatively, socio-economic differences and negative stereotyping of Antilleans in the Netherlands (Heijes, 2004: 130-131) may play a role. Notice, however, that both explanations are not straightforward, because the overwhelming majority of the students, namely 85.4%, consider themselves to be Antilleans (statement 8).

If we compare these results with the original study by Garrett (2008), we conclude that the Curaçaoan students in the Netherlands have a more critical attitude concerning their Dutch citizenship than their compatriots who live in Curaçao. Garrett observes that 69% of her informants do not agree with statement 1 ("I am a person who is bothered to say that I am a Dutch citizen"), contrasting with only 56.2% in our study. Also, 95% of the informants in Garrett's study do not agree with statement 7 ("I am a person who makes excuses for being a Dutch citizen"), whereas this is only 80% among our informants. Interestingly, in the last case Garrett mentions the educational level as a decisive factor for variation, the percentages corresponding to 98%, 93% and 89% for the low, middle and high level, respectively. Therefore, the 80% of our

participants seem to conform with a general tendency among the highly educated part of the population, to apologize for Dutch citizenship more frequently.

With respect to Antillean identity, the results of both studies are much more similar. 97% of Garrett's informants and 98.5% of the Curaçaoan students in the Netherlands do not disagree with statement 4 that they are happy to be Antilleans. For statement 5, "I am a person who identifies with other Antilleans" the percentages of informants who do not disagree are 92% in Garrett's study and 88.5% among our informants. Finally, 93% of Garrett's informants do not disagree with statement 8 that they consider themselves to be Antilleans, corresponding with 94.6% of our study. Again, the higher percentage of the Curaçaoan students in the Netherlands reflects a tendency noticed by Garrett, because there is a clear difference between the two age groups in her study: 95% of the younger informants but only 81% of the older informants do not disagree with statement 8 that they consider themselves to be Antilleans.

Questions about the importance of Papiamentu
The second part of the study is dedicated to attitudes towards Papiamentu. This part of the questionnaire comes straightforwardly from the study by Baker (1992) concerning language attitudes in Wales. In Baker's questionnaire, the informants are asked to evaluate the importance of a language in carrying out certain activities, varying from talking to friends to getting a job. Table 3 presents results in relation to the importance of Papiamentu to carry out certain activities, according to our informants. The ranking of the activities is based on the quantitative order of the percentages. The ranking in the original questionnaire is provided in parentheses. For the ease of exposition, the results (*a little*) *important* and (*a little*) *unimportant* are grouped together. Appendix 2 presents a full overview of all categories and absolute numbers.

		(a little) important	(a little) unimportant
1.	Live in Curaçao (9)	96.9%	3.1%
2.	Bring up children (13)	62.3%	37.7%
3.	Be accepted in the community (17)	58.5%	41.5%
4.	Write (4)	57.7%	42.3%
5.	To make friends (1)	56.2%	43.8%
6.	Read (3)	55.4%	44.6%
7.	Talk to people out of school (20)	55.0%	45.0%
8.	Talk to friends in school (18)	52.7%	47.3%
9.	Go to church/chapel (10)	46.2%	53.8%
10.	Make phone calls (15)	44.2%	55.8%
11.	Be liked (8)	39.5%	60.5%
12.	Become cleverer (7)	39.2%	60.8%
13.	Get a job (6)	36.2%	63.8%
14.	Talk to teachers in school (19)	36.2%	63.8%
15.	Play sports (12)	31.0%	69.0%

16.	Sing (11)	30.2%	69.8%
17.	Pass exams (16)	27.6%	72.4%
18.	Go shopping (14)	24.8%	75.2%
19.	Earn plenty of money (2)	24.0%	76.0%
20.	Watch TV/videos (5)	22.3%	77.7%

Table 3 Results: Importance of Papiamentu in carrying out certain activities

The results indicate that Papiamentu is considered important in diverse situations. The highest percentages are obviously scored for living in Curaçao (96.6%) and bringing up children (62.3%), two activities that may be strongly connected for those who want to return to their homeland. Papiamentu is also considered to be important for social networks: to be accepted in the community (58.5%), to make friends (56.2%), to talk to people out of school (55.0%) and to talk to friends in school (52.7%). At first sight, these results are surprising in view of the fact that the students were supposed to fill out the questionnaire in accordance with their present situation, that is, as residents of the Netherlands. However, as we will see in section 4.3, the students seldom use Dutch to communicate with family and friends and, consequently, seem to have a Papiamentu-speaking social network. This fact can also explain the rather high percentages in the categories of going to church/chapel (46.2%), making phone calls (44.2%) and being liked (39.5%).

Interestingly, a majority also finds Papiamentu (very) important for writing (57.7%) and reading (55.4%). This result is surprising, because our informants are living in the Netherlands and therefore will not use their native language for their education. Possibly, they frequently read and write in Papiamentu for other purposes, like e-mail, online social networks and digital newspapers.

Obviously, the students do not need Papiamentu in the Netherlands to get a job (36.2%), talk to teachers at school (36.2%), pass exams (27.6%) or earn plenty of money (24.0%), but the importance of Papiamentu reflected by these percentages cannot be ignored. Some of the results may be influenced by the fact that many students from Curaçao want to return to their homeland (Heijes, 2004: 98) and know that they will need their native language to achieve certain goals in the future. Several low percentages regarding the importance of Papiamentu for activities like singing (30.2%) and watching TV/videos (22.3%) can be explained straightforwardly by the dominant role of English as the international language of the media and youth culture.

Garrett (2008) does not discuss the results of her questionnaires in full, but most of the activities and percentages can be deduced from her text. The following overview presents her results, ranked by the order of the percentages in our own survey, in order to facilitate a comparison between the two studies. Certain percentages that are not

explicitly mentioned by Garrett but can be derived from the context are added in parentheses.

	FOR PEOPLE TO:	(a little) important	(A little) important older group	(A little) important younger group
1.	Live in Curaçao (9)	>90%		
4.	Write (4)	83%	71%	(95%)
6.	Read (3)	81%	76%	(86%)
2.	Bring up children (13)	>80%		
3.	Be accepted in the community (17)	>80%		
5.	To make friends (1)	>80%		
8.	Talk to friends in school (18)	>80%		
10.	Make phone calls (15)	>60%		
11.	Be liked (8)	>60%		
12.	Become cleverer (7)	(54.5%)	38%	71%
17.	Pass exams (16)	(45.5%)	19%	72%
19.	To earn plenty of money (2)	(43.3%)	29%	58%
13.	Get a job (6)		43%	
14.	Talk to teachers in school (19)	(42.5%)	14%	71%

Table 4 Garrett's (2008) results: Importance of Papiamentu in carrying out certain activities)

Obviously and not surprisingly, Garrett's informants find the use of Papiamentu more important and all percentages are higher. There is one possible exception, though: the importance of Papiamentu for living in Curaçao may be rated higher by the students living in the Netherlands (96.9%, compared to more than 90% among Garrett's informants). Some differences can be explained straightforwardly by the different localities: writing (83%) and reading (81%) in Papiamentu is more important on the island of Curaçao than in the Netherlands. Presumably the education system and job market play a crucial role here, as reflected in the rather high percentages for passing exams (45.5%), earning money (43.3%), getting a job (43%) and talking to teachers in school (42.5%). It is obvious that also in these domains we find major differences between the older and the younger generation. Young people may be influenced by the reforms in the educational system and the language policy, although those changes were introduced one year before the survey was realized. These influences are obviously stronger in a Caribbean setting, but cannot be denied for young speakers of Papiamentu in the Netherlands. As our informants had an average age of 22.7 years in

October 2009, many of them presumably witnessed the reforms in the education system in 2002.

These results clearly corroborate Garrett's finding that the use of Papiamentu has expanded among the younger generation, being no longer limited to informal situations, although higher percentages are attested in social activities like bringing up children (>80%), being accepted in the community (>80%), making friends (>80%), talking to friends in school (>80%), making phone calls (>60%) and being liked (>60%).

Questions about language use

Section 3 investigates the actual use of Papiamentu and Dutch by means of the question: "What language do YOU use in the following situations?"

	Only/mostly Dutch	Both	Mostly/only Papiamentu
1. In your house with your family	16.3%	19.4%	64.3%
2. At work with your colleagues	73.4%	10.9%	15.6%
3. At work with your boss	79.7%	7.0%	13.3%
4. With your friends	7.9%	33.9%	58.3%
5. With strangers	57.0%	27.3%	15.6%

Table 5 Results: Use of Papiamentu and Dutch in certain situations

As shown in table 5, the percentages for the use of Papiamentu at home/with family and with friends are very high: 64.3% and 58.3%, respectively. Apparently, Curaçaoan students have very strong ties with their compatriots and seldom use Dutch exclusively to communicate with their friends (7.9%), even less than in their house or with their family (16.3%).

Dutch is the dominant language at work to communicate with colleagues (73.4%) and more so with bosses (79.7%). Surprisingly, Dutch is not equally important to communicate with strangers: 57%. A speculative explanation would be that Curaçaoan students meet many new people through their social network of family and friends, who are speakers of Papiamentu.

Garrett (2008) only discusses the results for the use of Papiamentu by grouping together the categories *only Papiamentu* and *mostly Papiamentu*:

	All informants	Older group	Younger group
1. In your house with your family	80%		
2. At work with your colleagues		35%	56%
3. At work with your boss		35%	42%
4. With your friends	70%		
5. With strangers		19%	37%

Table 6 Garrett's (2008) results: Use of only/mostly Papiamentu in certain situations

As expected, Papiamentu is the dominant language for communication with family and friends on the island of Curaçao, but there is an increasing use of the language at work and with strangers among the younger generation. Garrett (2008: 39) interprets these results as a transformation of a diglossic society to a truly pluri-lingual society, where different languages are used in the same domains.

Conclusions

In this paper we have discussed two surveys concerning the identity, language attitudes and language use of Curaçaoan speakers of Papiamentu, comparing the results of Garrett (2008) with our own research. The data for Garrett's (2008) study were collected in 2002 on the island of Curaçao, among speakers with an age range varying from 13 tot 70 years. We made use of Garrett's questionnaire in order to carry out an online survey among Curaçaoan students living in the Netherlands, with an age range from 16 to 32.

In section 2, we formulated two main research questions:

1. Do Curaçaoan students in the Netherlands share certain characteristics with their compatriots in Curaçao, in spite of their residence in the Netherlands?
2. Are the differences in age and education level observed by Garrett corroborated by Curaçaoan students in the Netherlands?

With respect to the first question we can conclude from our study that Curaçaoan students in the Netherlands share many characteristics with their compatriots. They have a very positive attitude towards their Antillean identity, but they are more critical with respect to their Dutch identity and citizenship and do not feel strong ties with the Netherlands. They show certain ambivalence with respect to identification with other Antilleans, although they clearly consider themselves to be Antilleans. Their attitudes

towards Papiamentu are very positive. The importance of the language in many different domains is corroborated by our study, with higher percentages in activities related to their social networks. Overall, the percentages are lower than for Garrett's informants, because Papiamentu is less important for carrying out certain activities in the Netherlands.

The results concerning the actual language use of the students show that Papiamentu is the dominant language of communication at home, with family and with friends. Only a very small group uses Dutch exclusively to communicate with their friends. Dutch is the dominant language at work, but much less in communication with strangers. This may be due to the primarily Antillean social networks of Papiamentu speakers in the Netherlands.

With respect to the second question we can conclude that differences found by Garrett in age and education level are corroborated by our study. Starting with the statements concerning identity, the younger generation consider themselves to be Antilleans more than the older generation in Curaçao as well as in the Netherlands. Also the tendency that highly educated informants more frequently make excuses for being a Dutch citizen is corroborated by our survey. The importance of reading and writing in Papiamentu is also found in the two groups of young informants, contrasting mildly with the older generation. The data with respect to language use show that young speakers use Papiamentu to communicate in formal situations, such as work and with strangers, although these percentage are substantially lower for speakers in the Netherlands, for obvious reasons.

Our study supports Garrett's observation that Curaçao has undergone a transformation from a diglossic society to a truly plurilingual society, where several languages are used in the same domains and that young speakers of Papiamentu have a positive sense of dual identity, even after migration to the Netherlands.

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APPENDIX 1 QUESTIONNAIRE FROM GARRETT (2008)

I. Here are some statements about your feelings. Please say whether you agree or disagree with these statements. There are no right or wrong answers. Please be as honest as possible. Answer with one of the following:

SA = Strongly Agree (circle SA)
A = Agree (circle A)
N = Neither agree or disagree (circle N)
D = Disagree (circle D)
SD = Strongly Disagree (circle SD)

1. I am a person who is bothered to say that I am a Dutch citizen. SA A N D SD
2. I am a person who feels strong ties with the Netherlands. SA A N D SD
3. I am a person who tends to hide the fact that I am an Antillean. SA A N D SD
4. I am a person who is happy to be an Antillean. SA A N D SD
5. I am a person who identifies with other Antilleans. SA A N D SD
6. I am a person who considers it important to be a Dutch citizen SA A N D SD
7. I am a person who makes excuses for being a Dutch citizen. SA A N D SD
8. I am a person who considers himself to be an Antillean. SA A N D SD
9. I am a person who feels held back because I am an Antillean. SA A N D SD
10. I am a person who is critical about the Netherlands. SA A N D SD

II. How important or unimportant do you think Papiamentu is for people to do the following? There are no right or wrong answers. Check the appropriate box.

	FOR PEOPLE TO:	important	A little important	A little unimportant	Unimportant
1	To make friends				
2	To earn plenty of money				
3	Read				
4	Write				
5	Watch TV/videos				
6	Get a job				
7	Become cleverer				
8	Be liked				
9	Live in Curaçao				
10	Go to church/chapel				
11	Sing				
12	Play sports				
13	Bring up children				
14	Go shopping				
15	Make phone calls				
16	Pass exams				
17	Be accepted in the community				
18	Talk to friends in school				
19	Talk to teachers in school				
20	Talk to people out of school				

III. What language do YOU use in the following situations? Answer with one of the following:

OD = Only Dutch
MD = Mostly Dutch
B = Both equally
MP = Mostly Papiamentu
OP = Only Papiamentu

1. In your house with your family	OD	MD	B	MP	OP
2. At work with your colleagues	OD	MD	B	MP	OP
3. At work with your boss	OD	MD	B	MP	OP
4. With your friends	OD	MD	B	MP	OP
5. With strangers	OD	MD	B	MP	OP

IV. Please answer the following:

Age: _____

Gender: ____ Male

____ Female

Ocupation: _____

Education: ____Elementary

____Secondary

____Vocational School

____University

V. Please comment freely on this questionnaire:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

APPENDIX 2   RESULTS IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS

Part I   Identity and citizenship

Dutch identity and citizenship

1. I am a person who is bothered to say that I am a Dutch citizen.
2. I am a person who feels strong ties with the Netherlands.
6. I am a person who considers it important to be a Dutch citizen
7. I am a person who makes excuses for being a Dutch citizen.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1.	3	19	35	40	33
2.	5	16	56	48	5
6.	13	38	61	12	6
7.	2	4	20	66	38

Antillean identity

3. I am a person who tends to hide the fact that I am an Antillean.
4. I am a person who is happy to be an Antillean.
5. I am a person who identifies with other Antilleans.
8. I am a person who considers himself to be an Antillean.
9. I am a person who feels held back because I am an Antillean.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
3.	3	3	13	38	73
4.	65	47	16	0	2
5.	19	58	38	12	3
8.	51	60	12	5	2
9.	7	17	26	50	30

Part II   The importance of Papiamentu to carry out certain activities

Notice that the ranking of activities below corresponds to the order in the main text, which is based on the percentages of 'important' and 'a little important' grouped together in one single category.

	FOR PEOPLE TO:	Important	A little important	A little unimportant	Unimportant
1.	Live in Curaçao (9)	104	22	3	1
2.	Bring up children (13)	49	32	19	30
3.	Be accepted in the community (17)	42	34	20	34
4.	Write (4)	36	39	27	28
5.	To make friends (1)	30	43	15	42
6.	Read (3)	39	33	28	30
7.	Talk to people out of school (20)	35	36	22	36
8.	Talk to friends in school (18)	37	31	24	37
9.	Go to church/chapel (10)	29	31	27	43
10.	Make phone calls (15)	21	36	29	43
11.	Be liked (8)	13	38	29	49
12.	Become cleverer (7)	22	29	30	49
13.	Get a job (6)	19	28	38	45
14.	Talk to teachers in school (19)	21	25	26	55
15.	Play sports (12)	12	28	24	65
16.	Sing (11)	15	24	32	58
17.	Pass exams (16)	17	18	20	72
18.	Go shopping (14)	10	22	31	66
19.	To earn plenty of money (2)	10	21	30	68
20.	Watch TV/videos (5)	12	17	35	66

Part III   **The use of Papiamentu**

1. In your house with your family
2. At work with your colleagues
3. At work with your boss
4. With your friends
5. With strangers

	Only Dutch	Mostly Dutch	Both equally	Mostly Papiamentu	Only Papiamentu
1.	10	11	25	31	52
2.	65	29	14	15	5
3.	86	16	9	10	7
4.	1	9	43	56	18
5.	27	46	35	13	7

THIS IS THE WAY WE DOES TALK!
PERCEPTIONS OF CARIBBEAN ENGLISH IN ARUBAN EDUCATION AND SOCIETY [1]

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On the multilingual Caribbean island of Aruba there has been an intense language debate going on for more than a century now. The vernacular creole language Papiamento has gained more prominence in Aruban society, taking on a more active role in the educational system. San Nicolas English, another creole language spoken on the island, has gotten significantly less attention despite its enormous historical, economic and aesthetic influence on the development of the island. This paper sheds some light on the perceptions and discussions surrounding this variety of Caribbean English.

Introduction

It was at *Filomena College Mavo* in '*juffrouw*' Moons-Sharpe's English class where for the first time I read a novel by a Caribbean author named Samuel Selvon. This novel, entitled *The Lonely Londoners* told the tale of West Indians and their experiences as immigrants in London, England. I felt an instant connection because I automatically compared it to the same experiences Arubans encounter when going to the Netherlands. Selvon described a scene where the boys went to a *fête*[2] in London city in the middle of winter.

> Calypso and steelpan music was playing in di party, the boys them drinking rum at the bar while Captain and he fellas chatting down some white English gials in di corner. In the middle a di dance floor Tanti Merle break away and starting wining in front a everybody to some sweet calypso music. When di police try stop di party nobody want to go home. They started shouting No No we eh going home, we eh leaving, No No we eh going home we eh leaving. (author's interpretation of a scene from Selvon, 1989)

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[1] The information that is made available in this paper came out of more than 50 interviews with speakers of San Nicolas English as well as scholars in the field. I convey a special thanks to Madonna Stephens, Merlynne Williams, Regine Croes and Endrah Gumbs Richardson for their assistance with this paper. I also convey a special thanks to Tammy Richardson who is the author of the poem; "*Dey say ah Bad.*"

[2] Is a French word meaning festival, celebration or party, which has passed into English as a label that may be given to certain events. It is commonly used in the Caribbean.

Besides the humor and wit of Selvon's story telling, for the first time I encountered a novel where the dialogue was in Caribbean English and the characters where recognizable to me. Tanti Merle and Tallboy were characters I grew up with on Saturdays listening to Trinidadian stand up comedian Paul Keens Douglas on the Baba Charlie Calypso Show. Thanks to Selvon and *juffrouw* Moons I no longer felt ashamed of my language and my heritage.

This paper attempts to shed some light on various aspects of Caribbean English in Aruban society and education. There has not been much research carried out in this area and it is my aspiration to discover more about the topic. Even though there are pockets of Caribbean English still spoken in Aruba such as in the constituencies of Dakota, Tarabana and Oranjestad, the focus will be primarily on the San Nicolas variety. Not that I think it to be superior! It is notable that this so called San Nicolas English has survived for over half a century. I will be looking at diverse aspects of the language such as its history, perceptions and its development in certain areas of the Aruban society such as in education.

Contemporary Language Situation

In the past decade we have seen the Papiamento language take a more prominent role in our society. Papiamento has become a subject in our schools and is also now the official language of government next to Dutch. Currently, the department of education has started a pilot project called "*Scol Multilingual.*" This multilingual school will feature four of the main languages spoken on the island of Aruba and will primarily focus on Papiamento as the language of instruction (Departamento di Enseñansa, 2002).

The Aruban Central Bureau for Statistics reported in 2002 that approximately 69% of the Aruban population considers Papiamento to be the main language spoken at home. Approximately 13% of the population considers Spanish to be their home language, while 8.2% of the population speaks English at home and 6.2% speaks Dutch. The remaining residents speak other languages such as Haitian Creole, Hindi and even Filipino amongst others (CBS, 2002: 90).

The percentage of English speaking inhabitants in Aruba given by the CBS may be correct but the labeling of this group as 'English speaking' is questionable. Most of what they considered to be English speakers are actually native Caribbean English speakers. When Arubans travel to English speaking countries they quickly realize how much they depend on other languages in their daily conversations. The Aruban language situation is a product of vast migratory processes during various decades in

the 20th century. This fact makes it difficult to force Aruban languages into a one-size-fits-all model. This has been one of the foremost errors that anthropologists and historians have made in the past when they have studied Aruban society.

Aruba did not have an immense plantation economy involving African slaves but the Afro-Caribbean Aruban populations that are presently residing on the island are mostly descendants of migrant laborers from the British Caribbean. The Afro-Caribbean immigrants originated from numerous islands such as Trinidad, St Vincent, St Kitts, Montserrat, Nevis, the British Virgin Islands, St Martin, St Lucia, Dominica, Granada and Barbados amongst others (Alofs & Merkies, 2001). Although most of the Aruban population is in some way, shape or form ethnically and racially diverse, these English-speaking immigrants have constituted a distinctive unit. They have resided in the constituency of San Nicolas, predominantly in the makeshift town known as "The Village". As a consequence of interlinguistic communication, a distinct creole dialect emerged by way of fusion out of a *Lingua Franca* known to Arubans as Village English or San Nicolas English (Holm, 2000; Richardson, 2010). The San Nicolas based American-owned Lago Oil Refinery held English-speaking tradesmen in high regard to a certain extent thus giving the English language a superior social status on the island. San Nicolas urbanized rather distinctively and for decades marched to the beat of its own drum until the automation epoch which eventually resulted in the closing of the refinery in 1985 (Alofs & Merkies, 2001).

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Bad English and Prejudice

> At our yearly scouting camp held at the Santa Anna church in Noord, we camped with all the scouting groups on the island. My friend and I from the Sint Joris scouting group of San Nicolas joined some other scouts from a Tanki Leendert scouting group to look for firewood. When conversing with my friend in San Nicolas English, one of the scouts from the other group said, "Dicon bo ta papia e Ingles ey, bosnan tin cu papia Papiamento ta na Aruba nos ta"[3].

My research has shown that the above experience is very common amongst speakers of San Nicolas English. Children as well as adults are ashamed of their language and prefer not to speak it publicly. When San Nicolas English speakers answer phone calls from family members at the work place, they prefer to speak to them in private where no other colleagues can hear them. They also sometimes change their accent and grammatical structure so that it might sound a bit more like Standard English.

Many families of English Caribbean descent considered it to be essential that 'proper' English be spoken at home. It was not Queen's English, but even in their Caribbean

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[3] Translation from Papiamento: Why are you talking that type of English, We are in Aruba and you have to speak Papiamento.

English, there were rules that people adhered to. For example, you were not allowed to say *teeths*, you had to say teeth. You couldn't say *foots* you had to say feet. It was of utmost importance not to be thought of as uneducated. Receiving an education was extremely important even though many first generation immigrants could not command the Dutch language. Caribbean English speakers from the islands of Guyana, Barbados and Trinidad, commonly known as the Big Islanders, felt they spoke better English. One could argue they were even boastful about this fact! So, even within the Caribbean English speaking community, there were numerous differences in how people saw themselves. They were not a homogeneous unit.

The majority of San Nicolas English speakers perceive their language to be "Bad English." The constant referral to their language as 'Bad' is a colonial inheritance. In Bob Marley's Redemption Song he sang; "emancipate yourself from mental slavery, none but ourselves can free our mind." This was originally a quote from the Jamaican Pan Africanist Marcus Garvey who appealed to the African Diaspora to love themselves (Garvey, 1986). Calling your English or your hair Bad is a very Eurocentric manner of viewing things. As if only English from England is good or only straight European hair is beautiful! There is also a difference between how people perceive men or women speaking San Nicolas English. When women speak San Nicolas English they are often perceived as uneducated and unsophisticated. When men speak this language generally it is more acceptable. According to linguistic professor Hubert Devonish of the University of the West Indies this is also the case in Jamaica (2009).

In practice it is very difficult for non native speakers of San Nicolas English to understand the language. It is spoken at an accelerated tempo and because the syntax is different, non-speakers usually comprehend only a few words out of each sentence.

Periodic Language Acceptance
The language of communication in a multilingual society is a very complex issue. In Aruban culture, San Nicolas English has received only periodic and contextualized acceptance. During the carnival season when Calypso and Soca music is at its peak in popularity, San Nicolas English is heard regularly because these musical genres are sung in mainly San Nicolas English (Razak, 1998). Commonly, you hear young and old singing "*jump up and wave something*" and "*go to di left, go left, go left, go left, go left, go left*." As the Lenten season begins, Calypso and Soca diminishes in popularity and the language creeps back into isolation as a result. The language can then only be heard in the homes and streets of San Nicolas.

There are survival related speech repertoires that native speakers of San Nicolas English use on a daily basis. These speakers shift their language identity depending on the motive and situation, as shown in the following examples.

- Regular 'common folk' San Nicolas English speakers amongst themselves converse only in San Nicolas English. For example in a bar on or the basketball court they speak the English as 'Caribbean' as possible.

- Highly educated San Nicolas English speakers amongst themselves speak differently depending on the situation. They will commonly speak as standard as possible to display their intelligence. If one can speak "correct English" one is perceived to have a higher status.

- When San Nicolas English speakers are outnumbered, and they are in a setting like Oranjestad where for example people predominantly speak in Papiamento, they will speak Papiamento as a mark of respect and also a as a demonstration of their linguistic versatility.

- When Papiamento speakers are outnumbered by San Nicolas English speakers in a San Nicolas setting and let's say the Papiamento speakers command San Nicolas English, they will speak San Nicolas English. Such Papiamento speakers also want to demonstrate their integration level into San Nicolas culture.

- When San Nicolas English speakers are speaking to American tourists they will automatically adapt to American style English commonly called '*Yanking*'. They do this to gain respect from American tourists as well as letting themselves be understood.

Unification through Music
We can conclude by saying that there is still much to be researched regarding the San Nicolas English language. There is still a vast amount of confusion with reference to the language in the Aruban community as a whole as well as on the part of the speakers of the language themselves. San Nicolas English speaking students often think that they speak Standard English while this is not the case. Many of these students get failing grades in English in school. This paper is not a claim that San Nicolas English should be a substitute for Standard English, but it is important that students and teachers alike recognize that they are speaking another legitimate variety of English and that they should not treat it as Bad English but rather be aware of how and when to speak the language. A great deal of confusion would be avoided if all

teachers had a knowledge and appreciation of the grammar and pronunciation of San Nicolas English as well as a knowledge and appreciation for San Nicolas culture, in order to better attend to the needs of the Caribbean English speaking student population in Aruba.

It is important that we bring about an acknowledgement and valorization of the language to the whole island. This can be done for example by introducing the art of Calypso writing and performing in schools. The music is extremely popular in Aruba and the enthusiasm for the music can be used to break down cultural barriers. Primary school pupils in Santa Cruz, Oranjestad and Noord can be taught from an early age that San Nicolas English is not something foreign or strange, but instead is an integral component of Aruban culture. 'Different' does not mean 'deficient'[4]. Countless San Nicolas inhabitants have been brought up thinking their language to be deficient. This is definitely not the case! Teaching creative writing through Calypso in schools would promote familiarization of the language at an early age. The pupils would even find speaking the language to be cool. Teachers also have to be educated about the language and the culture that goes along with it; the two can't be separated. True recognition for all of the variegated facets and dimensions of Aruban culture would mean a stronger Aruban identity within which all of the inhabitants of the island would come to feel that they too belong.

The following poem was written by Tammy Richardson.

Dey say ah Bad
Not because I
Sound like dis
Walk like dis
Talk like dis
Means that I am bad

Not because you
Don't understand
Think that ah mad
Think dat ah sad
Means that I am bad

This is my expression
This is who I am
My identity
My comfort
My pride

I am San Nicolas Pride

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[4] From President Obama's ex pastor Rev. Dr. Wright's speech to the Press Club in 2008.

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NULL SUBJECTS IN PAPIAMENTU: A REASSESSMENT[1]

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1 Introduction

Papiamentu's lexifiers, Spanish and Portuguese, allow null subjects to occur freely – a phenomenon known in the literature as *pro*-drop; their rich inflectional systems are thought to allow for unexpressed subjects to be identified. Papiamentu (Pp) appears to lack the rich inflectional system of its lexifiers. Nevertheless, null subjects do occur frequently in Pp texts. To give an initial impression, consider the following excerpt from a newspaper article. The author explains the Curaçaoan government's issuing of fiscal instruments to finance its deficit. Null subjects are indicated by Ø; the bold-printed translations are intended to give an impression of the interpretation of the null subject as either an expletive ('it'), as having arbitrary-reference ('one'), or as having a referential interpretation ('they'):

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(1)   *Si tene na kuenta ku Ø₁ mester kita 11.0 mion florin na debe ku mester paga bek (...) djaluna awor, Ø₂ por konstatá ku ta sobra 20.5 mion ku ta mas o ménos e défisit ku Ø₃ a kalkulá ku Ø₄ lo tin e luna aki, pa Ø₅ por paga mayoria di e obligashonnan ku Gobièrnu Insular tin pa e luna di desèmber aki. Pues ku e fiansa aki i ku e otro entradanan ku Gobièrnu Insular tin lo Ø₆ por paga kreditornan (...), lo Ø₇ por paga e interes ku debe, obligashonnan pa APNA, institutonan supsidiá, i salarionan na amtenar e luna aki.*

[If it is taken into consideration that **one** must deduct 11 million guilders in debt which must be repaid by this Monday, **one** may note that 20.5 million is left, which is more or less the deficit which **it** has been calculated that **there** will be for this month, for **them** to be able to cover most of the financial commitments which the Island Government has for this December. In other

words, with this financing and with the other income which the Island Government has, **they** will be able to pay creditors, **they** will be able to service the debt, commitments to APNA, subsidized institutions, and the salaries of civil servants this month.] (source: Èxtra, 15/12/2006, p.11; translation by Silvia Kouwenberg)

The null subjects identified as 'Ø$_1$' and 'Ø$_2$' have arbitrary reference. 'Ø$_3$' is the expletive subject of the propositional verb *kalkulá* 'calculate', 'Ø$_4$' the expletive subject of an existential construction. 'Ø$_{5-7}$' are the referential subjects of different occurrences of *paga* 'pay'; their reference is determined by the collective noun *Gobièrnu Insular* 'Island Government', which is present in the same CP as the first occurrence of *paga*.

Kouwenberg (1990) describes a restricted *pro*-drop system, where null pronominals appear mainly as non theta-marked subjects, and where theta-marked subjects can be null in contexts which allow for arbitrary reference. Scott (2009), on the other hand, shows that referential null subjects are admissible, but only where a salient antecedent is available in the discourse. In either account, Pp emerges as a partial *pro*-drop language. Veenstra (2009) goes a step further, arguing that Pp is a full *pro*-drop language. He relies on evidence which suggests that pronominal subjects in Pp are syntactic clitics whose function it is to mark agreement.

This paper explores the occurrence of null referential subjects in Pp texts, and tries to reconcile the view that Pp is a full *pro*-drop language with the restrictions on null-subject constructions that lack an agreement marker which identifies the content of *pro*. In the following, we will first provide an overview of the different types of null subject constructions which may be distinguished in Pp. We then consider the view that Pp is a full *pro*-drop language, and the manner in which the content of *pro* is identified. We will see that there is ample scope for further research in this area.

2 Papiamentu as a partial *pro*-drop language

We basically distinguish two types of null subjects in Papiamentu, based on their (lack of) reference: expletive subjects, which lack content, and theta-marked subjects, whose content is determined either by coreference with an antecedent in the discourse, or by a default arbitrary interpretation.

2.1 Expletive subjects

Expletive subjects have no content, and occur in positions that are not theta marked; their main function being that of satisfying the EPP (Extended Projection Principle) – i.e., the requirement that a subject be present. Expletive subjects are never overt in

pro-drop languages (see discussion in Veenstra, 2009). In (2), expletive null subjects appear with *parse* 'seem, look like', existential *tin* 'exist' (literally: 'have'), and *importá* 'be important, matter':[2]

(2)   a.   Parse ku   Maria ta   malu.
               seem COMP Maria COP ill
               'It seems that Maria is ill.'[3] (adapted from Kouwenberg, 1990: 46)

       b.   Tin   hopi hende.
               have many people
               'There are many people.' (adapted from Kouwenberg, 1990: 46)

       c.   No   ta   importá mi ni un   bledu.
               NEG TNS matter-1SG not INDF bit
               'I don't give a shit.' (adapted from Veenstra, 2009: 70)

Passivization may provide another context for a null expletive subject. Thus, in (3), passivization has resulted in the suppression of the Agent role of *kalkulá* 'calculate', whose complement is a proposition, hence unavailable for movement to the subject position. An attempt to insert an overt subject pronoun *e* [3SG], resulting in *E ta ser kalkulá...*, was resisted by Papiamentu-speaking respondents in Curaçao who were interviewed by Jodianne Scott on a short fieldtrip in January 2007.

(3)   (*E)   ta   ser   kalkulá   ku   Dr. L. a   kobra
         (*3SG) TNS PASS calculated COMP Dr. L. ASP charge
         1.8 miyon florin di mas ku   e   kobranzanan aki
         1.8 million guilder of much than DEF charge-PL   here
         'It has been calculated that Dr. L. has overcharged by 1.8 million guilders over the current fees.' [adapted from *Bon Dia Aruba*, Friday 3 March 2006]

Additionally, Veenstra (2009) argues for the presence of an expletive null subject in inverted structures such as that in (4), where the subject is postverbal; note that the verbal string *ta biba* is in absolute sentence-initial position. In such cases, the EPP-feature must be assumed to be checked by an expletive element; since this element does not have phonological features, it can only be expletive *pro*.

(4)   Ta   biba un   mion hende riba e   isla   aki.
         TNS live INDF million person on   DEF island here

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[2] We have standardized spelling and glosses, which may differ therefore form their originals. Abbreviations used are: 1/2/3SG and 1/2/3PL for singular and plural pronouns; ASP Aspect, COMP Complementizer, COP Copula, DEF Definite article, INDF Indefinite article, LOC Locative, NEG Negation, PASS Passive auxiliary, PL Plural, TNS Tense.
[3] Subject-to-subject raising is not possible in Pp.

'On this island live a million people.' (Veenstra, 2009: 65)

Finally, quasi-argumental null subjects are those which appear with weather predicates. The prototypical weather predicate, *yobe* 'rain', optionally allows for *awa* 'water' as overt subject; other weather predicates take null subjects only:

(5) a. (Awa) ta yobe.
      (water) TNS rain
      'It is raining'
  b. Ta hasi friu / kalor.
      TNS make cold / heat
      'It is cold / hot.'

In sum, several contexts can be distinguished for an expletive *pro* subject; in all cases, the function of expletive *pro* is that of satisfying the EPP feature of T:

(i) with predicates which inherently lack a theta-role for an external argument; these include *parse* 'seem', existential *tin* 'have', weather predicates, etc.;
(ii) in the passive of a propositional verb;
(iii) in so-called inverted structures, where the subject is postverbal.

Veenstra (2009: 67f) notes a definiteness effect which further supports the lack of content of *pro* in these constructions: a definite postverbal subject cannot function as an associate of the expletive.

2.2 Theta-marked null subjects

Kouwenberg (1990: 48) points to the existence of theta-marked null subjects; she notes that this possibility is restricted to arbitrary, human reference, as illustrated in (6a).[4] Veenstra (2009) further notes that it is limited to strictly generic contexts; hence the unacceptability of (6b):

(6) a. Ta bende mata.
      TNS sell plant
      'Plants are sold (here).'
  b. *Ta bende e flor.
      TNS sell DEF flower
      'The flowers are sold here.'
      (Veenstra, 2009: 69).

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[4] That arbitrary *pro* has human reference appears to be a cross-linguistic requirement (Cabredo Hofherr, 2006)

(7) contrasts an utterance containing a null subject of this type (7a), and the equivalent utterance containing the overt pronominal subject *nan* [3PL] (7b). Jodianne Scott's respondents accepted both utterances. Nevertheless, they did not consider them to be equivalent: while no specific referent is identified for the subject of (7a), *nan* in (7b) is considered anaphoric, and must refer to a specific group identified earlier in the discourse. In other words, an arbitrary interpretation is not possible for the overt pronoun. In this regard, Pp *nan* [3PL] differs from third person plural pronouns in other Caribbean Creole languages, which are typically able to appear with arbitrary interpretations.

(7)   a.   Ayera   nochi a   tene e   seremonia eukoméniko
           yesterday night ASP hold DEF ceremony ecumenical
           kual   tabata bou   guia   di Monsigneur Luis Secco.
           which TNS   under guidance of Monsignor Luis Secco.
           'Last night the ecumenical ceremony was held which was under the guidance of Monsignor Luis Secco.' [adapted from *Bon Dia Aruba*, Friday 3 March 2006]
      b.   Ayera   nochi nan a   tene e   seremonia eukoméniko ...
           yesterday night   PL   ASP hold DEF ceremony ecumenical
           'Last night, they held the ecumenical ceremony under the guidance of Monsignor Luis Secco.'

In contrast to Kouwenberg (1990), Scott (2009) found that Pp also allows for referential pronouns to be null under certain discourse conditions. Consider (8):

(8)   Guarda Costa a   manda foto   saká for   di helikòpter
      Guard   Coast ASP send   photo taken from of helicopter
      momento ku   tabata aserká   e   krusero.
      moment COMP TNS   approach DEF cruise-ship
      'The coast guard sent a picture taken from the helicopter when approaching the cruise-ship.' [adapted from *Bon Dia Aruba*, Friday 3 March 2006]

As seen earlier in (6)-(7), a null subject can have an arbitrary referent, which is necessarily outside of the discourse. But in the case of (8), respondents insisted that the null subject of *aserká* could only be *Guarda Costa*. In other words, the null subject in (8) has the following properties: (i) it has a definite interpretation; (ii) it is anaphoric; (iii) its antecedent is found in the preceding discourse. Note that *Guarda Costa*, although grammatically singular, is a collective noun. In other words, the null subject in (8) is compatible with a 3PL interpretation.

In (9), the null subject of *skonde* 'hide' again is anaphoric: its antecedent *e spesialistanan* 'the specialists' is located in the preceding discourse. The null subject binds the 3PL reflexive *nan mes* 'themselves', showing that it is syntactically active and displays the typical behavior of pronominals:

(9) E   spesialistanan ta   sigui ku   e   práktikanan aki   ketu bai.
     DEF specialist-PL   TNS follow with DEF practice- PL   here quiet go.
     Ta   skonde (nan mes) tras   di "tradishon".
     TNS hide   (3PL self) behind of tradition.
     'The specialists simply continue with these practices. They hide (themselves) behind "tradition".' [adapted from *Bon Dia Aruba*, Friday 3 March 2006]

It seems that, given a choice between an antecedent local to the discourse and reference to an arbitrary entity in the world, there is a preference for a null theta-marked subject to be identified with the former. Nevertheless, the availability of an antecedent in the discourse is not a sufficient condition for a referential null subject to be able to appear. Thus, respondents rejected (10) with a null subject in the second utterance, asking "who" was leaving hospital, and requiring the appearance of an overt pronoun *el* [3SG] instead. This, we suggest, shows that a discourse-linked null subject is compatible only with a 3PL interpretation. At this stage, this idea has the status of a hypothesis, which requires further investigation; it is worth noting, though, that we have seen no cases of discourse-linked null subjects in any of the Pp texts that we looked at which would contradict this idea. Moreover, person sensitivity is well attested in partial *pro*-drop languages: in some languages, only 1st and 2nd person subjects may be omitted, while in others, only 3rd person subjects may (Deal, 2005).

(10) Ayera   nochi, e   viktima di un   "hit-and-run" a   wòrdu atmití
      yesterday night DEF victim of INDF "hit-and-run" ASP PASS admit
      na   hospital den kondishon basta grave. Awe mainta *(el)   a   sali
      LOC hospital in   condition quite grave. This morning *(3SG) ASP leave
      for   di hospital na   pia komosifwera ku nada no a pasa kuné.
      from of hospital LOC foot as.if   COMP nothing NEG ASP happen with-3SG
      'Last night the victim of a "hit-and-run" had been admitted to hospital in serious condition. This morning, he left the hospital as if nothing had happened to him.' [adapted from *Bon Dia Aruba*, Friday 3 March 2006]

Summarizing, the evidence so far is that Pp is a restricted *pro*-drop language: null subjects appear primarily in expletive contexts. Additionally, null subjects with a 3PL

reference may appear where a compatible discourse-linked antecedent is available, or, failing that, where an arbitrary interpretation is available.

3 Papiamentu as a full *pro*-drop language

Pp verbs are invariant: there is no inflection which allows for the identification of person or number features of a null subject. This can be observed whether overt pronominal subjects appear or not:

(11)   a.   Mi   ta   bende mata.
                 1SG TNS sell   plant
                 'I sell plants.'
      b.   E   ta   bende mata.
                 3SG TNS sell   plant
                 'S/he sells plants.'
      c.   Nos ta   bende mata.
                 1PL TNS sell   plant
                 'We sell plants.'

However, more recently, Kouwenberg (2007) and Veenstra (2009) have argued that subject pronouns such as those in (11) are weak pronouns, which contrast with strong counterparts, and which have the status of syntactic clitics; these claims have consequences for the status of Pp as a *pro*-drop language. The evidence for the existence of weak pronouns is both prosodic and syntactic. Prosodically, weak subject pronouns must be integrated into a tonal domain by the assignment of a contextually determined tone; that tonal domain is syntactically defined in ways which are as yet poorly understood (Kouwenberg, 2007; 2009). Syntactically, weak subject pronouns cannot be separated from the TMA domain, cannot be coordinated or modified, and must be preceded by the mood marker *lo* (Kouwenberg, 2007). The prosodic and syntactic evidence supports the view that weak pronouns are syntactic clitics, whose function is to mark Agreement. This also means that they do not occupy the same position in the syntactic structure as lexical subjects do: they are functional heads which head AgrP.[5] In contrast, lexical subjects, including strong pronoun subjects, are tonally independent, may be separated from the TMA domain, and precede the mood marker *lo*.

Kouwenberg (2007) makes no attempt to relate the status of weak pronouns as syntactic clitics to the *pro*-drop issue. However, it is on the basis of her findings that

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[5] This behavior contrasts with that of strong subject pronouns, which are high-toned, and which can be focused or separated from the TMA domain by adverbial material, and which can be modified. Strong pronouns are functionally and distributionally equivalent to lexical subjects, and occupy the same position in the syntactic structure. See Kouwenberg (2007) for details.

Veenstra (2009: 74ff) argues that these agreement markers allow for a null subject to be identified. In other words, the pronominal subjects in (11) are the equivalent of the rich inflection of Pp's lexifiers. This means that *pro* is licensed in Pp in a fashion similar to that of a prototypical *pro*-drop language such as Italian: Pp is, then, a full *pro*-drop language. Veenstra (2009) proposes the clause structure in (12) for Pp, which we adopt. In (12), [SPEC,TopP] houses a lexical subject, i.e., a strong pronoun or a full DP.

(12)   [$_{TopP}$ SUBJECT [$_{AgrPP}$ ADVERB [$_{AgrP}$ Agr [$_{TP}$ T … VERB …]]]]

Where that position is empty, *pro* in [SPEC,AgrP] is expected to be identified by the material in Agr^0, which takes the form of a weak pronoun. For an utterance such as that in (11a), this translates to (11a)'; *pro* is identified here by the content of Agr, which is filled by weak pronoun *mi* which has the features [1st person, singular]:

(11a)'[$_{AgrP}$ *pro$_i$* [$_{Agr}$ mi$_i$] [$_{TP}$ ta   bende mata]]
            pro   1SG   TNS sell   plant
        'I sell plants.'

But what of constructions where no overt material appears in Agr? An expletive null subject has no content, hence no *phi*-features; in that case, recoverability is not at issue. This is not true, however, for theta-marked null subjects: where *pro* has an interpretation, the expectation is that it should appear with an overt agreement marker. Consider, once again, the configuration in (6), given here as (6)':

(6)'   [$_{AgrP}$ *pro$_{arb}$* [$_{Agr}$ *e*] [$_{TP}$ ta   bende mata]]^6
            pro   TNS sell   plant
        'Plants are sold (here).'

In (6), an arbitrary interpretation arises. Not only do we fail to see some or other agreement marker for arbitrary *pro*, but where an overt form such as *e* [3SG] or *nan* [3PL] appears in Agr, a definite, not an arbitrary interpretation ensues, as seen in the preceding. In short, the interpretation of *pro* in an utterance such as that in (6)' has an out-of-the-blue arbitrary interpretation, which, it appears, need not be identified by overt material in Agr. (9)', on the other hand, illustrates the discourse-dependence of referential *pro* where no overt material fills Agr. We see where the antecedent *e*

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^{6} *e* in Agr in (5)' and (8)' is an empty category, <u>not</u> the Pp subject pronoun *e* [3SG].

spesialistanan 'the specialists' constitutes the Topic, and thus identifies the content of the empty subject in the following utterance:[7]

(9)'   ...e spesialistanan$_i$ ... [$_{TopP}$ e_i [$_{AgrP}$ *pro$_i$* [$_{Agr}$ e_i] [$_{TP}$ ta skonde tras di "tradishon"]]]
      ... DEF specialist-PL ...   *pro*   TNS hide behind of "tradition"
      '... the specialists ... They hide behind "tradition".'

The "classic" theory of *pro*-drop relies on rich agreement for the identification of the content of *pro* (Rizzi, 1986). It is clear that the Pp cases are not accounted for under this approach. Nor does the discourse-oriented approach of Huang (1984) offer a solution: we have seen that the availability of an antecedent is not a sufficient condition for referential *pro* to appear. Specifically, the cases that we considered suggest that the antecedent must be compatible with a 3PL interpretation; this restricts possible antecedents to 3PL referents and collective nouns. Ackema & Neeleman's (2007) pragmatic approach to recoverability might have merit here. They rely on salience and locality as factors determining the discourse-accessibility of an identifier of *pro*. They point to Topic status and to lack of competition from other potential antecedents as making a referent salient; closeness in terms of linear distance and/or being located in the same finite CP as the anaphoric expression account for locality. All cases of referential discourse-linked *pro* that we have encountered behave in this manner.

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4 Concluding remarks

We have seen that Pp can be considered a full *pro*-drop language: weak subject pronouns appear in Agr^0, where their function is to identify the content of *pro*. As expected of a *pro*-drop language, expletive subjects are obligatorily null. But arbitrary and referential interpretations of *pro* are also attested, without an overt element in Agr^0 which identifies its content. Our finding is that discourse-linking to a topic which identifies *pro* as 3rd person plural is required for a referential interpretation to be established; failing that, an arbitrary interpretation is obtained. Null subjects are inadmissable where neither of these options is available. The conditions which allow for discourse-linking of *pro* need further investigation.

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[7] Note though that this is not simply Topic drop: in that case, the restriction that only subjects can be null should not apply.

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SHIFTING BOUNDARIES AND SHIFTING STATUS IN EDUCATION

HOW TO BEGIN HEALING A LONG FESTERING WOUND: PAPIAMENTO, COMMUNITY AND EDUCATION IN ARUBA

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Introduction

The development of Papiamento, the language of Aruba, Curaçao and Bonaire, is very strongly related to the colonial history of these islands and their inhabitants. In this article I will explain how this language could become the most prestigious language in these islands of the former Netherlands Antilles and why, despite recent improvement in its status, Papiamento is still struggling for recognition, even on the part of its own speakers.

The colonial context and the development of a language

One of the most compelling hypotheses concerning the genesis of Papiamento is the so called Proto-Afro-Portuguese Creole theory, as advanced by Dr. Frank E. Martinus in his doctoral dissertation entitled, *The Kiss of a Slave* (1996). This theory assumes that already in the 15th century an Afro-Portuguese Creole developed in Portugal, on the west coast of Africa and on the Cape Verdean Islands. This language became a lingua franca that was frequently used between Europeans – not only Portuguese – and West-Africans in their commercial contacts. It seems that in the slave trade during the 16th and 17th century this language continued to be the commercial language. According to Martinus before the transportation of the slaves to the Americas, many were ladinized, that is, they were baptized as Christians and learned elements of this Afro-Portuguese creole language. This language was then transported to the Caribbean by the slaves, where it was modified via relexification to the dominant European languages in the different colonies.

Colonial language policy

In 1499, Alonso de Ojeda, a Spanish captain, was the first European to come ashore on the island of Curaçao which at the time had its own native inhabitants. In 1527 Juan de Ampues captured the island, along with the neighboring islands Aruba and Bonaire to add them to the Spanish Empire in the so called New World.

In 1634 the Dutchman Johan van Walbeeck as a commander of the West-Indische Compagnie (W.I.C.) conquered the islands from the Spaniards and ousted the small Spanish garrison and the majority of the natives. This was the beginning of the Dutch colonization of the islands.

In august 1635 the first reformed (Calvinistic) clergyman arrived in Curaçao and he established the "Gereformeerde Gemeente" (The Dutch Reformed Church) for the Dutch settlers. In 1647 the island became a slave depot. The majority of the slaves were sold to the other islands and countries in the region. Many of the slaves who remained in Curaçao worked on the plantations that began operation there around 1650.

Although in Curaçao the conditions for agriculture were not very favorable, the Dutch colonists did very well economically, resulting in a rapidly growth growing slave population (Fouse, 2002).

In 1650, the first group of Sephardic Jews emigrated to Curaçao. Having fled from the Catholic inquisition in Spain and Portugal, they arrived in Curaçao mainly via Holland, or Brazil. They established a Jewish congregation, *Mikvé Israel*, which still exists today. These Sephardim spoke Portuguese, Spanish and Ladino (or Judeo-Spanish), which they had carried with them to the Cape Verde Islands, West Africa and other Portuguese colonies.

To protect the superior and elite position of the Dutch colonists, slaves were prohibited from learning Dutch and from joining the Dutch Reformed Church. Evangelization of the slaves, was therefore carried out by Catholic priests, who opted to use the language of the slaves in their work. The W.I.C. and the Dutch colonists thereby created very unfertile ground for the spread of Dutch and very fertile ground for the emergence of Papiamento.We have already noted that the ladinized slaves who reached Curaçao already had some knowledge of the Afro-Portuguese Creole that was commonly used in the slave trade, and that the Sephardic Jews living on the island of Curaçao spoke Portuguese, Spanish and Ladino. Many of these Sephardim were also familiar with the Afro-Portuguese Creole that they had encountered along the West African coast and in Brazil. In this situation, the interlanguage that was used most commonly between the slaves, the Sephardim, and the Dutch became Papiamento. Papiamento can be said to be based on the Afro-Portuguese Creole spoken by both the slaves and the Sephardim, with strong influence from the lexicon of the Spanish, spoken by missionaries and the Sephardim, and incorporating some elements of Portuguese, and Ladino spoken by the Sephardim as well.

It was very difficult for the Dutch colonists to maintain their language in Curaçao, for different reasons:
- slaves were not allowed to learn Dutch,
- planters lived a very isolated existence on their plantations,
- adult slave women called *yaya's* were in charge of the education of the planters' children,

- European descended women had very intensive contact with their house slaves,
- the lingua franca used between the Dutch colonists and the Jews was Papiamento
- contact with Holland was very scarce, even quite impossible in those early years.

Within one or two generations the Dutch language even lost its function as the mother tongue of the descendents of the Dutch Protestant settlers. Papiamento became their mother tongue.

The Sephardic Jews used Papiamento in their contacts with the slaves and with the other European descended groups and even with each other. The necessity to use Dutch was absent. The first appearance of written Papiamento is "Awa pasa harina", a proverb that occurs as the name of a Jewish ship in 1767. The oldest known document in Papiamento dates from 1775, a letter of a Jewish inhabitant of Willemstad to his wife in the country side, the so called "love letter" (Martinus, 1996: 9). It is most probable that already before 1747 Papiamento was the language almost everybody used in their family circle. A document of 1747 of the *Rhode Island Vice-Admirality Court in Newport* is the oldest known document that mentions Papiamento – in the document written as *'Poppemento'* - as the language *"they commonly talk in Curaçao"* (Frederiks, 1859: 156-158).

In the meantime the population of slaves was still growing, and by the mid 18th century, they outnumbered European descended people. Since many of these slaves had learned Afro-Portuguese Creole in West Africa, and because the Dutch and Jewish masters used Afro-Portuguese Creole in their contacts with the slaves, Afro-Portuguese Creole and its Spanish-lexified variant Papiamento became the language of the slaves. The Dutch language did not have any chance to stop the advance of Papiamento. In fact, Dutch seems to have just stepped aside to let Papiamento become the mother tongue of almost everyone on the island.

The Catholic Church conducted most of its activities in Papiamento, and as such was a very important contributor of the development of the language. Under the Dutch, Bonaire and Aruba were initially closed off to settlement, but when these islands were opened for settlers from Curaçao in 1770, it was Papiamento which rapidly took root there. The ABC-islands are surrounded by Spanish speaking countries, so it is logical that the influence of the Spanish language was very strong: the personal, familiar, cultural and commercial contacts were and are very intense, which resulted in a Spanish relexification of the original Afro-Portugese Creole.

In 1915 Shell, a Dutch-British oil company, established the *Curaçaose Petroleum Maatschappij* in Curaçao and many new Dutch workers migrated to Curaçao with their families. For the first time in history the contact zone between Papiamento and Dutch grew, especially when Dutch was introduced in 1935 as the only language of instruction in education. Papiamento was already highly developed, so that influence from Dutch has been limited to the lexicon. The influence of English has been largely limited to the lexicon as well, specifically to the technical industrial lexicon.

The sudden shift

By the 19th century, Papiamentu had emerged as the most widely spoken language on the ABC-islands without any official promotion on the part of the Dutch. During the same century the justification for the European colonial enterprise itself (including that of the Dutch) was shifting to a 'civilizing mission' whereby metropolitan European culture, religion, and language was supposed to be adopted by all inhabitants of the colonies and all African, Indigenous, and creole languages and cultures were to be completely eradiated and extinguished. Under these conditions, it became unacceptable to the colonial government that in a Dutch colony the Dutch language was not the most important and the most widely spoken language.

Visitors from Holland were very astonished and outraged with the language situation on the islands. G. B. Bosch complained in 1829 in his *Reizen in West-Indië en door een gedeelte van Zuid- en Noord-Amerika:* "Men wordt hier, hoe ongaarne dan ook, weder genoodzaakt de zoo dikwijls gedane klagt aan te heffen, dat onze anderszins zoo roemwaardige voorvaders zoo weinig belang in hunne eigen taal gesteld hebben." (Smeulders, 1987: 10). Bosch was only one of the many voices raised against Papiamento.

In 1897 and 1907 the Colonial Council tried to pass an education ordinance which stipulated that only Dutch be used as the language of instruction in schools. These efforts failed, however, because the Catholic mission insisted on continuing to use Papiamento in its schools, which constituted (and still constitute today) the majority of schools on the islands.

In 1936, in response to the demand for Dutch schools for the children of the newly arrived Dutch workers at the Shell refinery, the Colonial Council enacted the education law which required that Dutch be the only language of instruction in any school that wished to receive the newly instituted governmental education subsidy. Dutch was thus made the de facto official language of instruction not only on the three Papiamento speaking islands of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, but also on the three English speaking islands of St. Maarten, Saba and St. Eustatius. Because everyone wanted to receive government money, overt opposition to the imposition of Dutch vanished.

Due to the official rejection of Papiamento, the people of the ABC islands developed a *"negatief linguïstisch normbeeld"* (Prins-Winkel, 1973: 46) in relation to their own language, which we can still observe today. In the brainwashing that took place officials used all kind of Eurocentric myths to convince the people to reject the use of their mother tongue in education and to embrace Dutch as the key to success. The culture of education on the islands thus became one of mechanical and sheepish emulation of the Dutch metropolitan model (Prins-Winkel, 1983). In this way, the colonizers enlisted the colonized themselves in the vilification of Papiamento.

The Aruba education and language policy

Out of these circumstances, a very dualistic and contradictory situation arose. On the one hand, Papiamento continued to gain some status as a language of the mass media, of literature and other cultural expression. Its use continued to spread, as it became the lingua franca used among all newly arrived immigrant groups and between these groups and the 'original locals'. On the other hand Dutch acquired a preponderant status because of its position in the educational system.

But from the very beginning, there have been sharp criticisms of the governmental imposition of Dutch as language of instruction. For over 90% of students Dutch is a foreign language that they neither understand nor speak in the Caribbean. The Dutch Colonial Council "kicked away the ladder" that The Netherlands constructed some 200 years ago to educate its own people. At that time Dutch, the mother tongue of the majority, replaced French, the language of the elite, as the language of instruction in schools. Consequently the Netherlands became a very well educated, literate country, despite the fact that Dutch is a very small language, and the fact that 'you cannot use Dutch anywhere else than in the Netherlands': the same arguments that the Colonial Council used then, and the Dutch, Aruban and Antillean governments and policymakers are still using today in relation to Papiamento to keep it out of the educational system.

Why is it so difficult to understand that what Dutch is for the Dutch people, Papiamento is for our people? Why are all these efforts being made to withhold real education from our people? Why are we making learning so difficult and boring for our children? Every education professional knows that the mother tongue is an essential learning tool for the child and that learning in a language that you don't master leads to pseudo learning, frustration, and a high percentage of failures and drop outs.

It seems that in all the efforts to reconstruct and to renovate our educational system, learning Dutch has remained the main goal and that the development of comprehension, knowledge, thinking, and personality is of subordinate importance. Why we do have to prove, that in the proposed multilingual primary schools the students will learn Dutch better than in the present Dutch-only schools? And why are we now introducing a very rigorous test in Dutch and mathematics in the sixth grade? And why is it taboo to even consider Papiamento as a language of instruction in general secondary schools (the officially designated MAVO, HAVO and VWO schools)?

And if Dutch is so important, why doesn't anybody seem to be concerned about the fact that our primary school teachers are not given systematic training in teaching foreign languages?

The fundamental problem is that our education system is just a copy or imitation of the Dutch system. This represents a tremendous and incredible scientific blunder

which is the product of a self-negating Eurocentric orientation. This poisonous orientation is so strong, that our policymakers and politicians systematically disregard the findings and recommendations of local and international researchers.

Conclusion

We have to be aware of our rights and claim them. We have to get rid of that imposed and cultivated humbleness (*nos pueblo humilde*) that has deformed us into timid and frightened people without initiative. Instead, we must critically analyze our own realities and be proud of what we are and what we have. We must use our own knowledges and resources to attain goals that are in the interest of our own people.

One of the most important of these resources is our own language, Papiamento, which is (as is every human language) a creation of powerful cognitive, social, and cultural talent and skill. Our ancestors developed this language in very difficult situations, where their original languages, their families, their cultures, their beliefs, and their histories were repudiated and targeted for extermination. Despite all of this, our language, a trophy of survival, has overcome many obstacles over the centuries to grow and thrive, even in this most hostile of environments.

We have been struggling for almost a century with an educational system that is an unmitigated disaster for our people. The problems and their causes are well known, but the decision makers don't have the courage to break with old imported ideas that don't work and are not fixable. We don't have to slavishly mimic a failed Dutch educational model. We know that this educational model was imposed on us with absolutely no consideration for our people, their languages, their cultures, and their histories, all of which were either completely negated or considered to be vastly inferior by those who made Dutch the language of instruction in our schools. We know all of this, yet we still retain that system, which is still being used as a very powerful weapon to colonize, and brainwash us in order to create generation after generation of people who don't believe in their own power and possibilities, but instead believe only in the power and possibilities of others.

We can do better, if we dare to think for ourselves and be critical and creative, essential preconditions to any form of growth or development which will serve our own interests instead of the interests of those who have taken so much from us and given so little back. We have to break with the colonial and Eurocentric patterns of thinking and acting that we, especially our intellectuals trained in Holland and the U.S.A., have been trained to reproduce and deploy against our own people. As Rámon Grosfoguel (2008) states: "The success of the modern/colonial world-system consists precisely in making subjects that are socially located on the oppressed side of the colonial difference think epistemically like the ones in dominant positions". We have to be aware of all of this and work hard, together with our colleagues of Curaçao and Bonaire, to heal this long festering wound.

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BOILING WATER, OR THE PROCESS OF SYSTEMATIC DEVELOPMENT OF A COMMON UNDERSTANDING

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Nowadays, people often ask us the question: Why is it, after so many years of things moving so slowly on Aruba, that suddenly now everyone at all levels is in agreement and everyone is to introduce Papiamento as the language of instruction within a multilingual model of education? What happened? Without pretending to know the answer to this question, as an insider I would like to share my view on this process and I would like to do so by invoking a metaphor: You know when you put water to boil, how you wait and wait and nothing seems to happen? And then suddenly, one little bubble appears. And then another one. And yet another one. And the bubbles start to become bigger and to appear more frequently. This paper is about a similar process of transformation from one state to another. The process of working on a change that you cannot yet see, the results of which never seem to materialize, until you suddenly notice that all that work and energy that you put into it was not in vain. You realize that the flame actually heated the water and that when you almost didn't expect it anymore…. the water started to boil!

In Aruba I grew up hearing the incessant heated discussions about the value of Papiamento, our national language, the injustice done to children who were not allowed to learn in their own language and the many talents we lose for not offering an alternative. At home, at school, at parties, everyone seemed to have an opinion on this topic. What often starts as a statement made by one person, leads to emotional battles about the pros and cons of using Papiamento in the classroom. As a child I felt the energy transmitted by the debaters on both sides, I could sense that this was an important issue but I also experienced a profound emptiness and powerlessness at the end of every discussion, because conclusive solutions to the problem seemed to be elusive and beyond our collective reach.

Without knowing back then the linguistic terminology used to describe this approach to language planning as being a *sentimental approach* emphasizing *language as a*

right, I could implicitly and intuitively feel that this line of argumentation was emotionally very powerful, but that in itself it could not bring about change at the scale required to transform the whole educational system with a completely new language policy. In this initial stage the new language policy itself was not clearly articulated, and there were a variety of *interpretations* about the way Papiamento should or should not be introduced into the education system, ranging from:

(a) the introduction of Papiamento as a subject within the current Dutch educational system, to
(b) the introduction of Papiamento as the language of instruction alongside Dutch during the first years of schooling in a bilingual phase that would last for a variable number of years and then eventually transition into the traditional Dutch monolingual system, to
(c) the introduction of Papiamento as the sole language of instruction, replacing the current monolingual Dutch system, thereby excluding all other languages from the system, including Dutch, except perhaps as foreign language subjects at a later stage.

These various interpretations could lead to heated discussions about non-issues, simply because there was no common understanding regarding what we meant when we said we were for or against the use of Papiamento in the classroom.

While discussions were taking place in public spaces everywhere, the situation in the schools remained the same or became even worse as years passed. Being the daughter of a Belgian teacher and being a student myself in Aruban primary and secondary schools, I could see and hear firsthand how both students and teachers struggled with using a foreign language as the main medium of instruction. It wasn't easy for either the students or the teachers to participate in what seems to me to be the essence of education: an intense dialogue between people to arrive at deeper and deeper levels of understanding until that 'magic' moment when we realize that something new has been shared and learned. Even I, who had the enormous advantage over my classmates of being brought up at home partially in Dutch, couldn't get the answers that I needed from the teachers, because I could see them reaching their own limits to find the Dutch vocabulary required to respond to my questions. I spent many hours sitting outside the classroom for reading too fast, for asking too many questions and for disturbing the structured question-and-answer routine going on inside. I felt frustrated that education wasn't about learning and understanding, that curiosity was not appreciated, that discussions simply couldn't take place, because it was impossible to involve the whole class using a foreign language.

What was passing for 'education' in Aruban classrooms was learning words and texts by heart. This seemed to me to be a very anemic version of real education. The education system had been forced to tie itself in knots in order to adapt as best it could to a thoroughly wrongheaded language policy. Any improvement on this unacceptable situation would be impossible without addressing the language issue, because if we want more active learners, more learning-to-learn, more application of knowledge, more differentiation, more integrated learning, etc. it all depends on effectively mobilizing what the students already know (including their native language) in the process of introducing that which has yet to be learned. The success of any educational reform depends ultimately on whether or not it has a positive impact on the sense-making interactions between the teacher and the pupil, and these interactions depend crucially on a medium (language) for interaction that both pupils and teachers feel comfortable in.

Aruban teachers have therefore been condemned to work every day in a schizophrenic struggle between:
  (a) being loyal to the language policy and maintaining a Dutch-only environment in the classroom (and dealing with all the negative consequences for the educational process) or
  (b) being loyal to their role as educator and trying to teach the children as much as possible about a given subject in the language that their students feel most comfortable with (and dealing with complaints by administrators and parents that the students are not getting enough exposure to Dutch).

The inevitable and frequent failures which result from teachers being forced to walk this unreasonable tightrope have lead to a collective sense of impotence, paralysis, passivity, and hopelessness regarding possibilities for change.

It wasn't so strange then, that when I decided to study education, I had a dream. I had a purpose in my head and in my heart to break this cycle. I wanted to contribute to the transformation needed to open the doors and windows of the educational prison that we had built for ourselves and to be able to offer our future citizens the stepping stones and bridges necessary for them to reach their full potential. I realized though, that to make such a change possible, determination and hard work would not be the only ingredients we would need. We needed new approaches which could transcend the 'impasses' that typified the endless debates of the past.

Having observed too many empty discussions, I saw the importance of putting in some new ingredients: evidence based data and concrete, creative, and well articulated models for change. These new elements needed to be shared and revised with stakeholders at all levels, with the purpose of reaching a common understanding of the

different factors involved in the introduction of Papiamento in education. In order to construct new arguments and discourses that would really transform the debates, we would need proven theories, realistic solutions and spaces where rational and creative dialogue could take place.

While I was studying in Holland, the first step in closing the gap between the two opposing sides in the Papiamento in education debate, was made by a group who produced a concrete new language model for Aruban education in the form of a policy document entitled, "Pa un enseñansa bilingual" (Directie Onderwijs Aruba, 1988). This policy document proposed a bilingual transitional model for primary education and consciously refrained from speaking about *either* Papiamento *or* Dutch in school, but started instead to explore the many possibilities where *both* Papiamento *and* Dutch could be used and learned in school following sound pedagogical principles. The monolingual either-or discourse was thus transformed into a bilingual one. With this the foundation was laid for further advances. This first version of a bilingual model was later elaborated in several consequent policy documents, but the more detailed the bilingual model became, the more reasons we encountered to propose a new alternative model.

In Dutch there is an expression that says: *Als twee honden vechten om een been, gaat de derde ermee heen* [If two dogs fight for a bone, the third dog will take it]. In the either-Papiamento-or-Dutch and later the how-much-Papiamento-how-much Dutch discussions, English was gradually assuming that "third dog" status. Once the idea became generally accepted that neither Papiamento alone nor Dutch alone was the solution and that the various combinations of both languages could also be problematic, it was suggested that perhaps it would be better to introduce English as an alternative additional language in education. In general, taking English on board was seen as an additive, rather than a subtractive step, transforming the bilingual discourse into a new multilingual discourse. In this way, the idea was born that a multilingual school, where children would learn more than two languages might provide a constructive solution for the problems at hand. It was not long before Spanish was added as a fourth language to the now multilingual conversation. Adding English and Spanish to the equation on the one hand helped to bridge past differences, but on the other hand posed new threats or challenges, since Dutch now had two dominant metropolitan languages and Papiamento now had three dominant metropolitan languages to share the school curriculum with.

The new multilingual discourse united several formerly opposing interest groups in society. For example, in the business sector, where people formerly opposed the use of Papiamento in education, fearing for the loss of Dutch as a language of social mobility

and wider communication, the new multilingual model (including Papiamento) was readily accepted because it added English and Spanish, the two languages of vital importance for the commercial survival of Aruba.

The debate now reached a qualitatively different stage of convergence of interests, in other words, the bubbles were beginning to appear at the bottom of the increasingly heated pot of water. Once it was established that all four of the languages that play an important role in the Aruban society, the Caribbean region and the global marketplace should be included in any reform to language and education policy, the tumultuous discussions about which languages to include or not to include in education calmed down and we entered a new phase. The question then arose as to how these four languages were to be learned.

The first round of discussions which followed focused on which language to adopt (or maintain) as the language of instruction, with arguments on all sides focusing on the need to learn the one particular language or another. These discussions thus focused on the importance of learning each language, assuming or implying that to learn a language it had to be the language of instruction. This assumption was undermined though by two bodies of evidence. One was the fact that our own Aruban students who go to study abroad in the United States or in Latin American countries fairly easily adapt to the use of English or Spanish as the language of instruction without ever having experienced English or Spanish as a language of instruction before. Moreover, Arubans studying in the US or in Latin American countries tend to have a higher success rate than those who study in the Netherlands, undermining further the assumption that in order to learn a language - Dutch in this case - at the academic level required to be able to have success with it as a language of instruction in higher education, Aruban students have to start using it as the language of instruction from as early a stage as the first grade of primary education. The other strong evidence that refuted this assumption was the successful introduction of a specific one-year program for teaching Dutch as a Second Language to a great number of predominantly Latin American pupils entering the Aruban primary education system after grade two. The success of this group in mastering Dutch within a year with a higher level of proficiency than Aruban children who had experienced Dutch as the language of instruction from a much earlier age, proved that in order to learn Dutch, the approach to teaching Dutch and the strength of the foundation already attained in the native language (Spanish in this case) were more important factors than the amount of years Dutch was used as a language of instruction in an artificial context. Even the idea that since higher education in Holland is in Dutch, all education in Aruba should be in Dutch as well in order to offer the best chances to our students to eventually succeed there, has been undermined by the reality that Dutch institutes for higher education are

nowadays shifting towards the use of English as the language of instruction in their top academic programs.

Gradually people have come to realize that in order to learn a given language for higher education purposes, it is not necessary to have used that language before as a language of instruction, and that using a given language as a language of instruction is not necessarily the most effective way of learning that language. This understanding immediately led people to pose the question as to how our students could learn these four languages in such a way that "success in higher education" would be guaranteed for all (as if enrolling in higher education is the only desirable attainment target for all students and the only reason for children to go to school).

Learning languages may not be a topic people contemplate very often. Nevertheless most people have a straightforward idea about the way languages are learned. The most common idea is that if you allocate a larger amount of time for learning the language, the language is learned better. Although this idea seems completely logical at first glance, it is not completely true. What is missing in this equation is the quality of the instruction offered and the context within which it is offered. Languages are learned in a context, and children need to relate the language learned to the language context they recognize in their everyday lives. Learning implies a journey from the known to the unknown. And as on most journeys to a previously unknown location, you cannot reach your destination without a vehicle, a road and a map, or in the case of language learning:

(a) an effective medium (language) of instruction
(b) an appropriate and adaptive didactic approach
(c) clear and explicit targets to attain

Children come to school with an enormous amount of knowledge in their own mother tongue. They invest a lot of time and effort in learning this first language. As mere babies they have to make a connection between what they see, hear, feel and sense to strings of speech sounds, and to understand that all these strings of sounds actually have meaning. Gradually they discover that these sound strings can be split into words and sentences that together form a language, a vehicle that helps human beings to communicate and share their experiences with one another.

When learning a second language, these complicated concepts of how a language is structured do not need to be learned again. The child understands implicitly that the second language also has words and sentences, and that the difference between the first and second languages is limited to some specific sounds, some words and some grammatical topics. Connecting words and meaning is also much easier in a second

language, because oftentimes the meaning or concept a word refers to is already understood in the first language.

The mother tongue therefore provides the foundation upon which new languages can be learned. This point can be illustrated with Cummins' (1980: 36) Iceberg model, so people can visualize the vast amount of knowledge already present in the first language that lays the foundation for all other subsequent languages to be learned. The amount of time invested in learning the mother tongue therefore is not at the expense of time that could have been spent on learning other languages, but is an investment that pays off when attempting to learn other languages. Once this idea is understood, the simple idea that all languages are learned in the same way, that leads to either-or discussions as to the amount of time spent in the curriculum on learning each language, can be replaced by new, more complex, ideas about the interrelationship between languages and the transfer of knowledge from one language to another. This has opened up the possibility of allotting different sequences and time slots to each of the four languages in the curriculum, without necessarily entailing a devaluation or a decline in the attained proficiency of languages allotted less time than others or introduced later than others.

The language of instruction is often seen as a synonym for the most important language a child should learn. This is a natural consequence of the unnatural way that people in monolingual societies experience language and education. Many are not yet familiar with the following ideas:

> (a) that a language of instruction is the medium to higher levels of learning and understanding,
> (b) that learning words by heart without necessarily understanding anything, (as occurs when we use Dutch as the initial language of instruction in Aruba) can be replaced by an education where students actually interact and understand the meaning of what is taught (as when they use Papiamento as the initial language of instruction instead).
> (c) that silent classrooms are not optimal spaces for learning

For Aruban teachers visiting schools abroad where they witness education taking place in a language that both the students and the teachers feel confident in, the first thing that strikes them is the amount of interaction taking place and the sound of the children voicing their questions and thoughts.
This is not to say that Papiamento is the only language in which teachers and students can reach this level of interaction. But in order for a language to be used as a language of instruction both students and teachers need to reach a level of proficiency where

they feel comfortable expressing themselves in that language, and where neither the students nor the teacher feel anxious or scared to make mistakes or stay quiet for loss of words. This is a state that can be attained in any language. It is not an impossibility to use other non-mother-tongues as languages of instruction. But… it takes time and a targeted curriculum, to prepare children to gradually make the transition and expand the number of languages that they feel comfortable with using as languages of instruction.

This new level of understanding led to the general acceptance of the idea that while children are initially introduced to key concepts in the national language Papiamento, they can be prepared to use other languages, and particularly Dutch, in a structured way that enables them to eventually switch comfortably to the use of these other languages as the language of instruction. After years of study a new language policy report for primary education was proposed (PRIEPEB, 2002), which was later approved by the Minister of Education in 2003. After yet more years of discussions on the development of the conditions needed and the best possible implementation model for this new language policy, we are now on the verge of introducing the proposed model in some pilot schools.

Therefore we are now on the threshold of the next phase in developing a common understanding and support for the introduction of Papiamento within a multilingual model in education. We have reached a phase where we now *theoretically* have a common understanding, which has led to a transformation of thinking, a certain level of general support and a situation where people are willing to give us, linguists and educationalists, the benefit of the doubt. The water has started boiling, and now this boiling water will become the source of energy for a subsequent process: to extend this support even further we will now need proof and evidence of the *actual* successes of this new language model in Aruban education and we will need the space to implement several concrete working models and determine what works best. This new phase carries a heavy load of expectations and responsibilities with it. The level of confidence and the spark and energy from the first phase will need to keep the water boiling continuously now, so that the discussion can center itself not on past questions as to whether or not a multilingual language model can be successful, but instead on the various ways in which it can be implemented, the best practices, the practical ingredients and factors which ensure success, and the variations in success from context to context, school to school and one specific classroom situation to another.

At this time in Aruban history we are on the verge of transitioning from a relatively comfortable theoretical discussion on "what in theory would work best" to the more complex, uncomfortable, practical and diversified reality of "what in practice will work best in specific and concrete situations". The focus on "the one and only best

theoretical model" has to shift now to a menu of possible implementation models where the best working model cannot be guaranteed by theories or experiences in other contexts, but will have to be tried out in the real specific Aruban classrooms. Responsible implementation plans will have to go hand in hand with research plans where targets are set and measured.

Although this new stage brings with it new challenges and feelings of anxiety, I hope that the energy of the previous "boiling water" process can remain a continuous and secure source to tap into when the complexity of this new phase becomes overwhelming. The last word on this topic has not yet been spoken, since this new stage will surely lead to new common understandings and a community learning process where together we are transforming educational practices and creating a new future for education in Aruba. But learning from the past can help us to leap confidently into the future.

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CAN ENGLISH REPLACE DUTCH AS THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION (BESIDE PAPIAMENTU) IN SCHOOLS ON CURAÇAO?

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Introduction

At the moment Dutch is used as the principal language of instruction, besides Papiamentu, in schools on the ABC-Islands (Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao). Many inhabitants of these islands, however, do not think favourably of Dutch. The colonial past, with its painful history of slavery, has not been forgotten. Many regard Dutch also as a relatively unimportant language, especially if it is compared to the other languages that are widely used in the Caribbean: English and Spanish. And many people feel that the economy of these islands, which is based largely on tourism and international financial services, would benefit greatly if the population were highly proficient in English. Therefore the question is often posed whether Dutch could be replaced by either English or Spanish as the language of instruction in schools. In this article we will have a closer look at that question. We will restrict ourselves to the Island of Curaçao and to English, though much that is said in this article would apply to Spanish as well.

Papiamentu is the maternal tongue of some 330,000 people: some 230,000 on the ABC Islands themselves and about 100,000 emigrants from these islands that are currently living in the Netherlands. It is clearly a 'small' language. Yet, whereas many of these 'smaller' languages lead a marginal existence and may even face extinction, Papiamentu is absolutely thriving. Consider these points:

- It is used as the everyday language by 85 % of the population
- It is embraced by all the inhabitants of the islands, regardless of their ethnic
- background and social status.
- It has been accepted by law, beside Dutch and English, as one of the three official languages in the Netherlands Antilles.
- Papiamentu can boast of a long tradition of linguistic and literary studies and its bibliography is impressive.

- A language planning agency has been installed by the government and large areas in the fields of spelling, grammar and lexicography have been standardized
- The language used in Parliament is Papiamentu.
- There is a wide choice of schoolbooks available in Papiamentu, ranging from kindergarten to twelfth grade.

There are not many creole languages that find themselves in such a comfortable position. Papiamentu is virtually unchallenged. The question arisises why this is so and why so many other creole languages have not attained such a status.

Why is Papiamentu so successful?
In the first place there are historical reasons. Dutch colonial policy in the West Indies was never aimed at spreading Dutch religion and Dutch culture and language. It was not just a matter of neglect: Dutch government officials conducted an active policy aimed at preventing the spread of Protestantism, the Dutch national religion at that time, among the slave population. Likewise the Dutch never made an effort to spread their language among the slaves. Only government officials and a handful of other members of the Curaçao elite were able to understand Dutch. Knowledge means power and power was the last thing that the authorities wanted to give to the slaves. Dutch was therefore never systematically passed on to the slave population. It wasn't until the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century that the authorities seriously began to consider Dutch as the language of instruction in schools. It wasn't until 1936 that the law was passed that stipulated that Dutch should be the only language of instruction in schools. As a consequence Papiamentu was allowed a period of some 250 years (roughly speaking from 1675 to 1936) in which it could develop freely, and by the time that the authorities made an effort to spread the use of Dutch, it had established itself so firmly that Dutch was no match.

Another reason for the success of Papiamentu is to be found in the relative unimportance of Dutch. Dutch has a low status in the eyes of many of the inhabitants of the ABC-Islands, especially when it is compared to 'giants' such as English or Spanish. The language is hardly spoken outside Holland and therefore little seems to be gained by acquiring proficiency in Dutch. Moreover, many inhabitants traditionally hold a negative view of the Dutch and of the Netherlands and it is obvious that this does not contribute to the motivation to learn the language.
The feeling that Dutch is relatively unimportant, together with the aversion against the Dutch and the Netherlands, strengthen the position of Papiamentu. The inhabitants of Curaçao are proficient in Dutch, but they are not enthusiastic about it. They tend to use it only when they have no other choice. English, on the contrary, enjoys a high

status among the inhabitants of the islands where it is spoken side by side with a creole language. On these islands many are are willing to 'sacrifice' their native creole language in return for proficiency in this high status language. English, because of its status, might thus well weaken the position of Papiamentu.

A third reason for the strong position of Papiamentu is to be found in the fact that there is hardly any linguistic relationship between Papiamentu and Dutch. In countries where an English-based Creole or a French-based Creole exists side by side with 'proper' English or 'proper' French, these creole languages tend to be regarded as inferior variants and very often people will adopt the 'proper' variant, because they expect that it will help them raise their status. This is not the case with Papiamentu. There is hardly any linguistic relationship between Dutch and Papiamentu. There are some lexical elements in Papiamentu that have been derived from Dutch but they do not constitute a significant part of the language. Most of its vocabulary and much of its grammar are clearly based on Spanish and Portuguese. Dutch is therefore never seen as a superior variant of Papiamentu.

Apparently Dutch and Papiamentu can coexist, each in their separate domains, without harming each other. They have done so for hundreds of years. Linguistic situations in which two or more languages coexist can be regarded as a class of ecosystems. In such linguistic ecosystems there is a delicate balance and if the situation is changed, for example by the arrival of an 'intruder', this balance might be disturbed. As we know from biology the outcome is very often unpredictable and elements of the ecosystem that seemed healthy and thriving may perish.

If English were to be introduced as language of instruction and would subsequently develop into a second language on Curaçao, Papiamentu would be pitched against a competitor that is far more formidable than Dutch and its position could be seriously weakened. Unlike Dutch, English, which does not carry the burden of being the language of the former colonizer, would enjoy a high status. Unlike Dutch, English would be attractive to learn because proficiency in English would connect the inhabitants of Curaçao to the wider English speaking world and the powerful economy of the United States. If it were ever introduced as language of instruction, English might turn out to be a Trojan horse that would pose a serious threat to Papiamentu. (This would be even more likely if Spanish were introduced, because many people regard Papiamentu even now as a form of 'bad Spanish'). English could thus seriously undermine the position of Papiamentu. This may sound exaggerated, but the position of the creole languages in countries where English is used, should make us approach the adoption of English as a main language of instruction in our schools with caution. It may sound ironic, but the best strategy for those that love Papiamentu might well be

to stimulate Dutch as the language to be used side by side with Papiamentu in school, because Dutch doesn't pose the same kind of threat to Papiamentu that English does.

How can English be introduced as the language of instruction (beside Papiamentu)?

We have seen that we should actually think twice before introducing English as the language of instruction, because it may weaken the position of Papiamentu. Let us assume, however, that the Curaçao government does decide at some point in the future to replace Dutch as the language of instruction that is used together with Papiamentu in schools with English. How should it go about this? Should it attempt to introduce English at all levels in a short period of time or should it plan to introduce English on a smaller scale and let it spread gradually through the system over a longer period?

The circles of English

Braj Kachru, emeritus Professor at the University of Illinois, conceived the idea of three concentric circles to illustrate the use of 'World Englishes' in various countries. In the 'inner' circle we find the countries that form the traditional bases of English: England, the USA, Ireland, the Anglophone part of Canada, some countries in Africa and some parts in the Caribbean and Australia. In the second circle, the 'outer' circle we find the countries in which English is not the native language but these countries were once colonized by either England or the USA and English still plays an important role and is usually the language used by the elite: India, Singapore, the Philipines, Nigeria, Pakistan etc. In the third circle, the 'expanding' circle, which comprises virtually the rest of the world, we find the countries in which English is neither the first nor the second language, but where it is widely used as a foreign language. Curaçao clearly belongs to the third circle.

It should be noted that the countries in which English is used as the language of instruction in schools all belong to the first or second circles. Countries that belong to the third circle do not use English as the language of instruction across the curriculum in their schools from primary to tertiary level [1]. This may serve as a warning that

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1 Rwanda, a former Belgian colony, and therefore Francophone, has abruptly switched to English as the sole language of instruction in all its schools. The government claims that this has been done solely for economic reasons: proficiency in English makes a population more competitive in the global economy. The situation, however, is more complicated. Traditionally the Rwandan elite was Francophone. Many Rwandans were forced to live in exile in neighbouring Uganda and they became Anglophone over the years. After the civil war in 1994 the exiles were able to return to Rwanda and many of them managed to become part of the elite. So at present there are two competing elite groups, one Anglophone and one Francophone. Apparently the Anglophone elite, supported by anti-French sentiments, has been able to oust French. Rwanda seems to belong to the third circle, because it was not colonized by England, but the dominating elite is Anglophone, so it might be argued that Rwanda actually belongs to the second circle. It will be interesting to follow the linguistic developments in Rwanda in the coming years, especially because the linguistic situation in Rwanda somewhat resembles that of Curaçao: almost all Rwandans use a native language Kinyarwanda. This language was used as a language of instruction beside French in schools. When Rwanda switched to English, Kinyarwanda was no longer used as a

introducing English as the language of instruction in a country that belongs to the third circle, such as Curaçao, will not be a simple process.

An abrupt switch would be ill-advised. The existing corps of teachers, many of whom have no affinity with English, cannot be expected to be able to switch over to teaching in English across the curriculum. The language that the pupils would be exposed to would be of very poor quality and therefore the teaching of the subject matter itself would deteriorate, because the teachers are hampered in expressing themselves. The quality of education would suffer seriously. One might consider replacing the entire existing corps of teachers by a corps consisting of teachers that are all native speakers of English. The cost, however, of importing teachers at such a large scale would be prohibitive.

A gradual approach would be more realistic. One advantage of a gradual approach is that it is more flexible. Adjustments can be made along the way if they are deemed necessary. We may end up in a situation in which English is the sole language of instruction beside Papiamentu, or we may end up in a sort of halfway house in which Dutch and English would both find a place as languages of instruction beside Papiamentu.

One approach that is widely adopted in a number of countries at the moment is the so-called CLIL approach (Content and Language Integrated Learning). Certain subjects in schools are taught in a foreign language, for instance maths and science or geography. The advantages are obvious, because two birds are killed with one stone: the students learn a foreign language while learning the subject matter at the same time. At first glance, CLIL seems very attractive. It doesn't seem to involve any drastic changes in the field of education. Governments are naturally tempted by this 'buy one, get two' approach. The same teacher will train his students in English and, for example, mathematics, for one salary.

Yet there are disadvantages to CLIL. The teacher often turns out to be the weakest link. In the ideal situation the teacher is both proficient in English and well-trained in the subject matter. If one of the two is lacking, however, the quality of the teaching of both the language and the subject itself will suffer. CLIL is still controversial. It seems to be successful in elite schools that are willing to invest in good teachers that can successfully carry out the CLIL programme. Apparently it is disastrous in schools where teachers are told to switch to teaching their subject in English without being given the opportunity to become proficient in English. Some countries are abandoning their CLIL programmes because they find that subject knowledge is deteriorating

language of instruction in any school. Whereas Papiamentu has 'entered' schools, Kinyarwanda has been banished.

rapidly. CLIL programmes can be successful but only if they are properly implemented and if the authorities are willing to provide the necessary funds. Good CLIL programmes are certainly not cheap. Some countries have organised their teacher training courses in such way that all teachers are proficient both in a foreign language and well-trained in a subject. In these countries CLIL might well be an option.

Another approach that might be used in Curaçao is designating a limited number of government-funded schools to teach in English only, much in the same way that a limited number of schools use Dutch as the language of instruction exclusively now. It is probably the elite that would flock to these schools, just as it is the elite that flock to the Dutch schools now. This isn't necessarily a bad thing. The elite is often in the vanguard of language change. If the Curaçao elite becomes proficient in English there might be a spin-off to the other social classes so that gradually the entire population would become proficient in English.

Conclusion

It is often suggested that Curaçao should switch from Dutch to English as the language of instruction. Many inhabitants have no affinity with Dutch, which, though it has been used as the (sole) language of instruction for dozens of years, is still felt to
be a foreign language. There is an aversion to the language of the former colonizing power and people also feel that Dutch is a relatively unimportant language. Moreover, if the population of Curacao were proficient in English, the economy would benefit. Yet the introduction of English might disturb the linguistic ecosystem that exists in Curaçao and that might harm the position of Papiamentu. In many other countries where English is used side by side with a creole language, the creole language has a low status. English might therefore turn out to be a Trojan horse.

We should bear in mind that we are situated in Kachru's 'third' 'expanding' circle and that no country in that circle has switched to English as the sole language of instruction yet. That may serve as a warning that switching to English will not be an easy endeavor. Should the Curaçao government decide to introduce English as the language of instruction, it should not be impatient and try to introduce English abruptly on a large scale, forcing teachers to teach in a language in which they are not proficient. Instead, a gradual approach should be adopted, in which a solid CLIL programme (which will not be cheap) and designating a limited number of schools to teach exclusively in English are two options to be considered.

A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR ON SITE TEACHER TRAINING IN CURAÇAO

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Introduction

We at the General Faculty at the University of the Netherlands Antilles (UNA) offer a bachelor level training program for 2nd degree teachers in Papiamento, English, Dutch and Spanish for the HBO (higher vocational education) stream of secondary education. This teacher training program has its roots in a number of different training initiatives that were started at different times, but which gradually converged by the academic year 2005-2006. A fundamental aspect of this program is the apprenticeship or practical in-classroom training element.

Over the years, this internship or on site training component has taken on the character of a traditional apprenticeship. The trainee / apprentice performs assignments on site in a school, practicing and experimenting with giving lessons, with the support of a workplace counselor, who acts as the trainee's mentor. The innovative element in this approach has been that the apprentice / trainee develops her competence in a methodical manner according to study plans and study reports, a process which is partly determined by the institutions involved and partly determined by the individual preferences of the trainee herself via her Personal Development Plan and her Personal Activity Plan. In this way, the trainee works together with the workplace counselor to plan and carry out her daily classroom and school activities. The on site experiences acquired by the trainee are documented and analyzed, usually by means of a process of reflection and feedback (utilizing, amongst others, the incident-method approach) (Schaap & Manuel-Eliza, 2009).

Needless to say, this all depends on close and harmonious co-operation between the General Faculty at UNA (hereafter 'the faculty') as the training institution, the schools where the apprentice / trainees do their internships, and all of the other stakeholders in the process. When the program was small and there were few trainees, this co-operation was easily achieved, but as the program has expanded, new challenges have arisen.

Bottlenecks

The secondary education sector on Curaçao includes three HAVO/VWO (academic track secondary) schools, seven SBO (secondary vocational track) schools, nine lower VSBO-schools, (VSBO stands for preparatory secondary vocational education) eight upper VSBO-schools, four lower plus upper VSBO-schools and one lower plus upper VSBO-HAVO-VWO school. The number of trainees enrolled in the faculty's bachelor level program for 2nd degree teachers in Papiamento, English, Dutch and Spanish for the HBO secondary school stream has increased from 40 in 2002 to about 400 in 2009. Given the relatively small numbers of available schools and the growing number of trainees, all of these schools are available as on site training venues for teacher apprentices / trainees enrolled in the faculty program.

Curaçao did not have any structured 2nd degree teacher credential programs prior to 2002. During the first years of our 2nd degree bachelor's program's existence, the General Faculty at UNA had one person in charge of both coordinating the apprenticeship-program as well as of mentoring teacher apprentices / trainees. Because the lines of responsibility were short and the numbers of trainees were small, it was relatively easy for us to set up apprenticeships for the trainees at the schools and to locate teachers within those schools who were willing to act as coaches for the trainees.

However, this situation changed as the numbers of trainees increased. For the first time, we were confronted with a relatively large group of students who were ready for apprenticeship.

In an attempt to better inform the schools about the apprenticeships, we sent apprenticeship guidebooks and brochures containing information on the organization of the apprenticeships to the schools. We also organized meetings between the faculty staff in charge of these apprenticeships and school leaders to facilitate communication and cooperation, but in general these meetings were not well attended.

While the need for more apprenticeship slots has rapidly increased, the willingness of teachers to serve as counselors / mentors for apprentices in the schools has not increased proportionately. This is in part due to the numerous changes that have been made in the structure, organization, and content of secondary school education over the past years, which have sometimes limited the time available for teachers to take on the task of counseling and mentoring an apprentice. While some teachers view the mentoring and counseling of apprentice / trainee teachers as an integral part of their role as teachers to pass their knowledge and skills on to the next generation of educators, others see such counseling and mentoring as an unreasonable increase in their already overloaded task burden.

The objective of the General Faculty of UNA is to train competent high quality teachers to work in the schools of the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba. An essential

element in quality assurance is the selection of the very best possible teachers in the schools to serve as counselors for the apprentice / trainees. Because of the constraints mentioned above, it has not always been possible to deploy the most qualified teachers for this purpose, and often this task has fallen instead to less qualified but experienced teachers. Another factor that has contributed to this problem has been the lack of formalized cooperation agreements between the General Faculty of UNA and the schools, which has meant that UNA has had no formal basis for demanding and ensuring the highest possible level of quality on the part of the teachers who are assigned as counselors to the apprentice / trainees. If formal agreements were to be put into place between UNA and the schools, however, one could establish guidelines and procedures to which teacher / counselors could be held accountable with regard to counseling and assessing apprentice / trainees .

During a recent trip to the Netherlands, some of our colleagues in the General Faculty at UNA encountered the innovative 'Training in School' program and had the chance to experience how this program works in practice. This program, that has worked so well in the Netherlands that it has been upgraded from a pilot project to become part of many of the government's teacher credential programs, seemed to address many of the problems that we were facing in our own teacher apprenticeship program.

How does the 'Training in School' program work?

The basic idea behind the 'Training in School' concept is 'learning on the job'. The most innovative aspect of the 'Training in School' program (OPLIS, for its initials in Dutch) is the fact that it transfers substantial responsibility for the supervision and training of teachers from tertiary institutions such as universities and teachers colleges, directly to a special set of actual primary and secondary schools in the field which have been designated by the educational authorities as 'training schools'. Under this program, teacher trainees meet an increased part of their teacher education program requirements on site (in the 'training school') rather than in a traditional teacher training institution.

The 'Training in School' concept not only narrows the gap between theory and practice, but it also assures a high degree of co-operation between the tertiary institution (such as UNA) where the teacher trainee is officially enrolled and the 'training school' where the trainee spends a significant proportion of her time, and which plays a major role in her training, supervision and assessment. Similar programs have been successfully trialed in other countries, in particular the United States, where a growing number of 'professional development schools' have been established, and England which has implemented a 'school-based teacher education' program (Van Velzen et al., 2009).

Some of the advantages of 'Training in School' program for the various stakeholders

For the trainee/apprentice:
- The trainee becomes intimately acquainted with day to day school practice
- The trainee can count on qualitatively better counseling on site by people specifically trained for that purpose
- This trainee is placed in an optimally equipped and maximally supportive environment for the contextualized development of her pedagogical competencies and pedagogical practice

For the school
- Schools receive the chance to attract talented personnel, both as trainers and as trainees
- Schools have direct and continuous access to the most recent developments in educational theory, design, and practice
- Schools can fully institutionalize continuous personnel development because training has become one of their basic functions
- Schools can move closer to the goal of becoming real 'communities of co-learners' where everyone from teachers to students are actively involved in a continuous and systematic process of life-long learning

For tertiary training institutions (universities and teacher training colleges)
- The burden of training, mentoring, and counseling of trainees is shared with highly qualified practitioners in the field
- The gap between theory and practice is bridged
- Direct feedback loops are established with schools and teachers whereby academic theories and innovative programs and approaches can be easily tested, evaluated, and modified in the field

How a 'Training in School' program could be implemented in Curaçao
The successful implementation of a 'Training in School' program in Curaçao would depend crucially on a number of factors, including the following
1. Motivated 'training schools', whose staff are able and willing to adopt the 'Training in School' concept and adapt it to their local situation
2. Systematic and comprehensive training of trainers to become professional counselors, mentors, and trainers for trainee / apprentices in the 'training schools' as well as the retraining of mentors at universities and teachers' colleges to make the most of the new training framework
3. Complete integration of trainees / apprentices as full members of the team of professionals at each 'training school'

4. Willingness on the part of the faculty to relinquish and share some of its responsibilities and authority over the training of teachers to 'training schools'
5. Creation of a comprehensive and fully operational training environment for trainee / apprentices in each 'training school'
6. Provision of adequate funds for additional personnel, for re-training and upgrading of existing personnel, to compensate trainers, counselors, and mentors for the extra hours required to make the program work
7. Creation of an apprenticeship department within the General Faculty at UNA, including the provision of necessary infrastructure, the delineation of tasks and responsibilities, terms of reference, selection criteria for trainees, etc.

The major challenges that we foresee in the implementation of a 'Training in School' program in Curaçao have to do with finance and personnel. At present, the government does not have the means to finance such a program under normal budgetary mechanisms, but there is substantial justification for a special case to be made to access development funds for this project. In any case, the necessary finances will have to be made available over the longer term to properly establish and maintain a 'Training in School' scheme on the island. Our educational sector is currently short-staffed. The implementation of a 'Training in School' program would not only involve the extension of task burdens for existing personnel, but also the creation of new positions. It may prove difficult to find adequately trained professionals to fill these positions or even to find the appropriate people to train to eventually fill these positions.

We at the General Faculty of UNA feel that despite these significant challenges, the implementation of a 'Training in School' program in Curaçao is important enough to justify a trial or pilot project to test the feasibility and appropriateness of such an initiative on the island. We have therefore decided to propose the pilot study outlined in the following section of this article.

The pilot project
Objectives
The objectives which we wish to achieve with the pilot, are as follows:
- Work intensively with four pilot schools to lay the foundation for the introduction of a 'Training in School' program
- Increasingly involve these pilot schools in making ever greater contributions to the training of trainee / apprentices to the point where they become 'training schools'

- Through constant monitoring and evaluation of this process, gain insights into possible bottlenecks that could pose problems for the eventual implementation of the project on a larger scale, and experiment with different strategies to eliminate such bottlenecks.

Choosing a model

There are several models available for on site training of trainee / apprentices, ranging from the traditional the *trainee in school* model – in which the trainee practices what she has learned at the university or teachers' college in the classroom setting under the supervision of an experienced teacher – to the *training model*, in which the school itself completely replaces the university or teachers' college in the training process (Van Velzen et al., 2009). Between those two extremes, we find:

1) the *coordinator model* where the school has a central counselor who directs and co-ordinates the counseling, activities, and lesson content of trainees at the school;

2) the *partner model* where the school is co-responsible for the teacher training curriculum and actually designs significant parts of that curriculum;

and 3) the *network model* where the school not only makes a significant contribution to the teacher training curriculum, but also has a team of trainers and coaches on staff who take an active part in the general training of trainees above and beyond the traditional supervision of apprentices. For the planned pilot project, we have opted for the 'coordinator model' at the initial stage, with a possible switchover to the 'partner model' at a later stage. Within the coordinator model, the school assumes the task of appointing a central counselor who is tasked with coordinating on site training.

Planning

The following plan represents our initial attempt to set out the activities and time frames of the proposed pilot project. The project will be initiated in two pilot schools, which will be joined by another two pilot schools later on. Therefore, four schools in total will participate in the pilot project. It should be noted that different streams of secondary education beyond the present HBO are represented in the pilot project. The project is divided into a preparation phase, an implementation phase, and an evaluation phase, as follows:

The project has various phases:

Phase	Activities	Period
A. Preparation		
	• Writing the project proposal • Discussions within the team of the General Faculty • Discussions with UNA-management and school governors on the pre-conditions • Sharing information with other stakeholders: team of internal counselors, school leaders, trainees • Informing, training WB'-members and IB'-members, reflecting on the school's capacity • Logistics and materials • Selecting trainees: year 2, 3 and 4 of all training streams will qualify	August 2010-May 2011
B. Implementation		
B.1	Implementation 1st phase at 2 schools	August 2011
	Interim evaluation	June 2012
B.2	Implementation 2nd phase at 2 other schools	August 2012
Evaluation	Final evaluation of the pilot project	June 2013

Conclusion

The ultimate goal of this entire exercise is to offer future teachers the best possible environment for professional training. The best way to learn to be a teacher is by teaching. Within the 'Training in School' framework, 'training schools' allow teacher trainee/apprentices to take full advantage of real teaching situations to develop and refine their pedagogical philosophy, theory, approach, technique, and practice in a safe, supervised environment with constant feedback and support of highly trained professionals with a wealth of experience on the job. The key to making this framework a reality is the redefinition of the responsibilities and roles of tertiary institutions such as universities and teacher training colleges vis-à-vis primary and secondary schools in the training of future teachers, whereby the current unequal, distant, disjointed, haphazard, and stagnant relationships that have been established

between these two sectors are replaced by more equal, engaged, streamlined, well designed, and dynamic partnerships.

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LEARNING BY TRAVELING

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> Traveling: viewing oneself against a different background
> Jan Brokken[1]

> Every person I meet, knows something more than I do.
> In that respect, I could learn from that person.
> Ralph Waldo Emerson[2]

"It's the teacher's task to work on his own professional development".

This proposition is based on one of the behavioral indicators that falls under competence 7 ("competent in reflection and own professional development") of the SBL[3] matrix of competence[4]. The SBL matrix of competence is the entirety of competences with which a teacher[5] must comply in pursuance of his daily work at school, in the classroom, with pupils and in his environment. The SBL matrix of competence, consisting of seven competences, was developed in the Netherlands for professional teachers. Due to the universal character of the seven competences, other countries and parts of the world can identify with and endorse them as well.

During his education, the student acquires the competences at the level of a starting teacher and subsequently in his career, under the motto of 'things can always improve' continues to work on his own further professional development as a teacher (permanent education). This attention to one's own professional development crystallizes in the drawing up of a PDP, a personal development plan. In a PDP, one specifies which of the other six competences with corresponding behavioral indicators the teacher will be using as the spearhead(s) of his professional development in the coming period. Therefore, working on one's own professional development (competence 7) cannot be viewed separately from working on the other competences; competence 7 is more than noncommittal indulgence in navel-gazing. There is a

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[1] Modern Dutch writer
[2] 19th century American essayist and philosopher
[3] SBL: Foundations of Professional Quality for Teachers and other educational personnel
[4] For more information on the SBL matrix of competence, see www.leroweb.nl
[5] In the framework of their teacher credential program, the General Faculty, UNA, uses the SBL matrix of competence as one of the principles for the professional education and development of future teachers for primary and secondary education.

question of mutual coherence between the competences, with working on one's own professional development (competence 7) as the linking element. Gradually the basis is laid for the 'increasing development competence', which one could call the eighth competence.

This increasing development competence is the flywheel that should keep the professional development of teachers going. As partners, the teacher and the school are jointly responsible for keeping the professional development of teachers going. Educational theories explain how both partners could crystallize their responsibility in personal development plans, team and school educational plans, accompanied by performance and assessment conversations. However, educational practice often tells a different story.

The General Faculty (AF)[6] of the University of the Netherlands Antilles (UNA)[7] on Curaçao offers its co-workers the opportunity to be goal-oriented whilst working on their professional development. The AF provides teacher credential programs at various levels[8] and along various career paths[9]. Making a duty trip is one of the possibilities to advance one's professional development. A duty trip is a means to become acquainted with developments outside Curaçao in the field of study, establishing connections with similar teacher training institutions and /or making the most of connections with institutions by discussing comparable developments with colleagues. Apart from the developmental value of these journeys, the duty trip is also an important means to break out of the isolation of the teacher credential programs on Curaçao. The UNA and the AF are the only ones on the island that provide teacher credential programs; there is no direct contact with another local *conculega* institution. One submits a formal request to the dean of the faculty by presenting a plan as regards contents (the educational objectives), together with a budget. After approval of the aforementioned, the duty trip may be carried out. Upon return, one must present the dean with a report on the undertaken activities, which will be presented to colleagues within the faculty as well. This way, a duty trip could also be beneficial for others within the faculty. By way of illustration, a short report is given below on a duty trip to the Netherlands in March 2010 by two educationalists[10], who are employed at the AF in the 2nd degree teachers' credential program in languages. They had presented their plan in advance. The plan consisted of:

- Attending the annual two-day congress of the Velon/Velov[11] with the theme 'Educating for the future' and the main questions revolving aroundwhat we can and want to comprehend as regards the professional development of teacher

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[6] www.una.an , tab Faculties, tab Arts

[7] www.una.an

[8] bachelor- and hbo master level

[9] Teacher foundation based education; 2nd degree teacher Papiamentu, English, Dutch, Spanish; 1st degree teacher Papiamentu, English, Dutch

[10] Desiree Manuel and Gert Schaap

[11] Association for Teacher Trainers in the Netherlands and in Flanders (Belgium)

trainers in an age that is characterized by changes and uncertainties now and in the future. A future that is unknown to us, but one to which we must relate ourselves. So how can we continue to educate for that future?

- Holding conversations with colleagues of the Hogeschool of Amsterdam (HvA)[12] on setting up a central internship department for all teacher credential programs and initiating a conversation on the question of how the HvA deals with the problem of a lower (nascent) entrance level of new students.
- Visiting the IPON (Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) Platform Education Netherlands) exhibitionin Utrecht, to orient ourselves on the ICT-developments in the our field in order to incorporate all of this in the curriculum of the teacher credential programs of the AF, so that (during and after their internships) our students and our graduates can enter the educational field well-prepared.
- Holding a conversation with a representative of the Seminary for Remedial Education (Hogeschool Utrecht) on the possibilities of inter-institutional cooperation in the establishment of an hbo-master degree in Special Educational Needs at the AF.

The plan was carried out in its entirety; a report was drawn up and made available to the faculty. The knowledge and contacts gained during the trip will be utilized to adjust our training program with regard to the entrance level of new students, to implement changes in our organizational structure (including a central internship department for all training programmes at the AF) and to expand the scope of our hbo-master training programmes to include a hbo-master for teachers in special education). In other words, the new ideas gained during the journey are distributed and disseminated, and may now begin to be adopted and adapted to enrich our personal and professional lives (and those of our colleagues who were not able to travel with the team to the Netherlands) as trainers of teachers.

A duty trip's success does not depend entirely on achieving planned educational objectives. The journey itself is always full of opportunities to take an unplanned 'hike' down an unforeseen trail and stray from the planned trajectory to take advantage of unanticipated but valuable educational moments. A duty trip may well be a 'journey' planned from the beginning to the end, with the idea of leaving nothing to chance, but one almost always encounters unexpected 'hiking trips' during that journey. A hiking trip is a form of traveling, where there is no plan with an intentional purpose, a tour of the unknown in which you go wherever your path (in the Taoist sense) leads you. A clear explanation of this idea can be found in *Op weg naar een*

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[12] Higher Professional Education Institution of Amsterdam

lerende organisatie[13], a book written by Swieringa and Wierdsma, which speaks of the traveling-model vs. the hiking-model as two ways of tackling changes in organizations. Examples of 'hiking' experiences during the duty trip to the Netherlands described above include an unplanned meeting with representative of a group of training institutions[14] (teacher credential programs in the Netherlands), who are very interested in exploring opportunities for cooperation with the AF in Curaçao and spontaneous meetings and conversations during the congress and the ICT exhibition. In educational theory, we speak of various forms of learning, including both formal and informal learning; a duty trip is an ideal context in which both these types of learning can occur[15]. By allowing oneself to take maximum advantage of both planned and unplanned learning experiences, one can transform one's duty trip into a marvelous adventure.

Learning and traveling both involve change. Change is one of the few constants in human life. This applies doubly to teachers. A good teacher is constantly establishing contexts for learning which maximize openness to change, both on the part of his students as well as on his own part as a teacher. On a daily basis, a teacher is dealing with 'live material', his students, who because they are on an ever changing journey/hike en route to adulthood, can't help but face change as a fact of life. Good teachers find a way to accompany their students in the process of change, thus acting not only as a guide and as a coach, but also as a model and travelling/hiking partner who can help them to embrace and make the most of these changes. Together with the students, he forms part a group of travelers who, according to a scheduled program, is 'en route' to a specified destination. But along the way, he and his co-travelers will frequently come upon an unforeseen sidetrack that promises to enrich the overall learning experience. If the teacher and the students have the courage and confidence to take an occasional hike down such unplanned byways, the rewards are rich and make the eventual arrival at the planned destination all the more meaningful.

Stepping outside your own context during a duty trip, means viewing oneself against a different background and meeting others who may know more, know otherwise and may be more capable than you. Taking those experiences back to one's 'own nest' and letting them bear fruit there, is one of the most valuable benefits of a duty trip. Furthermore, it should be noted that the benefits of duty trips, as described above, also extend to students. It can be very enriching during a program of study to cast a glance outside your own context, e.g. an internship abroad, or following a minor at a teachers credential program elsewhere. Is the grass really greener on the other side of the fence, or have we forgotten how to view our own situation from the right angle? Only when

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[13] Swieringa (1990)

[14] Interactum is a cooperative of seven teacher credential programs for primary education in the Netherlands

[15] See for instance Bolhuis (2009)

you distance yourself[16] by leaving your own context, will you gain a clear perception of everything that is actually available.

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[16] *The Parable of the Blind Men and the Elephant*, John Godfrey Saxe, American poet, 1816 - 1887. An illustration of the risk when one is too close to something to see what it really is.

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MANAGEMENT OF QUALITY IMPROVEMENT PROCESSES IN SMALL UNIVERSITIES

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Introduction

The University of the Netherlands Antilles (UNA) is a small university in the Dutch-Caribbean with approximately 2000 students. The UNA started its accreditation process a few years ago. As the staff member in charge of educational quality issues at the UNA the author is responsible for the quality improvement and accreditation processes at the institutional level. Her work mainly consists of sustaining and facilitating the various departments of the university in their efforts to achieve accreditation[1] in the upcoming two years. While doing so, the following questions are frequently asked: What is the best way to manage these processes? What are the do's and dont's? What should be done, when should it happen, how is the best way to do it and who should be involved? In other words: How should the quality improvement process in a small university such as the UNA be best managed, while aiming for accreditation, taking into account its potentials and constraints?

To get a systematic answer to this last question, the author started a PhD-research study. This study also arose from an urge to improve the author's insights and understanding about the management of quality improvement processes in small universities. The driving motive to embark on this research is the awareness of the importance of attaining and retaining accreditation in this globalized world, regardless of the size, potentials and available resources of each institution. Not being accredited simply means not being globally competitive (Brussee et al., 2005). As the world seems to grow smaller and smaller non-accreditation entails a general depreciation of the perceived capacity of an educational institution to fulfill its mission, even to its local community, can have serious consequences for its further development and continued existence. Therefore, the author believes that small universities should try to attain global quality standards, but they should always take into account their specific local needs. Consequently, the following research question was formulated:

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[1] Accreditation is the process of external quality review used in higher education to scrutinize colleges, universities, and higher education programs for quality assurance and quality improvement. Positive evaluation by the external panel results in accreditation of a given institution and/or program.

Which are the most useful and necessary management strategies and tools to facilitate (local) quality improvement processes in small universities located in the Dutch-speaking Caribbean region, with the aim of attaining and maintaining (global) accreditation?

In this article the preliminary results of the author's initial literature review on this topic will be presented. First the globalization process and its impact on quality improvement in institutions for higher education are described. This will lead to a brief explanation of the need for accreditation felt by most universities, regardless of their size or resources. Next, the focus will shift to the management of quality improvement processes, in particular in small universities. Finally, the management of these processes in the Dutch-speaking Caribbean countries is briefly discussed.

The globalization process

We are living in the globalized age. In this era of globalization almost all aspects of life are affected by the globalization process. The impact of globalization has not only profoundly transformed the functioning of the world economy. Political, cultural and social developments are all also reshaped by this contemporary phenomenon. The concept of globalization and its fundamental features, effects and outcomes has been studied by many researchers. Van Vught et al. (2002) indicate that globalization generally relates to the process of increasing convergence and interdependence of economies and to the liberalization of trade and markets. According to Carnoy (2005) globalization simply means that, with regards to transmission of knowledge and innovative ideas, there are no more barriers and limitations between nations. Globalization also implies that national boundaries to a nation's investment, production, and innovation no longer exist. Everything, including relations among family and friends is increasingly organized around much more compressed modalities of space and time (Carnoy, 2005). Marginson & van der Wende (2007: 8) describe the term globalization as "the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness".

The literature reviewed also suggests that the globalization process has been facilitated by the rapid development of information and communication technology. New technologies enable information to be spread worldwide, regardless of time and space. Knowledge can be transmitted easily to any other point on the planet. The world has become 'flat and small'. Reciprocal communication through cyberspace allows people to be interconnected at all times and allows products and services to be sold on an international market. Information is available instantaneously and simultaneously almost anywhere. Still, the speed of this information transfer depends on the technological possibilities in a particular country/area/household. The use of

information and communication technology has dramatically increased the accessibility of knowledge. Therefore, information and knowledge have become highly mobile, moving at an unprecedented speed across countries and accelerating the process of globalization. In addition to the above, many researchers suggest that globalization is conditioning the labor market. Viara (2004) indicates that educational systems and the content they provide need to be adapted and/or renewed in order to produce the proficiencies and competences required in a globalized work force. Hence, entire educational systems at both the national and international levels are impacted. Knowledge has become a key resource in today's globalized 'knowledge economy'. Consequently, a communitiy's ability to compete and prosper depends crucially on the ability of its educational institutions to create, transfer, and apply knowledge in a highly adaptable way in a rapidly changing economy (Carnoy, 2005).

Globalization and higher education

As already mentioned, globalization has considerable impact on the creation and distribution of knowledge and vice versa. Therefore it has become extremely important to create new knowledge on a continuous basis and to constantly make this knowledge globally available. Institutions of higher education and research are still recognized as the principal venues for the creation of new knowledge and expanding the innovative application of existing knowledge in the global economy. Producing new knowledge and investing in the education of high level manpower has become crucial if a country wants to compete in the globalized market (Van Vught et al., 2002; Goddard and Puukka, 2008). As a result investments in higher education at the national level have become a widely discussed issue. More and more nations, regardless of their developmental stage, are realizing that they should invest in higher education not only to create new knowledge, but also to keep up with worldwide developments in all fields. Nations worldwide have the desire to become and stay globally competitive and therefore are paying increased attention to their policy on higher education, which often leads to a restructuring of their higher education institutions (Viara, 2004).

Marginson & van der Wende (2007) note that while institutions of higher education often see themselves as objects of globalization, they are also one of its key agents. As do many other researchers, they argue that there is a strong positive correlation between the enrolment ratio in higher education in a country and its global competitive performance. Developed countries are more financially equipped than others to invest in their higher education sectors. There is a mutually beneficial feedback mechanism as well as a positive correlation between increased investment in institutions of higher learning in developed countries and these countries' increased participation in the globalized economy.

Based on the findings of a research project involving 110 university leaders in the United States, Wood (2007) concludes that the development of knowledge and the commercialization of that knowledge in the international context are considered as the primary tasks of 21st century institutions for higher education. These institutions should prepare not only their students, but also their respective communities for the challenges and opportunities brought about by globalization. These institutions should become the major suppliers of the intellectual capital that their communities need to survive and prosper in the era of globalization. As globalization also implies increased cooperation and collaboration, partnerships and strategic alliances with other national, regional and international universities are considered quite important and useful by the interviewed university leaders. Wood observes that: "[a]ny entity that does not support an environment that attracts, sustains and retains creative, imaginative and globally resourceful individuals will eventually fall behind. The role of higher education in such nurturing is most apparent as universities and colleges are considered by many the primary suppliers of such individuals". (p. 1)

Hayward (2008) states that leaders of higher education institutions are increasingly confronted with a variety of challenges when addressing the fundamentals of globalization and its increased pressure on economies to be more productive in the face of greater competition. Open national boundaries lead to more mobility among students and greater competition among institutions of higher education worldwide. Developed as well as developing countries have become aware of the ever growing importance of knowledge, the emergence of knowledge societies and the impact of this on their further sustainable development. As a result the development of the higher education sector has become a priority in most countries, regardless of their size and phase of development. These contemporary global developments in the higher education have noticeable international, regional and national consequences for higher education policy and management. Viara (2004) mentions a few such consequences for the policy, structure, content and culture of higher education programs:

- Increased pressure to expand higher education, but less finance available from the state
- More autonomy, responsibility and accountability at the institutional level
- Diversification and internationalization of educational programs offered;
- Increased attention to the quality of the programs;
- Restructuring and reorganization of the management of quality improvement processes.

To deal with these effects, and to cope with the challenges originating from their new tasks and operating environment, institutions of higher education have often adopted an entrepreneurial model as their basic organizational principle.[2] In line with the specific focus of my-research, the remainder of this article will address the governance of higher education and the management of quality improvement processes at the institutional level.

The effects of globalization in less developed countries

As mentioned above, developed countries have more potential to invest in their higher education institutions and can also recruit from a wide pool of highly skilled personnel. For less developed countries it is a great challenge to become part of this worldwide system of continuously creating, distributing and applying new knowledge. Despite shrinking education budgets, governments are under tremendous pressure to invest more and more in their higher education sectors to generate new knowledge and to produce the highly skilled manpower that is essential to sustainable socio-economic development. Governments in less developed and underdeveloped countries are not able to do this due to their limited financial resources. Hence, fewer students get the opportunity to continue their educational careers beyond the secondary level. Predictably, low concentrations of students in higher education are mostly found in nations and regions that are relatively detached from the globally networked economy. Because of this, the author believes that small universities in less developed countries are denied any role of agency in the process of globalization, and most often become its passive objects instead. Marginson & van der Wende's (2007) mutually beneficial feedback loop[3], described above becomes a mutually detrimental feedback loop in the case of many less developed countries.

Impact of globalization on quality improvement in (higher) education

One of the major impacts of globalization on education is increased pressure to improve the quality of schooling (Carnoy, 2005). Increased international mobility of students demands internationally applicable criteria for the recognition of foreign qualifications. This in turn generates increased concern with the quality of higher education in the most advanced countries as well as in developing states. It is therefore no surprise that accreditation based on quality assurance, quality enhancement and quality improvement has become a central area of concern for institutions of higher education everywhere, who find themselves striving ever more desperately to provide educational programs of high quality, with the aim of issuing qualifications that are internationally recognized.

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[2] This topic will be elaborated further on in this paper.
[3] See page 3 of this paper.

Globalization is thus creating new challenges for the regulation of higher education. The expansion, diversification and privatization of higher education systems worldwide as well as growing mobility among professionals and students require greater standardization of qualifications. International instruments designed to assess the quality of higher education are therefore urgently needed to address this need and to combat academic fraud. Within this context, accreditation has become an essential component of the globalized world of higher education. All institutions that want to become part of this highly competitive world must be prepared to prove that they meet international quality standards. If an institution for higher education wants to compete on a worldwide level, it must be accredited. Having a diploma or studying at an accredited higher education institution has become a prerequisite for entry into the international labor market.

Degrees from non-accredited institutions of higher education[4] are often not recognized at both the national and international levels, with consequences for graduates in terms of accessibility to the labor market and/or opportunities for further study. Enrolment rates of students in non-accredited institutions are dropping rapidly, leading to their disappearance. As shown later in this article, these developments have some important implications for the management of institutions for higher education.

Quality improvement and accreditation in higher education

In the world at large, two major approaches to quality improvement are quality assurance and quality enhancement. Basically, quality assurance addresses the issue of product or service non-conformance (Redmond et al., 2008). The aim is to prevent poor-quality products or services from being delivered in the first place by focusing on processes and emphasizing prevention rather than cure. Quality assurance involves ensuring fitness for purpose and describes all aspects of the ways in which organizations try to make sure that their activities are fully adequate for their intended purposes, i.e. that they are 'doing what it says on the tin' (Douma, 2004). The reasons why organizations might want to do this are numerous: client satisfaction, financial accountability, marketing strategies, etc. Lomas (2004) adds that higher education quality assurance activities give institutions a means by which they can find out whether their academic programs and performance are comparable with those of other institutions and are meeting national expectations and international demands. To this end, external review or evaluation offers an independent perspective, a mirror without the distortion caused by familiarity. Crucially, continuous improvement - enhancement - is an integral part of quality assurance. Lomas also contends that in a mature and reflective institution, the self-knowledge that internal and external review

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[4] Sometimes each individual educational program offered by an institution for higher education is accredited and sometimes the institution as a whole is accredited. This depends on the working procedures of the accreditation organization.

and evaluation provide will lead, inevitably, to the conscious recognition of strengths and weaknesses and the identification of areas for improvement and development on a continuous basis.

Quality enhancement requires a deliberate change process that is directly concerned with adding value, improving quality and implementing institutional transformational change. The concept of always trying to do things better is implemented at institutional and departmental level. As Houston (2007) indicates quality enhancement aims to develop a commitment to continuous improvement. It requires the development of a culture within the institution where the staff strives continually to improve the quality of the education provided. Dill (2000) states that attention has turned more and more to quality enhancement instead of quality assurance due to the transformative nature of the enhancement process. Additionally, he points out that quality assurance is more concerned with the present and the immediate past than with a longer-term future perspective. Quality assurance has tended to be associated more with assessment and accountability rather than with improvement. Lomas (2004) indicates that quality enhancement is an integral part of quality assurance by disseminating the mass of good practice collected through reviews and also by warning against the bad practices that are sometimes detected. The only legitimate outcome from the quality assurance process must be quality enhancement.

Dill (2000) cites in this regard the use of the Plan-Do-Check-Act cycle developed by Dr. W. Edward Deming[5]. Through continuous planning, implementing, evaluating, analyzing, and eventually revising plans and restarting the cycle, quality improvement will become an integral part of the operation process within an organization. 'Quality never ends', as Deming always said.

Figure 1 Deming's PDCA-cycle

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[5] Dr. Edward W. Deming's (1900-1993) philosophy is that by implementing appropriate principles of management, organizations can increase quality and simultaneously reduce costs. The key is to practice continual improvement and think of manufacturing as a system, not as bits and pieces. Dr. Deming is considered to be the founder of the continuous quality improvement approach in the private sector.

Douma (2004) stated that implementing a continuous quality improvement process within a solid quality assurance structure is essential for reaching the goal of accreditation. Accreditation is about both quality assurance and quality enhancement. To receive accreditation a higher education institution must prove that it has implemented mechanisms and processes that guarantee continuous quality improvement. Accreditation is awarded when the institution complies with internationally accepted quality standards. External validation organizations[6], recognized by the accreditation body, verify if the institution indeed meets national and international quality standards. This is based on an accreditation framework, in most cases validated by the local government.

Considered from an international perspective, accreditation frameworks do not really differ substantially from one other. The focus can differ, but in general the same aspects are evaluated. Also the quality standards are quite similar, regardless of the region where the accreditation organization operates. INQAAHE, the International Network for Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education, is a world-wide association, with more than 200 active member organizations. During biennial INQAAHE conferences quality improvement in higher education and its relationship to accreditation are widely discussed and evaluation frameworks are fine tuned.

Management of quality improvement processes

One of the determinant factors in the pursuit for accreditation is the way in which the quality improvement and accreditation process is organized and managed at institutional as well as at departmental level. It is imperative that the management approach used fits its purpose and is geared toward continuous quality improvement (Lomas, 2004). Commitment at the highest institutional level is important but, based on the literature reviewed, the present author believes that it is commitment and ownership at the level of the delivery of programs and services which has a crucial impact on creating a quality culture that contributes to continuous quality improvement within a higher education institution. Ultimately this will prove to be the key factor in attaining and retaining accreditation.

Lomas furthermore contends that embedding quality implies the development of a quality improvement culture within all levels of the higher education institution. Quality enhancement rather than quality assurance provides a surer way to entrench quality all through the institution. Adequate quality management is a pivotal tool to sustain quality enhancement. Maduro (2006) also affirms that the role of management is to create a work environment where employees are able to perform optimally and where quality enhancement is considered to be a daily goal. Furthermore she argues,

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[6] Sometimes these organizations are part of the accreditation body, in other cases they operate independently, but the results of their quality review are accepted and validated by an accreditation body.

following the principles of Deming, that the management is responsible for the creation and maintenance of quality procedures, values and culture within the organization.

There are many quality management models that can be used to reach the aim of continuous quality improvement. Most of them have been designed for the business world, but are quite applicable to higher education institutions as well. Regardless of the quality model used, the author believes that it is essential that the quality improvement process be focused on all organizational activities, including management, educational approach, research activities and support facilities, while endeavoring to embed an organizational quality culture in view of the fact that most accreditation organizations are directed to the evaluation of these quality aspects.

From review of the work of a sample of authorities[7] on this topic, the present author deduces five determinant factors for the management of quality improvement and accreditation processes in institutions for higher education:

> 1 The national policy on higher education coupled with the extent of autonomy granted to higher education institutions by the national government

In most Higher Education Acts in less developed countries accreditation is made compulsory while institutions for higher education are not given the resources needed to reach this goal. Due to the limited resources of the national government they themselves are not able to provide the required funds. Besides this, the legal and regulatory framework set by the national governments regarding the autonomy of institutions of higher education can severely limit the extent to which the management at these institutions can operate to promote a quality improvement process (Goddard & Puukka, 2008). The legislation in which higher education is embedded sometimes does not make it possible for a rector or vice-chancellor to take timely, accurate, consistent and appropriate decisions necessary for quality improvement.

The extent to which the process of quality improvement and accreditation has been integrated into a conscious national policy to use higher education as an instrument for national development also influences the possibilities given to the institutional management to start internal development processes directed at continuous quality improvement (Beckles et al., 2002).

> 2 The leadership competences of the management team

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[7] Beckles et al. (2002), Douma (2004), Goddard & Puukka (2008), Houston (2007), Keller (2006), Lomas (2004), Maduro (2006), Miller (2002).

Houston (2007) points out that the managerial skills of those in charge of an institution are a determinant for its accreditation success. The management approach within the institution therefore has a great impact on the extent to which accreditation is achieved in a timely and satisfactory way. The management approach used at the top of an organization is regretfully not always in concordance with the needs and requirements of a successful quality improvement process. The management approach should be based on professional decision-making, meaning putting aside personal interests and agendas in order to focus on the necessities of the institution (Keller, 2006). The literature shows that this is sometimes quite a challenge.

3 The embedded quality structure

The delineation of responsibility, accountability and authority should be clearly stated and roundly accepted in order to lay the groundwork for a process of quality assurance and improvement within each institution of higher education (Douma, 2004). The role of the management in creating a well-balanced quality improvement structure is critical. The timely involvement and participation of all relevant actors in order to stimulate intrinsic commitment to the quality improvement process must be assured (Lomas, 2004). In addition, the Quality wheel of planning, implementation, evaluation of the results and (re)adjustment of the plans and approaches must be embedded in the institution to establish a recursive cycle of quality improvement (Dill, 2002).

4 The organizational quality culture

The customs and practices of an institution may act as a barrier to more systematic engagement across the institution in implementing improvement strategies or in changing policies (Gordon, 2002). During their existence, organizations create their own particular ways of operating, some of which may not conform to international quality standards and accreditation requirements. The implementation of reforms to improve quality levels often entails significant changes in the way quality is experienced and monitored at different levels within the university. This implies a mental transformation, a change of attitude and a different approach (Maduro, 2006). To go through this transformation and reach this new stage is generally not possible within a short period of time.

5 The availability of resources

Lack of resources is a common impediment to quality improvement processes in small institutions for higher education located in small developing states (Miller, 2002). Shortage of financial, personnel and equipment resources often lead to bottlenecks in the quality improvement process. This is the reason why it is so important that national policies on higher education (such as requiring institutions to attain

accreditation) are backed up by sufficient financial resources to make policy a reality (Beckles et al., 2002).

The present author is convinced that these five factors must be cultivated and mobilized by managers at all levels to stimulate the quality improvement process in an institution that is gearing toward attaining and retaining accreditation.

Management of quality improvement processes in small universities
According to Arbo & Benneworth (2007) the role that higher education institutions are expected to play in the sustainable socio-economic development of the nations in which they are situated, depends on a number of circumstances, among others:

- the regions in which they are located
- the national policy framework
- the characteristics of the institutions
- the quality level of the educational programs being offered.

This applies to large as well as to small institutions of higher education. But in the case of the smaller institutions located in less-developed areas, the national expectations of quality outputs can be quite high. The most appropriate proof of such quality outputs is accreditation. So regardless of size and any other possible limitations that a small university needs to deal with, it should be competent enough to achieve accreditation from an internationally recommended accreditation body.

Even though their situation is more complex due to their size, scarce resources and geographical location, small developing states are coping with the same emerging issues concerning the quality of higher education as are larger and more developed states (Gift, 2005). The rapid pace of globalization more or less forces these smaller institutions to comply with worldwide demands (including accreditation), regardless of their limitations.

Miller (2002) indicates that these institutions are doing their utmost to assure the delivery of quality education, but are faced with various internal and external impediments that influence their performance. Current activities must be continuously improved and some new elements need to be introduced in order to meet the standards set by accreditation bodies. It has become crucial for small institutions of higher education to create a (national) quality assurance structure that will meet the international requirements. The demand on these institutions is that they should be globally competitive as well as locally engaged. They are therefore confronted with responsibilities that are for them not easy at all to fulfill. But the author believes that they have no way out.

One problem faced by smaller institutions is the fact that the accreditation standards have been designed for large universities. Consequently, the limitations a small institution for higher education needs to deal with were not taken into consideration. The major concern of these institutions is how they might manage to meet accreditation standards that do not fit their size or their resources. Unfortunately, in most cases the external evaluation panels, mostly foreign, that visit these institutions to audit their quality assurance and improvement systems look at them through the eyes of large universities (Isabella, 2009).

This large institution bias is reflected in the literature. Most studies available on quality assurance and improvement are directed towards large universities, with few studies specifically addressing the situation of smaller sized institutions of higher education. Of course, some of the management strategies and tools used in large universities may also be utilized in the smaller ones.

Management of quality improvement processes in the Dutch-Caribbean region
Caribbean territories are facing various challenges in order to keep up with the political, economical and cultural developments brought about by globalization (Gift, 2005). All governments of the Caribbean region recognize the critical importance of higher education in the development process. Therefore, increased investments in higher education are considered as an indispensable instrument to keep up with global developments and create a knowledge economy for the 21st century. Parkins (2008: 2) states: *"It is not sufficient that our universities only educate but that they play a central role in research that can drive creation of new products and services as well as ways of addressing the region's most challenging problems."*

In the Caribbean region higher education has expanded both in terms of numbers of students participating in its programs and the types of programs offered. This expansion is seen as a response to multifaceted social, political and economic forces, including the increasing demand for more highly-skilled workers, recognition of the importance of lifelong learning, and the need for continuing professional education (Parkins, 2008).

In each Caribbean country institutions of higher education play an important role in capacity building for local and regional socio-economic development. According to Ali (2008) the political sovereignty of a given Caribbean territory has implications for the governance of its higher education system. In most Caribbean countries, regardless of their political status, governance of higher education is coordinated by the politically elected or negotiated government with support from its educational bureaucracy. This system of government usually includes the equivalent of a Ministry of education with responsibility for higher/tertiary education and research together

with especially established departments and state enterprises which play implementing roles. The Dutch-speaking countries[8], located in the Caribbean region[9], are no exception to this 'rule'.

All the Dutch-speaking Caribbean islands have institutions that provide higher education. Not all are nationally funded, and some are even 'off shore'[10] universities. In each of these countries the local governments are greatly involved in education and educational institutions at all levels. These higher education institutions, mostly those funded by the local or national government, are considered as key players in the pursuit of a higher level of socio-economic development and the training of highly educated professionals. During the last decade the issues of quality improvement and accreditation have been discussed in these territories, especially within the institutions of higher education. Most governments would like these institutions to be accredited within the next five years, even if this 'obligation' is not yet legally binding[11].

The locally funded institutions of higher education in the Dutch- speaking Caribbean countries can be labeled as small or even very small. They provide a wide range of educational programs, mostly to meet specific national demand in certain professional fields. Being small, with limited resources and with particular contextual constraints, they experience significant pressure to improve quality so they can meet local expectations as well as international demands. The need to be accredited is widely felt, but their road to reach accreditation is not smoothly paved. Great efforts are taken at institutional and departmental levels to reach the quality standards set by the NVAO[12].

In Table 1 below, some basic data for the institutions that are the objects of my research are listed.

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[8] The Dutch-speaking Caribbean countries are the five islands of the Netherlands Antilles, the island of Aruba and the country Suriname. They have experienced and are still going through some major transformation in their political status. In the past the Caribbean part of the Dutch Kingdom consisted of Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles. Suriname became an independent country in 1975. Aruba obtained its autonomous status within the Dutch Kingdom in 1986.

[9] The Netherlands Antilles, consisting of the islands of Curaçao, Bonaire, St. Maarten, St. Eustatius and Saba, will within a short time cease to exist. According to the current political plans by the end of the year 2010 Curaçao and St. Maarten will become autonomous entities within the Dutch Kingdom and the remaining three islands will be integrated into the Netherlands as municipalities with a special status.

[10] Off shore universities mostly cater to foreign students who during their study immigrate to another country to get (part) of their graduate degree. Local governments agree to the establishment of these institutions on their territories based on their contributions to local economies. Off shore medical schools now exist on all the islands of the Netherlands Antilles.

[11] Until now, there is no Higher Education Act applicable in the Netherlands Antilles. Only the UNA is legally embedded in the *Landsverordening Universiteit Nederlandse Antillen.*

[12] Nederlands-Vlaamse Accreditatie Organisatie (Dutch-Flemish Accreditation Body) is the accreditation organization for institutions of higher education located in the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba.

Table 1 Basic data for the University of the Netherlands Antilles (UNA), Universidad di Aruba (UA), and the University of St. Martin (USM)[13]

	Established in:	Legal Act since	Number of Departments	Number of educational programs	Number of students
UNA	1979	1979	5	17	2100
UA	1989	1989	4	6	550
USM	1989	Not available	3	6	400

Although it is nowhere clearly stated, all three of the above mentioned universities are aware that they need to achieve the following two (sometimes contradictory) objectives:

1. To produce high level manpower that plays an important role in the sustainable socio-economic development at the national level;
2. To connect with and adapt to international trends and standards in higher education so the above mentioned objective conforms with worldwide demands.

Both objectives imply that the quality of the managerial, educational and operational processes is at a high level. My proposed PhD research aims to compare the ways in which these three entities operate with regards to quality improvement to achieve these two objectives.

For all three institutions, attaining and retaining accreditation for their educational programs is an essential step on the road toward realizing these objectives. A comparison of these three universities will be carried out to determine which of the management strategies and tools that each is using are contributing most to improving quality and attaining accreditation.

Conclusion

This article has discussed the impact of globalization on the quality improvement processes in institutions for higher education, regardless of their size, developmental stage and available resources. Accreditation, as an acknowledgment of an educational program meeting international quality standards, has become essential to prove that an educational program and/or an institution for higher education complies with internationally accepted quality standards. Strategies and tools used at the managerial level within each institution together with external factors have an impact on the management of quality improvement processes. Limited available resources place

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[13] Statistics generated through the information centers of these universities, December 2009.

great pressure on small universities to comply with quality standards that were set for larger and better resourced institutions in developed countries, while simultaneously struggling to meet local demands.

To accomplish these goals maximum use must be made of limited resources to achieve maximum quality outputs.

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LITERATURE, HISTORY, AND CROSSING BOUNDARIES

HISTORICAL NOVELS AND THE HISTORY OF SLAVERY IN THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN

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The historical novel in Europe had its heyday as the nation states of Europe became consolidated in the 19th century, as exemplified by the publication of *Ivanhoe* in 1819 by Sir Walter Scott, *De Leeuw van Vlaanderen* (The Lion of Flanders) in 1838 by Hendrik Conscience and *War and Peace* in 1869 by Leo Tolstoy. These books use a narrative style to focus on certain historic events or to evoke the atmosphere and the mentality of a certain epoch. In these times, when the European nation-state is becoming to some extent a thing of the past, interest in all things historical flourishes. There is certainly a comparable correlation between the appearance of historical novels and the development of national self-awareness in the former Dutch West Indies, with two provisos: a) in general, the relationship between empiric reality and the novel is different in the Caribbean from that found in Western literature; and b) the correlation between historical narrative subject matter and identity development cannot be pegged down to a certain period of increased nationalistic awareness in the Antilles. I will treat both of these points in this article.

First of all, to examine the relation between the novel and empiric reality we must have a look at one of the most remarkable novels in Dutch from the year 2008: *Alleen maar nette mensen* (Only decent people) by Robert Vuijsje. This book narrates a Moroccan-looking Jewish young man's obsession for black women with huge buttocks. In the process the life of the Surinamese working class in Amsterdam Southeast is portrayed in detail. Whatever one's opinion may be about the book, it is a modern sketch of inter-ethnic relations amongst the younger generations in the Netherlands, and on the manner in which those generations communicate: texting, chatting, emailing, etc. One could thus say that Vuijsje provides us with a snapshot of the contemporary Amsterdam society, and therefore he has written a historical novel. For many readers, that's also where the difficulty lies, with debates ranging around the question as to whether Vuijsje portrays a realistic picture or not, and around the extent to which his portrayal is sexist. The novel made its name largely from these debates. It was therefore somewhat disappointing that Vuijsje defended himself in a certain

moment of weakness by hiding behind the argument that the book was purely a work of literary imagination. With this line of argumentation, he may have succeeded in defusing the debate, but he also diminished the potential significance of his book.

It is often said that Caribbean literature is characterized by social engagement. While it wouldn't be difficult to nuance this characterization of Caribbean literature, let's just assume that the basis of this assertion is correct. This would then imply that all novels from Surinam, the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba are simultaneously historical novels. After all, there is no set definition which specifies precisely how much reference must be made to actual historical events in given work for it to qualify as a historical novel. For instance, *Die revolutie niet begrepen* (The not understood revolution) (2005) by Surinamese writer Cynthia Mc Leod correctly claims to be a historical novel. The story takes place between 1979 and 1987, and depicts the years of military repression in Suriname. An even more convincing example can be found in Edgar Cairo's novel *De smaak van Sranan libre* (The taste of Sranan libre), which he wrote during the week after the infamous December murders. The work was first broadcast as a radio play at the end of December 1982, and then published as a novel 25 years later, but there is no doubt that from its very inception it was a historical novel, albeit one about contemporary events of historical import.

In examining the correlation between nationalism and the historical novel in the former Dutch West Indies, it is important to note that Antillean and Aruban authors have not written many historical novels, and those that they have written tend not to be about Antillean history. An intensive search by Aart Broek, Wim Rutgers and myself indicates that the silence here is particularly deafening when it comes to works on the era of colonial slavery. A few serialized historical novels were published in newspapers, such as the work about slave leader and freedom fighter Tula, entitled *E rais ku no ke muri* (1969) written in Papiamentu by Guillermo Rosario. That book is primarily a fictional account of Tula's two love affairs and hardly a careful documentation of historical events (Cain, 2009). In the newspaper *Civilisadó* from 1873-1873, an adaptation of a North American abolitionist narrative *John Brown* by Henri E. Marquand was published in Papiamentu (Rutgers, this volume). In 1911, *Catibu Samboe i su famia* was published in the periodical *La Cruz* on the conversion of an African slave to Catholicism (Broek, 2006: 9-20).Then there's the short booklet *E negrita stima di Shon Marein* (1990) by Guiselle Chea Gumares, which recounts: a romance between a *shon* (slave master) and his beautiful female slave, and the intervention therein of his jealous wife. The novella *Katibu di Shon* by Carel de Haseth, published in Papiamentu in 1988, and then in Dutch as *Slaaf en Meester* (Slave and Master) in 2002, presents the 'double perspective of the slave Louis and

his master Wilmoe' on the slave rebellion of August 17th 1795 on Curaçao. The main character of this work is a girl Anita who is desired by both men.

Other fiction by Antillean authors with historical subject matter includes the tendentious serialized novel about a strike *Un yiu di pueblo* by M.A. Fraai, published in the newspaper *La Union* in 1931-1932. *De verwachting* (The expectation) (1959) by Maria Miranda (ps. Van Ethel Krenz-Senior) recounts how a 19th century priest converts a Jew to Christianity. From the same author we have *De Costelijke Paerel* (The Precious Pearl) (1977) on the Marranos (converted Jews) on Curaçao. *E dia di mas históriko* (1970) by Edward de Jongh is a documentary-like novel on the May Revolt of 1969. The May Revolt also serves as the backdrop to *Het hiernamaals van Doña Lisa* (The hereafter of Doña Lisa) (2009) by Eric de Brabander. The May Revolt also plays a modest role in Frank Martinus Arion's well-known *Dubbelspel* (Double play) (1973), but that book is only very remotely classifiable as a historical novel. However, Arion's *De deserteurs* (The deserters) (2006) is a historical novel on the American war of liberation. And then there is the novella by Cola Debrot *De vervolgden* (The pursued) (1982) on the initial years of the *conquista* on the Caribbean islands. Almost all of these texts are dealt with in Rutgers (2007).

If we broaden our scope slightly and consider works by transient expatriates on the Antilles – which Rutgers (2007) calls Caribbean-Dutch literature, we end up with a few more titles of historically oriented prose. These writers include Gabriël Gorris, Peter Dicker, W. van Mancius, Miriam Sluis, Johan van de Walle and Cornelis Goslinga. With the exception of the latter two, however, we find little written by this group about the period of colonial slavery. However, there were a few short stories with slavery as subject by Pierre Lauffer in his collection *Kwenta pa kaminda* (1969) and by Camille Baly (published in the English and Dutch translation, in Wim Rutgers' anthology *Tropentaal*, 2001) and dramas about the rebel slave leader Tula, for example, by Pacheco Domacassé (1970/71). Miep Diekmann – Dutch but born on Curaçao – wrote a juvenile novel on slavery *Marijn bij de lorredraaiers* (1965). In 2008, *Dottie* by R.V. Arrendell was published, containing the memoirs of an old female slave written down by her granddaughter: I thank Aart Broek and Wim Rutgers, who searched the bare out-bush with me for slavery literature from the Antilles and Aruba.

It is difficult to explain how this absence of attention to the period of colonial slavery came about in the literature. No doubt, the *hollandisashon* of the first half of the twentieth century played a significant part. With the arrival of the oil industry, the Antilles stepped into the modern world, and it was no longer important to look back on days gone by, especially the unhappy days of slavery (Voorhoeve, 1966: 33).   .

Slavery seems to play a more important role in Surinamese literature than it does in that of the former Dutch Antilles. I believe there are two main reasons for this. The first is a demographic one: the Antillean population has been from the beginning of colonial rule and most certainly from the second half of the 19th century onward much less divided in national identity than that of Surinam. A second reason is that Surinam has provided the subject matter for well-known international books on slavery to a much greater extent than the Antilles. In this regard we can mention works by Aphra Behn, Voltaire, Benoit, and others. Of special importance is Captain Stedman's *Narrative of a five year expedition against the rebel Negroes of Surinam* (1796). That work was published in numerous editions (including juvenile books) and in numerous languages. The engravings in Stedman's work became icons not only for slavery in Dutch Surinam in particular, but also for international slavery in general. A similar work on the Antilles simply never existed.

Slavery immediately comes to the fore in the very first literature on Surinam. *Oroenoko or The royal slave* (1688) by Aphra Behn occupies a key position in the entire canon of colonial literature. Behn creates her story around the character of the noble prince Oroenoko and his beautiful Imoinda, with all ingredients of later slavery literature: snippets of African history, the story of an impossible love, the middle passage, the trade in Africans, a slave rebellion, the cruelty of slave drivers and planters, etc. Frank Martinus Arion (1997) even sees the beginnings of the novel as a genre in Behn's text.

Aphra Behn now was of course a transient expatriate, and it would be difficult to consider her work to be part of Surinamese literature, as it was written at a time when there were only a few scattered colonial settlements on the coast of the Guianas. That her work is in the vein of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, as studies have demonstrated, is quite another matter, however, because in the final analysis, one can hardly name a single historic novel to which that characterization does not in some way also apply.

The rudimentary beginnings of literary life in Surinam emerge at the end of the 18th century, with the first novels appearing in the middle of the 19th century. Slavery plays a major role in these early novels, including the two novels by Kwamina, *Jetta: Schetsen en beelden uit een vreemd land* (Jetta: Sketches and images from a strange country) (1869), and *Nanni of vruchten van het vooroordeel* (Nanni or fruits of the prejudice) (1881), which both take place in the first half of the 19th century. Kwamina was the pseudonym of A. Lionarons, a teacher from Paramaribo who was descended from old Surinamese Jewish stock. Kwamina's gaze is typically colonial: the planters' society was in rapid decline as were 'the good old days' of slavery. To Kwamina the African descended slaves working on the plantations, were not much better than the maroons and Indians, as far as 'civilization' goes. As the earliest Surinam slave

novels, he reasoned from a worldview in which the equality of planter and worker was no more evident than that of the Dutch colonial writers before him.

Surinamese literature continued to develop in fits and starts and only gained broad momentum after 1957. Despite this, historical context has remained of central importance throughout. At the turn of the 20th century, Richard O'Ferrall wrote a novel on the construction of the Lawa-railway, while François Henri Rikken penned three voluminous historical novels, of which *Codjo, the arsonist* (1902) who was responsible for the huge fire of Paramaribo in 1832 remains the most widely known, and the blind writer Johann Heymans produced two 'romantic historical' novels. In 1912, J.G. Spalburg published the booklet *Bruine Mina de koto-missi*, which contains extensive material on colonial era slavery. In 1916, E.J. Bartelink produced the non-fiction, but extremely well narrated account of his time as a European descended officer in *Hoe de tijden veranderen* (How the times change).

Subsequently, Albert Helman began to create the first modern Surinamese classic historical novels, including *Zuid-Zuid-West* (South-South-West) (1926) and *De stille plantage* (The quiet plantation) (1931), the latter of which he refashioned completely to produce the prize-winning *De laaiende stilte* (The blazing silence) in 1951. In the meantime, *Wij slaven van Suriname* (We slaves of Surinam) the first comprehensive account by a fellow countryman on the history of slavery, was published by Anton de Kom in 1934. Anton de Kom also wrote the historical novel *Ons bloed is rood* (Our blood is red) about the (mythic) maroon hero Kwakoe, a text that is largely unknown because – even though it was of exceptional quality – it was never published (van Kempen, 2006; 2010). Finally, Eddy Bruma used historical material as the basis for his legendary piece *De geboorte van Boni* (The birth of Boni) (1952).

The sixties was a time of great poets. Prose in Surinam generally, and in particular historic prose, flourishes only after independence, with the work of writers such as Ruud Mungroo, André Pakosie, Dorus Vrede, John de Bye and of course Cynthia Mc Leod, who wrote the classic *Hoe duur was de suiker?* (How much was the sugar?) in 1987. In the Netherlands during the same period we find Surinamese authors such as Edgar Cairo, Johan Edwin Hokstam, Hugo Pos, and more recently Clark Accord, Karin Amatmoekrim and Rihana Jamaludin. There have also been Dutch writers who visited Surinam as transients – writers, teachers, journalists – but who nonetheless have enriched the literature on Surinam. The IBS (Instituut voor bevordering van de Surinamistiek = Institute for the promotion of Surinamistics) website, www.surinamistiek.nl, lists hundreds of published titles. Strictly speaking, these works are not part of Surinamese literature, but there are a few that are certainly worth reading, such as *De manja: familie-tafereel uit het Surinaamsche volksleven* (The

manja, family scene from Surinamese folk life) (1866) by Reverend Cornelis van Schaick with its remarkable dialogues in Sranan, and *Een vlek op de rug* (A mark on the back) by Johan van de Walle (1963), a novel which is widely read in Surinamese schools. As recently as in 2008, this already impressive inventory was expanded to include *Kumanti Kodyo of de liefdes van Lea en Esther* (Kumanti Kodyo or the loves of Lea and Esther), a great novel by Jetty Peverelli on the inter-relationships between people of Jewish and African descent in Surinam.

We now turn to the question of whether there is a correlation between something resembling the awakening of national consciousness and the publishing of novels containing historic subject matter. Undoubtedly, Cynthia Mc Leod could tell many anecdotes about readers who told her how they discovered the history of Surinam through her novels. However, it should be pointed out that while writing abounds concerning life on the plantations, in the city of Paramaribo and amongst the maroons in the hinterlands, there is little more than a few fleeting flashbacks in this literature about the earlier history of the Africans who were dragged to the Americas in chains. Life in Africa, the societies that emerged around the trading posts along the African West coast, the exodus, the middle passage, and the diaspora via the Windward Antilles, are not usually included in these historical novels. In other words, these writers are not focusing on the proto-history of the slaves, but instead on slavery as part of the colonial history of their own territory in the former Dutch Caribbean. None of the great prose writers from the eighties has attempted to take this courageous leap backward in time and space: not Arion, not Cairo, and not Roemer. This cannot be due to a lack of documentation, because numerous historians had written about African history and the Middle Passage, such as the eyewitness account in the *Logbook of a slave collector* (1978) by Theophilus Conneau, which is based on a manuscript from 1853. I can think of only two reasons for this lack of attention to pre-diasporic history: firstly, the authors (and their readers) were mainly interested in the own, national history, and secondly, that that previous history was already conveyed so masterfully in such works as Maryse Condé's monumental epos, *Ségou* (1985). There are however novels about the crossing of Europeans to the Americas (Van Kempen, 2007).

It should also be mentioned that in the oral traditions of the Maroons, many stories can be found about Africa and the Middle Passage (Andrè Pakosie, personal communication). Narratives going back to Africa usually start with: *Wan Mma... be de a Nengeekondee...* 'There was a woman in Africa', or 'There was a woman in *Biinya* (Kumanti)' or 'in *Babalima*.(Loango)'. Instead of 'Wan Mma' we could also have *Wan Dda* 'a gentleman', *Wan Kiyoo* 'a young man', *Wan Pikinmuyee* 'a young woman', etc. Narratives about Africa have more substance than stories on forced transport to the Americas. Furthermore, stories on the crossing have remained

preserved for the greater part only in Kumanti, while narratives on life in Africa – besides in the current Maroon languages – were passed on also in Paga, Anpuku, Loangu and Kumanti (Carlin & Arends, 2002).

In the Caribbean-Dutch literature on slavery though, there are books in which the Middle Passage is portrayed extensively. *Reinhart, of Natuur en godsdienst* (Reinhart, or Nature and religion) (1791-1792) by Elisabeth Maria Post, depicts life on the banks of the Senegal River and the dismal crossing to the Americas. *De levende afgod* (The living idol) or *De geschiedenis van een kankantrieboom* (The history of a kankan tree) by J. de Liefde (1891) creates an image of the era of colonial slavery that deviates entirely from the many other narratives about that same period. The author calls this work 'a story', but nowadays we would call it a novella.

De Liefde's decorated title page shows a picture of a slave standing under a huge tree, who apparently struck down another slave with a chopper, while a planter figure and some other slaves excitedly approach the scene of the calamity. Meanwhile, the frontispiece shows a scene in which a European descended man standing on some kind of platform, is chopping away at the tree with an axe.

The text centers around a conversion-history, but in many ways is also a refreshingly authentic and well-documented tale on the period of colonial slavery. The first chapter takes the reader to the end of the year 1699. New slaves from Africa arrive at a Surinamese plantation, where they receive instructions from their new master. It is striking that the newcomers are distinguished according to their region of origin – Sokko, Mandingo, Demakuku, Loango – and that on each of the groups, something is said about their appearance and nature. This is exceptional in nineteenth century literature on Caribbean slavery: in other books, slaves are usually referred to only as African Negroes or saltwater Negroes. The effect of De Liefde's serious treatment of slaves as individuals and not as members of an amorphous collectivity is that his narrative gains more depth. We are given a more distinct sense of the humanity of the slaves, who so often shuffle through other books as brave Uncle Toms or as tempestuous primitives, while only the European descended characters receive serious development.

The second chapter gives the account of the crossing, of which there are many versions, but the narrative in question is exceptional in many ways. After an introductory paragraph, the floor is given to Codjo, 'a strong young Mandingo-Negro, who had conducted a retail trade in his native country, but had run up debts and was sold as a slave together with his wife and a young child by a merciless 'Mussulman'. Codjo's account is therefore a slave narrative, which is a common and well-known genre (as escape story) in North America, but unique or extremely unusual in Dutch Caribbean literature. Readers of stories on the Middle Passage will undoubtedly have wondered why the captured slaves did not revolt *en masse*. The African narrator

provides the answer to this question here: they did revolt – in their despair and from the understanding they had nothing to lose anyway, they threw themselves upon the ship's crew, but the latter appeared to be more prepared than anticipated and the revolt in this case resulted in a bloodbath.

The subsequent chapters are devoted to the way of life and rituals of the slaves. The ritual ablution of a rooster, a winti-dance and the consultation of an oracle are described in great detail. The work appears to be well researched although we do not know whether De Liefde had actually been to Surinam.

The narrative then shifts to the period around 1800. Christianization of the slaves had already begun in earnest, but had not yet reached the plantation of the kankan tree. The plantation owner wanted to build a new storehouse where the tree stood and requested permission from his slaves to cut down the tree. The slaves assented to this and were given three days off to perform the appropriate rituals to bid the tree farewell. However, a hysterical slave priest killed one of the lumbermen shortly after the first stroke of the axe, and the tree remained standing.

This extract goes against the tenor of the nineteenth century novel on slavery. That an owner would ask permission from his slaves, does not square with the image of total submission of slaves to their masters that was so eagerly painted in the literature of that period, especially in abolitionist novels. That the slaves would give the planter permission to cut down the tree, also does not fit with the literary image of the 'primitive' slaves who supposedly defended everything that had to do with their 'superstition' with fire and sword. That the 'supernatural signs' (the obsession of the priest) could subsequently cause the slave owner to abandon his project, is undoubtedly in accordance with historic reality, where cautious planters wanted to avoid unnecessary conflict. However, this does not conform to the then-current representation of master-slave relations either.

The last phase of the (hi)story takes place around 1850-1860, when the pragmatic thinking planter allows the conversion of the slaves, all are baptized, with the high priest and the *wintimamas* ('idolatresses') the last to be baptized. The tree is finally cut down under the command of a missionary, thus ending a history encompassing well over one hundred and fifty years. The author only needed 53 pages to recount the entire history of slavery by means of a meticulous choice of scenes around a single location, the kankan tree (Van Kempen, 2003, I: 412-415; Van Kempen, 1999; 2002; and Paasman, 1984).

I must make reference here to a very exceptional book *Nyumane* (1986) by Edgar Cairo that could be considered to be a historic-mythological novel on Africa (Van Kempen, 1993). This novel represents a determined attempt to recount the background history to colonial slavery, although more as a fictional evocation of an African

narrative genre than as a realistic version of the historical novel. The destiny of Nduma (human being), the pivotal figure in the novel, is to be the ever-displaced person. Even before his birth, his mother – the Nteke-girl N'ptilamah – was abducted during an Ngo-Ngo raid. This robbers' tribe compacted with the Ba Portu (the Portuguese conquerors). The twins born to N'ptilamah were to be sacrificed. The shaman Bantagwobo (who delivers a brilliant tirade against Christianity) decapitates the first child. The second child, Nduma, survives in a miraculous way: a giant snake does not strangle the child, and after the mother is speared to death and the father tortured to death, the mythical primitive man Ndu-tata suddenly enters the scene to make sure that the child thrown up high into the air, lands safely.

During the trek from inland to the coast, the Nai-Ng'ga people abduct Nduma. Fifteen years later he will be allowed to wed the queen daughter of the Nai-Ng'ga, after a duel with the mulatto traitor Obanya. However, before this takes place, he becomes rootless again, and falls into the hands of the Portuguese as a slave. During a revolt, he strangles the conquistador Pedro Gonçalves Saavedra, whose soldiers are unable to intervene because Nduma changes into a snake. That is the mythical end of Nduma the human being, which, just as the character of the same name in the novel by Augusto Roa Basto, is the symbol for our human nature and destiny. In this Africa-novel by Edgar Cairo, and basically in every historical novel, the author is confronted by the delicate problem concerning the precarious relation between historical data and what is actually narrated as well as how it is actually narrated. In conclusion, it is necessary to say a few words on this matter.

In historic novels on Surinam, the dialog is often given in Sranantongo, particularly when slaves are quoted. That obviously appears to be in accordance with the historic reality, even if their variety of Sranan would have sounded different compared to what we hear nowadays. Certainly the Sranantongo spoken by the so-called 'saltwater Negroes' (those born in Africa) would have shown more influence from West-African languages. In order to accentuate the contrasts in colonial society, these same authors often quote the planters and their family members in Dutch. It doesn't actually occur to most of us that this is peculiar. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the planters' class mainly consisted of Jews who spoke Portuguese or German amongst themselves in informal situations. In the 19th century, when the majority of the plantations passed into the hands of African-descended or mulatto families, Sranan would also have been commonly spoken among the planter class. In historical novels we therefore see the juxtaposition of a realistic element (the Sranan spoken by the slave population) with a fictional element (the Dutch spoken by planters' families), and we accept this just as readily as when we hear SS-Officers speaking English with a German accent in Hollywood movies. For that matter, we must not forget that just about all dialogue occurring in historical novels is purely fictional. Apart from the archives of the Police

and the Courts of Criminal Justice, where we find an occasional literal account of a conversation between a police officer and a witness, we are completely ignorant of precisely how people spoke with each other in centuries past. As readers, we still need those dialogues if we want to avoid the unbearable task of reading novels that consist exclusively of descriptions. What a good writer provides to us as readers is therefore not the reality but the illusion of the reality, and we in turn, want to believe there's truth behind that illusion. The writer is an artist and therefore he or she has the privilege of setting the parameters of subjectivity in a historical narrative. As readers, we must therefore not let ourselves be seduced rashly by the long list of historical sources consulted by the author which is sometimes printed at the back of historical novels as a testimonial to its historical reliability. That 'reliability' cannot help but be very relative.

Nevertheless, something else is going on in the historical novel than in a fairytale or a science fiction story. The genre of the historical novel operates within historical and geographical limits. We would not accept, for example, the incorporation of electrical trains in a narrative on 18th century plantation society. We know that when Cynthia Mc Leod refers to Governor De Cleusses in her books, the story must take place in the first half of the 18th century and not in the second half. Anachronisms and geographical inaccuracies mar the credibility of the narrative. Every author of historical novels knows this, and if he or she does not, then there are historians who will painfully 'rub the writer's nose in it'. However, the strange thing is that in general, the common reader hardly takes notice of any of this. Concern with the historical truth is often a peripheral one for the reader, who mainly wishes to be entertained by the novel.

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THE NEWSMAGAZINE *CIVILISADÓ* AND THE POST-EMANCIPATORY CULTURAL STANDARD: THE FIRST DOCUMENTARY SERIAL NOVEL IN PAPIAMENTU

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Amongst the European nations, the Netherlands was relatively late in the abolition of slavery in their colonies in the western hemisphere, namely Suriname and the six Islands of what was to eventually become the Netherlands Antilles. Shortly after abolition on July 1st 1863, a new government regulation came into force as of January 1st 1866, one of whose stipulations was the elimination of preventive censure which had been imposed on the colonies since 1820. Almost immediately afterwards, numerous new magazines began to be published. These new periodicals not only served to disseminate news, as had been the case until then with the *Curaçaosche Courant* (1816), but they also constituted a multilingual opinion press that critically followed the ins and outs of colony politics, with a particular focus on the colonial government. This is how the short-lived English magazine *The Impulse* (1871-1872) came into being. It is also how *Civilisadó* (1871-1875) was founded as the first magazine to publish in Papiamentu, thereby giving the most widely spoken language on Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao an added level of official cultural legitimacy. Present day researchers who focus on older literature in Papiamentu mainly have to resort to these news magazines, many but not all of which are fortunately kept meticulously in archives in both Willemstad and in The Hague. While some of these periodicals have been digitalized, there is still much archival work to be done.

After Emancipation, development was no longer the prerogative of the ruling colonial caste, but a necessity for an entirely new and free people. The *Civilisadó* was pre-eminently aimed at the general populace and particularly at people of non-European descent in the colony and it adopted a severely critical attitude towards the ruling power. The editorial staff consistently published in Papiamentu, and a great many articles were written in that language as well. In this way, the magazine pursued an active policy of developing Papiamentu as a national language.

At the beginning, the contents of *Civilisadó* were of the generic kind with a focus on international and national news. But the ideological bent of the magazine was clearly

revealed in its publication of serialized editions of texts having to do with freedom and social justice. In addition, serialized columns of an educational nature were incorporated: 1) on 'civilization' in general; 2) on education and upbringing; 3) on the detailed history of Curaçao; 4) on Toussaint L'Ouverture in Haiti; 5) on the huge slave rebellion of 1795; and 6) on Emancipation. In this way, *Civilisadó* took on an instructional mission which eventually led to the establishment of a Civilisadó school to provide the poor and the needy with free education. The magazine was at the receiving end of severe complaints (including official complaints from the governor himself) due to its critical. Nevertheless, the magazine appears to have been widely read by people from all social backgrounds.

I shall now discuss a serialized column published in *Civilisadó*, which clearly illustrates the post-emancipatory position of its editorial desk. Unfortunately, the text in question is not a work originally written in Papiamentu. Instead it is an adaptation of a very well-known and passionately argued defense by the French author Henri Marquand of the character, struggle and heroic downfall of the famous – or infamous – North American abolitionist John Brown, on the eve of the Civil War in the United States. The series was published in approximately thirty installments in *Civilisadó* from May 10th 1873 to May 30th 1874. It was translated from French to Papiamentu by a Curaçao author who disguised himself behind the initial 'P'.

Henri E. Marquand dedicated his work on John Brown to his famous colleague Victor Hugo, who accepted the honor by writing a letter of introduction for the text, dated April 11th 1860. This letter instantly set the tone for the entire book: "*JOHN BROWN ta oen grandi figura; eel a moeri manera mi a bisa na oen kamienda, pro Christo sicut Christus.*" This comparison of John Brown to no less a figure than Jesus Christ typifies the stance adopted by Marquand in this text.

John Brown (1800-1859) was born in Connecticut and raised in Ohio in a Puritan environment with his father's abolitionist convictions as the guiding principles that inspired his way of life and his actions. When American Presbyterian minister and journalist Elijah Parish Lovejoy (1802-1837) was shot because of his abolitionist ideas, Brown solemnly swore, "Here, before God, in the presence of these witnesses, from this time, I consecrate my life to the destruction of slavery!" (Civilisadó, September 6, 1873)

John Brown found the inspiration for his guerrilla war against slavery in scriptural passages, which convinced him that he had to fulfill a divine mission. He saw himself as a sword plied by God, in which he did not shrink from using violence to achieve his objectives. "Of all American abolitionists, John Brown was certainly the most passionate and the most violent," Suzanne Everett (1980: 28) concluded in *The Slaves*.

Abraham Lincoln characterized him as a 'misguided fanatic' and this is how he became the most controversial American of the 19th century.

That John Brown did not shun any means to achieve his aims, is well illustrated by the fact that on May 24th 1856 in the so-called 'Pottawatomie Creek Massacre', he with the help of his four sons and three colleagues cut five supporters of slavery to pieces. Although this event was widely decried as an "incomprehensible act executed in cold blood, which even his followers could not justify" (Everett, 1980: 28), such criticisms did not stop him from continuing his battle. On October 16th 1859 John Brown and some twenty supporters plundered an arms depot at Harpers Ferry in order to start a general rebellion in Virginia. However, the attempt failed miserably. Two of Brown's sons were killed and he himself was taken prisoner. John Brown died on the scaffold on December 2nd 1859 – without any remorse – but satisfied 'to have died for God's eternal truth'. The court case and the execution attracted considerable national and international publicity among both Brown's supporters and his opponents. Upon his death, church bells rang shots were fired. Authors, such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau and Victor Hugo defended and venerated him. Numerous books were devoted to John Brown. He is controversial to this day, where he is still variously portrayed as anything from a visionary martyr to a crazed terrorist. The song 'John Brown's Body' became the Union marching song during the US Civil War (1861-1865).

On Curaçao, the series on John Brown represents the first documentary novel serial in Papiamentu. John Brown can be characterized as a documentary novel because the work has both the character of a story and a documentary.

In the foreword to the actual work, Marquand defends of John Brown mainly by implying that he was not a revolutionary in the sense that he had wanted to overthrow the government, but that his aim was 'merely' to free the slaves. Just as the freedom fighters George Washington (1772-1799) and Marquis de La Fayette (1757-1834) had liberated the North American whites from the English yoke during the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783), John Brown had wanted to liberate North American blacks. There was no other way open to him than violence after all other peaceful and rational

means were exhausted. That absolved him from guilt for his violent actions, according to Marquand: "Soe obra no tabatien nada mas pa objeto, koe di ranca oen raza di heende – koe e mees Dios koe a traha noos toer, a cria - for di servilidad di mas cruel koe demonianan di kara blancoe a inventa noenka."

Born on May 9th 1800 in Torrington/Litchfield, Connecticut, John Brown was a sixth generation descent of the Pilgrim Fathers, who, according to Marquand had arrived in Plymouth Massachusetts on the Mayflower in 1620 with the motto: "Libertad! Paz riba moendoe y amoor pa toer heende." John Brown was brought up in a tradition of unconditional faith and militant patriotism. At the age of seventeen, the young John started a program of religious studies, which an eye illness prevented him from completing. In 1821, he married Bianthe Lusk, who passed away in 1831. After the death of his wife, he devoted himself completely and tirelessly to the emancipation of the slaves by means of writing.

Marquand describes John Brown as a moderate and simple man, who never drank alcohol, didn't smoke or use tobacco, dressed soberly and did not possess anything luxurious at home because he thought it was better to sell everything luxurious and give the proceeds to the poor. Brown was very religious, prayed often, and always read from the Scriptures before meals. In addition, he was a courageous man of action who helped slaves escape to Canada. In 1854, he left for Kansas to join the raging battle there over abolishing slavery. There, Brown and twelve followers (who included his seven children) were welcomed with fanfare in the city Lawrence. Although he was taken prisoner, two of his children remained in the battle and Brown was released afterwards. In 1856, he and his supporters freed several slaves by force of arms, and he fought in Missouri in 1858. In July 1859, he bought a plantation in Virginia under the false name of Smith in preparation for an attack on nearby Harper's Ferry to free slaves.

The serial novel in *Civilisadó* describes the battle of Harper's Ferry in detail. On Sunday evening October 16th 1859 around ten-thirty, Brown's military force – which had expanded from some fifty to six-hundred – took the bridge over the Potomac in Virginia. However, Brown let a passing train through, which provoked considerable alarm in Charlestown, whereupon government troops responded with the help of the population. Sensing that the end was nearing quickly, Brown's men fled in force. Brown himself was injured and the government side lost seven men. John Brown was hauled before a judge and sentenced to death by hanging on December 2nd 1859. Brown was a hero up to the last moment. Although he was hung at eleven-fifteen, his pulse continued to beat for another 35 minutes! His body was transported by train from Harpers Ferry to Albany, where he was buried. Brown's fellow combatants were convicted as well. Two weeks after Brown's hanging, they too were hung on

December 16th – two blacks in the morning and two whites in the afternoon hours. Marquand does not hesitate to cynically comment that in this way, the court maintained racial boundaries up to and in death.

John Brown's death received considerable attention – nationally and internationally. A day of mourning was proclaimed at various places in the US, and there was much sympathy expressed for the abolitionist in Canada and in the European press. Several days before the execution, the brother of Harriet Beecher Stowe held a sermon on John Brown in the church at Plymouth, wherein he remarked that Brown's death could be good for the emancipation cause. Victor Hugo wrote a complaint against the legal system and the court procedures used to condemn Brown. Marquand, who was editor of the *Gazette* in France (where slavery had been abolished since 1848) published John Brown's life story in installments in his newspaper before publishing the entire work in book form one year later – as was customary in his day. In fact, he had already published a detailed article on Brown's death on December 2nd 1859.

Henri Marquand concludes his documentary novel serial with an account of numerous spoken and written reactions on John Brown's death, both in the United States itself and outside the country. There was considerable sympathy for the abolitionist – especially in the free black republic Haiti, which had abolished slavery in 1804. In these passages, Brown was all but canonized, continuous reference to bible passages, including Christ's death by crucifixion at Golgotha and the fratricide of Cain and Abel. Harriet Beecher Stowe's work *The Negro Hut of Uncle Tom* was quoted as well. In this last chapter, a number of letters written by John Brown are also printed as well as a few narratives on the evils of slavery, including the story of a black family who hired a pew at a church and the strife that ensued. In 1865, slavery in the United States was finally abolished after one of the bloodiest wars that the world had ever witnessed up to that time..

That events in the United States could become known so quickly in a small Caribbean colony such as Curaçao and be so rapidly described and analyzed in rather detailed serial form in Papiamentu, demonstrates the mutual contacts that already existed in those days of primitive means of communication. As a busy harbor, Willemstad had become a political and cultural hub, as demonstrated by the existence of this serialized documentary novel, by the theatrical life at that time, and by numerous performances by traveling cultural troupes. A comparativist approach to local literary activities would yield further evidence for placing Curaçao on international ideological and cultural circuits. The evidence from *Civilisadó* demonstrates that there is still plenty of work to be done in this area!

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JACOBUS JOSEPHUS PUTMAN (1812-1883): MISSIONARY OR SCHOLAR?

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Introduction

Missionaries played a considerable role in the early history of Curaçao, not only in the spreading of the gospel, but also the development of the people. Besides the colonial language Dutch, missionaries of diverse background all made appreciable use of the more popular language Papiamento in their work. After studying Theology, missionary Jacobus Josephus Putman first worked in his home country of the Netherlands for a short period before leaving for Curaçao in 1837 (Brada, 1987). During Putman's stay on Curaçao, which lasted until 1853, he used to Papiamento to spread the gospel and Dutch to educate the people.

Before Putman's arrival, many missionaries had already attempted to 'civilize' the inhabitants of the island, with varying degrees of success. Initially missionaries came to Curaçao primarily from the Spanish-speaking world. This was partly a consequence of the fact that from as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, the bishops of Coro and Caracas considered the Leeward Islands as belonging to their diocese (Palm, 1985).

In 1677 the bishop of Caracas determined that every residing priest on Curaçao *ipso facto* would receive religious jurisdiction on the island from him, and for the next sixty years , the island was deluged by a number of priests of a variety of nationalities and belonging to different orders. The length of their stay was variable. These priests, also called priest-transients, did not only come to the island for religious reasons, but also for political reasons. Well-known cases of men of the cloth who ended up in Curaçao for political reasons include Victor de Dole, Michael Schabel, Augustinus de Caysedo, and father Ten Oever who is remembered in part for helping slaves who wanted to escape. From 1776 until 1820, the mission was assigned to the Dutch Franciscans, such as Schink, Brands, Pirovano and Stöppel. In the years 1820-1824, there was another influx of highly educated priests, who spiritually enriched the island. In 1768, the Leeward Islands officially became an apostolic prefecture followed by the Windward Islands in 1827. The six islands became a vicariate apostolic in 1842 with the appointment of M.J. Niewindt (1796-1860) as vicar

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apostolic. Niewindt was succeeded in 1860 by J.F. Kistemaker (1813-1883) who remained in that position until 1866 (Palm, 1985). These two vicars apostolic, both originally secular priests were no strangers to Putman during his stay on Curaçao.

Putman as missionary

Various documents mention the practical and social skills of the "father of (the district) Santa Rosa", as Putman was also known. After only one year on Curaçao, Putman had already expended great effort to begin the construction of a church. He also established a school for less-fortunate boys and girls, which the government of the time praised in official documents. Putman did not only teach, but also developed educational materials in Dutch and prayer booklets in Papiamento, which he subsequently printed (often on his own printing press). Putman sent for assistance from the Netherlands to carry out these activities. Putman employed a certain Mr. Kock as teacher and his sister supported him with his activities at his school, before she passed away after a few years on Curaçao. Unfortunately, it appears that little to nothing is left of Putman's original school materials, readers etc. (Brada, 1987; Rutgers, 2010).

Fortunately, a facsimile edition exists of his *Kamiena di Kroes, koe historia, meditasjon i orasjon kortiekoe* on the occasion of the departure in 2001 of the Dutch Dominicans of the Santa Rosa Parish on Curaçao (Putman, 2001 [1850]). Putman himself printed this prayer booklet in Papiamento in 1850. The preface of this facsimile edition does not only make reference to Putman's activities mentioned above, but also underscores the fact that Putman upon his return to the Netherlands "devoted himself to the abolition of the slavery" (Putman, 2001 [1850]). A facsimile edition from 1859 is also available of a *Woordenlijst der in de landstaal van Curaçao meest gebruikelijke woorden* [Wordlist of the most used words in the national language of Curaçao], by Bernardus Th. J. Frederiks, with *Zamenspraken* [Dialogues] by Putman, which he also printed on his own printing press in 1853 (Frederiks & Putman, 2004 [1859]). Putman's facsimile editions, while not of historic importance, reveal information on the early historical development of Papiamento. In the recent past, Maritza Coomans-Eustatia used sources from Curaçao, the Netherlands and Rome to conduct a thorough study of Putman and was working on a biography of this versatile man until she passed away. In connection with Putman's publications, Coomans-Eustatia mentions "various publications in Papiamento and Dutch", which were sometimes published and printed by Putman himself (Frederiks & Putman, 2004 [1859]).

Putman as Hispanist

After his departure from Curaçao in 1853, Putman remained active in many fields, in particular as a scholar of Spanish literature. One wonders, what could have possessed

this, from all appearances, practical missionary to occupy himself at a later stage in his life with, for example a comprehensive study on the work and life of Spanish Golden Age playwright Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681)?

In the bulky *Studies on Calderón and his documents,* with a foreword by Putman himself, he indicates that a few of his studies were already published in the period 1875-1879 in the magazine *Onze Wachter*, and then bundled together and subsequently published in Utrecht in 1880, three years before he passed away. On the front-page of the publication, Putman was presented as Canon, Dean of Utrecht, member of the society of Dutch literature at Leiden and of the Utrecht Provincial Society of Arts and Sciences (Putman, 1880, viii). It is almost certain he gathered these titles and positions as a consequence of achievements that took place after the period of his stay on Curaçao.

Putman appears to have been a man of wide reading and informed on the most important scientific studies of his time on Calderón de la Barca. He appears to have followed the literary debates closely, judging by the numerous quotes in his study from renowned Spanish, French, German and English sources. The continuous thread of Putman's studies, which are very detailed and of which only a few aspects will be dealt with in this article, was to promote public recognition and appreciation in the Netherlands for Calderón de la Barca. In poetic and ornate language, he expresses his sincere surprise with the fact that this Spanish writer was reviled and misunderstood in the Netherlands:

> "Welk verstandig student toch zal zich aangetrokken gevoelen, ernstige en vooral in het begin moeielijke studie te maken van Calderon's tooneel-poëzie, als hij zich stellig overtuigd houdt, met een dichter te doen te hebben *waar mede een steeds toenemend getal lezers slechts weinig kan sympathiseeren; dat er zeer veel in hem is, waarmede zij zelfs in het geheel niet kunnen instemmen; ja dat er in hem genoeg voorhanden is, waartegen zij met geheel hun zien en zedelijk bewustzijn zich verzetten en in opstand komen.*" (Putman, 1880: viii)

> [Which sensible student would feel attracted in making a serious and particularly in the beginning difficult study of Calderón's theatrical poetry, if he is strongly convinced he is dealing with a poet *with whom an increasing number of readers can hardly sympathize; that there is very much about him, with which they cannot agree at all; yes that there is much in him, against which they object and revolt with their whole view and moral awareness.*]

Putman indicates that Calderón was not popular in the Netherlands, and even misjudged:

> "... den Almachtigen God *als den oppersten Toovenaar*" onder de Toovenaars te laten optreden, waarbij men dan *"een gansche mirakelkraam"* ziet *"uitgestald, waarbij de oogen schemeren, maar het hart tot den einde toe koud*

blijft"? miskenningen, die volstrekt niet worden goedgemaakt door dat men hier en daar eens de loftrompet steekt" (Putman, 1880, viii)

[….To have the Almighty God *as the Supreme Magician"* perform amidst the Magicians, whereby one thus sees "*an entire miracle stall displayed, in which the eyes gleam, but the hart remains cold until the end"?* Misunderstandings that absolutely cannot be amended by one sounding his praises here and there once in a while.]

Putman goes on to explain his mission to rehabilitate Calderón de la Barca in the Netherlands:

" Ik heb getracht, zulk een onwaar en onwaardig oordeel te wederleggen en daarbij mijne beweringen te staven, ook met het gezag van de bevoegste schrijvers. Zelfs bij min of meer ondergeschikte bijzonderheden stond ik terechtwijzend stil; de onheuse, averechtsche voorstelling van Calderon als mensch en Christen, buiten aanmerking dan zijner geschriften, liet ik in geenen deele onwedersproken; het een en ander deed ik ter gewisser bereiking van mijn hoofddoel, namelijk: Calderon en zijner werken in ons vaderland naar waarheid te doen kennen, liefhebben en beoefenen." (Putman, 1880, viii).

[I have tried to refute such an untrue and unworthy judgment and to substantiate my assertions – also with the authority of the most competent writers. I even considered carefully more or less minor particulars; the discourteous misrepresentation of Calderón as human being and Christian, excluding criticism of his writings, I did not leave unchallenged in any part; I did a thing or two for certain realization of my principal aim, namely to truthfully make know, cherish and study Calderón and his works in our fatherland.]

Putman's first study briefly describes Calderón's life. He first mentions that Calderón underwent his schooling with the Jesuits in Madrid and Salamanca, and then adds that Calderón wrote his first drama *El carro del cielo* at the age of 19 years and won prizes for a some of his odes, for example, to Saint Teresa and to the Jesuits Ignatius of Loyola and Franciscus Xaverius. In ornate language, Putman mentions the fact that Calderón joined the military from1625 to 1635 and experienced the Siege of Breda, which served as his inspiration to write *El sitio (the siege) de Bredá*. Finally, Putman indicates that for thirty years, Calderón wrote Autos Sacramentales for the solemn celebration of Holy Sacrament Day (el día de Corpus Christi).

In his second study, *Calderón's documents*, Putman extensively describes the drama *El sitio de Bredá*, that according to Putman was not always included in the collected works of Calderón, but was worthwhile reading for the Dutch public. In his commentaries on this drama, Putman uses his first hand knowledge of the siege to contextualize Calderón's treatment of it.

Putman's substantial command of the scientific literature comes to the fore in his third study, in which Calderón's *La vida es sueño* is made accessible to the Dutch reading public. Putman refers to an article in *De Gids* of 1842, in which he praises A. S. Kok's 1871 "splendid" translation of *La vida es sueño* from Spanish (Putman, 1880: 66). Putman also tries to give a plausible explanation for the considerable popularity in the Netherlands of this drama in particular. He speculates that it was Calderón's development of the main character, Segismundo, that attracted Dutch audiences to *La vida es sueño* (Putman, 1880: 59). The dramas *El Alcalde de Zalamea* and *La Banda y la Flor* are also discussed in Putman's third study, where Putman pays special attention to the issue of corruption in both plays. Did Putman cherish these pieces because he had also fought against social injustice on Curaçao? (Lampe, 1988; Rutgers, 2010)

In a fourth study, Putman discusses *La Devoción de la Cruz* (Comedia divina) that according to him, was first attributed to Lope de Vega under the title *La Cruz en la Sepultura*. Putman firstly provides a wealth of philological background information and interesting facts connected to this play. He then makes a fascinating summary of the work with annotations, while comparing different existing translations with one another. In the clarity with which Putman organizes and presents his data for the reader, we catch a glimpse of the expert schoolteacher, which he undoubtedly was on Curaçao (Putman, 1880: 154-261).

The *El mágico prodigioso* is discussed in the same accessible, yet extensive and competent manner in a fifth study. Putman states that the reading of the original poses difficulties for various reasons:

> "Hij toch die Calderón in het oorspronkelijke kan verstaan en genieten, moet (anders kan hij het niet) genoegzaam bekend zijn met de zeden, gewoonten en gebruiken van het Spaansche volk dier dagen, de taal zelfs in hare eigenaardigheden begrijpen, en beseffen , dat de Spanjaard zaken, handelingen en gebeurtenissen, in het fatsoenlijkst gezelschap, zonder den minsten aanstoot, met den juisten naam noemen en zóó vertellen kon gelijk Calderon dat deed, maar die wij, zullen we fatsoenlijk man blijven heeten, niet zonder eene omschrijving noemen of slechts in bedekte termen en kiesch gekozen woorden verhalen durven." (Putman, 1880: 265)

> [Whoever can understand and enjoy Calderón in the original, should be adequately known with the morals, customs and habits of the Spanish people in those days, even understand the language in its peculiarities, and realize that Spaniards call things, actions and events, in the most decent company – without the least umbrage, by the correct name, and tell in such a manner as Calderón did, but which we – if we are to remain decent men – do not even describe or only dare to narrate in guarded terms and considerately chosen words.]

This article elucidates a few aspects of Putman's voluminous *oeuvre*, with the purpose of shedding some light on this exceptional person's life and work, both as a dedicated and socially engaged missionary on Curaçao and as an inspired and well read scholar. Another goal of this article is to make readers aware of how much more there is to know about this intellectual jack-of-all-trades and his work in Curaçao and elsewhere. It is therefore very timely that Prof. Dr. Wim Rutgers has committed himself to continue the work of Maritza Coomans-Eustatia and will soon publish a comprehensive biographical study of Putman.

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FEMALE VOICE AND PERSPECTIVE IN CARIBBEAN WRITING[1]

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This article is an investigation into how female identities are portrayed in literature from the Caribbean. It is an exploration of 'Female Voice' as it is represented in various works by Caribbean women authors. It addresses Female Identity as it pertains to the Caribbean and adds new insight into Caribbean women's writing. Since this literature is voluminous, I focus on just a few authors, with the understanding that their writing was to some degree inspired by a sense of belonging to a certain cultural grouping that had a locale, history and heritage in common.

The postcolonial is not merely a historical or economic phenomenon but it encompasses class, race, ethnicity and language; all of the discourses and identity formations that go into the shaping of nations and nationalism. A study of postcolonial writing then should highlight authors resisting colonial domination, and in some instances, even rewriting history, breaking perhaps with Western or Eurocentric concepts in an attempt to portray correctly their national culture.

It will be remembered that a significant part of what gives the Caribbean its distinct flavor is the onset of the sugar industry there in the mid 17th century. It was this industry that set in motion forces that ultimately led to a particular type of mingling of races, cultures and identities. Vera Kutzinski's *Sugar's Secret: Race and the Erotics of Cuban Nationalism* (1993) gives us insight into the process of *mestizaje* which resulted from the need for cheap labour to establish and maintain the sugar economy in Cuba. Kutzinski begins with a quote by Nicolás Guillén *"Sin azucar no hay país"* [Without sugar there is no country]. This quote in the preface is appropriate since the sugar trade has been the driving force behind the Cuban economy for the past two centuries. Kutzinski explores *cubanidad*, racial and political issues, as well as the skewed perspectives of past Cuban and Caribbean authors. Kutzinsky paints a picture of how the *mulatta* was viewed in visual arts (cigar and cigarette lithographs), dance (Cuban Son), poetry and fiction. While sugar production caused a synthesis, a blending and mixing of cultures, races, rhythms, sounds and colors, it also forged social alliances and sparked conflicts across class and racial barriers. Cuba's initial

Sugar's Secrets are no longer secret thanks to women authors who voice their heritage, experience, culture and, especially their perspectives in their artistic renderings.

This paper inquires into Caribbean women's multiple, hybrid identities and attempts to understand the many nuances that are written into the literary explorations of these identities. Caribbean narratives suggest that an acknowledgment of the dynamics of identity is a necessary condition for a possibility of dialogue between classes, races, genders and cultures. Narratives allow for the staging of multiple points of view, perspectives, and in the analyzing thereof, the inter-subjective undercurrents of self become visible and thus allow us to gain further insight into the network of relations that make up the Caribbean self and society. Caribbean women authors write about change, adaptation, hybrid societies, and a sense of loss of self or at least of a fragmented self which is seeking 'wholeness' as an antidote against a further fragmentation. Caribbean women's literature reflects this struggle for wholeness.

Françoise Lionnet in *Postcolonial Representations* (1995) advances a comparative critique of works by female authors. Lionnet concentrates on female writings with the idea that it is important to view certain beliefs, cultural practices and values as the result of both global and local social constructions of 'femaleness'. Lionnet contends that each individual literary work must retain its individuality and must in no way be subsumed under some 'universal' or stereotypical framework. Nevertheless, she wants to present the writing of Caribbean women as threads in a tapestry-like paradigm of women's perspectives globally, including but not restricted to, the Caribbean.

In her book she showcases work by authors who write across the frontiers of memories of triumph and of pain, of personal experiences and of shared cultural, ethnic and postcolonial viewpoints. These stories offer the reader an opening to socially and culturally contextualized knowledge, understanding and transformation of historical legacies of ignorance, scorn, violence, slavery, and racial and gender inequalities.

Stimulated by open resistance to the colonial project, 20th century Caribbean literary production increased and congealed into a body of work with a recognizably regional flavor. Until quite recently, Caribbean women writers faced discrimination stemming from the fact they had no meaningful and recognized literary voice. Caught within the straightjacket of the unitary standard European language of their metropolitan colonizers, women writers began their search for identity by writing novels and poems in which they argue not for the existence of one fixed identity, but instead for multiple identities which are adaptive and responsive to a variety of conditions. The voice of women which was once silent, began to be heard.

In *Francophone Women Writers of Africa and the Caribbean* (2000), Renée Larrier states that "...as we approach a new millennium, there has been a virtual explosion of activity as African women along with African American and Caribbean women have sold an unprecedented number of novels, short stories, poems and autobiographies" (p. 1). In the very act of writing, these authors write themselves into existence. And since literature can exist beyond the length of a human life, these authors have not only succeeded in making their voices and perspectives known to their present readers but also to future ones. Larrier argues that despite the fact that African and Caribbean women's perspectives have traditionally been overlooked, even in such otherwise progressive frameworks as *négritude* and *creolité*, Caribbean women authors have managed to make their female voices and perspectives heard, whether they write in Creole, English, French, Dutch, Spanish, or some other language (p. 119).

The setting of Maryse Condé's novel, *Traversée de la Mangrove* (1995) (*Crossing the Mangrove*), which was translated by her husband Richard Philcox into English, is Rivière au Sel, a small fictional village in Guadeloupe, the former French colony in the Caribbean where she was born, and which is now a part of France. In the novel, Francis Sancher, who was not born in Rivière au Sel, comes to live among its inhabitants who try to find out the background of this secretive and often melancholic man, who has predicted his own death. One day he is indeed found dead with no sign of illness or injury.

The setting of Sancher's wake is a clever device used by Condé to introduce the other characters of her book, who have come to pay their last respects. The wake offers the reader a look into a community tradition where respect for the departed is explicit, but where less respectful implicit feelings about the deceased can be detected under the surface. One by one, Condé lets each mourner speak with their inner voice and though some are genuinely grieved over the departure of Francis Sancher, others secretly rejoice as they sit in Sancher's house and on his verandah eating soup, telling stories, joking, and laughing. They reminisce about meeting Sancher and how their encounters with him changed or influenced their lives.

Condé lends authenticity to the various narrative voices by allowing her characters to speak about their innermost feelings and hopes and by her use of Guadeloupe Creole. Although all of the characters express to one degree or another a collective Guadeloupean identity, individual identities are foregrounded. The reader receives a first person introduction to the characters because Condé lets each character introduce themselves. In the process, however, the reader also gains valuable insight into the culture and history of Guadeloupe. Condé skillfully uses the interplay of feelings of inferiority or superiority according to skin color, hair texture, level of education, sexual conduct, and birthplace to depict some of the fundamental faultlines that

simultaneously define and destabilize the contours of Guadeloupean and Caribbean society.

One of the characteristics of the testimonial genre is that it often arises in a context of struggle and oppression. Another trait of the testimonial is that is must be written in the first person. In many Latin American and Caribbean testimonials, the individual narrating the events is illiterate, without the means or connections to write and publish their story on their own; consequently the genre of a testimonial often involves the recording and subsequent transcription and translation of an oral account as told by the subject of the testimonial to an interlocutor, who is often an educated individual. *Leonora: The Buried Story of Guadeloupe* (1994) by Dany Bébel-Gisler is a testimonial in which Leonora, a Creole-speaking rural woman who quit school at the age of fourteen recounts her life in Guadeloupean society. The story uses a comprehensive exposition and exploration of Leonora's individual identities and voices to expose and explore the collective identities and voices of the African descended populations of Guadeloupe and the rest of the Caribbean.

Leonora recounts her living and working experiences on a cane plantation, where she was raised and then raises her own family. Through confronting the anxieties of an unhappy marriage, she becomes aware of her capacity to transform her reality through her discourse, her resistance to circumstances, and her personal enlightenment. Leonora comes to understand herself, her community, her country's colonial past, her culture and her place therein, partly through the establishment of a dialogical relation with the reader. A powerful element in this dialogue is her use of Creole rather than French, because in doing so, Leonora expresses and claims sovereignty over an important aspect of how meaning is collectively created in Guadeloupe. Thus both Leonora and Dany Bébel-Gisler assert, validate, and celebrate a distinct creole identity. In translating Leonora's words from Creole into French, Bébel-Gisler allows this otherwise invisible story to be acknowledged and appreciated by a larger audience.

Michelle Cliff was born in Jamaica and educated in New York City. Her books often focus on language issues, especially on how Standard English and Patois (Jamaican Creole) reflect different identities as well as different positionings within the social hierarchies of colonial Jamaica. In *Abeng* (1984), Michelle Cliff's protagonist is Clare Savage. Clare's first name alludes to Cliff's own light skin colour, something which causes her much of the pain that becomes a key thread woven into many of her texts. Clare Savage's light skin color in a predominantly black population causes friction, even within her own family. Clare, perhaps like her creator Michelle Cliff, feels fragmented and incomplete. Clare's divided racial identity is presented through opposition between her lighter skinned father Boy Savage, who tries to 'pass for

white' and represents the European heritage of Jamaica, and her darker skinned mother Kitty Freeman Savage, who represents the African heritage of Jamaica. The inclusion of a grandmother figure is an attempt by Cliff to link the African ancestors, their stories, healing practices and Maroon movement to her Jamaican culture. Rather than choosing a single racial identity, Cliff (through Clare), acknowledges the complex and contradictory inter-relationships of gender, race and class. Thus Clare does not adopt the unitary and exclusive options for mono-identification as 'white' or 'black' that the dominant society imposes, but instead creates her own multiplex and inclusive option for the type of pluri-identification that has been the norm rather than the exception in West Africa and the Indigenous Caribbean from before the arrival of the Europeans..

A final example of a huge and ever growing list of books by Caribbean women authors is Miriam Sluis' book *Zoutrif* (2008). Sluis invites us to accompany her as she traces the 400 year-old history of a plantation called *Zoutrif* on the island of Curaçao. In the process, she locates the key factors that have shaped the ways in which Afro-Curaçaoans approach questions of culture and identity primarily in the colonial system of racialized slavery and servitude, and only secondarily in more recent waves of industrialization and globalization. Sluis describes the phenomenon '*paga tera*' and writes of the struggle of the islanders even after Abolition. One of her characters comments:

> "Op Rif hebben we tenminste zekerheid: werk, een huis en te eten. Martein bewerkt hier zijn stukje land en die paar dagen dat we voor niets op het land van de shon moeten werken horen erbij. Het is wel altijd net als onze eigen oogst ook moet worden binnengehaalt. Maar als Martein er kwaad om wordt, leg ik hem uit dat paga tera onze huur is, die we eens per jaar op die manier moeten betalen." (p. 146)

> [At least on Rif we have assurance: work, a home and food. Martein works on his piece of land and those few days that we have to work for gratis on the land of the *shon* [landowner] simply are not to be escaped. It does seem though that this work has to be done just when it is time to bring in our own harvest. But when Martein gets angry about it, then I explain to him that '*paga tera*' our rent must be paid in this manner each and every year.] (translation by present author)

Miriam Sluis recounts a conversation with Dr. Jandi Paula about the nature of racism and slavery under Dutch colonialism, where Dr. Paula contends that:

"De Nederlandse kolonisator was een perfecte kolonisator. Rassentimenten zitten by ons zeer diep. Dieper dan op Trinidad en op Jamaica bij voorbeeld. Het is niet een kwestie van de slavernij. Het is voortgezet. Het is gehandhaafd gebleven, het is nooit stopgezet." (p. 154)

[The Dutch colonizer was the perfect colonizer. Racial sentiments are deeply imbedded in us. Deeper still than on Trinidad and Jamaica for example. It is not actually a question of slavery. It has continued. It has been maintained, it was never done with.]

Sluis also quotes Aart Broek as arguing that the feelings of shame and inferiority instilled in African descended Curaçaoans under the Dutch still insidiously saturates daily life on the island:

"Het is niemand eenvoudig te ontsnappen aan vormen van beschaming door de omgeving waarin men zich geborgen meent en die onvermijdelijk wordt ervaren als achtenswaardig referentiepunt." (p. 155)

[No one can simply escape the manifestations of shame that are undeniably linked to the environment where one considers himself safe and which is inescapably experienced as an imposing point of reference.]

This is a same argument that Kay Erickson makes in *Trauma, Exploration in Memory* (1995) when she explains that trauma involves a continual reliving of some tormenting experience often in the form of flashbacks. She argues that it is that which is not yet understood, which the memory continually reminds us about in trying to come to terms with it. Miriam Sluis argues that the circumstances of having had to live according to the laws of the 'shons' in the past still affect the patterns of identification and interaction which people display in their day to day lives today. Sluis gives the various leading characters in *Zoutrif* - the owners, the field slaves and even the large lookout boulder called, *El Indjan,* a voice. She is able, in this way, to draw the reader into sharing their innermost feelings toward themselves and others.

Kathleen Balutansky (1997) explains that Caribbean women authors provide a rendition of societies in which ordinary women live and find ways to express their long silenced voices. In her attempts to formulate a type of literary criticism designed to explore the implications and consequences of gender on literature and literary theory Balutansky finds that in works written by women featuring female protagonists, there are textual clues and meanings which are perhaps not immediately apparent to readers in patriarchal societies. She cautions against reading these texts

simply as mirror images of male reality, for this reduces Caribbean women's identity to a stereotypical imitation or inversion. She argues that female protagonists created by women authors are not just snapshots of ordinary women, but that they are often larger than life representations of women's perspectives on various Caribbean issues.

This article has attempted to show how Caribbean female authors have engaged a variety of colonial, geographical, cultural and political perspectives in their texts to initiate a transatlantic dialogue, which as much as possible avoids stereotypical representations of women. We have seen how Maryse Condé, Dany Bébel-Gisler, Michelle Cliff, and Miriam Sluis reconstruct the Caribbean imaginary by interspersing the colonial language with a creole vocabulary which lends authenticity to the experiences of their characters. It becomes apparent that creating female voices that express the author's as well as her characters' experiences is an effective way of articulating women authors' perspectives. Re-appropriating previously disowned and silenced voices, Caribbean women authors write to transmit knowledge and culture by creating a space in the fabric of their culture for their memories, personal experiences and shared cultural, ethnic and postcolonial viewpoints.

In conclusion, I offer a quote from Pamela Mordecai and Betty Wilson who write in *Her True-True Name: An Anthology of Women's Writings from the Caribbean* (1989):

> "We come finally to the issue of identity and the quest for wholeness central to Caribbean literature and a continuing preoccupation of both male and female writers. The contribution of women rests on two crucial foundation stones, both already mentioned: first, their commitment to introducing personal, private matters into the domain of fiction and setting them at the heart of things; second, their exploiting the possibility of language, as the men simply have not done." (p. xv)

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CHILDREN'S LITERATURE: A TRUE REFLECTION OF COMMON KNOWLEDGE?

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Two books that are not yet featured in any Antillean bibliography are the subject of this article that has as its goal to demonstrate why they should be included in the collections of Antillean books like the 'Antillenkamer' at the University of the Netherlands Antilles or the Mongui Maduro Library on Curaçao. Both were written around 1900 for a teenage public, one being a travel diary with a highly educational component, the other being an adventure novel. They share the 'boy meets girl' story line including a happy ending, but more interestingly they both include significant information on the country, culture, people and politics of Curaçao and its relationship with neighbouring Venezuela. This paper analyses how facts and fiction come together in these literary works and how Curaçao and Venezuela are pictured from 'Western' - more specifically French and North American – perspectives. It also describes how children's literature has been used to create and disseminate certain images if not stereotypes of the Caribbean in Europe and North America since at least around 1900.

Paris, France, around 1890. A young man leaves for adventure. He boards a steamer in Bordeaux for Venezuela. In Venezuela, he tries to establish a business. In France, his fortune would have been too small to earn a living, but the New World promises fortune with minimal initial capital investment. He travels in Venezuela and eventually to Curaçao. Having extensively explored the island and having met its inhabitants, the young man will find true friends on the small Dutch island, a means to make a living there and in the end a woman to love and marry.

Francois Jemmy Bennasi Desplantes, a public education officer, published his novel *Six mois au Vénézuela et à Curaçao* in 1892 within the series *Bibliothèque morale de la jeunesse* in France. In this work, his young public gets a detailed lesson in the geography of Venezuela and Curaçao.

17 years after Desplantes in France, in 1909 an American writer named Richard Harding Davis pictures Curaçao as the island of many possibilities in his novel

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entitled *The White Mice*. An adventurous but spoiled young man gets sent by his father to Venezuela ostensibly to supervise an oil drilling project, but the father's real motive is to have his son learn about real life and shed his dandy attitude. The father succeeds, but maybe not exactly in the way he expected: The son and his friend quickly get themselves involved in a highly dangerous political plot. The friends plan to liberate an incarcerated Venezuelan revolutionary, a general who wants to overthrow the ruling dictator of that country. In order to make their plan work the two Americans try to gain the trust of the general's family, who has fled to Curaçao. Here, the adventure turns into a romance when the young hero meets the beautiful and highly spirited daughter of the imprisoned revolutionary. Curaçao in this adventure novel is a plotter's paradise with Venezuelan exiles, spies, true and false revolutionaries and profiteers. Curaçao is also the perfect backdrop for the heart-breaking love story between the American hero-to-be and the Venezuelan beauty.

Two stories, two languages, one island. The two very different books both pick Curaçao as central location. Curaçao is not just exotic scenery, a Caribbean cliché to the North American and French readers. In both books and in very different ways, the unique political, geographical and historical situation of the island is described and becomes crucial to the development of the plot.

Six mois au Vénézuela et à Curaçao is written to educate the adolescent reader. It is full of facts. But how much was known about Curaçao around 1892 in France? Research in the catalogues of the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* suggests that it was not a lot. There is an abundance of material about the French colony Guyana which is geographically speaking relatively close to Curaçao. Naturally, the Dutch archives are full of material, but they are mainly written in Dutch. With French being the diplomatic language of the time, there are some French texts in the Dutch archives (de Haseth, 1908), but the present author has not found a single text in Dutch in the French archives. The French sources on Curaçao are limited to photographic material, maps, naval material and descriptions of the geography and nature of the region. There isn't any information indicating that the author Desplantes ever visited the Caribbean.

Desplantes, who also published on naval history and French colonies in Africa, quite accurately uses the facts available to a Frenchman in his time in his description of the island. He correctly describes the politics, climate, number of inhabitants (including the percentage of white people), Willemstad as main city and the geologic and geographic situation (Desplantes: 118-127). The climate is correctly described. On the question of agriculture, Desplantes might have improvised with information from other islands in the region, since he mentions sugar, tobacco, indigo and oranges, but

the main crop, Curaçao mais (maishi chikí) and salt as main sources of income aren't mentioned at all. The coloured population of freed slaves and their families appears only marginally as friendly helpers and servants.

The European aspect and the Dutch merchant tradition are stressed in Desplantes' description of Willemstad, which mentions the high costs of living there. The Dutch cliché of being very clean is also extended to Willemstad and its natural harbour the Schottegat. Complete with an anti-Semitic sneer, there is mention of Jewish merchants dominating the trade.[1] Desplantes rather awkwardly compares Willemstad with Greece and doesn't mention the vivid colours of the houses. This might be because there was no colour photography at the time.

In order to give the French reader the complete view of Curaçao, Desplantes takes his hero on a tour of the island. Louis first goes on a pleasure trip to the Eastern part of Curaçao around St. Joris Bay where he goes hunting on a plantation and observes the local plants and birds.[2] To describe the West, Louis has to deliver a letter to a vessel on the very Western end of the island. And (since he is on a Dutch island?!) he rides a bicycle to get there. The bike tour takes him along all of the landmarks in the Western part of the island.[3] There Desplantes probably improvises, since it is highly unlikely that the road at that time was in a cycable state and that bicycles were a common means of transport. Desplantes also refers to the owner of the plantation Savonet by using a name very common on Curaçao, Schottborgh. However, Savonet was never owned by a Schottborgh (van der Lee, 1989). The author plays it safe even in the description of the future wife of the protagonist Louis: she is of Dutch origin, beautiful, educated and raised to be a good housewife.[4]

This rather extensive compilation of facts by Desplantes about Curaçao is probably the first in French literature. The information given about Curaçao is correct. Desplantes seems to have consulted with maps and scientific reports on climate and nature in his study in France. The adventure and the boy-meets-girl narrative are the very thin threads that lead the young reader through a maze of 'flavourless' facts. In the end, the hero falls in love on the island and with the island, but it is doubtful that the reader will follow suit.

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[1] "Mais le petit commerce est tout entier exercé par des Israélites, et, depuis que le monde est monde, ces derniers, comme tu le sais du reste, ont pour péché mignon de retirer le plus d'argent possible de leurs transactions. Aussi vendent-ils en prévalant un bénéfice exorbitant." (p. 128)

[2] "... nous nous amusons à regarder sur la côte du Vénézuela l'observatoire de Caracas, que l'on aperçoit fort distinctement, bien qu'il soit éloigné de nous de plus de dix kilomètres." (p. 130)

[3] pp. 144 ff.: Punda, Veeris, Cerrogrande (Grote Berg), Ascension, Barber, Savonett, Westpunt

[4] "Mlle Julia … est jolie - ce qui ne gâte rien - intelligente, instruite, et élevée en bonne femme de ménage: elle est d'origine hollandaise, c'est tout dire." (p. 152)

In contrast, Richard Harding Davis' *The White Mice* is full of flavour. Going through the novel for the details it is astonishing to see how little space he actually reserved for descriptions of the island. The main landmarks and typical images of Curaçao appear: the Emmabrug in Willemstad, the architecture, the orange plantations, etc. However, the picture painted of the island is far more vivid and colourful than Desplantes' descriptions.

Harding Davis probably never set foot on Curaçao, however, he knew the region very well. Having travelled as a reporter in Venezuela and Central America, he was most probably aware of local political developments in the preceding years and had met people who knew Curaçao.

There is certainly a difference in style between the French and the American writers. While Desplantes describes Willemstad as clean, with Harding Davis this becomes almost palpable:

> "Willemstad is compact and tiny, with a miniature governor and palace. It is painted in with all the primary colors, and, though rain seldom falls on Curaçao Island, it is as clean as though the minute before it had been washed by a spring shower and put out in the sun to dry." (p. 51)

Harding Davis makes Curaçao and its unique political situation part of the plot of his novel. The neutral island in Venezuela's back yard had been hosting refugees from Venezuela and other countries. In 1849, the ex-president of Venezuela, Jose Antonio Paez, plotted in Curaçao to overthrow the regime in Venezuela. In 1869, Guzman Blanco who later became president of Venezuela took refuge in Curaçao and was later expelled. In 1881, a *coup d'état* against the Venezuelan government that was planned by General Urdaneta in Curaçao was discovered and crushed. Venezuela regularly suspected Curaçao of smuggling weapons and reacted by raising import taxes on goods coming from Curaçao into Venezuela or by banning Curaçaoan ships from entering its ports (de Haseth, 1908; Amelunxen, 1929; Daal & Schouten, 1988).

Harding Davis designs his plot along these historical lines but gives it a twist by integrating an American element. In his novel, it's two Americans who plot in Venezuela and Curaçao to liberate an imprisoned revolutionary who could overthrow the ruling dictator. The general's family and supporters have fled to Curaçao to plan the escape. The American consul in Curaçao is also conspiring against Venezuela, and he himself suspects the two Americans of smuggling arms into the country. There is also another Venezuelan revolutionary in Curaçao who is conspiring to liberate the general, and to seize the reins of power himself once the deed is done. Harding Davis

uses few specific details, but successfully transforms historical material into a 'realistic' story that couldn't have happened anywhere but in Curaçao.

Two different texts published 17 years apart from each other in two different parts of the Western World. The features of Curaçao that they choose to describe are precise. The young French reader can open the world atlas and can follow the travels of the book's protagonist with a finger on the map. The American reader might come across a newspaper article about a plot against the Venezuelan government and find that Curaçao plays a decisive role in it as a safe haven for dissenters. The two novels consciously adopt the gaze of the foreigner. Desplantes takes a Frenchman from Paris and Harding Davis two Americans to the Dutch colony of Curaçao. Some clichés about the Dutch are deployed (polyglot Dutchmen and Dutch cleanliness).

In the search for a definition of Antillean children's literature, Wim Rutgers laments that many authors do not engage with the region in any meaningful way, and use the Antilles merely as a decorative backdrop.[5] And there he is speaking about children's literature in the 20th century. Even after autonomy from the Netherlands, authors have taken a very long time to acknowledge and evoke the Antillean soul of Curaçao.

Desplantes and Harding Davis write in a time when European dominance in Curaçao was not disputed. The African traditions of the former slave population that will later become a significant element of Antillean literature were still widely ignored. The island is dominated by the white metropolitan colonial authorities and the other parts of the society (like the Jewish merchants and the coloured people who work as servants and on the land) have to blend in with the background.

Taking all of this into account, neither Desplantes nor Harding Davis sees Curaçao as an exotic backdrop which could easily be interchanged with that found on any other Caribbean island. Desplantes' pedagogical preoccupation with getting all the details right and Harding Davis' desire to convey his sense of the highly charged dramatic tension that regularly unfolded between two Caribbean neighbors force each author to attempt in his own way to catch a glimpse of the essence of Curaçao and to make that essence come alive on the pages of their respective novels. For this reason alone, these two novels merit being included in reading lists of works about the former Netherlands Antilles.

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[5] "Van deze auteurs [Miep Diekmann, W.A.J. Holleman, Hanny Lim] is Miep Diekmann vooralsnog de enige die erin slaagde de Nederlandse Antillen van binnenuit te beschrijven, zonder de eeuwige vergelijkingen via Nederlandse hoofdfiguren met Nederlandse normen, gebruiken en oplossingen." Rutgers, 1988: 9)

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CULTURE, MUSIC, HISTORY AND CROSSING BOUNDARIES

CHIP ON THE SHOULDER OR JUST EXAGGERATED RACIALIZED TENSION? PERSPECTIVES OF A BLACK ARUBAN STUDENT AND PROFESSIONAL LIVING IN THE NETHERLANDS

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Introduction

This article is an output of a longitudinal study on black Aruban culture between 2000 and 2010. This study includes auto-ethnographic analysis of the author's personal experiences as well as numerous interviews, panel discussions, case studies, observations and literature reviews. The author not only describes his personal ethnic experiences, but also places them within the wider theoretical debate on race and ethnicity.

It is a widespread practice on the island of Aruba as well as in other Caribbean territories allied to European entities that students upon completing secondary school leave their homes to go to the Eurpean metropole for further studies (Nicolaas, 2006). While colleges and universities are increasing their presence on the island, the prospect of wandering off to distant lands in search of academic success involves a risk worth taking for many Aruban students. Therefore a considerable number of these students choose to establish themselves in the Netherlands, not only because they are familiar with the Dutch education and governmental systems, but also because of the relatively low cost of education there (Kralingen, 2003).

Upon their arrival in the metropole, Aruban students are confronted with a society that is dissimilar to theirs. Prior perceptions of ethnicity and ethnic relations that were common to them were suddenly not applicable anymore; other rules are now in effect. What Arubans considered white, is not white any longer, and what was once considered black, takes on a completely different significance (John James, 2000-2007). The demographic constellation of Aruba is akin to the populations in Cuba and Puerto Rico, where people of indigenous and mixed race in large part predominate in the makeup of the population (Richardson, 2010; Alofs & Merkies, 2001). The world the Aruban student knew before going abroad, was a world where ethnic lines were differently constructed. The world of *shadism or colorism,* where those who are "more

white" in appearance are given preferential treatment, does not exist in the Netherlands (Rellihan, 2005). In Aruba one's skin tone could be *jet black, dark skin, brown skin, light or fair skin, red skin, yellow skin*, *apache*[1] or *white*. Similar racial stratifications are also common in Latin America and the Caribbean, especially in places like Brazil, Puerto Rico, Jamaica and the Dominican Republic (Alleyne, 2002).

Aruban multiculturalism is a product of vast migratory processes that occurred during the various decades of the 20th century. Aruba never had an immense plantation economy involving African slaves. Instead the black minority on the island consists mainly of the descendants of British Caribbean migrant laborers. They have been on the island for over three generations now and constitute a distinctive unit within the larger multiethnic fabric of Aruban society (Richardson, 2010; Alofs & Merkies, 2001).

The black Aruban experience has often been neglected and has never been placed within the context of the wider Aruban historical narrative. This has left a tremendous void with respect to the expressions and the voices of this important constituency on the island. In this article, I will shed some light both on the experiences of black Arubans before leaving for the Netherlands as well as on the challenges that they encounter when they arrive. I will also discuss my academic and professional life as a black person in the Netherlands. It is my aim to familiarize the reader with the black Aruban experience and to stimulate public and private debate on race, ethnicity and ethnic relations in the Netherlands and in Aruba.

Island View of the Netherlands

The Netherlands is known in Aruba and much of the rest of the world for its wooden clogs, windmills, liberal lifestyles, sex and drugs. Besides these obvious stereotypes, black Aruban students also see the Netherlands as the land of independence and educational opportunity. At a very early age Afro-Caribbean Aruban students are prepared for a life where nothing comes easily. There would be no handouts in this lifetime. Older folks would say "*we don't have any godparents wuking in government to help us get a job, we have to wuk hard for we self.*" In practice this meant that blacks had to work harder to demonstrate their worthiness and blacks had to excel in education to be considered smart.

At an early age these students learn to cook, clean, wash dishes and assist in household chores. In traditional black Aruban families very often boys are brought up doing yard work and girls doing household chores. A constant parental reminder is, "*you have to look after yourself when you get big and go away because aint have nobody to do it for you*!" Janice Hale Benson's studies on black American children in

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[1] Name commonly used amongst black Arubans of British Caribbean descent to refer to indigenous Arubans. However these perceived Indian groups are not of the North American Apache Indian tribe.

the 70's and 80's show many similarities. It is clear that African Diaspora communities around the world feel the added pressure of having something to prove, what may be termed 'the chip on the shoulder' mentality (Hale-Benson, 1986).

The black Aruban is historically familiar with migratory practices. Numerous generations have traveled around the globe in search of an improved future. First generation black Arubans deemed education to be very important, constantly preaching a pro edifying message metaphorically comparable to a dusty LP record repeating the identical melody (Alofs & Merkies, 2001). For African descended Aruban students, life in the Netherlands presents a new challenge. They have to live up to the hype. Many have preceded them, setting the bar quite high and success is often measured by equaling or the surpassing the achievement of one's siblings and other family members. There is a strong *Harembee*[2] mentality in black Aruban culture where the spirit of pulling together is an important aspect of the upbringing. Many black Aruban students are fearful of failing; therefore they work tirelessly to succeed. Their hunger for success is often not driven by goals, instead, it is driven by fear and when a parental standard of success is not achieved, they experience profound shame.

Aruban students in general see the Dutch as cold, cheap and as being prejudiced towards foreigners. This image has been continuously reinforced by the manner in which Arubans talk about the Dutch on the island; "*e macambanan ey ta pichiri, ta hole stinki y ta bot*[3]." Many times these stereotypes are not reflective of the contemporary Dutch person but rather based on perceptions of older Arubans' experiences with the Dutch during colonial times. Upon stepping onto the aircraft there is already a preconceived notion of what life is going to be like. One prepares mentally for racism and other forms of discrimination because in ones frame of mind, Euro-Netherlanders are all naturally racist! In the next paragraph I will describe some of my personal experiences when newly arrived in the Netherlands.

Personal images deconstructed

When first arriving in the Netherlands I was confronted with a different culture than initially expected. Dutch people always seemed to be in a hurry. The Netherlands was also more racially and ethnically diverse than I had first imagined; especially in the bigger cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. Experiencing black culture in the Netherlands was also very surprising. European blacks were the same color as me but they weren't the same as back home or what I was accustomed to seeing in the U.S. European blacks were similar outwardly but seemed to be different

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[2] Harambee is a Kenyan tradition of community self-help events, eg. fundraising or development activities. *Harambee* literally means "all pull together" in Swahili, and is also the official motto of Kenya and appears on its coat of arms.

[3] Translated as "the Dutch are cheap, do not smell pleasant and are straightforward."

inwardly. They all had white boyfriends or white girlfriends, spoke Dutch like *dutchies*[4] and could speak neither Caribbean English, nor Papiamento. The first thing that came to mind was, "bounty". A bounty is a chocolate bar that is brown on the outside and white on the inside and is a term used to describe someone who has sold out his or her race. They were not as they say, "keeping it real," which is hip hop slang for not truly representing your culture.

My perception of a black person at the time was constructed by what was portrayed in the American and Caribbean media. Blacks in Aruba wear baggy jeans, speak American and Jamaican slang and listen to rap, soca, reggae and R&B music. Blacks in Europe often wear tight jeans and boots and listen to an array of music ranging from American urban music to European trance, techno and house. The culture and environment they grew up in has groomed them to differ from their racial counterparts elsewhere. Environment, at least partially, decides what clothes you wear, how you speak and how you act. This certainly brings up the question: what does being black really mean? When confronted with these issues it certainly forces one to think differently about race. How can I call someone else racist if I myself am prejudiced towards my own race? When human beings feel isolated in a new environment we tend to cling on to what is familiar to us, often enhancing stereotypical views of the other. Black students many times cling on to constructs of 'Africaness' saying to themselves, "we are black, we do things differently."

During my time in the Netherlands I haven't experienced racism all that often. Have I created a world where racism is nonexistent or have I willfully ignored its existence? Questions like these are extremely difficult to answer because racism often doesn't openly manifest itself but subtly rears its ugly head in times of distress. In the next paragraph I will go deeper into the life of a black Aruban student.

Academic Life

When I arrived at college I had no notion of what was in store for me. Was it going to be a smooth ride or was it going to be a ride filled with obstacles? I preemptively took on an apprehensive attitude. I was like, "all these white people around here thinking they're better than me, I have news for them, I am better than them." The chip on the shoulder mentality again! This position was of course a mask to hide some of my insecurities, but looking back it was this same attitude that also contributed to my eventual academic success.

As I arrived in the classroom my "look for foreigner switch" went on. The first foreign looking person in the classroom I saw, I sat next to. This Moroccan colleague was not black, but I couldn't care less, he was close enough. We had a similar position in

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[4] Diminutive of Dutch. Often used by Black Arubans to say something about Dutch persons in a negative way.

Dutch society which was our common bond. We were the *allochtonen*[5]. "We foreigners have to stick together," I thought.

Academic adaptation was at first extremely difficult. My first tests and reports were not at all up to par. The first ever research report that I handed in to my professor was returned with a barrage of red marks; the paper looked like a Christmas tree. On the bottom of the report page there was a note which stated; "*jouw Nederlands is slecht, je hebt absoluut hulp nodig*[6]." I felt like, "*what the hell am I doing here, who the hell send me.*" With plenty of struggle, I eventually passed through the teacher training academy with success. I must say that during my years in college I often felt inadequate. I questioned my intellectual ability because I felt that the Dutch students always knew the right answers and were very proactive. I sensed that the teachers were giving me a pass because they pitied me; "*oh arme Antilliaan*"[7]. Whether this was truly the case or not, it affected my psyche deeply.

Upon finishing college, I went on to specialize in Latin American and Caribbean studies at the University of Utrecht. During this experience a real sense of pride came upon me. It wasn't until my research trip to Trinidad that a whole new world opened up to me. When I first visited the University of the West Indies in St Augustine, Trinidad, I called my wife with excitement telling her that "*I never see so much black professors in my life.*" In all my years in the Netherlands I had only seen but one black professor walking around on campus. This research fieldtrip was like a confirmation that I could be anything I set out to be and that I should never ever settle for less. Images of successful people resonate more than stories. If you don't see it, it's hard to be it! In the following section I will discuss my first experiences on the job scene.

On the Job front

As I was finishing graduate school, I started applying for jobs as a school teacher at various secondary schools in the Netherlands. I sent over 30 applications and all resulted in negative responses. I rarely got invited to an interview. I remained calm after the first few declines, but eventually I became disheartened and thoughts of discrimination began to slowly infiltrate my mind. "Was it because of my background? It just did not add up; I was young and educated and it was still so hard to get a damn job? They needed teachers, didn't they, so what the hell was the problem then?"

After being jobless for about 5 months, my cousin called me up and said that there was a position available at the school where he worked. I applied for the job and got invited to an interview and surprisingly I got the job. The secondary school where I

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[5] Allochthonous in Dutch.
[6] Your Dutch is bad, you really need help! (translated from Dutch)
[7] Poor Antillean (translated from Dutch)

was going to work was nearly 100% white, including the staff. The location of the school was in a high income neighborhood in a midsize city called *Apeldoorn*. I was the only black teacher along with my cousin who is half Indonesian and another colleague who is half Antillean. Quickly my "find the foreigner switch" turned on. At that time it seemed like the best thing to do. After having lived in the Netherlands for over 6 years, I had realized, however, that I couldn't isolate myself, for it would not be beneficial for my standing on the job.

Amid all the supposed "whiteness", my experience at that school was edifying; it was a tremendous place to gain work experience. The staff was very professional, innovative and really did their best to incorporate their new teachers into the school culture. They frequently asked about my experiences and valued my opinion in matters that were of concern to the school. I also had a good relationship with the students. They automatically gave me the "*boks*". It is the action where people greet each other by bumping their fist on another instead of a handshake. They thought it was hip, they thought that all black people greeted one another in that fashion. They said I spoke cool with a different accent and dressed differently. They seemed genuinely interested in my background and my reasons for choosing to live and study in the Netherlands. I knew it was a form of racial stereotyping but I saw it as the students' honest attempt to connect with me. In this case it had a positive effect on both parties. Racial perceptions can also be used to your advantage, I quickly found out. My brother always says he doesn't mind being the only black guy. If you're a positive worker you stand out. The negative side is, however, that when you work badly you also get noticed in a negative way even more because they will say, "the black guy messed up."

Academically, there are always certain challenges new teachers will face, but I can't help but think that black teachers have to cope with just a little more pressure. There is always an internal sense that you have to prove yourself. My Dutch wasn't always up to par and I often got some remarks from my colleagues. I dealt with it the best way I could by studying the Dutch language more thoroughly because I knew I was being watched. Despite all my successes at the workplace, my feelings of inadequacy in large part still remained. Black academics and professionals often feel isolated as they are confronted with their place and function in society. Blacks see them as "bounties" and whites wonder how they got to that position. In the next section, I will take a closer look at the place of the black family in the Netherlands.

Image of the Black Family in the Netherlands
When my son was born it was the beginning of a new chapter in both the lives of my wife and myself. We received a great deal of attention, phone calls and well wishes from friends and colleagues alike. My son had a brown complexion, beautiful round

eyes and curly black hair. We noticed that most of our Dutch colleagues made the same statement, "*Oh leuk, zijn haar heeft veel krulletjes[8].*" My wife and I wondered if the same comments were made to white babies.

We lived in a flat in a multicultural neighborhood on the outskirts of the city of Utrecht. Most of the tenants were middle class and white. Our neighbors were quite apprehensive and limited interaction with us to "hello" and "good night". We wondered what they thought of us as black people. As a matter of fact, we often wondered what Dutch people in general thought about the black family, the black mother, black father and black child. Did they think we were illegals, asylum seekers or poor Antilleans? Did they think we were "antsing" off the welfare state as Samuel Selvon described Caribbean migrants in post World War II Britain? When my wife and I talked to others and mentioned that we were both teachers they often reacted with surprise. I almost always got asked; "*Dus ben je een gymleraar?* So are you a gym teacher?" Not to discredit gym teachers but it seemed that I was more likened to be the athletic type and not the intellectual. Why?

The way that blacks are portrayed in the media is mostly negative and in socially undesirable positions; often as criminals, materialistic entertainers indulging in drugs and sex or as welfare recipients. These images shape the mindset of the general public. The image of the black professional and intellectual is painfully absent in the Netherlands. Paul Gilroy's 1987 "Aint no black in the Union Jack", was a critique on the limited black representation in higher positions in the United Kingdom. The same could be said for modern day Netherlands as well. My black Aruban friends also find it difficult to come to terms with the way the media portrays black persons in the Netherlands and elsewhere. These images are not reflective of the world that we live in.

Conclusion

In this paper I indented to depict the life of a black Aruban student living and working in the Netherlands. It is a deeply personal look at race as an element of ethnicity by someone who has benefited from a higher education and wonders in what manner others around him view his race, family and success.

By having lived in the Netherlands for over 7 years I have evolved in the way I view race and ethnicity. I have learned that being of a certain race does not automatically imply that one holds certain attitudes or practices a certain culture. I have seen many black Netherlanders who beside physical phenotype are entirely part of white Dutch culture and vice versa. The idea of race being equated to attitude and culture is mistaken. This colonial mentality is very much alive today and has been adopted by

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[8] Oh nice, he has curly hair,

many African Diaspora communities around the world. These sayings are all too common amongst blacks, whites and other races: "blacks dance well, have rhythm, are good athletes" as well as: "blacks are promiscuous, bad spenders, poor, inarticulate and uneducated." Ethnicity is partly decided by past and culture, but can heavily be influenced by environment and choice.

As human beings we have constructed race as an element of ethnicity to function as a method of classification. We classify and categorize to be able to compare and to ultimately understand or manipulate. We quickly profess to be non judgmental, but rely on stereotypical preconceptions of the other. Education and interethnic contact is thereby essential in making persons aware of their prejudices towards other races as well as their own. In many aspects I have never really gotten to know the Dutch culture very well, for fear of leaving my own behind. I would advise a member of any minority group migrating to a foreign country to keep an open mind and to let people get to know the real you. Some disappointment along the way is inevitable, but the long term benefits of a multicultural, multiethnic and multiracial understanding far outweigh these temporary setbacks.

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LA CANTINELA DEL SEÚ DE CURAÇAO

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Introducción

El presente artículo presenta algunos resultados de un trabajo de investigación-acción llevado a cabo en Curaçao por el autor y sus socios durante las últimas décadas del siglo 20. Nuestras metas principales eran: 1) determinar un núcleo tradicional de las cantinelas del festival del Seú, y 2) enseñar estas cantinelas a la juventud de la isla para promover la preservación de nuestro patrimonio cultural y para proveer a los jóvenes actividades alternativas a las asociadas con las drogas y con la criminalidad.

En Curaçao el Seú es una fiesta que la gente organiza para decir gracias al Ser Poderoso por la cosecha. Esta fiesta, que se celebra una vez al año, va acompañada de música y de baile. Van Meeteren utiliza el término Seoe para referirse al Seú y según él, la palabra significa 'segar la hierba' o 'cortar la hierba'. Herskovits hace referencia en este contexto a *dokpwe*, que es un sistema africano de ayuda mútua que se practica en la Republica de Benin (Dahomey) y otras partes de Africa. En inglés lo llaman *lift system* y también *jollification*, que en las Antillas Neerlandesas se refiere a la forma colectiva de trabajar gratis durante la cosecha de maíz.

En los años 1950, la señora Ursulita Martes, decidió ir con su grupo de Seú a participar en los carnavales de Curaçao y después organizó marchas de Seú, primero en los barrios de Santa María y Buena Vista y luego en la ciudad de Willemstad. En los años 1970 y 1980 Judith Mauris, un alumno de Ursilita Martis, continuó a organizar el Festival de Seú en la ciudad de Willemstad con la ayuda del Servicio de Cultura. Actualmente, hay una fundación que organiza el Festival de Seú que es dirigida por el anterior director del Servicio de Cultura, Pacheco Domacassé. De esta forma, el festival se ha enfocado cada vez más en la identidad curaçaoleña y la formación cultural de la gente, especialmente los jóvenes por medio de los grupos folklóricos del Seú de los diferentes barrios y escuelas de la isla. En el momento actual, hay más de 80 grupos en total con por lo menos 8000 miembros, que participan en la marcha del Seú.

Cantinelas del Seú

En este artículo voy a dedicar algunas palabras a la música del Seú, especialmente a la cantinela del siglo pasado (el siglo 20) hasta el año 2003, que podemos considerar como los últimos cien años de la era del Seú tradicional o monofónico. La música monofónica es un tipo de música que es simple, producida por instrumentos de percusión (idiófonos), instrumentos de aire (aerófonos) e instrumentos de cuero (membranófonos). Consiste en una línea melódica, que no tiene acompañamiento de instrumentos de acorde (guitarra, cuarta, mandolina, piano, arpa etc.):

> La línea misma, va parte de un acompañamiento de percusión rítmicamente complicado, es de una extraordinaria finura y sutileza y hace uso de cuartos de tonos y otros pequeños intervalos desconocidos de nuestro sistema. No solamente todos los pueblos orientales, sino también los griegos tuvieron música de textura monofónica. (La Croes, 1997: 61)

Desde 2003 empieza la era del Seú homofónico con compositores actuales y conocidos. Las cantinelas modernas del Seú se distinguen de las cantinelas antiguas por tener un autor particular y por pertenecer a la nueva cultura popular de Curaçao:

> La música homofónica …. consiste en una línea melódica principal y un acompañamiento de acordes. La homofonía fue invento de los primeros compositores de óperas italianas, que buscaban una manera más directa de comunicar la emoción dramática. (La Croes, 1997: 62)

En Curaçao tenemos cantinelas del Seú que son de tres períodos diferentes. Los primeros dos períodos son de la era del Seú monofónico, y el tercero es de la era del Seú homofónico:

1. Siglo 17 hasta 1980: Las cantinelas del Seú tradicionales que se originaron de las canciones de *macamba* y que son ejecutadas por *tambú* (tambor), *chapi* (azadón) y *karkó* (caracol). Esta es la música monofónica típica de la fiesta de Cosecha de Curaçao.

2. 1980 hasta 2002: Cantinelas monofónicas y típicas del primer periodo, pero modificadas conforme con el estilo del maestro-cantor Ciro Eleonora que caminaba y visitaba a los grupos del Seú, enseñándoles estas canciones.

3. 2003 hasta el momento actual (2010): Cantinelas homofónicas con compositores particulares, por ejemplo: la canción *"Awa"* del conocido maestro bailarín, compositor y autor de texto Carlos Zimmerman que ganó el premio del *Festival di Kantadó Mayó* en 2003.

En la isla, existen diferentes colecciones de las cantinelas del Seú:

1. las colecciones de Zikinzá del sacerdote etnólogo Brenneker y del etnólogo Elis Juliana que contienen cantinelas viejas y cuentos cortos (1974)
2. las colecciones del Servicio de Asuntos Culturales (siglo 20)
3. las colecciones del Instituto de Arqueología y de Antropología de las Antillas Neerlandesas (AAINA) (1985-2000)
4. las colecciones de Grupo Rais (ala cultural del movimiento Trinchera) (Rosalia,1988/1989)
5. las colecciones de Trinchera (*Tera a duna*) *("Un kolekshon di kantikanan di Seú")* (2000/2001)
6. las colecciones de *Konsenshi Kultural* Festival di Seú I i II (caseta doble y C.D. doble) (2000/2001)
7. las colecciones obtenidas por la prensa y por personas individuales (siglos 20 y 21)
8. las colecciones nuevas del *Kantadó Mayó* de la Fundación Cultural Kòrsou Seú, que son canciones homofónicas (2003 hasta el presente).

Los talleres del Seú
Un resultado práctico de nuestras investigaciones fue una serie de talleres del Seú que realizamos con los jóvenes de los barrios de Willemstad. En estos talleres nosotros (los maestros de los talleres, que eran también a veces los investigadores folklóricos) enseñaron a los jóvenes las viejas cantinelas del Seú y la manera tradicional de tocarlas. En los años 1960 y 1970, teníamos un problema grande en los barrios de Curaçao con el fenómeno de los "High Flying Park" es decir, los centros o puntos de drogas frecuentados por los jóvenes desempleados. Por medio de los talleres del Seú y la organización de los grupos folklóricos podíamos evitar y parar esta tendencia negativa entre la juventud curazoleña. En vez de estimular la formación de grupos de jóvenes criminales, estábamos formando en los barrios grupos del Seú.

Eran las mamás solteras en los barrios que tomaron la iniciativa en auspiciar la formación de los grupos del Seú, para ayudarles a sus hijos e hijas a superar sus crisis de identidad. Con el apoyo de sus madres, los jóvenes fueron formados como músicos y bailarinas, dándoles una clase de prestigio en sus barrios, que incluyen, entre otros: Cher Asil, Monta Vèrdè, Penstraat Oranjestraat, De Savaan, San Souci, Palu Blanku,

Zegu, Buena Vista, Sta. Maria , Dòmi Ariba, Mundu Nobo, Charo, Wishi, Marchena, Dein, Kanga, Suffisant, Gato, Santa Rosa y Montaña.

El problema de selección de cantinelas

En nuestro trabajo con los grupos folklóricos del Seú, se nos ha enfrentado constantemente el problema de seleccionar un núcleo tradicional de las cantinelas del Seú para enseñar en nuestros talleres, y para presentar en el Festival del Seú. A propósito de esta problemática, Aretz (1986) señala que:

> *"*El folklore va perdiendo mucho en el transcurso de diferentes generaciones y va incorporando a veces tanto como pierde. Lo esencial es que sea el pueblo el que realice la selección y la adaptación a su idiosincrasia; al uso que lo destine.*"* (p. 39)

Este problema se complica porque hay diferentes datos contradictorios en torno a las cantinelas del Seú. En un intento preliminar a ayudarles a los grupos folklóricos a seleccionar un núcleo tradicional de los cantos del Seú, hemos seleccionado el siguiente método de trabajo:

1. analizar el material de la colección de Zinkinzá, para seleccionar las cantinelas que tienen que ver con el Seú
2. examinar entrevistas con músicos, cantantes, bailarines y participantes en los festivales de Seú de edad avanzada
3. examinar el material que usan los grupos de Seú existentes
4. participar activamente como observadores juntos con los integrantes de los grupos de Seú en diferentes actividades
5. estudiar la estructura textual y musical de las cantinelas que emplean dichos grupos en el Seú

Muchos investigadores en el terreno cultural, especialmente cuando son autodidactas, tienden a negar a informantes que según ellos proveen datos que no concuerdan con los datos de los informantes que ellos creen confiables y competentes. Es nuestra opinión que el investigador debe registrar todas las variantes que encuentre y no puede decir que las informaciones de un determinado informante son incorrectos o que carecen de valor. Aretz (1986) dice lo siguiente a este propósito:

> *"*El investigador debe ser objetivo y estar exento de prejuicios de orden estético, político, etc. y debe recogerlo todo sin selección ética o religiosa previa, aunque el material le parezca feo, absurdo inmoral o equivocado. Para cada cosa tiene el Folklore (la ciencia) su casilla en el

gabinete de trabajo y el folklorista no sabe nunca para quién el trabaja, como dice Juan Alfonso Carrizo, el gran estudioso y colector del Folklore poético argentino." (p. 52)

Una búsqueda de cantinelas del Seú: variantes como expresiones culturales

¿Cuáles de las cantinelas son buenas y cuáles no? Hay muchas variantes de una verdad. Sin embargo, si se organiza un Seú, podemos tener la seguridad que vamos a oír ciertas cantinelas, sobre todo las siguientes:

1. Remailo
2. Para ban mondi ku mi
3. Ata e ko tei ka
4. Toro bo ke ma(s)

Remailo. La gente cantaba la canción "Remailo" en el Simadán, la fiesta de cosecha de Bonaire, pero conocimos también este canto como cantinela del Seú en Curaçao. Van Meeteren dice que "[e]l Seú ha perdido su significación en el curso del tiempo de modo que ahora es solamente una sombra de lo que era antes, pero todo indica que es del pueblo y ha salido del pueblo." (1977: 53, traducción del autor presente)

En los periódicos *Amigoe* y *La Union* de los años 1940, encontramos diferentes cantinelas que tienen que ver con la cosecha. El informante Ciro Eleonora relata en una entrevista que a pesar de la gran sequía que hubo en el año 1955, invitaron a los bonairenses para cantar el Simadán (otra denominación entonces para Seú) en Curaçao, y desde entonces cantan esta canción en Curaçao en los encuentros del Seú. El conocido cantante de tambú "Shon Cola" (Nicolaas Susana) canta esta canción en un disco. En el *Amigoe* del 28 de abril 1943 podemos leer lo siguiente tocante el Seú, que se celebró el 26 de abril del mismo año:

> La fiesta de cosecha y todo el folklore está desapareciendo aquí. Anteayer ya se hizo notar, que solo los adultos aún bailan y conocen las cantinelas y que los jóvenes solo están mirando. Se supondrá que justamente la juventud se divertirá en el baile."

Está claro que un grupo grande de bonairenses vino a Curaçao en los años 1940 y 1950, y que algunas de sus cantinelas entraron en el folklore de nuestra isla por un proceso de transculturación (Ortiz, 1983: 90). El "Remailo" que se canta en Curaçao tiene contenido distinto a lo de Bonaire. El folklore tiene un aspecto dinámico que cambia continuamente. Isabel Aretz (1986) dice que:

"[e]sta condición de tradicionalidad propia del folklore, no le obliga a ser estático como vemos. El folklore recibe continuamente influencias, en la misma medida que va dando algo de si. Es muy común que las personas crean su propia versión de un hecho folklórico que ellos presenciaron en su pueblo, o que recogieron por relatos de su padre o de su abuelo, es la única auténtica. No hay tal, ya sabemos que el folklore se modifica continuamente, pero siempre dentro de la corriente tradicional. Aunque una pantomima se transforme, la idea central permanece; por eso se recogen innumerables variantes." (pp. 37-38)

Para ban mondi ku mi. De la cantinela "Para ban mondi ku mi" (= Pajarito, vámonos pal monte) se puede decir lo siguiente. En la mencionada colección de Zikinzá (Brenneker & Juliana, 1974) se encuentran las siguientes diferentes versiones de esta cantinela:

1. Para ban mangel ku mi
   (Pajarito vente conmigo pa'l mangle) (T 306; T 1197)

2. Paranan di mondinan
   (Pajaritos de los bosques)

3. Para tei mangel ku mi
   [Pajarito que me leva al mangle (T1002)]

El etnólogo Elis Juliana y el informante Martili Pieters dicen que esta es una cantinela de pico (*kantika di piki*). Juliana la publicó en su tomo "Dede Pikiña" (Dedo Meñique) (1964: 19) como una poesía rítmica para niños intitulada "Tira Piki" (= cavar con pico):

Cavar (con pico)
Cuatro hombres
Excavan en el camino
pepitas de sudor
corren de sus frentes
echando el pico cantan
los picos suben
los picos bajan

Pajarito,
Llévame pa'l monte   Ja

Ten piedad de mi	Ja
Hierro ayúdame	
con ella	Ja
Ten piedad de mi	Ja
Carga la pena	
conmigo	Ja
Ten piedad de mi	Ja
Hierro, quiébrala	
para mi	Ja
Ten piedad de mi	Ja
Dalia, no te enfades	
Conmigo	Ja

Juliana recalca el hecho que los grupos folklóricos popularizaron esta cantinela después de su publicación. Fue un Señor Gibbs de un grupo folklórico llamado *Dushi Kòrsou* que lo hizo. Ahora podemos preguntarnos: ¿Dónde el Señor Gibbs ha oído esta cantinela? Esta canción la hemos encontrado en *Zikinzá*, y por lo tanto, podemos decir que probablemente la ha oído de gente avanzada de edad, que sabían cantar esta cantinela. Antes de los años 1970 el artista popular Rudy Plaate hizo una versión en disco en ritmo de Calipso, que se llama "Paharito" y quizás los grupos folklóricos empezaron a cantarla después. O puede ser que los grupos folklóricos empezaron a cantarla después de oír la canción de "Cavar" de Elis Juliana.

Ata e ko tei ka. 'At'é ko tei ka' [= La cosa (= la cosecha) va a la casa] forma parte de las cantinelas que los grupos que hacen la caminata cantan al cerrar (= culminar) el ritmo del Seú. En Brenneker (1958: 10; 1959: 12) encontramos "At'é ko tei ka" (T166) como cantinela del Seú. Segun algunos informantes se canta esta cantinela en el Seú cuando se lleva el maíz a la maicería. En el *Amigoe* del 28 de abril de 1943 se habla de esta etapa del Seú sin mencionar de cual cantinela se trata:

> "Cantando cantinelas rítmicas, finalmente se pisotea el maíz en la maicería. Así … evitan que los ratones y las ratas vienen a saborear de los productos de la cosecha….Tan pronto que el sol este alto y el rocío de la noche se ha ya secado, empieza el corte, bajo canto, preferiblemente acompañado por el sonido del cuerno (o la concha grande del mar).
> Junto al bohío en el *cunuco* hay también la maicería, construido de ramas y lodo y ahora decorada con la bandera neerlandesa y con bonitos tallos de maíz, seleccionado dos meces de antemano. Hacia allí los

llevan los pequeños, que ayudan con la cosecha, que se guarda en la
maicería, después de haber sido pisoteado, para evitar la putrefacción.
Desde lejos suena ya el canto colectivo de los trabajadores escondidos
por el maíz, que ha crecido muy alto:

> Lo hemos recogido todo.
> Lo hemos juntado todo.
> La cosa se va para la casa.
> La cosa se va a casa.
> El periquito lleva la llave
> de la maicería.”   (traducción del autor presente)

Hoy en día los grupos folklóricos de Seú cantan esta cantinela durante el Festival del
Seú en Punda y Otrobanda, después siguen otras cantinelas, luego se detienen para dar
un show que puede terminar en una demostración de tambú.

Toro bo ke ma(s). Van Meeteren (1977) es uno de los primeros que escribió algo
tocante a la cantinela “Toro bo ke mas” (= Toro quieres más):

“Ahora toda la fila, bajo los tonos del ‘cacho’ (= cuerno) y el ‘hierro’ va a la
maicería, el joven ‘Toro Manzinga’ a la cabeza, que cada vez, entre las otras
cantinelas, entona el refrán: *Bawan simadán colombina hibé*, mientras que toda
la fila lo repite, hasta que la fila llegue a la maicería. Entonces el “Toro
Manzinga” toma el cesto de la cabeza de su mujer cantando: *Wazeee ya ya,
wazeee ya ya wazeee yaaaa*, cada vez interrumpido por toda la fila, que
contesta bailando: *At’e ko tei ka, at’é ko tei ka, kieuw kieuw wega muchanan* (=
La cosa va para la casa, quiu, quiu, juego muchachos) después del cual echan el
contenido de los cestos en la maicería.” (p. 51, traducción del autor presente)

Elis Juliana dice que en los años 60 ya Tomas “Kokoti” (Tomas Kokòt) le había
enseñando al sacerdote Brenneker la poesía “Toro bo ke mas”. Según Elis Juliana no
es una cantinela de Seú. Sin embargo, en la colección de Zikinzá (Brenneker &
Juliana, 1974) encontramos una versión muy rítmica de la cantinela “Toro bo ke mas”,
entitulada “Sado, sado, sado toro” cantada por Kokoti quien dice que es una cantinela
de Seú.

Numbo Yaya/Kumbe Yaya. Durante nuestra investigación los informantes dijeron que
otra cantinela que se canta seguramente es “Numbo Yaya”. Martili Pieters canta esta
cantinela de la siguiente manera: *Awe prikichi ta tuma yabi di Yoatina* (= Hoy el
periquito toma la llave de la maicería). (entrevista con Martili Pieters, 1988). En el

programa de radio de Elis Juliana "Ban Bèk" del 22 de mayo del 1988, el informante Chia canta la cantinela "Kumbe Yaya" una variante de "Numbo Yaya" y aquí también dice ella: "Hoy el periquito toma la llave de la yoatina (o yowatina= maicería). Aquí *domein* (en holandés) y *yowatina* significan lo mismo, es decir la maicería. Martili Pieters dice que *yowatina* es la casa del periquito, la cual según él es la maicería donde se guarda el maíz.

Hacia la recopilación de un núcleo de cantinelas del Seú

Son muchos los problemas que encontramos al seleccionar un núcleo de cantinelas del Seú:

1. Hay diferentes variantes de casi todos los cantos del Seú.
2. Los mismos cantos del Seú aparecen también como cantos de trabajo, cantos de lamento, cantos de pullas, cantos del tambú, etc.
3. Las fuentes que hemos estudiado, tantas escritas como orales, a menudo dan informaciones contradictorias acera de estos cantos. Como dice Martinus Arion (1980): "La una dice del mismo canto que es canto de trabajo, la otra dice que es canto del Seú, una tercera pretende que eso es canto de lamento o canto de macamba. (p. 3-5, traducción del autor presente)
4. Hay varios cantos del Seú que provienen de otras islas.

Otro factor que nos complicó el trabajo de selección es el hecho que muchas de las cantinelas del Seú se cantan en un o más idiomas desconocidos en el Curaçao de hoy. Se supone que muchas de estas cantinelas son de los dichos 'cantos de guineo' o 'cantos de macamba', es decir, los que se cantan en el guineo/guene, la lengua secreta de los esclavos de antaño. El lingüista Frank Martinus Arion (1987; 1980) explica lo siguiente: "El guineo/guene existe principalmente en la isla de Curaçao y en menor grado en la isla de Bonaire. Otros nombres para el guineo/guene son: gueni, lengua de loango, y canto de macamba (o canta macamba). Es considerado una lengua secreta que solamente algunos esclavos sabían hablar durante la época de la esclavitud. Después de este periodo seguía viva en los cantos tradicionales, expresiones y palabras que empeñan un papel importante en las fiestas de cosecha y actividades de excavación…" (1980: 4-5, traducción del autor presente). Hoy en dia, la gente no sabe el significado de estos cantos. Algunas personas saben la tendencia general del canto completo y muy rara vez se puede encontrar a un cantante que sepa traducir una palabra (Martinus Arion, 1980: 4-5) Estos cantos se han transmitido de generación hasta generación desde el tiempo de la esclavitud.

Finalmente no pudimos encontrar criterio confiable para efectuar nuestra selección de cantinelas a parte del simple hecho que se las canta o se las ha cantado en el Seú. El

núcleo que hoy en día encontramos en el Festival del Seú es entre otro el siguiente, que consiste de cuatro grupos:

Grupo I. Estas son las cantinelas que en el primer y el segundo periodo se cantaban mucho en el Seú. El Grupo I de cantinelas incluye, entre otras, las siguientes introducidas por el maestro-cantor Ciro Eleonora*:

1. Watiti lo bara mayó ("Watiti" da barrazos al hermano mayor; da barrazos dar golpes a otra persona con un palo o una barra)
2. Djandja mi djandjawá (Idioma desconocido, tiene diferentes interpretaciones)
3. Uñè uñè (Idioma desconocido, tiene diferentes interpretaciones)
4. Toro bo ke mas? (¿Toro quieres más?)
5. Kumbai Yaya (¿Cómo estás comadre?)
6. (Ai) mama ta yora (Ay, mi mamá está llorando)
7. Mata Alimania (Idioma desconocido, tiene diferentes interpretaciones)
8. Djuku Kaiman (Idioma desconocido, tiene diferentes interpretaciones)
9. Para ban mondi ku mi (Pajarito, vamos pa'l monte)
10. Si mi bai fo'i mundu (Si abandonaré el mundo)
11. O Yegu'é nos (Llegamos)

Grupo II. Originalmente se suponía que los cantos del Seú trataban estrictamente de asuntos agrícolas, como la preparación de la tierra, el agradecimiento para la cosecha, el traslado del maíz a la maicería (depósito del maíz), etc. Cantinelas de este tipo pertenecen al Grupo II e incluyen, entre otras, las siguientes:

1. Dji Djo (Saludar a alguien: Dia para Diós)
2. Shon Grandi a duna wazee (El gran señor nos ha dado el aguacero)
3. Yama Danki (Dar agradecimiento a alguien)
4. Simon dato ayo wazee (Idioma desconocido, tiene diferentes interpretaciones)

Grupo III. En nuestras investigaciones, nos dimos cuenta muy rápidamente de que muchas cantinelas del Seú no tratan directamente de la agricultura, sino también incluyen cantos de lamento, de pullas, de comentario social, de protesta, etc. No es ilógico que las cantinelas del Seú (un festival de la cosecha del maíz) sean también cantos de trabajo, de lamento, de protesta y de pullas. Los esclavos tenían que trabajar bajo condiciones inaceptables e inhumanas, y cantar estas canciones era una clase de terapia para ellos y les daba energía para hacer sus tareas. Casi siempre un maestro-cantor (*bas di guene* = jefe del guineo) estaba encargado de un grupo de esclavos o

trabajadores, y él iniciaba y mantenía el trabajo al ritmo de los cantos. Mientras el maestro-cantor dirigía el trabajo con su pregón, los obreros respondían con sus coros.

El Grupo III consiste de cantos que tratan temáticas que no son estrictamente agrícolas. Estos cantos se destacan por tener muchas variantes.

1. Di ki manera (De que manera) (T 11, T 13, T 1409)
2. O Valubé (T 14) (Idioma desconocido, tiene diferentes interpretaciones)
3. O Valupé (T 1198) (Idioma desconocido, tiene diferentes interpretaciones)
4. O malivo to (T 1228) (Idioma desconocido, tiene diferentes interpretaciones)
5. Mi mali boto ei (Pieters) (Idioma desconocido, tiene diferentes interpretaciones)
6. Bojo na Sabaneta (Bojo pa Sabaneta)
7. Si mi hasi bon (Si hago bien) (T 1245)

Grupo IV. El sistema de 'canto hermano' parece haber sido de mucha importancia durante la ejecución de las actividades del Seú y en otras ocasiones en que se ha presentado estos cantos. Así que los ejecutantes han tenido que saber bien las configuraciones de pares y familias de cantos para manipular este sistema en el acto de intercambio de contestaciones, interrupciones, y contra-cantos. Cuando otro cantante viene con un contra-canto y el cantante que está cantando no sabe la respuesta 'hermana' del contra-canto, él tiene que retirarse y quedarse callado, lo que se llama en Papiamentu *mara* (= amarrar a un participante) o *bisti un hende kachu* (= vestirle cacho a uno).

Aunque hay cantinelas de otros grupos que pueden hacer parte de pares o familias de cantos hermanos, el Grupo IV incluye, entre otras, las siguientes cantinelas que muy frecuentemente se encuentran en pares o familias de cantos hermanos**:

1. "Mama ta yora" con su hermano Watiti
2. "Mata limania". con su hermano "Limania go"
3. "Wemina Kanumba, manda afó Numa" con su hermano "Wemina kanumba mi n' mira nada."
4. "Djindja mali bòfi" con su hermano "Manuela kambia bo bida"
5. "Maria a nengami" con su hermano "Mata Alemania"

Conclusión o hipótesis

Como resultado de nuestras investigaciones, podemos hacer las observaciones siguientes a propósito de las cantinelas del Seú: En el repertorio de las cantinelas del Seú hay un subnúcleo antiguo y subnúcleo de origen más reciente. El subnúcleo

antiguo contiene por gran parte, cantos de macamba o de guineo/guene. Estas cantinelas son a la vez cantos de trabajo duro y monótono, y se cantan también en otras ocasiones, por ejemplo en el tambú. Todos estos cantos tienen variaciones que sin embargo son todas ligadas las unas con las otras. Esas variaciones se llaman cantos hermanos, porque después de un canto sigue otro que es hermano. El núcleo más reciente consiste de varios cantos nuevos en papiamentu, o parcialmente en Papiamento y parcialmente en guineo/guene. Se encuentran también algunas cantinelas de Bonaire en el repertorio.

Notas:
*El difunto maestro-cantor Ciro Eleonora que murió en marzo del 1991 había introducido o elaborado otras cantinelas de Seú, que incluyen las siguientes

1. Djòmpi Paradera
2. Koma Georgina
3. Lete letevu
4. M'a subi seru te ba'
5. Dina mailo
6. Dan Simadan
7. Mara Mosana
8. Ai mi Lomba
9. Antoni San Juan
10. Remailo

**Aquí hay un listado de algunos cantos hermanos que encontramos en el manual *Un Antologia di Músika di Seú di Kòrsou* (Rosalia, 1989: 22- 38)

Cantinelas de Seú con sus hermanos (Yabi Yoatina)

Cantinelas	Cantos hermanos (o de la misma 'familia' de cantos)
Unbo Yaya (o Numbo Yaya)	Unle Minawa (Lekete Minawa) Uña lo bo keña
Doló me a kue mama (Doló me a kue mi o Doló kuemi)	Desora di n' ta ora Gazama mi boira Echa bo kuenta numa yu Santa a ningami Ta dura matevu
Na Seru Grandi	Basora Pitisie

Awe t'awe	Para Mira
Ze Zeila	Mize Wanawaze
	Waze mara waze
He Hunlo	He Mèchè
Kolowaziñaña (o Holowaziñaña)	Kambulu
Ma kumindá Wazee	Kumbai Yaya
	Ahe Didjo
	Danchi poko bon
Danchi poko bon	Kolowawa kolo wazé
	Djidjo Maria un sara
Habo Habokin	Laba laba djefun
	He Mèchè
	At'ela duna
	Un Mama lomi (Mamalowi)
	Dato Sanago
Guene Machu	O wa mi que
	Wan Dja
	A yega'i no
Babi a Yora	Zimango Zjinzja

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Entrevistas del autor:

1988, 8 de marzo con Elis Juliana

1988, 24 de mayo con Martili Pieters

1988, con Ciro Eleonora

CONQUERED BY A CREOLE

KATHY TAYLOR

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This is the story of how I fell in love with Papiamentu. It began as a casual interest and curiosity and soon became a journey from which I will never return. Love changes us and there is no going back to who we were before. The process of embracing another language, inviting it to inhabit the innermost spaces of mind and heart, conquers us in a way that leads to an unconscious creolization of self. I recognize the irony of using this metaphor, perhaps inappropriately, when for many cultures, creolization is the result of violent conquest and continuing colonization. Yet there is beauty and strength in the resulting generations and in my case it has been a welcome imposition, a gentle yet powerful process of taking over of a part of my life. I have written a number of songs in Papiamentu that tell this story, and I will include a few of them here.

During my first visit to Curaçao, I was struck by the musical beauty of Papiamentu. Since I am a musician, it was that element that first captured my ear and heart. Many have written about Papiamentu and Curaçaoan culture; its kaleidoscopic identity and polysonic character. Against the backdrop of an impressively multilingual setting, melodies and rhythms from many parts of the world mix in a unique way in all of Curaçao's cultural production and no less in its creole language. Perhaps the most challenging aspect for foreigners trying to learn Papiamentu is the subtle tonal qualities of the language. As I struggled to learn Papiamentu's special music, Nydia Ecury, one of my first teachers, would often ask me if I could feel the African drums as I spoke. "You have to feel the drums," she would repeat, "You have to hear them underneath the words."

Kantika Nobo	**New Song**
Solo di Karibe a drenta	The Caribbean sun entered
lusa un huki drumí	and lit a sleeping corner
di mi imaginashon.	of my imagination.
Bentana habrí,	Open window, voice
bos di bientu riba laman.	of wind on the sea.
M'a lanta fo'i soño,	I awoke, stretched my limbs,

rèk mi kurpa, puntra mainta,
di kon mi ta aki?
Tende, djis tende, e di.

Lagadishi a para
mirami un ratu,
wowo pretu
di misterio antiguo.
Di kon? Mi ker a grita
ora el a kore skonde
den e matanan trankilo.
Tende, djis tende, e di.

Kon yamabo?
M'a puntra
un palabra deskonosí
di zonidu straño i bashí.
Ken bo ta?
Pakiko bo ta eksistí?
Tende, djis tende, e di.

Mi no sa, m'a pensa,
pero mi a tende i sinti
kon ritmo di tumba a nase.
A nase poko poko
den mi boka.
Ta balia nos ta balia!
Lenga a kanta.

Sonrisa di un mucha chikí,
- mitar luna riba kara di
anochi - a kohe mi man
kariñosamente.
i m'a entregá mi felismente,
na dushi enkanto
di papiamentu.
Tende, djis tende, e di.
Tende, djis tende, b'a tende?

and asked the morning,
Why am I here?
Listen, just listen, it said.

A lizard stopped
to watch me awhile,
dark eyes
of ancient mystery.
Why? I wanted to shout
as he scurried off to hide
in the quiet undergrowth.
Listen, just listen, he said.

What is your name?
I asked an unknown
word of strange
and empty sounds.
Who are you?
Why do you exist?
Listen, just listen, it said.

I don't know, I thought
but I listened
and I felt the
rhythm of tumba[1]
begin to pulse in my mouth.
"We're dancing, now we're
dancing!" Language sang.

A child's bright smile
- half moon on night's face -
took my hand
tenderly,
and I surrendered joyfully,
to the sweet enchantment
of Papiamentu.
Listen, just listen, she said.
Listen, just listen, you hea?

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[1] Tumba is a rhythmic dance unique to Curaçao.

The first words I spoke to my new granddaughter, Greta, were in Papiamentu. She was two days old when I held her for the first time, and I unconsciously reached for the words that could best express the joy I felt. The word "dushi" ("sweet") is very versatile in Papiamentu, but it has a special sweetness when used to address another person. From then on, I called Greta "dushi" or "pòpchi dushi" (sweet little doll). I love the Aruban expression "Madushi" for "Grandma" ("sweet mother") and "Padushi" for "Grandpa," so we adopted that vocabulary as well. Greta now knows me only as "Madushi" and she and her parents often refer to her grandfather and me together as "The Dushis." I wrote a song for her when she was eight months old. She would dance to it with all her heart and could sing all the words in Papiamentu before she was two.

Greta

Greta, Gretita,
mi nieta bunita,
nos ta hopi kontentu
ku bo ta aki.
Bo tata i mama,
padushi i tante
stimabu, mi pòpchi,
mes tantu ku mi.

Greta, little Greta,
my beautiful granddaughter,
we are so happy
that you are here.
Your papa and mama,
your grandpa and auntie
all love you, my *pòpchi*,
as much as I do.

Bo no solamente ta lif,
ta inteligente i dushi bo ta!
I ku bo sonrisa
Shon Shelu ta bisa
ku solo a hasi
tur hende felis.

And you are not only dear,
but you are sweet and intelligent,
too! And when you smile
Mister Sky tells us all
that the sun has come out
to bring everyone cheer.

My husband and I are both academics and we work in different states. We spend a lot of time apart. On one occasion I felt a bit melancholy and wanted to write a love song. When I write songs, the seeds often start to germinate on their own before I realize that the idea was even planted. In this case, by the time I had begun to think about a song, I found that the setting was already there, waiting for the story. Although it was winter in Indiana; cold and gray, with the seeming disconnection from all that is vibrant, passionate and intimate, the song began to take form against an Antillean backdrop. It would probably seem overly romantic, the stuff of movies, to anyone who has not lived there.

Soledat

Mi gusta muzik
di áwaseru
ora mi pensa riba ousensia
di mi amor;
Sinfonia sin palabra
kada gota ta un nota
ku ta laba, e ta laba
mi doló.

Solo sali i baha
tur dia
riba nostalgia lehano
di laman;
kada ola riba santu
ta kita pena mientrastantu
i tristesa ta lagami
te mañan.

Mi ta sinti melodia
di bo falta,
un serenata privá
den skuridat;
Mi ta warda un otro dia
sin mas kompania
ku mi kantika solitario
di soledat.

Loneliness

I like the music
of the rain
when I think of
the absence of my love;
A wordless symphony,
every drop is a note
that cleanses, cleanses
my pain.

The sun rises and sets
every day
over the distant nostalgia
of the sea;
Every wave on the sand
washes away a little pain
and the sadness leaves me
until tomorrow.

I can hear the melody
of missing you,
a private serenade
in the dark;
I wait for another day
and my only company
is my solitary song
of loneliness.

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During my first visit to Curaçao, I met Ange Jessurun, a *yu 'i Kòrsou* (Curaçaoan – literally 'child of Curaçao') who has since become one of my closest friends. We call each other "ruman" (sister) and I always stay with her now during my visits. Soon after my granddaughter was born, she also became a grandmother, so I wrote a song for her granddaughter as well. The verses are in Papiamentu, but the chorus is in English. The girl's name is Quiyomi, and I couldn't imagine finding a rhyme for that in Papiamentu and the mixture of languages is part of Curaçaoan daily life. The English translation follows each verse.

Quiyomi

Un beibi a nase pa mi ruman bira wela
milaguer di bida e ta chispa di kandela.
El a trese alegria na mundu awe
i mi ta bai Kòrsou pa mi por kumind'é.

A baby was born, and my sister became a grandmother.
Miracle of life, she is a spark of fire.
She has brought joy to the world today
and I'm going to Curaçao so that I can greet her.

Quiyomi, oh won't you show me
the smile in your eyes and the sweetness in your heart?
You don't know me, little Quiyomi
but I already love you even though we're far apart.

Tempu lo pasa pa bo sigui ta krese
i siña hopi kos ku futuro lo trese.
No tin nada mas importante ku amor
i rondoná di dje, hopi otro kos bo por.

Time will pass, as you continue to grow
and learn many things that the future will bring.
There is nothing more important than love,
and surrounded by it, you can do so much more.

Quiyomi ...

Mi ta kanta pa bisabo ku bo tin un otro tia
ku lo bin bishitabo for di Merka un dia.
E ta wela tambe di un nietu masha dushi
i e ke konosebo pa dunabo un gran sunchi.

I am singing to tell that you have another aunt,
who will come to visit you soon from America.
She is a grandma, too, of a very sweet granddaughter,
and I want to meet you so I can give you a big kiss.

Quiyomi ...

As I spent more time in Curaçao, I became intrigued by and impressed with the great efforts to establish Papiamentu as a fully recognized and standardized language. The story is long and complex and involves the efforts of wise and dedicated linguists. There are many obstacles to overcome, not the least of which is the attitude of the native speakers themselves towards the language. During the years since I first came to Curaçao, I have seen much progress in many areas, and Papiamentu's growing status of prestige has become a model and inspiration for many other Creole languages. And yet, the road ahead is still long and hard and the doubts and discrimination still linger.

Mosa Papiamentu
Un dia di bishita riba un isla spesial
un mosa bunita ku stèm musikal
su manera di papia a toka mi kurason
kara inteligente, lenga di rason.

M'a puntr'é kon yama e dushi lenga di dje
su kontesta a sorprendemi ora mi a tend'é
"mi lenga no ta lenga, dialekto só e ta
i ounke nos ta papi'é, e no ta respetá."

Mosa, kerido mosa Papiamentu,
di kon bo ta keda den kushina te ainda?
Hopi kos a – a pasabo den bo bida
i bo meresé mas ku sirbi kuminda.

E dianan a pasa, m'a tende hopi kos,
diskurso profundo i serio den su bos
poesia i arte, m'a keda impreshoná
ku tur e bunitesa ku e por a ekspresá.

Bokabulario diverso, struktura lógiko
historia fasinante, skritura fonétiko
orguyo kresiente pa brasa identidat
i bira konsiente di su propio dignidat.

Mosa Papiamentu
One day when visiting a special island
a beautiful girl with a musical voice –
her way of speaking touched my heart,
intelligent face, tongue of reason.

I asked her the name of her sweet language, and her reply surprised me when I   heard it. "My language is not a language – it's just a dialect and even though we speak it, it is not respected."

Mosa (girl), dear Mosa Papiamentu
why do you stay in the kitchen still?
Many things have happened to you in your life
and you deserve more than just serving food.

The days passed and I heard many things,
profound and serious speeches in her voice,
poetry and art – I was very impressed
by all the beauty that she could express.

A diverse vocabulary, logical structure,
fascinating history, phonetic writing,
a growing pride in embracing identity
and becoming aware of her own dignity.

Mosa, kerido Mosa Papiamentu...	Mosa, dear Mosa Papiamentu ...
Awor ku e ta traha ku enseñansa di skol tin hende ku no tin konfiansa ètòl. Ku pasenshi pedagógiko, un tiki di amor, i apoyo filosófiko, tur lenga tambe por.	Now that she works with teaching in school some people have no confidence at all. But with pedagogical patience, a bit of love and philosophical support, any language can do it..
Esaki ta un reto pa tur lenga krioyo di defend'é su kurpa, fomentá su desaroyo. I manera den kushina, diversidat ta di balor i kada idioma ta duna mundu mas sabor.	This is the challenge for all creole languages: to defend themselves and promote their development. And just as in the kitchen, diversity is of value and each language gives the world a little more flavor.

By 2003 I had become proficient enough in Papiamentu to teach a basic class in the language. I developed my own materials with the help of a number of people from Curaçao. There has been a lot of interest in Papiamentu among my students and it is a joy to teach the class. Most already have background in at least one Romance language and often another one or more other than English. One gray day in February, when the students seemed tired and depressed by the depths of winter, I said jokingly in Papiamentu class, that if they spoke lots of Papiamentu, the sun would shine and they would cheer up, since the language has sunshine in it. It works for me! Soon another song was born.

Tin solo den dje
Si shelu ta tur shinishi ora bo lanta un dia,
speransa no por a wanta i el a bai ku alegria,
tin un remedi hopi sano i natural pa bo fia;
e ta un lenga antiano pa rekargá bo bateria.

Si bo bida ta tristu i tur kos a bira bieu,
mundu ta konhelá i derá bou di sneu,
ta soña bo ta soña ku un playa ku ta leu,
awèl djis kanta i papia papiamentu pareu.

Tin solo den dje, tin solo den dje
shelu ta bira kla, para ta kanta kuné.
Laman ta tuma man di Shon Brisa un be'
i henter mundu ta balia huntu, ku lagadishi tambe.

Si bo sinti deprimí ku e friu den momentu,
e rekompensa di pensa di siña papiamentu
ta un mundu profundo di kalor i sentimentu,
i lagadishi su fishi ta hasibo ta kontentu.

Pa koló tin hopi flor i bista spesial,
tin kabritu chikitu ku otro animal,
un bida ku ta move ku muzik di trupial,
i su hende, kende ta amabel i genial.

Tin solo den dje...

There's Sunshine in it
If the sky is all gray when you get up one day,
Hope has given up and run off with Joy,
there's a healthy and natural remedy you can borrow:
it's an Antillean language to recharge your battery!

If your life is sad and everything's gotten old,
the world is frozen and covered with snow,
And you can't stop dreaming of a beach far away,
well, just start singing and speaking Papiamentu.

There's sunshine it, there's sunshine in it,
the sky will clear up and the birds begin to sing,
The Sea takes Mrs. Breeze by the hand
and the whole world dances, even the little lizard.

If you feel depressed by the cold of the moment,
the reward for deciding to learn Papiamentu
is a world of profound warmth and sentiment,
and it´s the lizard's job to make you happy.

For color there are many flowers and beautiful views,
there are little goats and other animals, too.
A life that moves to the music of the trupial bird,
and a people who are both friendly and kind.

There's sunshine it...

Every other year, after teaching a semester of Basic Papiamentu, I take a group of students to Curaçao for an intensive three-week course of immersion in the language and culture. They live with a host family and we explore many aspects of life in Curaçao. It is a marvelous experience and I continue to learn a lot alongside the students. Last year the group was very small, only four girls, so it made for an intimate shared experience traveling around together. There were many jokes, including "Teng Li", the Chinese restaurant where I was supposed to turn to go to the place where we stayed during the first days of the program. I would often miss it and the girls had to remind me. I wrote a song to include many of those moments.

Tutu ku Funchi
Un merikano a bin Kòrsou
konosé henter isla te Banda Bou
namorá di dje i tur kos ku tin
kasi bira antiyano di tantu baibin.

El a trese studiante pa nan konos'é
siña papiamentu i apresié´
"Kon ta bai?" "Bon dia" nan a kuminsá
"Tur kos ta bon, masha danki, no wòri, sè sua."

Tutu ku funchi, duna tres sunchi
baila mazurka, un tiki tumba i tambú
skucha hende pa "Si" i hende pa "Nò"
or'e dia a pasa nan tur ta yu'i Kòrsou.

Di Emily tin dos, e ta un nòmber konosí
nos ta yama unu 'Emi' i e otro 'EB'
ku Mandi i Katie ta kuater nan ta,
un grupo masha úniko i hopi stimá.

Nan a siña papiamentu, nan ta masha lif
nan palabra faborito mester ta "ablif?"
"Mi ta hasi mi bèst" "Unda nos ta bai?"
Tin biaha e ta difísil pero nan tin kai kai.

Tutu ku funchi...

Nos a keiru nos a kore, "Kathy, Teng Li!"
"Tur kos na papiamentu, m'n sa kiko e di"

Nan ta yama nos makamba, tambe 'rubiano
nos kurason ta di aki, ku pasport merikano.

Den masha tiki tempu nan por papia bon bon
tur hende ta puntra nan "Pakiko?" i "dikon?"
E kontesta ta bunita i e por sirbi pa bo
"Pasobra—e ta dushi i ademas dikon nò?"

Tutu ku funchi...

Tutu and Funchi[2]

An American came to Curaçao,
got to know the whole island,
fell in love in love with it all and
came so often she almost became Antillean.

She brought students to know the island,
to learn Papiamentu and appreciate it.
 "How are you? Good morning." they began,
"I am fine, thank you, don't worry, be cool."

Tutu and funchi, give three kisses,
dance Mazurka, a little Tumba and Tambú[3],
listen to those who vote 'yes' and those who say 'no,'[4]
when the day is over, they are all Curaçaoans.

There are two Emily's, a well known name,[5]
we call one 'Emi' and the other 'E.B.'
With Mandy and Katie they are four,
a unique and beloved group.

They have learned Papiamentu, they are very sweet,
their favorite word must be *ablif.*[6]

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[2] Traditional food of Curaçao. Tutu is a kind of bean loaf and Funchi is a cornmeal dish, similar to polenta.

[3] Traditional dances of Curaçao, reflecting both European and African influence.

[4] We were in Curaçao during the Referendum of 2009, when the island voted whether or not to accept a proposed plan for moving to a status of autonomy within the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The people were divided nearly 50/50, but the 'yes' vote won.

[5] Emily De Jongh Elhage is the Prime Minister of the Netherlands Antilles and her name and face are on billboards everywhere.

[6] From the Dutch 'Wablief t – short for Wat belieft u? (What do you want?)', commonly used to ask someone politely to repeat what they have said.

"I'm doing my best." "Where are we going?"
At times it's hard, but they have a lot of guts.

We have traveled all over, "Kathy, Teng Li!"[7]
Everything in Papiamentu, I don't understand.
They call us *Makamba*[8] and also Aruban
Our hearts are from here, with an American passport.

In very little time they can speak quite well,
everyone asks them "Why?" and "What for?"
The answer is beautiful and it can work for you.
"Because - it's *dushi*[9], and also, why not?"

As I finish writing this I am in Curaçao getting ready to record a CD of my songs in Papiamentu. It is not the end of the story, but I am reminded of how blessed I have been by my love affair with this language and culture. For me, there is no better way to celebrate such a beautiful melodic language than with song. I know there will always be a space for this creole part of me and I look forward to many more songs to come.

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[7] A Chinese restaurant that was a landmark for us.
[8] A somewhat pejorative term for Dutch people in Curaçao.
[9] *dushi* – a wonderful all-purpose word for anything pleasant or loved – literally 'sweet.'

HENDE A HASI MALU P'E: POPULAR PSYCHIATRIC BELIEFS IN CURAÇAOAN CULTURE

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Introduction

This paper examines how culture shapes illness behavior and how people experience psychiatric care in Curaçaoan society, by examining the cultural background of illness experience and illness behavior from an anthropological perspective. It presents preliminary findings and thoughts and raises questions for further research. The principal data sources for this paper are diverse. First, the author draws from the oral history research that she has done since the 1980s, which includes interviews with practitioners of Afro-Curaçaoan beliefs and rituals. Second, data has also been gathered through participant observation at ceremonies aimed at helping people in psychological distress. A third set of sources is the limited literature on Afro-Curaçaoan beliefs and rituals.

Mental illness has often been approached under a bio-medical model that does not pay attention to culture. In this approach the focus is on the illness rather than on the individual patient and his/her socio-cultural environment. More and more, however, the tendency is to recognize that mental health and culture are intrinsically linked. According to Bruner (2001), to deal with mental health is to deal with culture and vice versa. Showing concern for culture in psychiatry means taking cultural factors into account when diagnosing and treating mental illness. Awareness of the need to embed psychiatry in its cultural context has grown in Western societies as immigrants with different cultural backgrounds have settled there, causing these societies to become increasingly multicultural. Psychiatrists have come to realize that the assessment tools for mental illnesses cannot be based solely on Western norms of appropriate behavior. What is called cross-cultural psychiatry incorporates knowledge and understanding of the cultural background of the client.

The cultural background of the client and the therapist co-determine the setting in which therapy takes place, the interaction and communication between the therapist and the client, and the language that is used. When explicitly taken into account, these factors

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allow the client to disclose sufficient relevant personal information and the therapist to gain a more profound and complete understanding of the client.

The cultural situation of Curaçaoan society is very complex. Historically, people from different cultural backgrounds have been brought together, some voluntarily, others forced as enslaved persons. In the colonial setting, a hierarchy of cultures developed over the course of time, giving shape to social classes that were largely based on ethnic origin. This social and cultural stratification was accompanied by hierarchies of ideas, including ideas about the causes, experience and treatment of mental illnesses. For the popular classes of the Curaçaoan population, beliefs about mental illness were and still are derived from the spiritualities that were brought to the island by the enslaved from Africa and that mixed with various other spiritual elements, including Amerindian and Euro-Christian religious practices. These beliefs are deeply interwoven with notions of identity, medical communication and worldview (Knoops, 2008). It has been shown that culture can nurture certain disturbances and dispel others (Idemudia, 2007: 42). One wonders whether distrust, which often plays an important role in certain beliefs and emotions of Curaçaoan people, is not an expression of the traumatic experience and memory of enslavement of a large segment of the population.

The cultural complexity of Curaçaoan society affects not only the way in which mental illnesses are experienced, diagnosed and treated by groups of people, but also the willingness of therapists to pay attention to the cultural aspects of illness. Non-European belief systems and worldviews have generally been pejoratively termed witchcraft, superstition, or are locally called *webu di gai* (cock's eggs), meaning something non-existent. These terms evoke images of "ignorance", "backwardness", "primitiveness" and "underdevelopment". There is a clear lack of objective information on these matters in the Curaçaoan situation. This article alone will not fill this void. What I propose to do here is examine some of the traditional ways of looking at mental illness as expressed in experience, diagnosis and therapy. I will do so by presenting and discussing certain ethnographic information that I have collected during my oral history research since the 1980s. I will also point to key questions arising from the analysis of my data that require further study in order to better incorporate culture within psychiatry.

Significant sources for culturally sensitive psychiatry in Curaçao
The American cross-cultural psychiatrist and medical anthropologist Arthur Kleinman looked at psychiatry through an anthropological lens. According to him, every society develops assumptions about the behavior of sick individuals, methods for coping with threats to health and wellbeing, as well as a body of therapeutic solutions. According to Kleinman, it is important to pay attention to the culturally specific notions that

individuals and groups have about understanding the symptoms, the causes and the treatment of illnesses (1980).

Kleinman's culturally specific explanatory models are used to interpret a given culture's worldview as it relates to health, the understanding of disease, direct treatment and healing. To facilitate the understanding of what is called transcultural medical practice, a distinction between disease and illness has been proposed. The two terms are linguistically nearly synonymous, but Kleinman purposely uses them differently to refer to two related but separate conditions (1980). The term *disease* refers to a pathological condition or malfunction that is diagnosed by a doctor. It is the clinician's conceptualization of the patient's problem, which derives from the paradigm of disease in which the clinician has been trained. In contrast, the term *illness* refers to the sickness that is experienced and perceived by the patient, including his or her subjective experience, perception and interpretation of suffering.

Past and recent research supports the application of Kleinman's model to Curaçaoan society. Father Brenneker was the first to provide a holistic view of the various beliefs which he placed under the collective term of *brua*. He defined *brua* as sorcery, charlatanism, spiritualism, superstition and everything else that goes beyond the limits of the natural world (1966: 1, 7). In her seminal piece of research called *Montamentoe, een beschrijvende en analyserende studie van een Afro-amerikaanse godsdienst op Curaçao* [*Montamentu*: a descriptive and analytical study of an Afro-American religion in Curaçao] (1981), the anthropologist Frieda Bernadina described the Afro-Curaçaoan rituals called *montamentu*, whereby people fall into a trance state and start to display different kinds of behavior depending on the spirit that enters them. Bernadina went further than Brenneker and his colleague Elis Juliana in attending *montamentu* ceremonies; she in fact used the anthropological research method called participant observation. My work *Ziek zijn binnen de Curaçaose samenleving* [When People become ill in the Curaçaoan society] also reflects on this issue. The anthropologist Richenel Ansano (1988; 1990; 2006) has been studying these phenomena from an anthropological point of view sor some time both in Curaçao and in the United States. Recently Roy Knoops finished his degree in the Cultures of Arts, Science and Technology (CAST) with his thesis entitled *Mediating Medicine: Creole Spirituality, Health Care and Psychiatry in the Nether*lands (2008). He writes about how in the Netherlands immigrants of African heritage from Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles integrate their traditional beliefs about healing with modern Western medical technologies and psychiatry (syncretism). Also important is the recent publication by Witteveen & Harms (2009), *Altá i santunan di Kòrsou,* in which they describe important non-material as well as material elements present in Afro-Curaçaoan religious practice.

Within the psychiatric profession there have been several ways of approaching illness from a cultural point of view. In the 1980s the Surinamese psychiatrist Dr. Baal would often approach his patients based on their own conceptualization of their illness and he and Father Brenneker would subsequently perform certain rituals as a form of therapy. Not everyone accepted this form of therapy at that time. In their article, *Een Antilliaanse psychose? Behandeling van een psychose die door de patient geduid wordt als zwarte magie* [An Antillean psychosis? Treatment of a psychosis interpreted as black magic by the patient], the psychiatrist A.Y. Jessurun of the Capriles Psychiatric Clinic in Curaçao and the professor in forensic psychiatry B.C.M. Raes (2005) applied Kleinman's cross-cultural model to the Curaçaoan situation in order to better understand the psychosis of a Curaçaoan patient. A similar approach is also used by the psychiatrist Gilbert Thomas (1998) in his paper called *Psychiatrie en brua* [Psychiatry and *brua*]. The considerable interest on the part of psychiatrists in Curaçao in the phenomenon of *brua* is based on the fact that Curaçaoan patients often use this term when they interpret their psychological distress.

Curaçaoan folk conceptualizations of moods and mental disorders

While modern psychiatry has made significant progress in its scientific understanding of the nature of psychiatric disorders, many people in the Caribbean, especially among the popular classes, hold on to various folk concepts of mental illness. Curaçao is not an exception. The psychologist Tseng (2001) provides some examples of the way in which people in other cultures conceptualize mental disorders, i.e., by using terms such as loss of soul, intrusion of illness objects, the wrongdoing of ancestors, deficiency of vitality, and an imbalance of yin and yang. In their above-mentioned paper, Jessurun and Raes (2005) show how Curaçaoan patients somatize a psychological disorder. The co-authors discuss the case of a patient who explained that he had been suffering from a bad energy or spirit for five years. At night this spirit would enter his spine, go up to his throat and cause him to have a pricking feeling in his head (Jessurun & Raes, 2005: 4). What emerges from this case is that the client had his own idea about the cause of his problem, i.e. *brua*, and that he also had his own idea about how to solve his problem, which was completely different from the solution offered by the psychiatrists.

Curaçaoans often explain uncontrollable changes in behavior or mood in terms of *brua*. In Papiamentu a variety of terms exists for denominating gradations and changes in mood. *Anshá* [restless, fretful], *nèrvio* [nervous], *pisá* [pulled down], *kibrá* [broken], *wantá*, *tranká* [stuck], *sin stansha*, *sin smak*, *sin grasia*, *laf* [spiritless], *fadá* [fed up] and *frus* [frustrated] all indicate mood changes for which the help of a specialist — a

psychiatrist or a *hasidó di brua* [sorcerer] — is not necessarily required. All these terms require further investigation in order to better understand their significance.

Curaçaoans have also developed a body of folk knowledge about curing these mood changes. Herbs play a very important role in this regard. The leaves of the almond tree [*Terminalia catappa L.*], *indigo shimaron* or true indigo [*Indigofera tinctoria*], *kanelublum* or chamomile tea [*Matricaria chamomilla L.*], *siboyo largu* or chives [*Allium cepa L.*] and the leaves of the *sorsaka* or soursop tree [Annona muricata] are all used for people who are suffering from the symptoms that fall under the popular name of *nèrvio* (Veeris, 2006: 68, 74, 111, 112, 161). For more serious diseases, the *Amor di neger* [*Cuscuta Americana L.*] can be used against black magic and the leaves of the *Basora pretu* [*Cordia cylindrostachya*] (Roem & Schult) can be burnt to chase evil spirits away (Veeris, 2006: 9, 42).

Saints are also called upon for healing purposes. Saints, besides God, are believed to have power in determining one's destiny. One can request their divine intervention in difficult situations. The use of statues to evoke the help of Catholic saints is a form of religious syncretism. Afro-Catholic religion centers on the worship of saints and the performance of rites in front of altars in the home. These saints can also be portrayed in pictures which are displayed in the home. They are venerated in the privacy of the home or during ceremonies with a group of devotees. For example, people may pray to San Marco de Leon [Saint Mark] who has the ability to calm people [*santu pa mansa hende*] and to Santa [Saint] Barbara who takes away evil [*santu di kita kos malu*].

The following case is an example of the treatment of a mental condition involving the help of a specialist.

> Case
> A *montamentu* session in which I participated involved a woman who had suddenly begun to display bizarre behavior. Her relatives attributed her change in behavior to *brua* and took her to a *trahadó di misterio* [mystery worker]. *Brua* is a term which has a negative connotation in this society, therefore the specialists do not call themselves *hasidó di brua*, but *trahadó di misterio* [mystery workers]. Upon careful examination, the *trahadó* declared that the woman was indeed suffering from a malefic influence sent by someone who wanted to harm her. After further careful examination, which included the invocation of various spirits that spoke through the *trahadó*, the *trahadó* came up with the final diagnosis and the method of treatment. The latter included praying for nine days (*novena*), the use of essences, bathing with herbs, and the use of certain paraphernalia such a prepared cord around the waist. The approach was called *trabou grandi* (a big act) as opposed to a *trabou chikí* (small act). It was named that way because it took several days to perform and required the use of various materials.

The specialist in this case is the *trahadó. Brueria* can be one *modus operandi* of the *trahadó* and has a mostly negative connotation in the Curaçaoan society. Most of the time *brua* practices are associated with doing evil such as trying to harm someone. This is described as *hende a hasi malu p'e* [people have harmed him/her]. In this position the *trahadó* creates mental discord by persecuting someone. However, *brua* has a repertoire of functions on a continuum. A *trahadó* can also be a person with knowledge of medicinal herbs which he/she uses for the benefit for his/her client. The anthropologist Richenel Ansano provides a more neutral definition of *brua* (1988: 9; 1990: 174), i.e., an agglomeration of non-Christian spiritual practices, similar to *obeah*[1] in the Anglophone Caribbean, which include preparing and using lucky charms, eliminating purported and declared enemies, healing physical illnesses and social relationships, ensnaring spouses, divining, making amulets, spirit possession, and consulting the dead. In my study on spirituality I deduced that *brua* worked on two levels, doing either harm or good, depending on the nature of the request. Evil practices entail the use of paraphernalia and rituals with the intention of harming somebody. However, the same person may perform a service with good intentions, such as curing someone, physically or mentally. At the positive extreme this specialist can help cure an ill-stricken person or act as a positive force against the debilitating fear of *brua.*

In the above mentioned case the specialist was a woman. Women play an important role in these practices, both as specialists and as seekers of the help of these specialists. Some rituals are performed by groups of people organized under the leadership of a woman. These women wield much power as they perform rituals that can cure people. Seeking the help of *brua* has been incorrectly associated with women, since men are also help-seekers. Their motives for seeking help from a practitioner may differ.

Spirits are believed to be responsible for certain bizarre behavior. The Afro-Curaçaoan spiritual domain encompasses, in addition to Roman Catholic icons, a vast array of supernatural forces, including good and evil spirits that may also be related to deceased persons. Such spirits can be invoked in a variety a ways. In a recent radio interview (September 2009), a local coroner stated that she would receive petitions from people to place, for example, someone's underwear inside the coffin of a person ready to be buried. This request had the intention of harming someone else. According to the coroner this would occur in situations where rivalry had existed between two women for the love of the deceased man. Her information supports research data that indicates that people often use the power of a deceased person to harm their rivals. Jealousy between two women is at the root of the ill-intended behavior in this example. Other forms of jealousy can also lead to such practices. Success, conspicuous happiness, and being too arrogant and

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[1] *Obeah* is a term used in the English-speaking Caribbean and refers to folk magic, sorcery and religious practices.

boastful often engender jealousy and envy among close social acquaintances. Artifacts such as dolls with pins are sometimes thrown into the yard of the person who is the object of one's envy in order to mentally destabilize him/her.

Some concluding remarks

I have identified and discussed, from a cultural perspective, ways in which people in Curaçao may deal with mental disorders. Considerable further research is required to attain an adequate level of understanding of how culture influences the way in which people relate to mental illness, so as to arrive at more culturally sensitive psychiatric approaches and, by extension, an enhanced quality of psychiatric care and, ultimately, improved patient wellbeing. Important topics for further research include a glossary explaining the Papiamentu terms used for moods and mental problems and the belief systems that underpin these terms. Relevant research questions include: What role do relatives play or can relatives play in the diagnosis and treatment of mental disorders? How do people in Curaçao construct 'normality' and 'abnormality'? And, considering that the level of education and medical knowledge (as well as the personal life experiences) of the popular classes have changed significantly in recent times, how do traditional ritual, symbolic and experiential dimensions of healing practices manifest themselves today?

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A SHORT NATURAL HISTORY OF CURAÇAO

GERARD VAN BUURT

> No man can wash himself in the same river twice, for he will have changed and the river will have changed - *Heraclitus.*

Introduction

The islands of Aruba, Curaçao and Bonaire together with the Venezuelan islands of Los Monjes, Islas Aves, Los Roques, La Orchila and La Blanquilla form an archipelago north of the Venezuelan coast. Of these islands Curaçao is the largest with a surface area of 444 km^2. In this article an overview is given of the changes that have occurred in the natural environment of Curaçao, including the origin of its main geological features such as: Curaçao lava formation, limestone caps, lithification of coral sand and rubble, Knipformation and other phenomena. Changes in climate and sea level, extended dry periods, origins of the flora and fauna, the arrival of man and introduced species, overexploitation, naturalized species and invasive and "alert" species are also discussed.

Geology

Curaçao lava formation: Most of the island of Curaçao is of volcanic origin, this formation is called the Curaçao lava formation. It consists mostly of pillow lavas, with some basalt intrusions. Pillow lavas form when lava is extruded under the sea, in somewhat deeper waters. The water pressure causes the lava to expand slowly like a bubble. Its surface layer is rapidly cooled by the cold water of the sea and a hard crust is formed. Nevertheless the lava keeps expanding and eventually punctures the crust, a new bubble is formed on top or sideways of the previous one and the weight of these bubbles accumulating on top
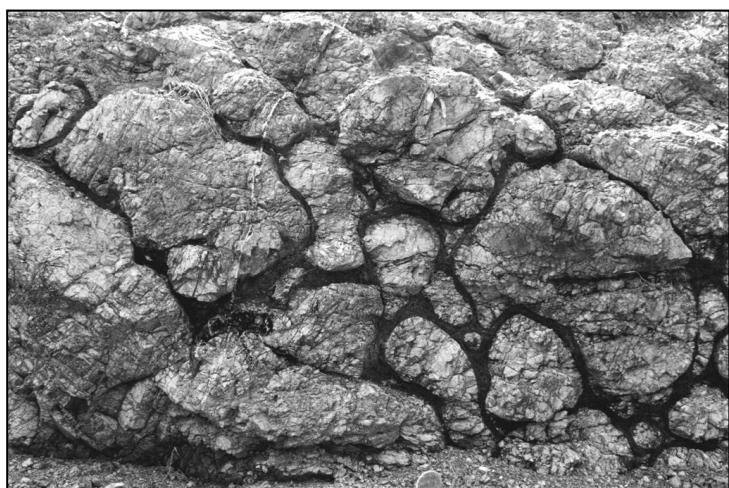

Figure 1 Sections of pillow lavas are commonly seen in Curaçao road cuts; this photograph was taken near Herst.

of each other then causes them to flatten into "pillow"- like structures. Sometimes a new mass of magma pushes through accumulated layers of pillows, thus this magma is cooled more slowly, not being in direct contact with the cold seawater, and basalt intrusions are formed (often both laterally as well as vertically). Later these submarine lavas and basalts were uplifted by tectonic forces and emerged above sea level. It is known that the Curaçao lava formation has a thickness of several kilometers (Klaver, 1987). The gently rolling hills found in most of Curaçao are the eroded surface of this Curaçao lava formation.

Limestone caps: When the island started to emerge from the sea, it eventually reached the zone where light could reach the bottom of the sea and corals and other marine life could start growing in the shallow waters on top of the underlying Curaçao lava formation. These coral formations formed calcareous marine sediments which were converted into limestone rock when they were uplifted above sea level. The oldest limestone caps or ledges are probably of Eocene age and some parts of the islands probably started emerging from the sea by then. Most of the older limestone caps were formed in the Miocene and were subsequently uplifted above sea level. The Panama seaway gradually closed and the oceanic circulation pattern in the Atlantic Ocean and Caribbean Sea changed. This event marked the beginning of the Pleistocene.

In 2009 the International Union of Geological Sciences (IUGS) confirmed a modification in the time period for the Pleistocene, changing the start date from 1.8 to 2.588 million years BP. The Pleistocene was characterized by ice ages, and while in the old days we used to learn at school that during the Pleistocene there were four major ice ages, it is now known there where in fact many alternating colder and warmer periods, each associated with a fall (during glacial periods) or rise (during the interglacials) in sea water levels. There is also some discussion about when to use the term "ice age". For example, can we truly call any of the shorter periods with somewhat smaller fluctuations in temperatures and sea levels an "ice age"? Nowadays eleven "major" Pleistocene glaciation events and several smaller ones are generally recognized. In the early Pleistocene the island consisted of two separate islands, a Western and an Eastern one, which were later joined together. The lower limestone plateau in Curaçao was formed during the Pleistocene and on the North coast a submerged plateau also exists. At several locations notches in the limestone rocks indicate former sea levels. These were formed when the waters of the sea had stabilized for a period of time at the levels where these notches are found today. Such old sea levels can be correlated with corresponding interglacials, the times between the ice ages when sea levels were higher, and thus these levels can be dated. In practice however this is not so easy, especially as regards the older plateaus. The plateaus continued to be uplifted by tectonic forces and this uplift was not exactly the

same, neither for different islands nor even for different parts of the same island. In some places the limestone caps were tilted due to these tectonic forces. Thus when we see a sea level notch etched quite high on an old limestone plateau we cannot necessarily conclude that sea level once reached all the way up to where that notch is presently situated. Our present sea level started to stabilize about 5500 years ago after a rapid rise from much lower levels (about 120 m lower, in other ice ages an approximately 140 m lower level was reached). The sea has been more or less at the present level for the last 3200 years, at present however sea levels are rising again.

Lithification of coral sand and coral rubble: When a coral reef or a beach of coral sand is exposed to the atmosphere and freshwater from rain it slowly turns into limestone. This process is called lithification (Le Tissier & Scoffin, 2001). Corals are normally quite light and brittle; they consist mostly of calcium carbonate and 1 to 2% of strontium carbonate. The calcium carbonate is present in the crystal form aragonite. The aragonite is unstable. Under the influence of slowly percolating rainwater calcium carbonate is slowly dissolved, penetrates into the porous coral and precipitates and fills in the pores within the coral or coral sand. Meanwhile the crystal structure changes to calcite. Some magnesium calcite is also present which helps to cement the various reef components together. Thus the coral becomes denser, heavier and harder and is fused with the surrounding sand into stone. Geologically speaking this can be a fast process, depending on the amount of rainfall and whether the material is exposed to ground water. Complete lithification can take place in as little as 5000 years. If the coral material is not exposed to groundwater, lithification can take from 10.000 to 200.000 years depending on rainfall. But often much younger deposits are already partially lithified. The small loose, often cylindrical stones which are found on beaches and which in Curaçao we call *kraaksteen* consist of such partially lithified coral. Thus an ancient beach of coral sand is converted into a limestone plate, and ancient coral reefs become limestone ridges. When we cut through younger limestone rocks we can see that there is a very hard grayish outer crust, but the inner material is usually softer and whiter, because the lithification process has not yet been completed on the inside and there is very little or no discoloration. Much older rocks such as those on the Tafelberg are harder throughout. There has been more mineralogical change, there is no aragonite left, and the mineral dolomite (calcium magnesium carbonate) has also formed (dolomite was named after the Triassic dolomite mountains in Northern Italy). Often the interior may be discolored pinkish, reddish or brownish, due to iron-rich solutions which washed through overlying soils. Silicates and some phosphates are also frequently present.

Fossil fringing reefs: The Lower plateau along the North coast can best be envisioned as a fossil fringing reef such as exist in many parts in the world (for example, in Bora

Bora). The highest sea level was reached 125.000 years ago during the last glacial interstadial, the Eemian which lasted from about 130.000 – 110.000 years ago, (the generally short stable warm periods during the interglacials are called interstadials). Afterwards the sea level was lowered relative to the land. The reef became exposed and lithified; it became a rocky ledge while the lagoon behind it filled up with sediments. The outermost limestone rock facing the sea contains corals such as *Acropora palmata* which typically grow in exposed areas; these had been growing on the outer reef. In some parts of the plateau which are not covered by the reddish iron rich clayey sediments, we find fossils of corals which are typical of lagoons. The notch that indicates the former sea level in the limestone wall of the Middle terrace is quite narrow. This indicates that it formed behind a protective reef; if it had been fully exposed to the force of the open sea the notch would have been much wider (see: de Buisonjé, 1964 and Focke, 1978). The Middle, Higher and Highest terraces were similarly formed during periods of change in sea level and also as a result of tectonic rising of the land; however their genesis is substantially more complicated and falls outside the scope of this short overview.

Karren: When the surface of limestone rocks is etched away by the dissolving power of slightly acidic rainwater, there are often sharp protrusions on the top of the surface which is exposed to the rainwater. Along sea shores we can see the same effect where the limestone is exposed to the spray of the sea. Such structures are called karren or karren fields. When they are caused by the spray of the sea they are also called spray fields. Fossil karren fields can sometimes be seen on Curaçao's inland limestone plateaus. In some areas high karren are found which may have formed during past epochs with high rainfall.

Knip formation and St. Christoffel: In some areas of the Christoffel nature park in the Western part of the island the geology is somewhat more complicated. Here we find the so called Knip formation, which consists of finely grained marine sediments (mostly fine calcareous sands with some embedded fine clays and some silicates), which were deposited in deepwater and subsequently uplifted to form the backbone of the highest hill of the island, the 386 m high St. Christoffelberg and its surrounding area called "Zevenbergen" (seven hills). Curiously enough the top of this hill is capped by a siliceous chert which consists almost entirely of the skeletons of so called radiolarians. Radiolarians are plankton animals with a silica skeleton. When they die their skeletons slowly sink to the bottom of the sea, just as do the skeletons of other animals or plants with calcareous (Calcium carbonate or Calcium phosphate) skeletons. However calcareous skeletons will gradually dissolve in the sea water, especially in deeper waters and therefore these skeletons cannot reach the bottom of very deep seas. Thus in very deep waters only the siliceous skeletons of the

radiolarians, which do not dissolve so easily, will remain. Thus the highest point of Curaçao consists of deepwater marine sediments which have been pushed up by tectonic forces (similarly the top of Mount Everest in the Himalayas also consists of marine sediments).

Sedimentary soils: In many areas we find the eroded remains of the Curaçao lava formation. These can form quite fertile alluvial soils. In the Middle Curaçao area however, we find poor clayey soils, often mixed with calcareous residue from the surrounding limestone areas. Thus the island consists mostly of areas with soils of volcanic origin and of calcareous origin. In many areas we find sediments where these are mixed together. The calcareous areas can store water better than the volcanic areas and consequently have somewhat different vegetation. Almost all groundwater and soils are alkaline, the calcareous soils even more so than the volcanic soils. This also has its effect on the vegetation. Only the Knip formation contains some less alkaline, slightly acidic rocks and soils. Acid loving plants do not grow well on Curaçao. In the Knip formation a rare ground orchid, *Polystachya foliosa* (formerly: *Polystachya cerea)* is found, which only grows on the rocks of this formation.

Inner bays: During the glacial periods when sea level was very low, Curaçao had a very dry or desert climate. When it rained occasionally there would be a lot of erosion and broad flat river valleys were formed. Such valleys are called wadis after the valleys found in the Middle East. When sea levels came up again the wadis were inundated. In some cases a reef wall formed at the entrance of the bay, often forming a porous wall. As sea water levels kept rising the corals and the reef wall grew with it and the inner bay kept filling up with sediments. Consequently the coral rubble reef wall and the sediments in the inner bays behind it can be very thick, something that is usually not realized. Seismic tests at the reef wall in front of Rif St. Marie have indicated that it is built up of at least 120 meters of coral rubble.

Sea water rise, hurricanes: It is estimated that during the last 100 years (1900-2000) the sea has risen about 20 cm. Between 1990 and 2006 sea levels rose at an increased rate of 3.3 mm per year. It is certain that sea water rise is accelerating as a result of global warming. Projections of further sea water level rise vary considerably; some higher projections predict an increase of about 90 cm in 2100 compared to 2000. A small group of scientists however, hold the opinion that any projected increase of less than a meter is not realistic and that in a worst case scenario the sea level could rise by as much as 1.4 meters or even more during the 21st century. The sea water rise and global warming will also influence the direction and strength of sea currents; this in turn will have its effect on the migration routes of pelagic (open ocean) fish. Such effects will also be felt in Curaçao and indeed there is some speculation that such

changes may already be occurring. The migration routes of several species of pelagic fish, such as tunas seem to have shifted northward and such fish now tend to pass north of Curaçao. From the 22nd to the 23rd of September 1877 a strong hurricane hit Curaçao. Nowadays with average sea level about 20 cm higher, a similar hurricane would be tremendously destructive. There is some concern that hurricanes can become much stronger and may be also more frequent due to higher seawater temperatures. However there is still considerable ongoing debate regarding this subject. It is also possible that the hurricane belt could shift more northward, as it may have done during past interglacials. If so Curaçao, which nowadays lies at the southern edge of the hurricane belt, would fall outside of it.

Climate

Rainfall & temperature: The climate throughout the archipelago is quite arid. In Curaçao the mean rainfall is 553 mm/year (30 year average 1971-2000, as measured at the airport). The hilly areas receive slightly more rain than the rest of the island. Rainfall can be quite variable from year to year. Some years are very dry, with only 200-300 mm of rain. In other years rainfall is quite abundant, the maximum-recorded yearly average is about 1100 mm, the driest year on record is 1914 with an average of 207,9 mm. Normally the dry season runs from March to June. A dry year has a longer dry season, say from February until the end of September, with only a little rain falling in the rainy season from October to December. The rainy season usually starts at the end of September. October and November have most rain and the season tapers off until the beginning of January of the next year. The mean temperature is 28° C.

Extended dry periods : Several times each century extremely dry periods of two or three dry years in a row and more rarely, four succeeding dry years occur (See Table 1). For Curaçao rainfall data are available since 1830, with short interruptions from 1875-1883 and from 1892-1894. Dry periods also extended to the other islands of Aruba and Bonaire, where rainfall patterns are very similar. In historical times, there were several dry periods which resulted in food shortages. At the end of very long dry periods, even the opuntia cactus start to shrivel, emaciated iguanas cling to trees or fall on the ground and the bush becomes "transparent". Many trees succumb to the boring larvae of longhorn beetles. Goats and sheep starve. In the past the thorns of the opuntias were burned of with flamethrowers, thus enabling the goats to eat them. Goats can survive in this way for a short time; but if the rains take too long to arrive they will die anyway. Often such burning would cause brushfires. From 1902 to 1905 there was a very long dry period and food had to be imported from Venezuela. There was also a serious famine in 1743, during which many of the last Caquetío Indians left for Venezuela. Today goats and sheep which roam around in the bush are likely to be stolen. Consequently, there are only few animals out in the bush and grazing pressure

is much less than it used to be. Thus the extended dry periods do not affect the vegetation to the same extent as in the past, and at present opuntias are not being burned anymore, imported foods being available. Also nowadays many "garden refugia" are available, which enable many animals to survive which otherwise would have perished.

Global warming, increase in carbon dioxide levels, acidification of the sea:
Since the beginning of the industrial revolution the concentration of carbon dioxide (CO_2) in the atmosphere has been increasing as a result of the burning of fossil fuels and deforestation, giving rise to the phenomenon of global warming Methane (CH_4), which is produced in the guts of ruminants and in rice paddies, is another important greenhouse gas contributing to the problem. The increase of these gases creates a greenhouse effect by trapping warmth, which would otherwise escape into space (i.e. global warming). Such warming affects the climate. During glacial periods Curaçao had a desert climate which became much wetter during the warm interglacials. Thus one would expect rainfall to increase because of contemporary global warming, which indeed seems to be the case. Based on a moving average analysis of 30 years of rainfall data a statistically significant increase of about 10% is found.
There is some discussion as to whether this increase is at least partly due to a natural tropical multi-decadal weather cycle or whether it is mostly related to global warming (personal communication Dr. A. A. E. Martis, Meteorological service NA&A).

Current global warming is not based on the so called Milankovitch cycles, astronomical cycles which determine to a large extent the occurrence of ice ages. Current thinking is that, based on the Milankovitch cycles, the world was slated for a cooling trend leading to a new ice age. Human induced global warming has been superimposed on this cooling trend, converting it into a warming trend instead. This warming trend is thus somewhat different from those in the past and this may invalidate predictions based on past changes in climate. The increase in CO_2 levels also has an impact on the sea. The sea absorbs and buffers a lot of CO_2, which is mostly precipitated in the form of carbonates. Because the sea has not been able to absorb all the extra CO_2 available at present, its concentration in sea water has increased. It is now thought that this extra CO_2 disrupts the balance between the zooxanthellae, the symbiotic unicellular algae which live within the tissues of corals (and some other marine animals) and the corals themselves. When this happens corals expel their symbiotic algae. This could be one of the major causes of coral bleaching, more so than the increase in temperature per se. An increase in nutrients in the water would have a similar effect on coral, which are adapted to a nutrient poor environment. Such "stressed" corals are much more sensitive to various coral diseases. The higher levels of dissolved CO_2 also lead to a lowering of the alkalinity of

sea water, and this acidification could cause serious problems for many marine animals which have carbonate skeletons.

Origins of the indigenous flora and fauna

Origin of the faunistic zones: In the early Triassic there was only one continent, the continent of Pangaea. Somewhere in the Middle Triassic 180-200 million years ago this continent split into two parts, a Northern part called Laurasia and a Southern part called Gondwana. Laurasia basically encompasses the area that is now North America, Greenland, Europe and Asia with the exception of India and Arabia. Laurasia split into three parts: Western North America, Eastern North America/Europe, and Asia. Later these landmasses got rearranged, with Europe splitting from North America and ultimately we ended up with the situation we have now: one North-American continent and the land-mass of Eurasia. Gondwana split up into South America, Africa, Arabia, Madagascar, India, Antarctica, Australia and New Zealand. About 90 million years ago South America started to split from Africa and started moving west. About 65 million years ago the separation of South America from Africa was completed. For millions of years this continent was almost completely isolated, and developed a unique South American fauna (Simpson, 1980). Among the most characteristic of this fauna were all sorts of marsupials, litopterns, (a family of large herbivorous animals with a long neck and a tapir snout), a large variety of rodents, and armadillos. Today we associate marsupials with the continent of Australia. At some stage there was contact between South America and Australia via Antarctica. This enabled some marsupials to reach Australia where the typical Australian marsupials probably developed out of this South American stock.

The Neotropical zone: About 15 million years ago South America started approaching North America and was separated from this continent by a series of islands. Some fauna could cross over via the islands. With time the series of islands became a full land-bridge which was probably finally established at the end of the Pliocene when Panama was formed (about 8 million years ago). A persistent gap probably existed in Western Colombia, where we now find the Atrato river valley and the Golfo de Urabá. There is some discussion about the time period when this last remaining gap was finally closed. This is usually thought to have taken place 3-5 million years ago. In the resulting faunal exchange the South American fauna was clearly the loser. The marsupials almost became extinct and the litopterns died out completely. Many North American animals such as raccoons, members of the cat family, mastodons (a type of elephant) and several families of birds, became firmly established. An example of a North-American family of birds that reached South-America is the ICTERIDAE (blackbirds, orioles and trupials). A few South American animals such as sloths, armadillo's and hummingbirds made it northward. Due to this faunal exchange (the so

called "Great American Biotic Interchange") a new faunal region was formed, the Neotropical region (the "new" tropical region or the tropics of the New World). This region extends from Southern Mexico down and includes all of South America. The term was coined by Alfred Russell Wallace, a contemporary of Charles Darwin and an important evolutionary naturalist in his own right. The term Neotropical also includes regions such as the Andes highlands and the southern parts of South America which are clearly not tropical. This Neotropical region can be subdivided into several distinct faunal zones. In our area there is a distinct West-Indian zone encompassing the islands from Cuba to Grenada and also San Andrés and Providencia which have a West-Indian fauna. Grenada can be considered an intermediate area with a strong South American faunal influence. Within the Neotropical region the island archipelago north of the Venezuelan coast, consisting of Aruba, Curaçao and Bonaire together with the Venezuelan islands of Los Monjes, Islas Aves, Los Roques, La Orchila and La Blanquilla forms a separate distinct sub zone, which does not belong to the West-Indian zone but which instead has affinities with parts of South America.

The colonization of islands; After the eruption of the volcano Krakatau in 1883, the first studies were made of how new islands are colonized. Colonization usually starts with wind-blown seeds coming in. Several insects have live-stages which easily disperse through the air. Insect eating spiders can come in on thin webs and float through the air, sometimes even crossing oceans. Other seeds are brought in by birds and bats. Many plants have floating seeds that can resist saltwater for long periods of time (e.g. coconuts and cotton). Seedlings of mangroves can drift to faraway shores. Some animals disperse easily; others cross salt water only with great difficulty. Examples of good dispersers are geckos (locally called: *pega-pega*) which have eggs with thick calcareous shells which they hide in logs etc. Gecko's are amongst the few reptiles that have managed to colonize far-away islands via waif dispersal. The females of various species of gecko lay their eggs in the same spot. If such a collection of eggs were to reach an island hidden in a seaborne log then the new population sprouting from such eggs would already have quite some genetic diversity. Other reptiles that can reach islands are crocodiles, which are very strong swimmers (reaching Palau, Madagascar, and the Cayman Islands).

Examples of animals that do not disperse easily to ocean islands are amphibians and animals such as those freshwater fish that do not tolerate salt water (primary freshwater fish). A strange reversal from what one would expect is that freshwater turtles have great difficulty crossing salt water; they can only make it by raft dispersal. Tortoises can float and have a much thicker skin and thus have made it to far-away islands such as Aldabra in the Indian Ocean and the Galapagos Islands. In the West Indies they reached the Bahamas, where they are now extinct. In Cenozoic times there

were also similar, giant tortoises (of the genus *Geochelone*) on the island of Curaçao (Hooijer, 1967), which were later also found on Aruba and Bonaire. These became extinct when the climate turned drier in the Pleistocene.

When only a few animals (or plants) arrive at a new island, these constitute a sample from the larger founder population. Since the sample is usually very small, it is usually not fully representative of the larger founder population. There will thus be a shift in genetic composition for the new population (founder effect). When only a few individuals of a species reach an island, pure chance can play a bigger role in determining survival and the genetic make-up of the new population can shift considerably compared to the parent population on the mainland (genetic drift). The animals and plants change as a result of natural selection. Since the situation on the island is usually different from the situation on the mainland or other region where the founder population came from, natural selection tends to select differently and act in different ways. There usually is a change in optimum size, related to a change in prey, predators, competitors and food habits. In most cases size is reduced, but sometimes animals become larger. Thus the island gradually develops its own characteristic island fauna and given sufficient time, new endemic species and/or sub species often evolve.

Flora and fauna of Curaçao: Curaçao has been moving slowly from the west to the east on the Caribbean plate. Long ago it was probably lying much closer to an early group of West Indian islands. The flora and fauna are mainly of South American origin but a few "ancient" remnants of an original West Indian flora and fauna remain. There are also a few "modern" West Indian immigrants. Examples of old remnant West Indian fauna are the land snails *Cerion uva* (*cocolishi di kalakuna*) and several species of snails of the genus *Tudora* (*cocolishi di kabritu*) which are endemic to the

Figure 2 and 3 *Cerion* and *Tudora* are two West-Indian genera of land snails. These snails are considered remnants of an old West-Indian fauna. *Cerion uva* is endemic to Aruba, Curaçao and Bonaire and Klein Bonaire, but is not found on Klein Curaçao. Several species of *Tudora* exist on these islands.

islands of Aruba, Curaçao and Bonaire. The genus *Cerion* has a West Indian distribution and *Tudora* is related to West Indian genera (Wagenaar Hummelinck, 1940).

The Sabal palm which grows at Seru Gracia and Seru di Bientu in the Christoffelpark in Curaçao and which also occurs in Bonaire is probably an example of a West Indian remnant in the flora. This Sabal is clearly indigenous and is probably an endemic sub species. In the latest revised (3rd) edition of Arnoldo's *Zakflora* (van Proosdij, 2001) this Sabal has now been tentatively classified as *Sabal* cf. *causiarum*. *Sabal causiarum* is a West Indian species that occurs in Hispaniola and Puerto Rico. Certain fresh and brackish water amphipods and some species of isopod, which are found in caves, are also of remnant West Indian origin.

The reptiles evolved from South-American stock. The Curaçao island snake or Three-scaled groundsnake *Liophis triscalis* is endemic to Curaçao. Some other reptiles

Figure 4 Indigenous Sabal palm, Christoffel Park

are endemic to Curaçao and one or more of the other islands in the archipelago. The Curaçao whiptail lizard (*Cnemidophorus murinus murinus*) is endemic to Curaçao and Klein Curaçao, the striped anole *Anolis lineatus* is endemic to Aruba and Curaçao and the leaf-toed gecko *Phyllodactylus martini* to Curaçao, Bonaire and Klein Bonaire. The gecko *Gonatodes antillensis* is endemic to Curaçao and Klein Curaçao, Bonaire and Klein Bonaire.

The avifauna is largely of South American origin, but most "modern" West Indian elements can also be found in the avifauna, which is not surprising since birds can fly and can cover large distances. Many of these are probably recent or fairly recent arrivals; they constitute a new West Indian fauna. Examples of breeding birds (non-migrating) of West Indian origin are the Caribbean Elaenia, (*Elaenia martinica*), the Black-whiskered Vireo *(Vireo altiloquus)* and the Scaly-naped pigeon (*Colomba squamosa*). A recent arrival of West Indian origin, which may have reached the islands on its own, via Venezuela, is the Caribbean or Lesser Antillean Grackle (*Quiscalus lugubris*). Some of the local birds include migrating birds of North American origin which visit the island during their southward migration as well as a

smaller group of South American birds visiting while migrating to the north (Voous, 1983).

The arrival of man

The Amerindians: 2500 years BC there were already Indians living on Curaçao, whom we nowadays refer to as the Archaic Indians. Later, probably around 500 AD, the Caquetío tribe, a group of Indians belonging to the Maipure-Arawak tribes in Venezuela arrived. It is not known what happened to the Archaic Indians and whether or not Curaçao was inhabited between 2500 BC and 500 AD, up to now no remains of Indian settlements that can be assigned to this interval have been found. From the earliest arrival of man there must already have been an impact on nature. The island has many inner bays and a long shoreline, which in those days had plenty of protein rich food available for small groups of wanderers. It was particularly rich in tasty shellfish, such as Queen conch (*Strombus gigas*), Crown Conch (*Melongena melongena*), West-Indian top shell (*Cittarium pica*) and many others. Lobsters, crabs, fish and turtles were also plentiful.

Old Indian shell middens contain many large Crown Conch shells. The Crown conch is probably extinct in contemporary Curaçao and in Bonaire, only very few much smaller individuals can still be found. It is difficult to explain this evident contrast. It seems likely that overexploitation of this shell already started with the arrival of the Archaic Indians. Since the largest animals were taken first there could have been a strong genetic selection against large size, but other factors may also have been involved.

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During several archaeological excavations remains of animals from the South-American mainland were found (Haviser, 1994; Hooijer, 1963). Some of these were probably kept as pets. Animals like the "cottontail jack-rabbit" (*Sylvilagus floridanus nigronuchalis*) and the white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus gymnotis currassavicus*) must have been introduced by the Indians, since these animals could not possibly have crossed the relatively large distance from the mainland on their own. These animals must already have had some impact on the original environment. Since their remains have only been found in Caquetío settlements and not in those of the Archaic Indians, it seems likely that these animals were introduced by the Caquetío.

It is known that several native species of ground sloth existed on some islands such as Cuba, Hispaniola and Puerto Rico and that some of these were contemporary with early Amerindians and were very likely extirpated by man.

On Curaçao, at the Tafelberg, remains of a small fossil ground sloth (*Paulocnus petrifactus*) have been found from an earlier era (Hooijer, 1967). At San Juan plantation in Curaçao an imperfect axis vertebra was found at a late pre-Colombian

Caquetío Indian site named Sint Jan II, in March 1960. It also seems to represent *Paulocnus* (Hooijer, 1963). If this identification is correct then ground sloths probably survived on the island until the arrival of man and were probably still around during the late pre-Colombian times of the Caquetío. It also indicates that they were probably extirpated by man (see: overkill hypothesis, WI ground sloths, Martin, 2005).

At a Caquetío settlement at Sta. Barbara, near the shore of the Spanish Water near Sta. Barbara Land house, remains were found of the West-Indian monk seal (*Monachus tropicalis*) which is now extinct. In a directive from early colonial times by Peter Stuyvesant the Director of the Dutch West-Indian company (WIC), a vessel is sent to Klein Curaçao with an order to try to catch some seals (de Smidt, Schiltkamp & van der Lee, 1978).
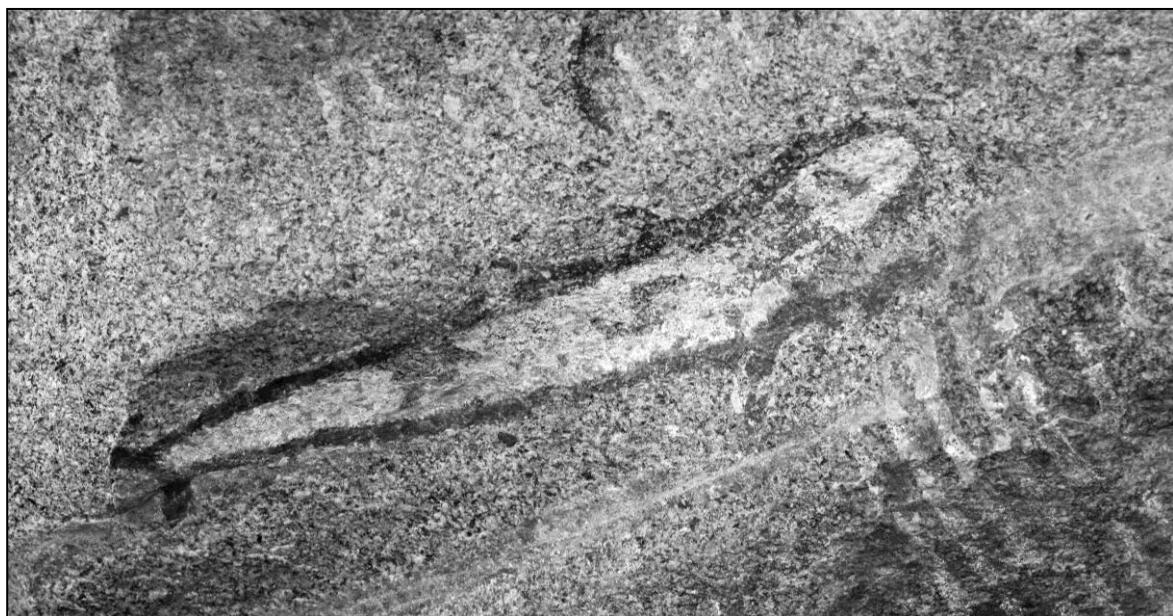
Figure 5 In Aruba, at the Cunucu Arikok in the Arikok National Park, a curious petroglyph made by the Caquetío Indians is found. Such petroglyphs can represent real or mythical animals. This petroglyph was possibly inspired by, or could represent the extinct West-Indian monk seal (*Monachus tropicalis*).

In Aruba a petroglyph is found at Cunucu Arikok on a rock called Seru di Bonchi (Wagenaar Hummelinck, 1961), which may represent a monk seal. Thus in the early days when Amerindians lived on these islands, Monk seals were still around and probably formed part of their diet at least occasionally. In 2005 a Manatee (*Trichechus manatus*) was found in Ascencion bay, on the north coast of Curaçao. There had been some earlier sightings, and again it seems probable that such animals could have been more abundant on the island in pre-colonial times and maybe were occasionally also part of the menu.

The Amerindians also introduced some plants. Many nowadays consider the calabash tree (*Crescentia cujete*) to be an indigenous tree, which is not the case. It is known that the calabash tree, which is a tree found in Central and South America, was normally dispersed by early elephants, such as mastodons and gomphotheres and also by New World horses, which existed in the Americas. These would eat the large fruits and disperse the tree. Such elephants were also present in Venezuela in the nearby state of Falcón (Gruhn & Bryan, 1984). When the elephants and horses became extinct, the tree was dispersed by man. When horses and donkeys were introduced by the Europeans in colonial times, the calabash tree could again be dispersed by animals (Janzen & Martin, 1982). This tree can have reached Curaçao only with humans and since the Indians used many calabash utensils it is almost certain that it was introduced by them. The calabash can survive in the wild and is nowadays dispersed to a limited extent by donkeys and goats.

Figure 6 The "palmiet" *Copernicia tectorum*, was very likely introduced by the Caquetío Indians. These are or were mostly found growing near former Caquetío settlements

Other trees which are likely to have been introduced by the Amerindians are the *hoba* (*Spondias mombin*) and the *palma llanera* (*Copernicia tectorum*), stands of which are (or were) often found near old Indian settlements. The fruits of this palm are edible and its durable leaves can be used as roofing material. The Indians used New World cotton; *Gossypium hirsutum* may have been introduced by them from Northern South America, but also may have been an indigenous plant, although this seems less likely. In Curaçao it is found growing in the wild. The wild cassava (*Manihot carthaginensis*) was almost certainly also introduced by the Caquetío Indians from the dry regions of

South America. In Papiamentu it is called *marihuri, manihuri*. 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 as a reserve food for very bad times, *tempu berans* (Litt: 'rancid times', from Dutch *beransd*). Obviously it was not a preferred food, but something that was eaten only when practically nothing else was available. Nowadays this plant is very rare in the wild.

The arrival of Europeans: The first Europeans to arrive were the Spanish in 1499, who brought goats, sheep, cows, donkeys, horses, cats, dogs and swine with them. These of course began to wander around and had an enormous impact on the original vegetation and nature in general. Inevitably Old World rats and mice came along (belonging to the family of the MURIDAE), these displaced the native New World rats and mice (belonging to the family CRICETIDAE). *Oryzomys curasoae* may have survived until colonial times and may have been displaced by Old World rats and mice; the Vesper mouse (*Calomys hummelincki*) still exists, but is now very rare in Curaçao.

Many plants were also introduced, some early on by the Spaniards, others later on by the Dutch. Several of these have established themselves in the wild. Examples are *karpata* (*Ricinus communis*); the oil in the seeds was used for lamp oil; Giant Milkweed or *madar* (*Calotropis procera*) originally from the Sahel and aloe (*Aloe vera*). Many Old World grasses were also introduced (*Melinis repens* and others), which largely displaced native ones. Two species of Indigo (*Indigofera tinctoria* and *Indigofera suffruticosa*) were introduced by the Dutch and are now commonly found in the wild. *Euphorbia lactea*, locally called cactus Sŭrnam (Surinam cactus), was probably introduced by the Dutch. It does not come from Surinam, but may have been introduced from there. It is an Old World plant which was often used as a fence for corrals. Stands of it survive in the wild but it does not seem to spread out by itself, some factor governing its dispersal is probably absent. Of course many food crops and fruits were also introduced by both the Indians and the Europeans, but most cannot survive in the wild. The Dutch introduced the mango tree from Mauritius in 1782 (Renkema, 1981). Some of the fruit trees like tamarind trees (*Tamarindus indica*) and the Arab date palm (*Phoenix dactylifera*) can survive when the areas where they have been planted revert to the wild, but are unable to spread out and disperse by themselves. Several species species of agave such as *Agave sisalana* (sisal), *Agave karatto* and *Agave cocui* were introduced and are found growing in the wild, like the indigenous species *Agave vivipara* and *Agave boldinghiana*.

Figure 7 Sisal (*Agave sisalana*) an introduced species of Agave growing in the wild at Malpaïs.

The arid climate and the extended dry periods help to keep out many species which are invasive in other areas. An interesting example is the African civet (*Civettictis civetta*) which was introduced from West-Africa in the 17th century by the Dutch West-Indian Company (WIC) in order to produce civet, a type of musk. Some animals escaped and feral populations existed up to the 18th century (Husson, 1960). Eventually however these feral populations did not survive. Nevertheless with the passage of time more species arrived, some of them invasive species which were able to permanently establish themselves in the wild. Several of these have had detrimental effects on the local flora and fauna. There are indications that the yellow-shouldered parrot *Amazona barbadensis* was indigenous on Curaçao until the early 19th century but was extirpated; in Aruba it became extinct during the period 1940-1950 (Voous, 1983). It still occurs on Bonaire.

More recently introduced invasive species
Balanites aegyptiaca: This is a desert tree, sometimes called desert date, which is found in the Sahel and parts of the Middle East. It was imported by Cornelis Gorsira who visited the Middle East in 1882 and brought seeds with him to Curaçao. He felt that plants growing in the Holy land should also grow on Curaçao, *Balanites aegyptiaca* being of special importance, since the branches of this tree were used to make the crown of thorns Christ was wearing. This indeed seems likely, although the name "Crown of Thorns" is also claimed for other plants. Cornelis Gorsira was the owner of plantage Zuurzak and from here this tree started spreading slowly over the

island, its fruits are eaten by goats, which disperse the tree. The vegetation and with it the ecosystem in whole areas in Eastern Curaçao have changed completely because of this plant. It has now reached Kleine Berg in the Middle of the island, and is found in some locations in Banda Abou, the western part of the island. In areas to the east of Kleine Berg it is already much more dominant than 40 years ago. Since it advances slowly it is not usually realized that this is definitely an invasive species. The wording "invasive" seems to imply something that spreads rapidly. It can not be eradicated by bulldozing, new plants sprout everywhere from the rhizomes. In Africa and the Middle East it is used for firewood, here it has no use. In another 100 years it might overwhelm all of Banda Abou, the Western part of Curaçao. Certainly this is a major, if not the major threat to the terrestrial Curaçao ecosystem. Gorsira also introduced the ilb or appeldam (*Ziziphus spina-cristi*), which is now a fairly common tree on the island and which sometimes grows in a semi-wild state. The legendary Doum palm (*Hyphaene thebaica*) was brought to Curaçao by Gorsira as well. King Salomon and the queen of Sheba are said to have met each other under a doum palm. A few stands of this palm are still found on the island.

Cryptostegia grandiflora or Palay rubber vine: this plant was imported from the area near Tulear in Madagascar during the First World War. Since it produces rubber it was thought that it could provide an alternative to rubber from the East Indies. However since the plant has to be shredded to extract the rubber, the product is of very poor quality. This plant is clearly invasive but some discussion is possible about whether it is really detrimental to the ecosystem.

The 1983 Long-Spined sea urchin die-off: In 1983 almost all Long-Spined sea urchins (*Diadema antillarum*) died within a very short period of time. In Curaçao this sea urchin is usually called the black sea urchin. Other species of sea urchin were not affected. It is thought that this disease was introduced from the Pacific Ocean via the ballast water of a ship, probably a tanker.

The disease started in San Blas in Panama and then spread to Curaçao, against the prevailing current but along the tanker routes. Then from Curaçao it spread all over the Caribbean clockwise with the currents (Lessios, Robertson & Cubit, 1984). The causative agent has never been identified and it is not known whether it is a bacterium, a virus, a mycoplasma or something else entirely. Starting in the late 1950's regulations were gradually introduced to clean up ballast water, which was an important source of oil pollution. In the 1960's for example most beaches on the north coast of Curaçao were quite regularly soiled by oil and tar. At the time it was not realized that the much cleaner ballast water would now enable many organisms to survive transportation from one ocean to another. By solving one problem another was

created. Nowadays newer IMO (International Maritime Organization) regulations have tackled this problem. The black sea urchin die-off had very serious consequences for the shallow water coral reef, since these urchins kept the reef free of algae. Their grazing helped the corals stay free of many algae and cleaned surfaces where coral larvae could settle. In many areas the shallow water coral reef disappeared completely and while many other factors were also involved it is certain that the demise of the black sea urchins was a major cause. Nowadays, more than 25 years later, the black sea urchin seems to be making a slow come-back, their numbers have been increasing in recent years. The species has probably developed some resistance to the disease. This could hopefully lead to some slow recovery of the shallow water coral reef.

The shiny cowbird: The shiny cowbird (*Molothrus bonairensis*) was first found in the wild in 1991. It is related to the trupials. This bird lays its eggs in the nests of other birds, just like a cuckoo. It especially likes the nests of trupials. In Martinique this bird is an important threat to the endemic Martinique trupial (*Icterus bonana*) and in Puerto Rico it has contributed significantly to the decline of the yellow-shouldered blackbird (*Agelaius xanthomus*). In Curaçao the Shiny cowbird has been present since the early 1990's and the population is probably derived from escaped caged birds (Debrot & Prins, 1992). It must certainly have had a detrimental effect on some of the local bird species; however there are no studies to date that document its impact.

Figure 8 The Red Palm Weevil (RPW) is a serious pest originating in South East Asia and Melanesia. It attacks a wide assortment of palms and is also known to attack agaves and sugar cane. In 2008 it arrived in Curaçao with date palms, imported for landscaping from Egypt.

Red palm weevil (*Rhynchophorus ferrugineus*): Due to globalization and the internet, plants and other products that may contain undesirable species now arrive in Curaçao from practically anywhere in the world. Arabian date palms (*Phoenix dactylifera*) were imported from Egypt for landscaping purposes and in December 2008 a very serious pest that is harbored by this species, the red palm weevil (*Rhynchophorus ferrugineus*) was detected on the island and is now established. Some of these ornamental date palms were also exported to Aruba via Curaçao and since January 2009 the red palm weevil is also found in Aruba. This weevil originated in South East Asia and Melanesia, and from there it spread to Saudi Arabia, and is presently found all over the Middle East, the Mediterranean, the Canary Islands, and Madeira. The red

palm weevil attacks and kills many species of palms, especially date palms and coconut palms (Ferry & Gómez, 2002). It is very likely to become a threat to the indigenous Sabal palm. It is also known to attack agaves and sugar cane. There is now serious concern that the red palm weevil could spread to the South American continent from either Curaçao or Aruba.

Lionfish (*Pterois volitans/miles*): The lionfish, an exotic invader from the Indo-Pacific, has been spreading throughout the Caribbean from Florida since 1992 and has now reached Curaçao where it was first detected on the 27th of October 2009. There are two closely related species *Pterois volitans* and *Pterois miles* which are very difficult to distinguish from each other and both are now found in the Caribbean. Since often it is not known which species is present or whether both are present, it is usually referred to as *Pterois volitans/miles*. The lionfish is a predator that is protected by venomous spines; it is now rapidly increasing in numbers and is expected to have serious detrimental effects on the local coral fish populations.

Sparrows and saffron finches: The sparrow (*Passer domesticus*) arrived from Holland in 1953. For years they were only seen in the Mundo Nobo area where they were first introduced but after a long period of genetic adaptation they spread out over the whole island and also made it to Klein Curaçao. The saffron finch (*Sicalis flaveola*) was first seen in the wild in the late 1960's, and the population is almost certainly derived from escaped caged birds. Both the sparrow and the saffron finch tend to be more common in areas inhabited by humans, but they are sometimes also seen in the bush (locally called *mondi*). It is not known what effects their introduction has had on local birds, but the Rufous-colored sparrow *Zonotrichia capensis*, seems much less common in human inhabited areas than in the past.

Tubastrea coccinea: the orange tube coral, probably occupies an ecological niche which was previously empty and does not seem to have had any detrimental effects; it therefore can probably be considered a colorful addition to the underwater fauna. The froth-nest frog (*Pleurodema brachyops*) a native from Aruba was introduced in 1910 (Wagenaar Hummelinck, 1940) and can also be considered to be an enrichment of the local fauna. The neem tree (*Azadirachta indica*), which originates in India and Burma is also a recent introduction. Its fruits are dispersed by birds. It is able to spread into the wild and may turn out to have detrimental effects, although it seems too early to tell.

Feral populations of the parrots *Amazona ochrocephala* (yellow-crowned parrot) and *Amazona amazonica* (orange-winged parrot), the blue crowned parakeet (*Aratinga acuticaudata*) and also of the chestnut fronted ara (*Ara severa*) are now found on the

island, and their survival seems to depend on gardens. Feral populations of rose-ringed parakeets (*Psittacula krameri*) and the green-rumped parrotlet (*Forpes passerinus*) also existed up to relatively recent times, but were probably eliminated during periods of prolonged drought (See Table 1). The red-eared or black-rumped waxbill (*Estrilda troglodytes*) had established extensive colonies in the Groot St. Joris (Chinchó) area, but these were wiped out during the 1977-78 drought (personal Communication, Joost Pronk). The cosmopolitan house gecko (*Hemidactylus mabouia*), which was probably introduced in the late 1980's, has mostly displaced the endemic gecko *Phyllodactylus martini* in houses but is not found in the wild. The whistling frog (*Eleutherodactylus johnstonei*) was introduced in the late 1970's or early 1980's and the Cuban treefrog (*Osteopilus septentrionalis*) arrived in Sept/Oct 2006 (van Buurt, 2005; 2007). These species both depend on gardens and cannot survive in the bush.

Effects of drought and human habitation: In Curaçao extended periods of drought occur (see Table 1). These extended dry periods can eliminate many unwanted invasive species. Some species survive in or because of "garden refugia", where they either live or obtain supplemental food and water. Whistling frogs and Cuban tree frogs and several species of birds have been already mentioned in this connection. The cosmopolitan house gecko seems to depend on human habitation. Iguanas are now much more plentiful in inhabited areas with gardens than in the bush. For most snakes however "garden refugia" are not an option. Those species which cannot survive in the bush and retreat to gardens in the dry season find themselves in killing zones, where people see them and kill them. This is very likely how the corn snake was extirpated in Curaçao.

"Alert" species

With globalization and rapid transport by airplane and container ships from all over the world, the problem of invasive species and the spread of animal and plant diseases, is now recognized to be a major world problem, from which Curaçao and the rest of the Caribbean are not exempt. Invasive species which are already present on other islands in the Caribbean and which could soon reach Curaçao with very detrimental effects are called "alert" species. The cactus moth or nopal moth (*Cactoblastis cactorum*) is a small moth that lays eggs in the leaves of opuntia cactus. The orange larvae eat out the leaf, which usually becomes infected with fungi and the opuntia dies. If introduced here it would surely devastate the populations of the local opuntia cacti (*Opuntia wentiana*) which will probably lead to increased erosion. The South American Cactus mealybug *Hypogeococcus pungens* is a new threat which has now reached the Caribbean, it is found in Puerto Rico and Barbados and attacks and destroys candelabra cactus (Zimmerman et al, 2010). The agave weevil (*Scyphophorus acupunctatus*) is an insect which bores into agaves; these then become

infected and die. Fire ants (*Solenopsis invicta*) have been introduced on many Caribbean islands. These ants have a painful sting and a devastating impact on many native animals (Taber, 2000). The giant (East) African snail *Achatina fulica* is a serious pest, which is now present on many islands of the Lesser Antilles from Antigua to Trinidad and also in many parts of Venezuela, including Paraguaná. The cane toad (*Bufo marinus*) and the boa constrictor are now serious introduced pests on Aruba and could certainly survive on Curaçao.

The corn snake (*Elaphe guttata*) was introduced on Curaçao (Perry et al., 2003) but it has been successfully extirpated. If it were to be reintroduced, it could pose a threat to the local endemic three-scaled ground snake (*Liophis triscalis*). There are no doubt other alert species that pose a hidden threat to Curaçao.

Human activities that have had an impact on the natural history of Curaçao

Harvesting of trees and clearing of land for Sorghum cultivation: West-African trees which contained a red dye were called *pau-brasil* ('brasil wood') by the Portuguese after the word *brasa* which means 'arm' and also 'ember'. In Pernambuco the Portuguese encountered another larger tree, *Caesalpinia echinata*, containing dye, after which they named the region 'Brasil'. Presently, the species is nearly extinct in most of its original range as a result of its overexploitation in the past. Brazilwood is listed as an endangered species by the IUCN and it is cited in the official list of endangered flora of Brazil.

Figure 9 Dye wood or brasiletto, (*Heamatoxylum brasiletto*); this is a very old tree growing near Pannekoek.

In Curaçao and Bonaire and to a lesser extent Aruba, the tree *Haematoxylum brasiletto* is found, which also contains a similar red dye. Since this tree is much smaller than the Pernambuco *Pau do Brasil* or *Pau-de-Pernambuco* it is called "*brasiletto*" or "*palo brasil*". In Papiamentu it is called *brasia* or *palu brasil*. A third tree from Mexico called *Haematoxylum campechianum* is very similar to the brasiletto and is called *campeche*. The Dutch West-India Company (WIC) harvested brasiletto on the islands. The trunks and branches were sent to the *rasphuis* in Amsterdam, where the wood was pulverized with big files or

rasps, and the dye was extracted from the filings of the pith. Since the pith of this tree is extremely hard, this was very heavy work which was done by convicts. In the 16th and 17th century large quantities of dyewood were exported. In the 19th century exports from Curaçao were much reduced, probably as a result of overexploitation, but some harvesting of dyewood continued up to the late 19th century, when this dyewood was exported to the US. Dyewood from Aruba and Bonaire was transshipped via Curaçao (Renkema, 1981). There were some final exports from Bonaire directly to the US in the early 20th century.

Brasiletto was also used to make the walls of the traditional Curaçao "kunuku" huts which were in common use until the 1960s. The brasiletto was used for the inner reinforcement of the walls, because this wood does not rot and the branches are very irregular, so stones and adobe material used for the walls will stick to them very well. Brasiletto is a very slow growing tree. Since the 1960s harvesting of brasiletto has basically ended and while very thick trees which must be hundreds of years old are rare, more average sized trees which must be at least 50 or 60 years old have become very common. In Bonaire very old trees are more common, indicating that the level of their former exploitation in Bonaire was not as heavy as in Curaçao

Another tree that was harvested (albeit to a lesser extent than the brasiletto) in colonial Curaçao is the Wayaká or "Lignum vitae" (*Guaiacum officinale*). Since the wood contains saponins and has self-lubricating properties, it was used for bearings of ship propellers well into the 20th century. These saponins also have medicinal properties and because they inhibit the growth of spirochaetes, in former times they were used to treat syphilis and the tree was also called 'Sailors cure". The hard wood was also used to make tackle blocks and certain tools. In the wild, the Lignum vitae is a very slow growing tree, but in areas with some water it can grow much more rapidly. As in the case of the brasiletto, whereas very thick trees which must be hundreds of years old are rare, average sized trees are quite common.

In the past a lot of wood was used to produce charcoal, much of which was used in lime kilns to produce calcium oxide from limestone. This calcium oxide is called quicklime or lime and was used as mortar. A tree which is very suitable for the production of charcoal is the mesquite (*Prosopis juliflora*), which is called *indju* in the Papiamentu of Curaçao. Although the wood is heavy this is a surprisingly fast growing tree. In the late 19th century calcium kilns began to use imported coal and did not depend on local charcoal anymore. We can conclude that although the exploitation and harvest of wood must have been very heavy in the past, there has been a relatively long period of recovery and unlike the *pau-do-brasil* in Pernambuco none of these formerly heavily exploited trees is now endangered on Curaçao.

Robert Soublette and his son Tito were photographers, who took pictures in Curaçao from around 1869 until about 1923. In these pictures (Schiltkamp et al., 1999) we can see that many areas that are now covered with bush were then cleared to plant sorghum or had been cleared by grazing animals such as roaming goats, sheep and donkeys. Thus, contrary to what we might expect, the island is now much greener than it was in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Hunting: These same Soublette photographs show us that the late 19th and early 20th centuries were a time of extreme poverty. There were extended dry periods which caused famine on the island. Food had to be imported from Venezuela. As sources of protein, people hunted iguanas and cottontail jack-rabbits (*Sylvilagus floridanus nigronuchalis*), caught crabs and trapped species of doves like the *ala blanca* (*Columba corensis*), *ala duru* (*Leptotila verrauxi*) and *buladeifi* (*Zenaida auriculata*). When the Shell Oil Company established itself on Curaçao in 1916, the economic situation improved, but even so the countryside remained very poor until the middle of the 20th century.

In the 1960s life improved markedly for the poorer classes so that today there is very little hunting for food, although some (usually older) people still hunt iguanas. The younger generations do not possess the hunting skills of their parents or grandparents and few have the patience to pluck dozens of small doves to obtain just a few scraps of meat. The flexible type of rubber from bicycle tires which was formerly used to make catapults is not available anymore; the rubber of modern tires is much more rigid. Venezuelan TV has been watched in Curacao since 1958 and a local TV station started broadcasting in 1960. Obesity is a problem nowadays, since many sit in front of the television instead of hunting in the bush as their parents would have done in the past. Consequently the populations of doves and iguanas have rebounded and are much larger than in the past. The cottontail jackrabbit however did not recover, perhaps because so many are killed by motor vehicles. Crabs are now caught by immigrants from Guyana who use them in traditional dishes.

Firearm permits are now more difficult to obtain than in the past and while there are plenty of illegal firearms on the island, these are not used for hunting. In the 1955 edition of his book *de Vogels van de Nederlandse Antillen* Voous expresses surprise at the almost complete absence of adult crested caracaras (*Caracara cheriway*), called *warawara* in Papiamentu. This can be explained by the fact that at the time these caracaras were often shot since they sometimes attack small lambs. Today one does in fact encounter more adult *warawara*. The white-tailed hawk (*Buteo albicaudatus*) is also more common than in the past.

The Dutch traveler Teenstra who visited Curaçao during 1828/29 and 1833/34, mentions deer being common in many parts of the island. In the 1920's white-tailed deer were still found in the area where Julianadorp was later built. At that time the road to Bullenbaai did not yet exist and my mother told me they were also found at Klein Piscadera plantation where my grandfather J.J.A.H. Joubert (Shon Hyacinthe) shot the last one around 1929. Today they are still found in the Pos Spaño area, in the Christoffel National Park, and around Malpais, although a large area in nearby Weitje where they also lived has recently been bulldozed.

Human activities that impact the marine environment: Curaçao's marine environment has been heavily and increasingly impacted by human activities, including overfishing on the reef by local fisherman, the effects of commercial overfishing of pelagic fish in the Atlantic Ocean on the fish stocks around Curacao, the harvest of rare shells from the wild by collectors, and marine pollution (plastics in the ocean, nutrient pollution and bacterial and viral agents on the coral reef, oil pollution, fire retardants, PCB's, pesticides, marine pollutants dispersed through the air etc.). A more detailed discussion of the influence of these factors on nature in Curaçao has been kept outside of this overview, because even a cursory treatment of these topics would merit no less than another article of equal or greater length.

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Extended period of drought	Precipitation in mm/yr	Extended period of drought	Precipitation in mm/yr
1841-1843	272 290 408	1947-1948	301,2 421,1
1868 -1869	226,2 296	1958 -1960	287,4 Hato 280,6 355,8 Hato 282,2 363,3 Hato 482,8
1898 -1900	479,6 357,7 437,4	1977-1978	355,5 Hato 270,5 389,2 Hato 271,1
1902 - 1905	313,4 382,3 473,9 413,6	1982 -1983	380,5 340,1
1919-1920	270,3 301,4	1986-1987	321,2 369,3
1929-1930	323,2 269,1	2001-2002	331,4 331,8

Table 1. Extended dry periods, 1830-2004, data for Curaçao (Meteorological Service Netherlands Antilles and Aruba).

Note: The data were interrupted from 1875-1883 and from 1892-1894. Data before 1954 are a weighted average of several locations on the island, after 1978 only the

data at Hato airport are given. In this table both values are given for 1958 to 1978. The Hato location is usually somewhat drier than the weighted average. Monthly data, which unfortunately are not available for the early years, give a better view of the true extent of the dry periods. The 2001-2002 dry period (so named based on the yearly values) for example, based on monthly data lasted until the end of September 2003, it thus lasted 2 years and 9 months. The 1982-83 dry period lasted until the end of September 1984. It also lasted 2 years and 9 months. A very dry period with one rain shower exceeding 70 mm, which will cause trees to bud and grass to sprout, will bring some relief and such a dry period will be less stressful than a year with the same amount of precipitation spread out more evenly. The 1958-1960 dry period started at the end of November 1957 and was interrupted by a rain shower of 104,3 mm (Hato airport) in January 1960, then the dry period went on until August 1960, with more rain following in October 1960. If we compare the Hato data with the weighted data for 1960 this strongly suggests that the 104,3 mm shower fell at Hato only. The rest of the island probably experienced a longer dry period lasting some 2 years and 8 months.

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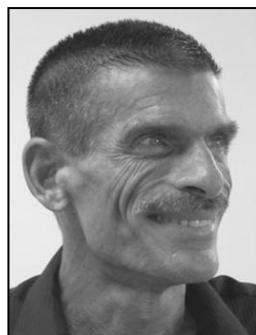
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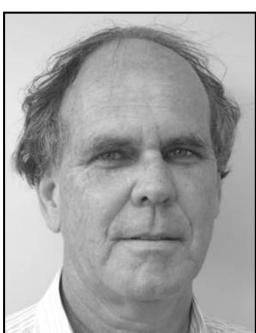
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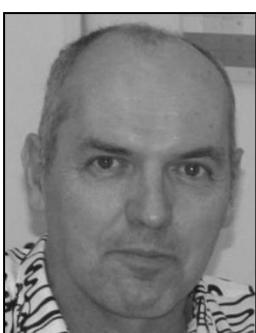
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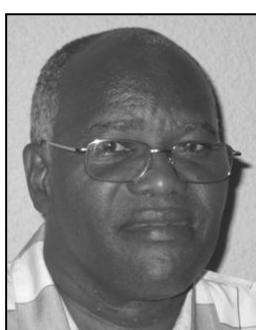
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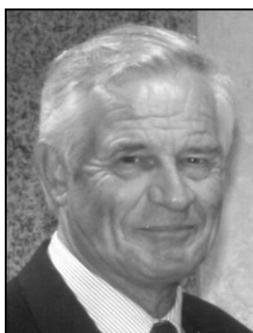
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