

This volume, *Archaeologies of Erasures and Silences: Recovering othered languages, literatures and cultures in the Dutch Caribbean and beyond*, is a collection of peer reviewed articles that present a critical perspective on the languages, literatures, and cultures of the ABC-Islands and the Dutch Caribbean. The book is part of a two-volume set published annually since 2009, which provides a platform for recent writing from and about the Greater Caribbean in general in one volume and about the Dutch Caribbean in particular in the other. The contributing authors include a wide range of voices old and new from the Caribbean and beyond.

Archaeologies of Erasures and Silences

Edited by
Nicholas Faracías
Ronald Severing
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Archaeologies of Erasures and Silences

Recovering othered languages, literatures and cultures in the Dutch Caribbean and beyond



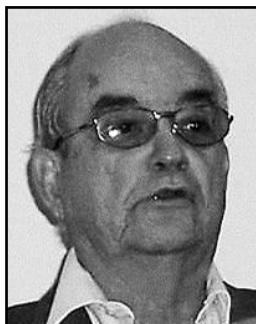
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in the Dutch Caribbean and beyond

Dedication



WILFREDO A. GEÍGEL
(1941-2017)

Well-known and well-loved lawyer and Caribbean historian, Wilfredo Geígel dedicated his considerable legal and academic talents, training and skills to social justice for the past, present and future peoples of the Caribbean. As an outspoken member of the governing boards of institutions such as the Institute for Puerto Rican Culture and the Society of Virgin Islands Historians, he was a tireless advocate for the preservation and revalidation of the Indigenous and African heritage of the islands of the northeastern Caribbean. As a lawyer, he defended the rights of citizens to challenge even the largest corporate entities to put people before profits. As an adjunct professor at the Interamerican University in Puerto Rico and the University of the Virgin Islands, he inspired future lawyers and historians to think out of the box and to serve their communities. Licenciado Geígel authored several articles (some of which appeared in these volumes) and three books, titled: *¿Es Puerto Rico una Nación?*, *Is Salt River Columbus' First Landing Site in St. Croix?*, and *El libro y su encuadernación*. An avid amateur bookbinder and cyclist, he crafted exquisite beveled leather book covers and successfully completed the 3-day annual bicycle marathon which covers hundreds of kilometers along the entire peripheral coastal road of Puerto Rico in 2014, 2015 and 2016, up until the age of 75. We are all fortunate to have had him in our lives.

Archaeologies of Erasures and Silences:

**Recovering othered languages, literatures and cultures
in the Dutch Caribbean and beyond**

Volume 1

Edited by

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Prof. Dr. Robert Dupey



**UNIVERSITY
OF CURAÇAO**
DR. MOISES DA COSTA GOMEZ



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Archaeologies of Erasures and Silences: Recovering othered languages, literatures and cultures
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See more at: <http://curacao-art.com/news/love-stones-by-maghalie-george/>

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Acknowledgements

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This book forms part of a two volume set, with this volume focusing on the ABC-islands (Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao) and other parts of the (former) Dutch Caribbean, and the second volume focusing on the rest of the Caribbean region. Together, these volumes provide a platform for researchers and other cultural workers whose work treats the islands, topics, and/or perspectives that traditionally receive less scholarly attention than others at professional conferences and in academic publications. Special emphasis is placed on ensuring that new voices with fresh points of view find a place in these volumes, alongside contributions by more well established scholars. This publication received generous support from the University of Curaçao.

The Editors

**RECOVERING OTHERED LANGUAGE
PRACTICES IN THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN
AND BEYOND**

LANGUAGE USE, LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND IDENTITY AMONG ARUBAN AND CURAÇAOAN STUDENTS IN THE NETHERLANDS¹

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Introduction

This article follows up on Kester & Hortencia (2010) and Kester & Fun (2012), which presented the results of two questionnaires that were distributed among students from Curaçao and Aruba respectively, who were studying in the Netherlands. The questionnaires included statements regarding language use, language attitudes and identity that were evaluated by the two groups. In this article we will take a closer look at a statistical analysis of the results, which will reveal conclusions that are slightly different from the ones presented in the previous two articles.

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Aruban and Curaçaoan students in the Netherlands

Every year, a large number of students from the Dutch Caribbean islands² migrate to the European part of the Kingdom to pursue their studies in tertiary education. According to the Dutch Bureau for Statistics, the number of students from Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles³ increased considerably over the course of the past decade from 848 (1997/1998) to 1695 (2009/2010) in vocational education and from 340 (1997/1998) to 587 (2009/2010) in university education (Wolff, 2013: 19, 27). Yet, the literature about these students is scarce and mainly focuses on the problems they

¹ We thank the students from Aruba and Curaçao who anonymously filled out the questionnaires. We are also very grateful to the employees of the Cabinet of the Minister Plenipotentiary of Aruba ('Cas di Aruba') and the tutors of the Aruban students in the Netherlands for distributing the questionnaire among the participants. Finally, we express our gratitude to Hülya Şahin for her suggestions concerning the statistical analysis and to Florianne Sollie for her comments on the prefinal version of the article.

² We will use the term 'Dutch Caribbean islands' to refer to the six islands that are part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands: Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, St. Maarten, St. Eustatius and Saba.

³ Due to the political reforms of October 10, 2010, the Netherlands Antilles were dissolved as a country. Since then Curaçao and St. Maarten have become autonomous countries within the Kingdom of the Netherlands, whereas Bonaire, Saba and St. Eustatius have become municipalities belonging to the European part of the Kingdom.

encounter in the European Dutch education system as well as with the Dutch language and their social integration. In this section, we will review some of these studies.

Bos, Ham and Herfs (1998) report on a project initiated at Utrecht University providing students from Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles with extra services in order to facilitate their integration into the Dutch education system. The report offers an overview of the problems students from the Dutch Caribbean islands encounter when they pursue their studies in Holland. The students are insufficiently prepared for the European education system due to a lack of information. They are not fully informed about administrative procedures, admission requirements and the full array of possibilities available to them (p. 7; p. 32). Students from the Dutch Caribbean islands struggle with culture shock, as they come from small island communities with strong social networks and limited autonomy, to initiate a life on their own in a larger scale and anonymous society, far away from their families and friends (p. 8).

They also encounter culture shock related to the European Dutch education system, which is characterized by a democratic climate requiring substantial active participation from the students, a requirement they are generally not familiar with (p. 8). Moreover, their participation is severely hampered by language problems (p. 5; p. 7). Most of the students speak a language different from Dutch as their mother tongue and only acquired Dutch as a second or as a foreign language in the education system. Their opportunities to use Dutch outside the classroom are very limited on the islands. Living and studying in the Netherlands requires a radical transition to intensive, active and communicative use of Dutch for daily life and for academic purposes (p. 8). The psychological consequences of these difficulties can be invasive, confronting the students with feelings of isolation and homesickness. Practical problems related to their economic resources, housing facilities and the Dutch climate may provide additional challenges to their well-being (p. 26).

Wolff's dissertation (2013) about educational success among students in the higher education system of the Netherlands, presents a comparison between the results of students of non-Western ethnic minority descent versus those of students of ethnic majority descent, during the period 1997-2010. The main goal of Wolff's research was to investigate dropout and completion rates among the different groups of students, in relation to their background characteristics and social resources.

Overall, dropout rates were higher and completion rates were lower among students from ethnic minorities in comparison to those belonging to the ethnic majority. Wolff explains the differences in academic success by assuming that ethnic majority students are advantaged in comparison to students of ethnic minorities in relation to the process of social and academic integration, due to factors related to cultural, social and economic capital. The results of Wolff's study indicate that Aruban and Antillean students were least successful among the students of all ethnic minorities. In higher vocational education their completion rates were lowest and further decreased over the

years of the study (p. 240). The author relates these low success rates to their migration background as many of them, especially those in higher vocational education, were first generation migrants.

According to a previous study (Wolff, 2007), second generation students are more successful among ethnic minority groups, including students from Aruba and the Antilles. In university education dropout rates of Aruban and Antillean students were high in comparison to those of other groups (p. 240), but study success increased as the students advanced (p. 39). Wolff hypothesizes that the higher completion rates of this group (as compared to students of other ethnic minorities) may be explained by a stricter selection mechanism: those who do not dropout perform relatively well (p. 44).

In her BA thesis Bijl de Vroe (2015) explicitly studied the role of language and identity in relation to integration among Aruban students in the Netherlands. She collected 62 questionnaires and conducted 8 semi-structured interviews. The results of the questionnaire revealed that a high Dutch identity score among the students correlated positively with their use of Dutch (specifically in social situations in the Netherlands, in education in Aruba, when talking to family and for formulating ideas) and their social integration in the Netherlands (p. 53). Many students, especially those without a Dutch family background, reported difficulties related to their proficiency in Dutch, which may have impeded their social integration (p. 54). They often seemed to have more Aruban or English-speaking friends than Dutch friends (p. 56). As the author observes, the directionality of the observed correlations requires further investigation, as it is not evident to what extent language proficiency facilitates cultural access and vice versa (p. 57).

A further analysis of these questionnaires presented in Ballantyne & Bijl de Vroe (2017) investigates potential correlations between social integration and the use of Papiamentu, Dutch and English in different domains (general, study, media, personal), in Aruba as well as in the Netherlands. A comparative analysis of reported language use in Aruba versus the Netherlands revealed that the use of Papiamentu in the Netherlands is significantly lower across all domains (general, study, media, personal). The use of Dutch is higher in the Netherlands in the domains 'general' and 'personal', whereas the use of English is higher in the domains 'study' and 'media'.

With respect to social integration, the authors conclude that the use of Dutch in the Netherlands, crucially in media use and in the personal domain, had a positive effect, whereas neither the use of Dutch in Aruba before arrival in the Netherlands, nor the use of Papiamentu in the personal domain in the Netherlands, had evident effect. The use of English was not found to be detrimental to social integration. The authors hypothesize that the use of English could even be beneficial, as it may help minimize social pressure and build social networks that include speakers of Dutch.

Unfortunately, there are no comparable investigations concerning students from Curaçao in the Netherlands, nor studies comparing the two groups, other than Kester & Hortencia (2010) and Kester & Fun (2012). Crucially, potential differences in academic and social integration as well as in proficiency and use of Dutch may be related to differences between the two islands of origin.

Data from the Central Bureau of Statistics in each of the two islands indicate some differences between Aruba and Curaçao with respect to the languages spoken at home, as illustrated in Table 1 from Kester & Fun (2012). Papiamentu and Dutch are spoken in more households in Curaçao, whereas Spanish and English are more widely used in Aruba.

	Aruba, 2000	Curaçao, 2001
Papiamentu	69.4	80.3
Spanish	13.2	4.6
Dutch	6.1	9.3
English	8.1	3.5

Table 1: Languages most spoken in the household in percentages (Central Bureau of Statistics, Aruba and Curaçao).

Preliminary results of 1400 questionnaires collected in the ABC-islands in March 2014 (partially presented in Kester, 2016) corroborate these data to a certain extent, indicating that Dutch is not only used more frequently in Curaçao as a home language, but also in other domains, such as with friends, in school, at work and with strangers. In other words, the role of Dutch is overall more prominent in Curaçao in comparison to Aruba. Furthermore, the Curaçaoan informants find Papiamentu less important for instrumental purposes (related to education and the job market) and share more negative attitudes toward Dutch citizenship in comparison to informants from Aruba. Although these observed differences require much further investigation, they may partially explain the differences encountered between students from the two islands in the Netherlands, to be analyzed in the next section.

Methodology

The original surveys presented in Kester & Hortencia (2010) and Kester & Fun (2012) were based on the questionnaire from Garrett (2008) (inspired by Baker, 1992), which is included in Appendix 4. As Garrett's questionnaire was originally developed for a survey in Curaçao, it was adapted for the students in Aruba in order to apply to their specific situation.⁴ The questionnaires were posted on 'Thesistools' in October 2009 and May 2012, respectively. The two second authors contacted their personal networks by means of Facebook, with a request to fill out the questionnaire. The ques-

⁴ The number of items was slightly extended as well, but these additional items were not included in the analysis presented here, as our goal is mainly to compare the results of the two surveys.

tionnaire for Aruban students (Kester & Fun, 2012) was also distributed by eight tutors of Aruban students in the Netherlands, who were contacted by the Cabinet of the Minister Plenipotentiary of Aruba ('Cas di Aruba').

For the statistical analyses presented in this article, the two sets of data that were analyzed in Kester & Hortencia (2010) and Kester & Fun (2012) were combined. Questionnaires that contained over 10% missing values were excluded from the analysis, creating a dataset of 227 questionnaires in total.

The data were analyzed with SPSS. A principal component analysis (PCA) was conducted on parts 1-3 of the questionnaires, involving identity, language attitudes and language use respectively. The Cronbach's Alpha reliability test was applied to each cluster of items in a component. In addition to the factor scores, the average scores of the clusters of items were computed. The factor scores were analyzed for statistical differences with an ANOVA test, in order to compare the results of the two groups of students.

Results

In this section we will compare the results of the two surveys, by briefly summarizing the findings from Kester & Hortencia (2010) and Kester & Fun (2012) to be followed by the results of the statistical analyses.

Informants

The selected questionnaires were provided by 98 students from Aruba and 129 from Curaçao. The two groups were very similar with respect to their demographic characteristics, as the students from Aruba had an age range from 18 to 30 years (Mean: 23) and those from Curaçao from 16 to 32 years (Mean: 22). Also the percentages corresponding to male and female informants were rather similar: 40% and 60% respectively among the students from Aruba and 35% and 65% respectively among those from Curaçao. There was a difference in the education levels of the informants, as most of the students from Curaçao (90%) were studying at a university, whereas a majority of the Aruban students (61%) were enrolled in higher vocational education and a minority (36%) were studying at the university.

	Aruba	Curaçao
N	98	129
Age		
Age range	18-30 years	16-32 years
Average age	23 (sd=2,6)	22 (sd=2,3)
Gender		

Male	40%	35%
Female	60%	65%
Education level		
University	36%	90%
Higher vocational education (HBO)	61%	
Other	3%	8%
Unknown		2%

Table 2: Personal data of the informants concerning age, gender and education level.

Language use

In the third part of the questionnaire the informants evaluated their language use in the Netherlands in accordance with five categories: ‘only Dutch’, ‘mostly Dutch’, ‘both languages equally’, ‘mostly Papiamentu/u’ and ‘only Papiamentu/u’ in five different domains.⁵ Table 3 presents the results in percentages, in which the categories ‘only Dutch’ and ‘mostly Dutch’ as well as ‘only Papiamentu/u’⁶ and ‘mostly Papiamentu/u’ were grouped together.

	Only/mostly Dutch		Both		Mostly/only Papiamentu/u	
	Aruba	Curaçao	Aruba	Curaçao	Aruba	Curaçao
At home with your family	25.6	16.3	14.9	19.4	59.6	64.3
With your friends	16.0	7.9	30.9	33.9	53.2	58.3
At work with your colleagues	78.7	73.4	9.6	10.9	11.7	15.6
At work with your boss	80.8	79.7	8.5	7.0	10.7	13.3
With strangers	64.9	57.0	31.9	27.3	3.2	15.6

Table 3: Use of Papiamentu/u and Dutch in different domains by students from Aruba and Curaçao in the Netherlands (results in percentages).

These results suggest that Aruban students used Dutch slightly more frequently at home, with friends and with strangers, whereas Curaçaoan students used Papiamentu slightly more frequently in these domains. The results regarding language use at work seemed to be rather similar.

A Principal Component Analysis found two components in the results concerning language use. *Component 1* contained the items corresponding to the use of Papiamentu/u and Dutch in formal domains, such as at work (with colleagues and bosses) as well as with strangers, whereas *Component 2* included the use of the two languages in

⁵ Fun’s questionnaire contained two additional domains: ‘at school with your fellow students’ and ‘at school with your teachers’, which are not included in the comparative analysis presented in this article.

⁶ The variety of the language spoken in Aruba is known as Papiamentu, whereas the variety spoken in Curaçao and Bonaire is referred to as Papiamentu.

informal domains, at home and with friends. Component 1 revealed a higher reliability (Cronbach's Alpha .838) compared to Component 2 (Cronbach's Alpha .573). An ANOVA analysis of the results indicated that there were no statistically significant differences between the two groups of students with respect to their language use in the Netherlands. Students from Aruba and Curaçao consistently used Dutch more frequently in the domains of work and with strangers (Component 1) and Papiamentu/u (Component 2) more often at home and with friends, but there were no statistically significant differences between the two groups in this respect (C1: $F(1,224)=.898$, $p=.3.44$ $\eta_p^2=.004$. C2: $F(1,224)=1.513$, $p=.220$ $\eta_p^2=.007$).

	Aruba (n=98)		Curaçao (n=129)		Total	
	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd
C1: formal domains	1,90	0,90	2,05	1,06	1,99	1,00
C2: informal domains	3,57	0,90	3,73	0,94	3,66	0,93

Table 4: Average scores and standard deviations of clusters of items regarding the language use in formal and informal domains, on a scale from 1 to 5 (1= only Dutch and 5=only Papiamentu/u).

For more detailed information concerning the statistical analysis of the data we refer to Appendix 1.

Language attitudes

In the second part of the questionnaires the informants were requested to evaluate the importance of Papiamentu/u in carrying out different activities in the Netherlands. The analysis of the results in percentages presented in Kester & Fun (2012) revealed that Aruban students considered Papiamentu/o to be slightly more important in carrying out certain activities in comparison to those from Curaçao, as illustrated in table 5.⁷

		ARUBA	CURAÇAO
1.	Living in Curaçao/Aruba	90.4	96.9
2.	Raising children	69.2	62.3
3.	Being accepted in the community	70.2	58.5
4.	Writing	45.8	57.7
5.	Making friends	66.0	56.2
6.	Reading	42.6	55.4
7.	Talking to people out of school	68.1	55.0
8.	Talking to friends in school	56.4	52.7
9.	Going to church/chapel	29.8	46.2
10.	Making phone calls	55.3	44.2

⁷ For the ease of exposition the two categories 'important' and 'a little important' were grouped together in the percentages of table 5 from Kester & Fun (2012).

Table 5: The importance of Papiamentu in carrying out certain activities according to the students from Curaçao and Aruba (results in percentages).

A Principal Component Analysis abstracted four different components with high reliability scores as indicated by their Cronbach's Alpha ranging from .812 to .886. For a complete overview of the results we refer to Appendix 2. Component 1 included items corresponding to integrative functions related to socializing in the community: 'talking to friends at school', 'talking to people outside school', 'being accepted in the community', 'talking to teachers in school' and 'making friends'. Component 2 corresponded to activities related to education and the job market, known as instrumental functions: 'becoming smarter', 'earning plenty of money', 'getting a job', 'passing exams', 'playing sports' and 'being liked'. Component 3 contained items expressing leisure activities: 'singing', 'shopping', 'going to church/chapel', 'making phone calls' and 'raising children'. Finally, Component 4 included activities related to literacy and use of the media: 'writing', 'reading' and 'watching TV/videos'.

Overall, the importance of Papiamentu/u in carrying out these activities in the Netherlands was considered to be low, as illustrated by the results in Table 6.

	Aruba (n=98)		Curaçao (n=129)		Total	
	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd
C1: integrative	2,31	0,89	2,54	0,97	2,44	0,94
C2: instrumental	2,83	0,88	2,99	0,82	2,92	0,85
C3: leisure	2,85	0,77	2,76	0,84	2,80	0,81
C4: literacy & media	2,68	1,00	2,65	0,97	2,66	0,98

Table 6: Average scores and standard deviations of clusters of items regarding the importance of Papiamentu/u in carrying out certain activities, on a scale from 1 to 4 (1=important, 4=unimportant).

An ANOVA test found a statistically significant difference between the two groups of students concerning Component 1 ($F(1,220)=7.065$, $p=.008$ $\eta_p^2=.031$). Aruban students find Papiamentu/u more important for Component 1, concerning integrative purposes, than students from Curaçao. Additionally, a statistically significant difference was found between the two groups regarding Component 2 ($F(1,224)=5.973$, $p=.015$ $\eta_p^2=.027$). Aruban students also find Papiamentu/u more important for Component 2, related to instrumental purposes. On the contrary, Curaçaoan students find Papiamentu/o more important in comparison to students from Aruba for the leisure activities included in Component 3 ($F(1,224)=5.527$, $p=.025$ $\eta_p^2=.025$). Component 4, regarding literacy and use of the media, did not show any statistically significant differences between the two groups of students (C4 $F(1,224)=2.941$, $p=.086$ $\eta_p^2=.013$).

It is unclear how the different evaluations of the two groups of students with respect to the importance of Papiamentu/u in the Netherlands, can be explained. As we observed

above, Papiamentu is considered to be less important for instrumental purposes in Curaçao compared to Aruba and Dutch is used more frequently in Curaçao than Aruba, but it is unclear at this stage whether these two observations can be explained by a causal relation to be extrapolated to the role of Dutch and Papiamentu in the Netherlands. The different results with respect to Components 1 and 3 regarding socializing and leisure activities require further investigation of the personal networks of Aruban and Curaçaoan students in the Netherlands.

Identity

The first part of the questionnaire consisted of statements concerning the double identity of the informants, as both Arubans/Antilleans⁸ and Dutch citizens. The informants were requested to evaluate to what extent they agreed with each statement. Table 7 contains the results of the 5 statements referring to the Aruban/Antillean identity of the informants.

Aruban/Antillean identity

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

21

	AGREE		NEUTRAL		DISAGREE	
	ARUBA	CURAÇAO	ARUBA	CURAÇAO	ARUBA	CURAÇAO
STATEMENT 3	3.2	4.6	10.6	10.0	86.1	85.4
STATEMENT 4	90.4	86.2	8.5	12.3	1.1	1.5
STATEMENT 5	73.4	59.2	18.1	29.2	8.5	11.5
STATEMENT 8	46.8	85.4	29.8	9.2	23.4	5.4
STATEMENT 9	89.3	18.5	7.4	20.0	3.2	61.5

Table 7: Evaluation of statements concerning Aruban/Antillean identity and citizenship among Aruban and Curaçaoan students in the Netherlands (results in percentages).

The results in percentages show that both groups of students share very positive attitudes toward their Aruban/Antillean identity as many agree with the statement that they are happy to be Arubans/Antilleans and very few try to hide their identity. The results with respect to statements 5, 8 and 9 are more divergent, as the majority of the students from Curaçao consider themselves to be Antilleans, contrasting with a minority of Aruban students who regard themselves as Arubans (statement 8). Curaçaoan

⁸ The survey presented in Kester & Hortencia (2010) was carried out in October 2009, when Curaçao was still part of the Netherlands Antilles and, hence, its inhabitants were referred to as Antilleans at that time.

students identify themselves to a lesser extent with other Antilleans, whereas a majority of the Aruban students identify with other Arubans (statement 5). Strikingly, the vast majority of the Aruban students feel held back because of their Aruban identity, whereas few students from Curaçao agree with this point of view (statement 9).

The two versions of the questionnaire contained 4 statements concerning the Dutch identity and citizenship of the informants that were included for the analysis⁹:

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.

	AGREE		NEUTRAL		DISAGREE	
	ARUBA	CURAÇAO	ARUBA	CURAÇAO	ARUBA	CURAÇAO
STATEMENT 1	10.6	16.9	21.3	26.9	68.1	56.2
STATEMENT 2	38.3	16.2	34.0	43.1	27.6	40.7
STATEMENT 6	67.0	39.2	21.3	46.9	11.7	13.8
STATEMENT 7	4.3	4.6	17.0	15.4	78.7	80.0

Table 8: Evaluation of statements concerning Dutch identity and citizenship among Aruban and Curaçaoan students in the Netherlands (results in percentages).

As the results in Table 8 indicate, the Aruban students share more positive attitudes towards their Dutch identity than the students from Curaçao. In comparison to the students from Curaçao, more Aruban students consider it important to be a Dutch citizen (statement 6), they feel stronger ties with the Netherlands (statement 2) and express more disagreement with the statement that they are bothered by their Dutch citizenship (statement 1).

The results of the nine statements were submitted to a Principal Component Analysis, which required reversing the scores of items 1, 3, 7 and 9, as these statements were phrased negatively. The results of the Principal Component Analysis indicated 4 components that were abstracted for further analysis. Components 1 and 4 corresponded to statements involving Aruban/Antillean identity; Components 2 and 3 to the items about Dutch citizenship. The results are presented in Table 9. We refer to Appendix 3 for a complete overview of the statements and the corresponding components.

⁹ The questionnaire analyzed in Kester & Fun (2012) contained three additional statements that were missing from the questionnaire analyzed in Kester & Hortencia (2010) and therefore cannot be included in this comparative analysis.

	Aruba (n=98)		Curaçao (n=129)		Total	
	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd
C1 Aruban/Antillean identity 1	1,69	0,66	1,89	0,67	1,80	0,67
C2 Dutch identity 1	2,57	0,91	2,96	0,74	2,79	0,84
C3 Dutch identity 2	1,94	0,83	2,15	0,81	2,06	0,83
C4 Aruban/Antillean identity 2	3,58	0,71	2,09	0,74	2,74	1,04

Table 9: Average scores and standard deviations of clusters of items regarding the attitudes toward Aruban/Antillean and Dutch identity among students from Aruba and Curaçao (on a scale from 1 to 5; 1= strongly agree, 5=strongly disagree).

Only Components 1 and 2, corresponding to Aruban/Antillean and Dutch identity respectively, were sufficiently reliable to be submitted to further analysis (Cronbach's Alpha: .691 and .653, respectively). Component 1 contained the results with respect to statement 4 ('I am a person who is happy to be an Aruban/Antillean'), 3 ('I am a person who tends to hide the fact that I am an Aruban/Antillean') and 5 ('I am a person who identifies with other Arubans/Antilleans'). Component 2 corresponds with the results of statement 2 ('I am a person who feels strong ties with the Netherlands') and 6 ('I am a person who considers it important to be a Dutch citizen'). An ANOVA test revealed significant differences between the two groups of students. First, a statistically significant difference was found in the results of Component 1 ($F(1,225)=5.687$, $p=.018$ $\eta_p^2=.025$), confirming that the Aruban students were more positive towards their Aruban identity. Second, a statistically significant difference was found in Component 2, as the Aruban students were more positive about their Dutch citizenship in comparison to the students from Curaçao ($F(1,225)=14.238$, $p=.000$ $\eta_p^2=.060$).

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As we observed above, the preliminary results in Kester (2016) also indicated that attitudes toward Dutch citizenship were more negative in Curaçao compared to Aruba, hence, this difference in attitudes may be part of a more general pattern. With respect to the different attitudes toward the Aruban/ Antillean identity of the students we signal a methodological problem, as the Aruban students were requested to evaluate their insular identity (as Arubans), whereas the Curaçaoan students evaluated their identity in accordance with a less specific term: as 'Antilleans'. Their evaluations may also have been affected by negative stereotyping of 'Antilleans' in Holland.

Conclusion

The results of a questionnaire from 227 Aruban and Curaçaoan students in the Netherlands revealed that their language use in the Netherlands is rather similar, as both groups use Dutch primarily in formal domains, such as at work and with strangers, whereas Papiamentu/u is used with family and friends. However, statistically significant differences between the two groups were found in the importance they attribute to Papiamentu/u in carrying out certain activities in the Netherlands. Overall the

scores for the importance of Papiamentu/u in the Netherlands are low, but students from Aruba find Papiamentu more important in comparison to those from Curaçao for instrumental purposes (related to their education and the job market) and integrative purposes (socializing), whereas the results are reversed in the case of leisure activities. The question arises as to whether the prominent role of Dutch in Curaçao plays a role here, as the language is generally used more frequently there than in Aruba and Papiamentu is considered less important for instrumental purposes in Curaçao as well (Kester, 2016).

More statistically significant differences were found between the results of the two groups of students regarding their identity as Arubans/Antilleans and Dutch citizens. Aruban students were more positive with respect to their Dutch citizenship, a pattern that was also found in a survey realized in the Caribbean (Kester 2016). With respect to the different attitudes toward the Aruban/Antillean identity of the students the informants from Aruba were also more positive, but note that they specifically evaluated their insular identity (as Arubans), whereas the Curaçaoan students evaluated their identity as ‘Antilleans’. Due to existing negative stereotyping in the Netherlands the term ‘Antillean’ may also have evoked critical attitudes and negative connotations. At this stage any explanation for these complex patterns can only be tentative and requires much further, in-depth research.

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Appendix 1: Language use

Label	Question	C1	C2
	At work with your boss	0,927	0,103
	At work with your colleagues	0,915	0,143
	With strangers	0,701	0,232
	At home with your family	0,047	0,875
	With your friends	0,297	0,768
	Percentage of variance explained	46%	29%
	Cronbach's alpha	.838	.573

Table A: The components and items concerning language use among the two groups of students, including the percentages of variance explained and the Cronbach's Alpha per component.

	Aruba (n=98)		Curaçao (n=129)		Total	
	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd
C1: formal domains	-0,07	0,92	0,06	1,06	0,00	1,00
C2: informal domains	-0,09	0,98	0,07	1,01	0,00	1,00

Table B: Average *factor* scores and standard deviations of the two components referring to language use among students from Aruba and Curaçao.

Appendix 2: Language attitudes

Label	Question: How important is Papiamentu/u to...	C1	C2	C3	C4
C1	Talk to friends in school	0,831	0,225	0,236	0,169
	Talk to people outside of school	0,791	0,126	0,284	0,250
	Be accepted in the community	0,680	0,225	0,145	0,288
	Talk to teachers in school	0,621	0,293	0,303	0,316
	Make friends	0,614	0,399	0,294	0,028
C2	Become smarter	0,142	0,732	0,133	0,291
	Earn plenty of money	0,327	0,692	0,249	0,125
	Get a job	0,415	0,655	0,166	0,295
	Pass exams	0,127	0,616	0,322	0,514
	Play sports	0,160	0,591	0,588	0,164
	Be liked	0,503	0,583	0,260	0,061
C3	Sing	0,204	0,142	0,748	0,208
	Go shopping	0,254	0,225	0,726	0,096
	Go to church/chapel	0,192	0,226	0,710	0,169
	Make phone calls	0,496	0,125	0,601	0,194
	Raise children	0,217	0,161	0,440	0,341
C4	Write	0,246	0,190	0,211	0,865

	Read	0,256	0,216	0,206	0,860
	Watch TV/videos	0,207	0,470	0,219	0,573
	Percentage of variance explained	20%	18%	17%	15%
	Cronbach's alpha	.885	.886	.812	.885

Table C: The components, items and their factor loadings including their labels as well as the percentages of the variance explained and the Cronbach's Alpha per component.

	Aruba (n=98)		Curaçao (n=123)		Total	
	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd
C1: integrative	-0,20	0,96	0,16	1,01	0,00	1,00
C2: instrumental	-0,18	1,08	0,15	0,91	0,00	1,00
C3: leisure	0,18	1,01	-0,14	0,97	0,00	1,00
C4: literacy & media	0,13	0,99	-0,10	1,00	0,00	1,00

Table D: Average *factor* scores and standard deviations of clusters of items regarding the importance of Papiamentu/u for carrying out certain activities, according to the students from Aruba and Curaçao.

Appendix 3: Identity

Label	Question	C1	C2	C3	C4
C1	I am a person who is happy to be an Aruban.	0,825	0,066	0,109	0,044
	I am a person who tends to hide the fact that I am an Aruban. (r)	0,792	-0,148	0,195	0,032
	I am a person who identifies with other Arubans.	0,741	0,057	-0,236	-0,128
C2	I am a person who feels strong ties with the Netherlands.	-0,093	0,855	0,063	0,098
	I am a person who considers it important to be a Dutch citizen.	0,068	0,802	0,171	-0,135
C3	I am a person who makes excuses for being a Dutch citizen. (r)	0,076	-0,01	0,887	0,077
	I am a person who is bothered to say that I am a Dutch citizen. (r)	-0,003	0,372	0,734	-0,132
C4	I am a person who considers him-/herself to be an Aruban.	0,111	0,211	-0,085	0,879
	I am a person who feels held back because I am an Aruban. (r)	-0,175	-0,351	0,079	0,743
	Percentage of variance explained	21%	19%	16%	15%
	Cronbach's alpha	.691	.653	.596	.518

Table E: The components, items about Aruban/Antillean and Dutch identity, their factor loadings as well as the percentages of the variance explained and the Cronbach's Alpha per component. Reversed questions are indicated with (r).

	Aruba (n=98)		Curaçao (n=129)		Total	
	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd
C1 Aruban/Antillean identity 1	-0,18	0,97	0,14	1,00	0,00	1,00
C2 Dutch identity 1	-0,28	1,12	0,21	0,85	0,00	1,00
C3 Dutch identity 2	-0,05	0,95	0,04	1,04	0,00	1,00
C4 Aruban/Antillean identity 2	0,74	0,80	-0,57	0,73	0,00	1,00

Table F: Average *factor* scores and standard deviations of clusters of items regarding the attitudes towards Aruban/Antillean and Dutch identity among students from Aruba and Curaçao.

Appendix 4: Questionnaire from Kester & Hortencia (2010)

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 |

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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

Occupation: _____

Education: _____ Elementary
 _____ Secondary
 _____ Vocational School
 _____ University

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V. Please comment freely on this questionnaire:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

PERCEPTUAL DIALECTOLOGY IN THE SSS ISLANDS OF THE NORTHEASTERN CARIBBEAN: DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

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Introduction

In this article, I discuss the results of a speaker-focused study on perceptual dialectology conducted in the SSS Islands of the Northeastern Caribbean, namely St. Eustatius (also known and hereafter referred to as Statia), Saba and St. Martin. The fieldwork took place during three individual trips (May 2015, May 2016 and July 2016) to each of the SSS Islands. Based on the methods developed by Dennis Preston, the participants filled out a survey and some of them were interviewed to learn about their perceptions, attitudes and judgments regarding language, taking into account geographical as well as mental maps. The survey was designed to gather the participants' views on their own language use and the use of language in the different geographical zones of each island. The participants also gave input regarding their neighbors' use of language on the other SSS Islands.

This is, to my knowledge, the first study of its kind in this geographical area. It aims to promote sociolinguistic research in this region as well as to help understand the linguistic complexities present in these islands through the perspective of their inhabitants.

The sample

Originally, the purpose of asking participants to complete the sociological profile section at the end of the three-page survey was to collect data that would provide an idea of who was participating in the study in terms of gender, age, years living on the island, place of residence, level of education that they had obtained, ethnicity, occupation and languages spoken regularly. The responses to those questions were quite varied, which, on the one hand, suggests that people from diverse sociological groups were represented in the sample. On the other hand, the sample from the three islands – 87 participants in total – was relatively small and, thus, in each sociological category just a small number of participants was to be found. I tried to analyze the data by the sociological variables (using cross tabulation on Excel's pivot tables) to see if there

were tendencies or patterns indicating that these variables could have influenced the participants' answers or lack thereof. However, no tendencies nor patterns were found. Statistically, it cannot be demonstrated that the sociological variables influenced the results of the study. Perhaps such trends or patterns could have been discerned in a larger sample, with larger numbers of participants in each sociological group.

The diversity of participants from the three islands notwithstanding, not all adult groups in the community were represented in the sample. None of the participants said that they were unemployed at the moment of completing the survey. All participants, except for two participants from Saba (who had reached middle school level only), had earned a secondary school diploma (or its equivalent) or a higher level of education. Thus, unemployed members of the community as well as those with lower levels of education were not represented in the sample.

The question regarding languages spoken regularly was answered by 85 out of the 87 participants. There were participants who self-reported that they were monolinguals (most of them in English, a couple in Dutch and one in St Martin English), whereas others self-reported that they were bilinguals or multilinguals. Very few participants included the vernaculars (Statia English, Saban English or St. Martin English) in their answers while completing the survey. However, this does not mean that the participants do not use the vernacular varieties to communicate on a regular basis.¹ It probably means that they do not recognize those varieties as languages, hence, the vast majority of participants did not include them. Therefore, this sociological variable was difficult to use to analyze tendencies and patterns in the answers of the participants, and was also difficult to use to gain a clearer image of them as speakers.

Discussion of the results: Statia

The first part of the map task

Seven Statian participants did not complete the first part of the map task, six of whom wrote comments next to the map of Statia explaining why they did not do the task. The reasons provided for not doing so ranged from not perceiving any linguistic differences on the island to explaining that the differences perceived were not related to the geographical location but to the age group or the ethnic background of the inhabitants of the island. These perceptions are understandable, taking into consideration the small size of Statia, and the fact that, typically, young people have their own linguistic styles and codes for communication, particularly with one another. As shown below, ethnic background also proved relevant in identifying linguistic differences. In any case, it would have been interesting to show these six participants the geo-linguistic

¹ In the case of Statia, for instance, during my fieldwork trip I heard people around me speaking Statia English, but never to me. This included someone who eventually became a participant and who did not include it as a language spoken regularly in the sociological profile section.

differences pointed out on the map of Statia by other participants who had perceived them, and see their opinions and reactions. This might be done in a future study.

In terms of the participants who did this first part of the map task, the Quill was the most circled and labeled area. Many Statian participants perceived that people who live in that area speak differently. The participants used labels that, for the most part, identified the demonym of what appeared to be the majority of the inhabitants of that area: Dutch, Americans and Europeans. Only participant STA008 labeled this area with something related to language. He said that he had perceived a “strong Dutch accent when speaking English”. In question 1, 7% of the participants from Statia identified this as the same area where people sound nicer or more pleasant on the island because, according to participant STA014, “they articulate and pronounce more clearly”. In question 2, 19% of the participants chose the Quill area as the place in Statia where people sound more correct because, “the houses are expensive” (STA017) and there “we have more Americans and Dutch” (STA023). Thus, there appears to be a correlation between living in an area such as the Quill, where many of the inhabitants are Dutch or American and of a higher socio-economic class and being perceived as sounding more pleasant and more correct.

This correlation, however, seems to have an additional dimension. Those participants who circled and labeled the Quill on the map also established a sort of “inverse othering” since the groups “othered” here are not typically seen as marginalized or politically powerless groups. Still these Statian participants distanced themselves from the Dutch and Americans who live in the Quill area and labeled them as “different”. Even when it was to point to their overt prestige (linguistically and in terms of lifestyle), their judgments were, nonetheless, based on a perceived “us vs them” relationship.

The second most circled and labeled area on the map of Statia was Oranjestad. Unlike the Quill area, the labels used for Oranjestad were too varied to easily establish a pattern. For example, some participants used names of languages as their labels. Participant STA024 used “Statia English” as one of her labels, alongside “English” and “Dutch”, which confirms that the vernacular is regarded as a separate and identifiable linguistic variety, although for most participants it might not be considered as a language on its own right.² Other participants used “Spanish”, “Mix of English and Spanish”, and “Dutch”. All of these labels enumerated the languages that the participants had heard in the area. Using language names to label the difference perceived was a practice commonly used by participants from the three islands on both map tasks. In the Caribbean, where people who speak many different languages have been living side-by-side for so long, and where pluri-linguality is common, it should come as no surprise that participants mentioned different languages instead of different dialects of

² Since no other varieties of English were included in the Statistics Netherland’s report, it could be argued that for those researchers, the vernaculars spoken in Statia and Saba are not languages in their own right either. Thus, this notion may be being disseminated, promoted and perpetuated by government agencies, and many members of the community have accepted it as true.

the same language in their responses. Perhaps this indicates an area where the instruments typically used in perceptual dialectology need to be further adapted and refined. As noted before, the only label for Oranjestad that was not the name of a language was participant STA008's label: "The North-rougher pronunciation". This label goes somewhat beyond just pointing out the presence of languages other than English in Oranjestad as the perceived difference in the area. That label demonstrates that the participant had perceived a difference in the way people from the "North" sound, which he attributes to pronunciation. However, it remains unknown which phonological features this participant was referring to by characterizing them as "rougher" and what he used as his basis of comparison. Perhaps, for this participant, the closer to what is considered acceptable pronunciation, according to the "standard" variety, the less "rough" it is, and the farther away from the "standard", the "rougher" it is.

The fact that most Statian participants limited themselves to circle and write labels or comments to the three areas already labeled on the map (the Quill, Oranjestad and the airport areas) leads me to wonder whether or not the results of this first part of the map task would have been different if the participants would have received a more detailed map. This could be considered for a future round of fieldwork in the research project reported on in the present paper.

The fact that five participants only circled areas on the map but did not write any labels or comments represents another issue to ponder. Perhaps they had perceived differences in the areas they circled but were not sure what those differences were, or how to name them. Yet the circles drawn do imply that the participants believed differences to exist in the circled areas.

The second part of the map task

Of the nine participants who both circled and labeled the map of the SSS Islands and surrounding areas, only two (STA025 and STA017) circled and labeled St. Martin. Both of those participants used language names to label the neighboring island. None of the participants who only drew circles on this map circled or marked St. Martin in any way. The fact that few Statian participants singled out St. Martin might indicate that they feel St. Martiners to be similar to Statians in the way that they speak. It is true that when they need to go off-island for needs that cannot be met locally, many Statians travel to St. Martin. Most Statian participants wrote labels for and drew circles around St. Kitts and Nevis, and Saba. This may suggest that Statian participants found these islands "different" when compared to St. Martin.

While some participants referred to Sabans as speaking "more Standard English", "more sing-songy English", and said that Sabans "eat the words", St. Kitts and Nevis were described rather negatively ("articulation lacking" and "broken English", for example). In what appeared as a more neutral perception, St. Kitts and Nevis were also labeled as an area where "they speak with a different accent" (STA020). Yet, what did

this participant mean and imply by “accent?” Just the way people from St. Kitts and Nevis “sound” to her?

The participants from the three islands constantly used the word “accent”. Sometimes, as in the case of participant STA020, it appeared as though the term was employed to identify differences in how a group of people “sound”, in contrast with either the participant’s own “sound” or the way in which the “standard” is perceived to sound. In other responses, the word “accent” seems to have been used for more than just phonological phenomena such as word stress and intonation. As Lippi-Green (2012) points out, an accent “is not what comes out of one person’s mouth, but what the listeners hear and understand” (p. 45). Some participants (“listeners”) labelled geographical areas as “having an accent”, with the apparent intention of indicating that the varieties spoken there were further away from some idealized “standard” form of English, and thus that they were linguistically and socially less desirable.

“Pleasantness” in Statia

According to the Statian participants who answered question 1 (“Where in Statia do you think people sound nicer or more pleasant? Why?”) and who provided reasons for their answers, Oranjestad is where people sound nicer or more pleasant. The participants’ reasons included that the government offices are located there (STA010), people with presumably higher levels of education are there (in contrast to people from the North – STA019), and that there are “Dutch people living there” (STA017, about Rosemary Lane in Oranjestad). Thus, there seems to be a correlation between sounding “nice or more pleasant” and working for the government, having completed a higher education and being a Dutch resident of the island. It is worth noting that such factors appear to be more related to what people do, what they have achieved, and where they are from rather than the geospatial area of Oranjestad.

Those who did not answer the question but included reasons for not doing so explained that sounding nicer or more pleasant has more to do with people’s social group (“it is more who they hang out with” – STA018) or the audience being addressed. Some responses referred here to the employment of a more “standard” variety of English in the presence of foreigners and visitors (“people speak local creole English, but it can be placed in a tune of ‘nice’ to help others understand what you are saying” – STA024). According to those comments, sounding nicer or more pleasant is determined by the nature of any given social exchange rather than a geographical location. This can be corroborated by the responses “at work”, “in schools”, “at home”, and “church” provided by 24% of the participants to question 1. This may indicate another area where perceptual dialectological theory and practice need to be modified in order to account for regions such as the Caribbean, where speakers typically have a very wide range of varieties at their disposal to address their audience in the way that they see fit at any given moment.

Question 6 (“Where in Statia do people sound more like home? Why?”) was one of the most unanswered questions in the present study. Perhaps the meaning of the phrase “like home” was not clear or did not fully communicate its implications, which might have created doubts or confusion among the participants. Yet, there were participants from the three islands who answered the question and who appeared to have an idea as to what was being asked. Fifteen percent of the Statian participants answered question 6 with “Oranjestad” or places in Oranjestad such as Jeems, “where most native Stadians live” (STA026), “The North”, where “people sound more open” (STA020 and STA023) or “on the street” where “most people speak English to their comfort” (STA015). Such notions of openness, comfort and native Statian status were associated with sounding “like home”. Even though it was not explicitly stated, Statia English is the variety being referred to here, since this is the variety that is normally used by native Stadians to express themselves openly and comfortably, when they feel “at home”.

“Correctness” in Statia

The largest percentage of participants (33%) who answered question 2 (“Where in Statia do you think people sound more correct? Why?”) mentioned public settings (such as offices that provide services, businesses, banks, hospitals, restaurants, churches, the TV station and radio, and the Island Council meetings) and schools as where people sound more correct, rather than geographical areas on the island. The general idea was that in such public settings people sound more “correct” because, as participant STA009 pointed out, “they must be pleasant with people”, and in schools “they speak proper English” (STA012). The notion of “correctness” appeared to be linked to being closer to a more “standard” and “proper” variety of English that seemed to be commonly used in public settings. In fact, for participant STA027, sounding “correct” meant having enough command of Standard English to be able to avoid using Statia English in certain situations. This respondent related this lack of command of the Standard to not being educated: “people with college or university degree use Standard Caribbean English, [but] persons with little education are only able to express themselves in Statia English.” In this case, the vernacular was seen in opposition to sounding “correct” in Statia.

Those who did not answer question 2 (26%), provided reasons for not doing so that were, again, related to not perceiving differences in geographical areas of the island but depending more on phenomena at “the individual level” (STA025). Others found the question and its implications unclear (“What do you mean by sound more correct?” – STA024).

The reasons provided for singling out the Quill area (the presence of Dutch and American residents and the expensive houses) to answer question 2 were discussed above. Interestingly, participant STA001 chose the North Eastern area of the island as where

she had perceived people sound more correct because “the majority of Americans live in this area”. This confirms the correlation found in the discussion above between being American (or Dutch in the case of the Quill) and being perceived as sounding “correct”. Therefore, such judgments might not only be based on geographical location, but also on ethnicity, education level and socio-economic class.

The results of question 8, in which the participants rated a number of situations where people speak best (4) or worst (1), showed that most participants who did this task perceived that in schools and at government offices people speak best. This is corroborated by the answers to the previous question. Most participants who rated the situations provided also perceived that in the streets is where people speak worst.

The results for “at home” were rather split since ten participants rated it with a 3, one participant rated it with a 4, whereas six participants rated it with a 2 and three participants rated it with a 1. Perhaps while in some houses people speak “openly” and “to their comfort”, in some other houses parents may insist that children speak more “correctly”, hence, the split numbers. The participants who added other situations or places in the “Other-specify” category mentioned “church”. “media” and “businesses”, all of which were highly rated. These were some of the public settings mentioned in answers to question 2.

Such situations or places were also included as answers to question 9 (“Who in Statia speaks best and who speaks worst? Why?”) The results for this question showed that professionals, educated and self-taught people, the employed and the older members of the community were regarded as those who speak best in Statia. Also, those who use “normal tempo” (as opposed to those who speak “fast”) and “US/British persons” (as opposed to “most people”) were perceived as those who speak best on the island. Again, there appears to be a correlation between being educated and having a career and being perceived as well-spoken, as well as between being from the United States or England and being perceived as someone who speaks well. It is interesting to notice that Dutch residents were not included among the answers to this question provided by Statian participants. This may point toward the notion that, for those participants, the ideal way of speaking is exemplified by American and British people.

Alongside “most people” and those who speak “fast”, as pointed out above, those regarded as the ones who speak worst in Statia included the unemployed, construction workers, those with limited education, the younger generation and some people “speaking to peers on the street”. As will be discussed below, such answers are similar to the answers provided by Saban and St. Martin participants to the same question.

Statia: “Pleasantness” in the SSS Islands

Some of the results for question 4 (“Where in the SSS Islands and surrounding areas do you think people sound nicer or more pleasant? Why?”) were rather unexpected, since some of the participants from Statia chose St Martin and St. Kitts and Nevis. As

discussed above, in the results of the second map task St. Martin was barely distinguished from Statia by the Statian participants. Yet 14% of them answered “St. Martin” as where people sound nicer or more pleasant in the SSS Islands and surrounding areas because “that is a big island” (STA017). Perhaps the idea of a larger geographical space contributes to the construction of an image of a place where people sound nicer or more pleasant.

As stated earlier, the labels used for St. Kitts and Nevis on the map task were rather negative. However, 11% of the participants answered “St. Kitts and Nevis” to question 4 as the place in the SSS Islands and surrounding areas where people sound nicer or more pleasant. The reason that participant STA026 preferred to choose St. Martin and St. Kitts and Nevis appeared to be more related to the islands’ international relations than to the natives or residents of those islands. For this participant, “people sound closest to the standard. St. Martin and St. Kitts have direct daily flights from the US and UK, respectively. They both trade with these ‘superpowers’ directly.” Thus, there appears to be a correlation between sounding nicer or more pleasant and being in direct contact with what she calls the “superpowers”.

For participant STA004, in St. Kitts and Nevis “they speak more proper English”. It is important to mention that neither participant STA026 nor participant STA004 did the second part of the map task. Still they had something to say about St. Martin and St. Kitts and Nevis. Perhaps they did not find these islands to be areas where people speak “differently” because for those participants that would be the opposite of sounding more “standard” or being in closer contact with the linguistic ideals represented by the United States and the United Kingdom. Similarly, 11% of the Statia participants felt that people from Anguilla sound nicer or more pleasant “because of the British influence” (STA014), and thus, “their pronunciation is nice (English accent)” (STA005). What these participants perceived as “British influence” is linked to using a prestigious linguistic variety, which is regarded as nicer or more pleasant.

The 14% of the participants who answered “Statia” did so either because that is the geographical area they are more acquainted with or because they see themselves as “the most friendly” (STA023). Of the 14% who answered “Saba”, some mentioned their clarity of speech, while others admitted to enjoying how Sabans “sing their phrases” (STA002). Some others perceived Saba, along with Anguilla, as where careful articulation, clarity and “standard English is predominantly used.” The more “standard” a geographical area was perceived to be seems to be proportional to how highly rated it was in terms of sounding nicer or more pleasant.

Question 7 (Where in the SSS Islands or surrounding areas do people sound more like home? Why?) was the most unanswered question by participants from Statia. Just as happened with question 6 discussed above, perhaps the meaning of the phrase “like home” was not clear or did not fully communicate its intention, and thus might have created doubts among the participants. Yet of those who answered the question, 21%

answered “St. Martin” which confirms some of the observations made above about a perceived similarity between speech on Statia and St. Martin. Some of the participants chose St. Martin because “they speak more like us” (STA023), “although very different” (STA021). “Statia” was the answer of 14%, which could be explained by the fact that it is the place that these participants know best: “it is my home” (STA027).

Statia: “Correctness” in the SSS Islands

The results for question 5 (“Where in the SSS Islands and surrounding areas do people sound more correct? Why?”) were very similar to the results obtained for question 4, discussed above, except for the fact that fewer participants chose Statia and St. Martin. Saba, Anguilla and St. Kitts and Nevis were the answer given by the largest number of participants who perceived them as where people sound more correct. While Saba was regarded as sounding more “proper” (STA020), and “more like Americans” (STA023), Anguilla was chosen because “of their connections with British English” (STA005). Once again, perceived “correctness” appears to be linked to the associations some participants made between the islands and their relationships with either American or British English varieties.

A couple of participants chose places such as hotels, airports and tourists offices rather than actual geospatial areas as where they had perceived people sounding more correct. For these participants this answer seemed to apply regardless of the island, but it might be related to the answer “public settings” given to answer question 2 above.

Of the 31% who did not answer this question, it is important to notice that participant STA024 admitted to have spent very little time in Saba or St. Kitts, so for her, and probably for many other participants, it is difficult to assess how correct people in those other islands may sound. One of the possible reasons why many participants in the present study did not answer questions related to the SSS Islands, or answered “I don’t know”, could have been that, despite their geographical proximity, they have not spent time on the other islands and might not know them as well as it was assumed by the fieldworker. I will return to this point in the following sections, when I propose answers to the research questions, as well as in the concluding remarks below.

Statia: Difference among the SSS Islands

Question 3 (“Do you think people in Statia, Saba and St. Martin speak differently?”) was the only question that all participants from Statia answered. An overwhelming 92% of the participants answered “yes” and most reasons provided to answer affirmatively coincided. Most participants focused on “different accents”, “different dialects”, “different intonation” and even “different grammar and vocabulary”. Interestingly, participant STA025 also included “different education levels, foreign influences, culture, experience, economy” among the reasons why she perceived people from the

three islands speak differently. Such statements shatter the assumption of homogeneity that one might have received about the SSS Islands.

The participant who answered “no” stated that “they speak the same” (STA007), while, once again, participant STA024 admitted that she had not had “much interaction with Saba and St. Martin.” Therefore, she has not been exposed to their linguistic varieties.

Discussion of the results: Saba

The first part of the map task

Seven Saban participants did not do the first part of the map task. Only one of those participants wrote a comment on the margin of the paper stating “no noticeable difference” (SAB015). However, this participant had been living on the island for only two years, which could have influenced his judgment. Interestingly, in the sociological profile section, he wrote that his place of residence in Saba was Hell’s Gate, which was the most circled and labeled area on the first part of the map task as where people in Saba speak differently. The labels and comments for Hell’s Gate dealt with the “accent” typical of this area. It seems this “lyrical/musical accent”, reportedly of Scottish/Dutch heritage, is particular to the village of Hell’s Gate, not the whole island of Saba. Yet, as we saw in the previous section, the perception that some Statian participants had of Sabans was that they all share the same “lyrical/musical accent”, which appeared to be the most distinguishable feature of their variety of English. St. Martin participants shared this same perception about Sabans, as I will discuss below.

Hell’s Gate was the answer of the majority of the participants from Saba (27%) who answered question 6 (“Where in Saba people sound more like home? Why?”). The reason given by participant SAB014 to choose Hell’s Gate may support the fact that some participants from Statian and St. Martin generalized Hell’s Gate’s way of speaking to all of Saba: “[I] think of it as a more Saban accent.” Other participants related Hell’s Gate speech to the “original” Saban accent or to the way people used to speak in the past. Eleven percent of the participants chose Hell’s Gate to answer question 1 (“Where in Saba do you think people sound nicer or more pleasant? Why?”). One participant (SAB002) described it as “more authentic and not influenced from the outside”. There appears to be a correlation between this association with authenticity and perceiving it as pleasant and sounding “like home”.

However, Hell’s Gate was not the answer of any of the participants to question 2 (“Where in Saba do you think people sound more correct? Why?”). These results are similar to those obtained from the study by Fridland & Bartlett (2006), where people from Memphis, Tennessee in the U.S. rated their own speech as highly pleasant, but low in terms of correctness. The authors concluded that these perceptions had to do with the stereotypical image of the uneducated yet endearing Southerner. Similarly, Saban participants rated Hell’s Gate speech high in terms of “pleasantness” and did

not associate it at all with any notion of “correctness”. In the case of Saba, these perceptions appear to respond to the image of the old-fashioned Saban from Hell’s Gate who sounds more “relaxed” with a “twangy way of speech which is usually not rough, similar to country talk” (as participant SAB005 pointed out), and even representative of the island’s past, but whose speech is not perceived as modern, educated or “correct”.

“Windwardside” was the answer given by most participants (33%) to answer question 1 (on “pleasantness”), and it also was the preferred choice by most participants (42%) to answer question 2 (on “correctness”). Yet, Windwardside was not circled or labeled as “different” by the participants who completed all or part of the first part of the map task. On the one hand, it is important to remember that 10 out of the 25 participants reported that their place of residence was Windwardside, which could have influenced these answers, even though it cannot be statistically proven. On the other hand, for both question 1 and question 2, Saban participants who chose Windwardside justified their answer with similar arguments. Some said that the English spoken in this village “sounds more like ‘proper’ English” (SAB013) because “there isn’t such a heavy accent/slang” (SAB005), thus people sound nicer or more pleasant. These reasons appear to be the consequence of the fact that “most visitors gather there [and] the residents have more opportunities to mingle with outsiders and hereby improve their vocabulary, enunciation” (SAB023). In fact, many of the participants who chose Windwardside as where people sound more correct, did so for the same reasons that they did in question 1, while the only additional reason would be that there were “more foreigners” (SAB021) living there. Obviously, there seems to be a correlation between sounding nicer or more pleasant, sounding correct and speaking a more “standard” variety of English. This is similar to what was discussed above about St. John participants’ linguistic perceptions of the Dutch and American residents on their island.

The Bottom was in distant second place as the most circled and labeled area by Saban participants on the first part of the map task. The labels included by the participants did not establish a clear pattern as did the ones provided for Hell’s Gate.

The fact that Saban participants limited their circles and labels to the four traditional villages clearly included on the map they received leads me to wonder whether or not the results of this first part of the map task would have been different had the participants received a less detailed map or one where the names of the four villages were not included. Map design will clearly be a topic of much concern in any efforts to expand upon the present study in the future.

The second part of the map task

The nine participants who did the second part of the map task focused on Statia, St. Martin and St. Kitts and Nevis. Statians were perceived as not pronouncing all the sounds when speaking (SAB007), and having “a different mindset” not “up to modern

standards” (SAB012). It would have been interesting to see an example of what exactly this participant meant by such statements and whether or not they were related to the way Stadians are perceived linguistically. Another participant (SAB014) said that Stadians spoke differently, but admitted that she had been there only once. In some cases, it appears as though the idea that the neighboring islands are different may be learned more from hearsay than from actual experience.

St. Martin was perceived by Saba participants as influenced by American English (SAB007), as sounding non-rhotic (SAB017), as having a wider range of linguistic varieties (SAB014), and as having a “distinct accent, different from Saba” (SAB021), yet similar to St. Kitts and Nevis (SAB021). About St. Kitts and Nevis, participants SAB022 and SAB015 highlighted their “British accent” as something positive, which is not uncommon among the results discussed here.

“Pleasantness” in Saba

The reasons to choose “Windwardside” as the most common answer to question 1 were discussed above. The second most common answer was “The Bottom.” The predominant reasons were that people in The Bottom, which is the capital of Saba, are easier to understand because they “speak clearer” (SAB004 and SAB020). Perhaps, this is one of the reasons why The Bottom was also the second most common answer to question 2 as the place in Saba where people were perceived as sounding more correct.

The reasons why Hell’ Gate was in third place as the answer to this question were discussed above. “St. John’s” also was the answer of 7% of the participants. Only one of them, SAB018, provided a reason for choosing this area as where people sound nicer or more pleasant: “Due to our accent being neutral.” The participant reported in the sociological profile section that he lived in St. John’s and had been living there his whole life. Those elements could have influenced his answer, but there is also a correlation between sounding nicer or more pleasant and sounding “neutral” or as other participants called it, with a “less heavy accent.” It is difficult to pinpoint with precision what might be perceived as “neutral”, but I suspect it might be determined by which variety has overt prestige for being considered “standard.”

The reasons why Hell’s Gate was chosen as where people speak most “like home” by most of the participants as the answer to question 6 were discussed above. Twenty-three percent of the participants did not answer this question, but other than the wording “like home” being potentially confusing, the reasons not to do so remained largely unexpressed. Participant SAB022 was one of the participants who answered “Everywhere” as where in Saba people sound more like home. According to him, “when speaking amongst ourselves, we use our local accent but when speaking to strangers we tend to change our speech.” Thus, for this participant it was not a matter of geographical location, but a matter of choosing which linguistic variety to use with a par-

ticular audience. On the one hand, the vernacular appeared to be a marker of identity reserved for use only with other fellow Sabans. On the other hand, since it is not regarded as “correct”, Sabans do not use it with outsiders. This situation is similar to the one in Statia discussed above.

“Correctness” in Saba

The reasons why 42% of the participants chose Windwardside as the answer to question 2 (on correctness) were discussed above. The Bottom was in second place as where in Saba people sound more correct. The reasons for this answer included the perceived resemblance of pronunciation of certain sounds there with British English (SAB006), the influence of having studied abroad on non-specified features of pronunciation (SAB011) exhibited by people who lived in The Bottom, and the presence of the medical school (SAB015) where many members of the teaching staff and students are not natives from Saba. Once again, there seems to be a correlation between sounding correct and completing higher levels of education, being of British or American origin, and/or sounding closer to the varieties that have overt prestige.

Just as in Statia, in Saba the results for question 8, where the participants rated a number of situations where people speak best (4) or worst (1), showed that most participants who did this task perceived that people speak best in public spaces such as schools and at government offices and that people speak worst on the street.

Just as in the case of Statia, in the case of Saba the results for “at home” were rather split since seven participants rated it with a 3 and three participants rated it with a 4, whereas nine participants rated it with a 1 and two participants rated it with a 2. Possibly, while in some houses people speak “at ease with family and friends and no need to articulate” (SAB022), in some other houses parents may insist that children speak more “correctly”, hence, the split numbers. In the “Other-specify” category, three participants added their own situations related to traveling and the hospitality industry. Both of these situations were highly rated.

Such situations were also included as answers to question 9 (“Who in Statia speaks best and who speaks worst? Why?”). The results for this question showed that people who had studied abroad, people at the medical school, government employees and people from Windwardside and The Bottom are regarded as those who speak best in Saba. Also, educators, older people and the Dutch were perceived as among those who speak best. There appears to be a correlation between studying abroad, being related to the medical school or having a career and being perceived as well-spoken. Unlike the results from Statia, Dutch residents were included among the answers to this question by Saban participants.

Those regarded as the ones who speak worst in Saba were those who had never left the island, those with limited education, younger people and people from Hell’s Gate. One participant added The Bottom to the list of people who speak worst as opposed to

Windwardside. Surprisingly, several participants included “locals”, “most people in Saba” and “Sabans” as those who speak worst. This appears to suggest that being a local or having lived on the island all one’s life is seen negatively among the participants who answered this question, in favor of having lived abroad. There seems to be a preference for the speech of foreigners and the ones who had returned to the island after living overseas over the speech of locals.

Saba: “Pleasantness” in the SSS Islands

Even though some participants added “Sabans” to their list of who speak worst on the island³, 42% of Saban participants overwhelmingly chose Saba as the answer to answer question 4 (“Where in the SSS Islands and surrounding areas do you think people sound nicer or more pleasant? Why?”). Compared to their neighbors, these participants perceived their own speech as “clearer” (SAB004) since “our accent is not that heavy” (SAB018). This may imply that these Saban participants perceived their varieties of English as closer to the “standard” compared to other varieties used by their neighbors, which probably leaves out the variety spoken in Hell’s Gate or the vernacular used by Sabans “amongst ourselves”, as participant SAB022 put it.

St. Martin was chosen by 15% of participants; this was the second most common answer to this question. St. Martin’s thriving commercial activity, and its international exposure, particularly with the United States and Europe were the main reasons stated to justify this answer. The latter reason establishes a correlation between being in contact with the “superpowers”, as a participant from Statia put it, and being perceived as sounding nicer or more pleasant. This also applies to the 8% of the participants who answered “English islands/countries” to the same question. Even though participant SAB005 has “not visited those areas”, in her opinion, “English islands speak more properly.” Again, this is another case in which the participant’s perception is informed by certain images and ideas of what is “ideal” and “desirable”.

Question 7 (“Where in the SSS Islands and surrounding areas do people sound more like home? Why?”) was the question that the highest percentage of Saban participants (41%) did not answer. Since none of those participants provided reasons for leaving it unanswered, it could be hypothesized that possibly they had not spent much time in the neighboring islands, or they truly felt that none of those islands sounded “like home”, not to mention the possible confusion caused by the phrase “like home”. Any of these two possibilities may explain why the second largest percentage of Saban participants who actually did provide an answer (22%) responded “Saba”. Ultimately, Saba “is home” (SAB005) and “we are just like family” (SAB010).

In a similar pattern noted for question 1 above, St. Martin followed Saba since 19% of the participants chose it as the place in the SSS Islands and surrounding areas where

³ The participants who included Sabans on their list of “who speaks worst” on question 9 are not part of the 42% who answered “Saba” for question 4.

people sound more like home. The island's familiar "standard US accent" made participant SAB014 choose it, while knowing it better for having spent time there swayed SAB017, while its similar political relation to the Netherlands and its geographical closeness were the reasons given by SAB020.

Saba: "Correctness" in the SSS Islands

The results for question 5 ("Where in the SSS Islands and surrounding areas do people sound more correct? Why?") proved to be strikingly similar to the results for question 4. The highest percentage of participants (28%) did not answer the question and most of their reluctance to respond was based on the fact that they felt that geography was less an influence on "correctness" than social group, formal education or lack thereof, and "upbringing" (SAB002 and SAB020). As discussed above, such reluctance was also high among Statia participants for many of the same reasons. This was remarkable, because up to this point, Sabans seemed fairly comfortable using geographic criteria as the basis for their answers.

"Saba" was the answer of 20% of participants to question 5. The perception of Sabans having "a less heavy accent" (SAB018), which figured in the justifications for the choice of Saba to answer other questions discussed above, also contributed to perceptions of "correctness" in responses to question 5. "St. Martin" was the answer of 16% of the participants to question 5 for many of the same reasons it was provided as a response to question 4. Thus, some participants appear to equate pleasantness and correctness when it comes to St. Martin. St. Kitts and Nevis were the answer of 8% of the participants due to their use of "the British English" (SAB020). St. Martin and St. Kitts/Nevis were perceived as where people sound more correct due to the connections participants made between these islands and varieties of American and British English.

Saba: Difference among the SSS Islands

Question 3 ("Do you think people speak differently in Statia, Saba and St. Martin? If so, what differences could you mention?") was answered by all Saban participants. All participants minus one (96%) answered "yes" to this question. The reasons given by the participants to explain this answer are very similar to the reasons provided by the participants from Statia (discussed above) who also answered "yes" to the same question. In general, the idea of each island having its own "distinct accent", "different slang", "different dialect", "different pronunciation" and even "different cultures" predominated among the reasons given by Saban participants. Once again, such observations dismantle the often assumed notion of the homogeneity of the SSS Islands. Neither Statian nor Saban participants perceived the three islands to be homogenous linguistically or even culturally.

Discussion of the results: St. Martin

The first part of the map task

The results of the first part of the map task revealed that the most obvious linguistic difference perceived by St. Martin participants was related to the island's political division. Most of the participants who did all or part of the first map task circled areas within the French-controlled side of the island, and most of the labels included had to do with the use and influence of French or French Creole in that area. This result underscores the observation made above that the theory, methods and instruments used in perceptual dialectology need to be modified significantly to be maximally useful in the Caribbean and other areas of the world of similar linguistic diversity, such as West Africa.

The most intriguing labels were the ones included for Colombier ("More deep, isolated villages – authentic St. Martin culture" by SMT032) and Grand Case ("Fishermen – years ago" by SMT024). Colombier (often referred to in the responses alongside Rambaud) was the answer of 11% of the participants who replied to question 1 ("Where in St. Martin do you think people sound nicer or more pleasant? Why?"), and of 6% of the participants who answered question 6 ("Where in St. Martin people do sound more like home? Why?"). According to participant SMT029, people from Colombier are "the original unmixed St. Martiners", therefore, in this area of the island "more traditional speech" (SMT027) is to be heard, probably because it is "a traditional village", according to participant SMT024. Such comments explaining why those participants chose this area as where people sound nicer or more pleasant suggest that Colombier and Hell's Gate were perceived in a similar way in St. Martin and Saba, respectively. In fact, the results for the Colombier area showed that, similar to Hell's Gate, it was rated high in terms of "pleasantness" but none of the participants associated it with "correctness" since it was not offered as a response to question 2 ("Where in St. Martin do you think people sound more correct? Why?"). Yet this area seemed to appeal to some St. Martin participants because it was perceived as their link with their linguistic and, perhaps, cultural past, just as Hell's Gate was perceived by some Saban participants.

The Simpson Bay/Lowlands area was the answer provided by most participants (29%) to question 1 (on "pleasantness") and it also was the preferred choice by most participants (17%) who answered question 2 (on "correctness"). Unlike Saban participants, who did not circle or label Windwardside as "different" on the first part of the map task, some St. Martin participants did circle the Simpson Bay/Lowlands area. However, this area was assigned only one label, "Fishermen (years ago)" (SMT024). The reasons offered by participants who chose the Simpson Bay/Lowlands area to answer question 1 and question 2 included that the area is very frequented by tourists, particularly, American tourists, thus "less accent" or "less dialect is used", so tourists can understand and "people tend to sound nicer." Just as in Saba, there appears to be a

correlation between modifying one's native "accent" for tourists and being perceived as sounding nicer or more pleasant.

Similar reasons were provided for choosing the Simpson Bay/Lowlands area to answer question 2. Additionally, some participants characterized this area as sounding more correct because many Americans live there and there are American schools there as well. Similar to their counterparts in Statia and Saba, St. Martin participants seem to consider American varieties of English as "pleasant" and "correct". Therefore, they classified the geographical areas where those varieties are most commonly used accordingly. Only one participant from St. Martin reported that his place of residence on the island was Simpson Bay.

Phillipsburg, which was the most circled and labeled area of the Dutch-controlled side, was perceived by participants as an area where American English is commonly used as well. Therefore, Phillipsburg was the answer of 11% of the participants who answered question 1, and of 9% of the participants who answered question 2, rating the area relatively high in terms of "pleasantness" and "correctness".

The second part of the map task

A total of 17 participants did not do the second part of the map task, which is almost 50% of all participants from St. Martin. Compared to Statian and Saban participants, St. Martin participants were the group that most frequently omitted this part of the map task. Yet, seven out of those 17 participants wrote comments on the margin of the paper acknowledging that there are differences that they had perceived, but not being specific about them. In summary, those seven participants agreed that each island sounds differently and has its linguistic particularities, but such particularities were not mentioned or assigned to a specific geographical area on the map.

Similar to some Statian participants, several St. Martin participants used language names not only to label St. Martin itself, but also to label Saba and Statia. This practice makes it difficult to interpret the linguistic difference the participants might be indicating. In any case, it points toward the fact that the participants are aware of the languages spoken on those islands. Some participants also mentioned "accent differences" in Saba and Statia, but none perceived that Sabans "sing their phrases" as some Statian and Saban participants did.

Some of the St. Martin participants who did the second part of the map task perceived differences to exist in Anguilla and St. Kitts and Nevis. Most of those differences mentioned regarding St. Kitts and Nevis were related to how "strange", "melody like" and "dragged out" their "accent" is perceived to be. Just as did the Statian and Saban participants, the St. Martin participants indicated that Anguillans have a "different accent", and attributed it at least in part to "British influence".

“Pleasantness” in St. Martin

Simpson Bay/Lowlands, Colombier/Ram baud and Philipsburg were the three most common answers to question 1. Some participants answered in more general terms, like the “French side” and the “Dutch side.” The former was the choice of 8% of the participants, among them participant SMT002, who perceived that side of the island to be where “individuals speak more pleasant because they speak proper English or French.” This comment suggests that for this participant there is a correlation between sounding more pleasant and speaking what she considers to be proper English or French.

Another 8% of participants from St. Martin answered question 1 with “Dutch side.” Participant STA031 explained that on that side of the island, “we speak English. French side they want to force you speak French.” On the one hand, this leads me to wonder if by “they” this participant meant the French government which, according to him, appears to be “strict” or even “oppressive.” On the other hand, the first part of the comment “we speak English” might imply that on the Dutch-controlled side of the island, in contrast to the French-controlled side, “we” don’t allow “them” to force “us” to speak Dutch. Thus, this participant’s perception establishes a correlation between sounding nicer or more pleasant with speaking what “we” choose to speak, not what “they” want to impose upon “us”. There might even be some pride in his comment as well.

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Question 6 (“Where in St. Martin people do sound more like home? Why?”) was one of the most unanswered questions of the three–page survey across the three islands, since 47% of St. Martin participants did not answer it. Of those, several wrote comments underneath the question, querying the meaning of “like home.” As I will discuss below, in the “Assessment of the data-gathering instruments” section, this was, apparently, the question that caused the most confusion among participants. It probably needed to be more explicit in terms of what the question was intended to reveal.

Most of the participants who answered this question and provided reasons for their answers explained that the place they chose was where they grew up, or where their family and relatives still live, or even as participant STM003 stated: “For me home is Aruba and there are many Arubans in St. Martin-Dutch side.” It is important to notice that no participants answered this question with “Simpson Bay and Lowlands area”, even though this area was highly rated in terms of “correctness” and “pleasantness” for its close association with Standard American English and American tourists. Nevertheless, that area was not considered as sounding “like home” by any of the participants from St. Martin.

“Correctness” in St. Martin

As discussed above, Simpson Bay/Lowlands was the answer most often given by the St. Martin participants who answered question 2. The second most common answer

(14%) was the “Dutch side.” Interestingly, the reasons provided by the participants to justify this answer followed what participant SMT003 pointed out on question 1 (discussed above) in terms of finding the Dutch-controlled side of the island as nicer or more pleasant because there “we speak English”. The participants perceived the Dutch-controlled side to be the place where people sound more correct in St. Martin because they have “stronger English”, it is their L1 and it is the language of instruction in most schools. Such comments suggest that these participants were comparing the English spoken on the Dutch-controlled side and the English spoken on the French-controlled side, with the former being considered to be “stronger” than the latter.

Phillipsburg was the third most common answer (9%) to this question. Only one participant (SMT029) said that the reason for choosing Phillipsburg was because it is the main area of commercial activity on the island and because it is where the government offices are located. Therefore, this participant appears to be establishing a correlation between commercial activity/government offices and language “correctness.” We have seen the correlation between government offices and language “correctness” before, particularly among some Statian participants. This correlation between businesses and other formal public spaces and perceptions of correctness was evident in the responses from all three islands, especially among St. Martin participants.

Notice that the next two answers to this same question are “Everywhere” (9%) and “Casinos and hotels” (6%). Participant SMT017, who chose the former, did so because “everyone speaks clearly and the local accent [is] only used amongst each other”, implying that the “local accent” is the opposite of “correctness” and is not “clear” or easy to understand by outsiders, but also implying that people in St. Martin shift, effortlessly, from one variety to the other and vice-versa. Participant SMT010 stated that “Casinos and hotels” are where people sound more correct because it is where St. Martiners interact more with tourists. Once again, there seems to be a correlation between Standard American English and language “correctness”.

The results for question 8, where the participants rated a number of situations where people speak best (4) or worst (1), showed that most participants who did this task perceived that in schools and at government offices people speak best. Most participants who rated the situations provided also perceived that in the streets people speak worst. These results were consistent among the three islands. Perhaps, in the case of the participants from St. Martin, the numbers appeared to be even more definitive when rating schools and government offices as “best”, and when rating “in the street” as “worst”.

Also, just as in the case of Statia and Saba, in the case of St. Martin, the results for “at home” were rather split since five participants rated it with a 4 and six participants rated it with a 3, whereas seven participants rated it with a 2 and another seven participants rated it with a 1. Once again, the reason for those split numbers may be related

to the fact that in some houses parents are perceived as being stricter in terms of enforcing the use of what is considered more “standard” English, while in other houses parents are perceived as less strict in that regard. In fact, in the “Other-specify” category for this question, participant SMT011 advanced another possible explanation for the split numbers for “at home”: “If you are at home, it depends, if someone is angry, it is a 1, and normal speaking, it is a 4.” This is, probably, another dimension to consider in order to explain the split numbers in the same category in Statia and Saba.

The results for question 9 showed that, according to the St. Martin participants who did this task, people who have attained higher levels of education, people who have studied abroad, and those with careers in law, business, politics and education are regarded as those who speak best in St. Martin. Also, foreigners from the United States, France and the British islands, and those who “articulate” (and understand this as a need) for tourists and visitors were perceived as among those who speak best. One participant answered the “Dutch side” as who speaks best and opposed it to the “French side” as who speaks worst in St. Martin. This, and some similar perceptions discussed above, leads me to wonder if there might be some sort of rivalry between some residents of the two sides of the island. In future perceptual dialectology studies, the French-controlled side of the island should be included to help elucidate this dynamic.

Those who speak worst, according to the St. Martin participants who completed this task, included people in the street, people without employment and not attending school, foreigners and new immigrants. The first three answers coincided with the answers offered by Statian and Saban participants. The last two cannot be assessed without further elaboration by the participants in terms of which specific ethnic group or groups were being referred to.

St. Martin: “Pleasantness” in the SSS Islands

Question 4 (“Where in the SSS and surrounding areas do you think people sound nicer or more pleasant? Why?”) was left unanswered by 44% of the participants from St. Martin. Participant SMT008 said that it was a “subjective question.” In future perceptual dialectology projects conducted by the present author, it will be imperative to reassure participants – even more than I did during the fieldwork trips conducted in the SSS Islands – that the questions seek to gather, precisely, their subjective answers because of the nature of this kind of research. It is understandable that participants find the questions “subjective”, because they are. These kinds of questions might also make some participants feel apprehensive that they might be judged by their answers, even though they have been advised about the anonymity and confidentiality of the study, and about the fact that no answer would be judged to be right or wrong.

Participant SMT023 admitted that his reason for not answering this question was that he was unacquainted with “speakers outside of St. Martin (North and South).” Perhaps

many of the participants who did not answer this question had similar reasons not to do so. One of the assumptions of the present study was that the participants from the three islands were familiar with the language varieties used by people from the other SSS Islands, due to their geographical proximity and their history and political status in common. Such an assumption was, at least to some extent, mistaken, and in future extensions of the present study it will need to be discarded, or at least carefully revised. It should be taken into consideration, for example, that while many Sabans and Statians have reasons to go to St. Martin from time to time to shop, for medical care, for educational opportunities, etc, few St. Martiners ever have the need to go to either Statia or Saba.

Eighteen percent of the participants answered that “St. Martin” was where people sounded “nicer or more pleasant” just as 42% of the Saban participants answered that “Saba” was where people sounded “nicer or more pleasant.” The reasons to choose St. Martin were largely similar to the reasons offered by participants who answered that the “Dutch side” was the area on the island where people sound more correct. In fact, the answer “St. Martin” here must be understood as the “Dutch side”, not the whole island. Just as in Saba and Statia, St. Martin participants associated “nicer or more pleasant” speech with both a “strong command of English”, and an ability to change varieties in order to communicate with tourists.

The second most common answer to this question was “Saba”, just as Saban participants chose St. Martin as their second most common answer. The St. Martin participants who answered “Saba” did so because they seemed to enjoy the musicality of what is perceived as “sounding Saban.” Again, as pointed out above, the results from the fieldwork in Saba revealed that this musicality is attributed to people from Hell’s Gate only, not the whole population. Yet both Statian and St. Martin participants perceived that all Sabans’ speech sounded musical. This musicality was perceived as “friendlier”, “easier to understand” and related to how people from the past used to sound.

Some of the other answers to this question included St. Kitts and Nevis, Statia and “Everywhere” as where people sound nicer or more pleasant in the SSS Islands and surrounding areas. Some of the St. Martin participants who chose St. Kitts and Nevis and Statia appeared to equate being a friendly person and sounding friendly or more pleasant. These participants perceived that their positive personal experience with persons from those islands could be extended to characterize their way of speaking.

Just as did participants from the other islands, participant SMT015, who answered “Everywhere”, associated nicer or more pleasant speech not so much with geography as with audience noting that “persons switch to dialect or proper speech according to the company, environment or setting they are in”. For this participant, knowing how to handle the dichotomy of “dialect” vs. “proper” and knowing when it is appropriate to use one or the other is what appeared to be perceived as being nicer or more pleasant.

Forty-seven percent of St. Martin participants did not answer question 7 (“Where in the SSS Islands and surrounding areas do people sound more like home? Why?”). Only one participant (SMT015) indicated that the reason for not answering was “I don’t understand the question”. As discussed above, this question (along with question 6) caused confusion among participants from all three islands. Even though other participants understood what was being asked, in the future, those questions will need to be rephrased.

The two most common answers to question 7 were the “Dutch side” (21%) and the “French side” (11%). The question sought to include St. Martin as part of the SSS Islands, assuming that the participants had an array of life experiences in the other islands as well. The fact that the “Dutch side” and the “French side” were the most common answers to this question may suggest that St. Martin participants are not acquainted with the other SSS Islands and surrounding areas, as discussed above.

In fact, the two participants who answered “Anguilla” to this question did so not because they had spent time on that island, but because the participants had perceived that Anguillans who live in St. Martin sound like St. Martiners and there is a “sense” that the geographical proximity between the two islands should make them similar.

St. Martin: “Correctness” in the SSS Islands

Fifty-six percent of the participants from St. Martin did not answer question 5 (“Where in the SSS Islands and surrounding areas do people sound more correct? Why?”), making this the most unanswered question of the study across the three islands since more than half of the participants did not answer the question. Among those who did not answer it, some participants wrote statements affirming that all islands are different or that all are correct. Others avoided answering the question indicating that correctness had to do with the level of education of each person regardless of the geographical location, a reason given by other participants for leaving other questions unanswered. Participant SMT003 did not answer the question and wrote: “When necessary, people do speak correctly. If we are talking to, let’s say an American citizen, we might speak so they can understand, but if we are in conversation with a local person we will be speaking our native dialect.” Once again, the variety that is perceived as closer to the “standard”, and that is used with Americans, is seen as “correct”, while the vernacular, used amongst locals, is seen as “incorrect”. The dichotomy “dialect” vs. “proper” appears to operate here. The same applies to participant SMT009, who answered “Everywhere” and wrote that “more educated persons (can) sound more correct, definitively, when they speak to non-islanders/visitors. However, among friends they speak St. Martin English, Papiamentu, Dutch, Patois, Creole, etc.” This was one of the very few instances in which a participant mentioned St. Martin English. Unlike Statia and Saba, where I never heard people calling their vernaculars by name in my presence, while conversing with some St. Martiners, they mentioned

their vernacular and appeared to distinguish between it and a more “standard” (either Caribbean or American) English.

Twenty-five percent of the participants answered question 5 with “Dutch side” and 5% with “French side.” These were the two most offered answers, which indicates that most participants avoided talking about the other SSS Islands.

The reasons for answering “Dutch side” (e.g. “stronger English”, “school curriculums are in English”) were largely already given to justify similar answers to other questions. Perhaps since the majority of the participants lived on the Dutch-controlled side, they may have perceived this area as the one with which they are more acquainted. By the same token, the only participant who provided a reason to answer “French side” (SMT034) had perceived that there people “pronounce more clear”. This participant reported to live on the French-controlled side of the island in the sociological profile section.

St. Martin: Difference among the SSS Islands

Sixty-nine percent of the participants from St. Martin answered “yes” to question 3 (“Do you think people speak differently in Statia, Saba and St. Martin? If so, what differences could you mention?”). Most of the reasons provided to justify this answer included, statements that the three islands were perceived as different, with “different accents” and “different cultures”. Such statements coincide with the ones provided by participants from Statia and Saba to the same question. Most St. Martin participants, therefore, agreed that the SSS Islands are not a homogenous trio of islands.

Other reasons provided for answering “yes” to this question revealed some intriguing perceptions that St. Martin participants had of their Statian and Saban neighbors. For instance, that the European descended population and the African descended population in Saba were perceived as sounding different from each other, that the presence of the American university on the island had had an influence on the way people sound in Saba, and that people from Saba were perceived to sound like American southerners. The statements regarding the presence of the medical school in Saba and the perceived similarities between Sabans and people from the southern area of the United States were evident in the discussion of the results from Saba above. The perception that there is a linguistic variation determined by race in Saba constitutes an interesting line of investigation in future research on Saba, and would add yet another factor influencing linguistic variation on the island, beside the traditional divisions among the four main villages. This, of course, brings up the question as to whether or not Sabans themselves share such a perception.

Even though the majority of the St. Martin participants answered “yes” to question 3, they did not do so with the unanimity in evidence in Saba and Statia. The minority that answered ‘no’ indicating that they did not perceive that people speak differently in the SSS Islands, provided the following reasons to justify this answer: that they had

never been on Saba or Statia, that they had never heard Sabans or Statians talk, and even that they did not know what language they speak. This indicates that in fact these responses were less a denial that differences exist among the SSS Islands and more an admission of lack of sufficient exposure to make a judgment. Again, such statements question the assumption that the people from any one of the SSS Islands (especially St. Martin) have extensive knowledge or experience related to the other SSS islands.

Concluding remarks

Much like the results from the data from Statia and Saba, the results from the data from St. Martin suggest that metropolitan varieties of English have overt prestige among the participants. Unlike Statia and Saba, which appeared to perceive varieties of both American and British English as “correct” or “nice or more pleasant”, for St. Martin participants American English was the only variety designated as “correct” or “nicer or more pleasant”. None of the participants from the three islands made reference to any particular characteristics of their own local varieties of English, apart from some very vague descriptors. At the most, they differentiated it from what was considered a “proper” way of speaking, typically identified with a standard British, Caribbean, or, especially, American variety. Something that appeared to be common among the participants from the three islands was that their vernaculars appeared to be considered as markers of identity reserved for use with fellow islanders on their own particular island. Nevertheless, since such varieties were not regarded as “correct”, the participants from the SSS Islands did not appear to use them or to promote their use in the presence of outsiders. The idea that those varieties are not languages in their own right seems to have been internalized by most participants.

The assumptions that were taken for granted in the design of this particular study that were challenged by the results include: 1) that the SSS Islands constitute a homogeneous linguistic and cultural area; 2) that the inhabitants of any one of the SSS Islands are generally well acquainted with the people of the other SSS Islands and their speech practices; and 3) that it would be possible to ascertain the general perceptions of people on any one of these islands by surveying only those who were born there, given the enormous rate of in- and out-migration that typifies the SSS Islands and much of the rest of the Caribbean.

The assumptions that have been taken for granted in the area of perceptual dialectology that were challenged by the results obtained in the present study include: 1) that theoretical models, methods and instruments developed for regions which are less plurilingual than the Caribbean can be applied universally to regions where geographic divisions are just as likely to correspond to differences between separate languages than to differences between dialects; 2) that theoretical models, methods and instruments developed for regions which are less impacted by the phenomenon of creolization than the Caribbean can be applied universally to regions where the distinction between separate language and dialect of the same language are often blurred; and 3)

that theoretical models, methods and instruments developed for regions where individual repertoires for audience design are less varied and complex than those which are typically encountered in the Caribbean can be applied universally to regions where audience design involves the multiplex interplay of a wide range of different languages, dialects of languages, and creolized varieties.

I believe that these challenges have served to generate new knowledge about my object of study, and constitute not only a contribution to the field of perceptual dialectology, but also a very significant learning experience for me as a Caribbean scholar and researcher.

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SUFIHO -DOR I -DO DEN PAPIAMENTU

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Introdukshon

Den e artíkulo akí lo trata i pone atenshon spesífiko na e sufihonan *-dor i -do* den papiamentu. Ku e artíkulo akí ke duna tambe un empuhe pa yega na un standarisashon konhunto di idioma papiamentu pa e islanan ABC, esta, Aruba, Bonaire i Curaçao. E artíkulo akí tin alabes komo meta pa sirbi komo modelo di un prosedimentu pa yega na selekshon di palabra i uso di papiamentu na un manera komun. Teniendo kuenta ku dato históriko i a base di reflekshon i análisis lingwístiko, lo por yega na regularisashon i fihashon di vokabulario di papiamentu.

Pa forma palabra nobo den idioma i den papiamentu, igualmente ta derivá palabra, usando afiho ku ta pega na leksema eksistente. Entre afiho ta distinguí prefihon (*antepenúltimo*, *posmoderno*, *èkstraordinario*, *pre-okupá*); sufiho (*krueldat*, *gososo*, *fortifiká*, *suavemente*). Afiho manera interfihon, infihon i sirkunfihon kasi no ta aparesé den papiamentu. Karakterístiko di sufiho ta ku e ta formá pa un konhunto di lèter ku ta añañá na final di algun palabra pa modifiká nan nifikashon.

Ta konsiderá un sufiho (monema) un unidat mínimo den idioma, ku tin su propio nifikashon, esta, e ta un unidat mínimo ku kua por forma palabra. E kondishon di minimalidat semántiko akí ta pone ku no por sigui dividí sufiho (monema), komo unidat apstrakto, den parti mas chikí ku kontenido semántiko. Sinembargo, generalmente por

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Tabèl 1 Relashon entre monema, leksema, morfema, fonema i grafema

Palabra	monema		fonema	grafema
	leksema	morfema		
Nèkdó	nèk	-dó	/n/,/è/,/k/,/d/,/ó/	n,è,k,d,ó
Bendedó	bende	-dó	/b/,/e/,/n/,/d/,/e/,/d/,/ó/	b,e,n,d,e,d,ó
Emperador	Empera	-dor	/e/,/m/,/p/,/e/,/r/,/a/,/d/,/o/,/r/	e,m,p,e,r,a,d,o,r
Embahador	embaha	-dor	/e/,/m/,/b/,/a/,/h/,/a/,/d/,/o/,/r/	e,m.b,a,h,a,d,o,r

deskomponé sufiho (monema) den otro tipo di unidat mas chikí manera fonema. Tin ku tene kuenta ku fonema no tin interpretashon semántiko, pero sí interpretashon i realisashon fonétiko. Den idioma ta eksistí sufiho (monema/morfema) ku ta realisá

komo sekuensia di algun fonema ku ta aña di na palabra òf sekuensia di leksema i morfema.

Mira *Buki di oro*: *bienhechor*, *benefaktor*, *defensor*, *delator*, *deregulador*, *desertor*, *desgarador*, *diktador*, *direktor*, *distribuidor*, *divisor*, *dòktor*, *editor*, *edukador*, *ehektor*, *eksportador*, *elektor*, *embahador*, *emisor*, *emperador* etc. E palabranan derivá ku *-or*, *-sor* i *-tor* no ta presentá un desaroyo di variante (manera *-dor* > *dó*) den papiamentu, p'èsei lo no inklui nan den tópiko di e artíkulo akí.

Diakronia

Awendia ta eksistí e situashon den papiamentu ku ta pronunsiá algun palabra tantu ku e sufiho *-dor* komo ku e sufiho *-dó*. En prinsipio, ta konsiderá e palabranan akí variante di otro. Ata akí algun ehèmpel:

abusador	-	abusadó
atministrador	-	atministradó
atmirador	-	atmiradó
atrakador	-	atrakadó
bringador	-	bringadó
deregulador	-	dereguladó
diktador	-	diktadó
distribuidor	-	distribuidó
eksportador	-	eksportadó
formador	-	formadó
kolaborador	-	kolaboradó
moderador	-	moderadó
orador	-	oradó

Den e promé mitar di siglo 20, por ehèmpel, tabata pronunsiá i skirbi e ehèmpelnan menshoná akiriba solamente ku e sufiho *-dor* na final di palabra. Pero den transkurso di tempu, por mira ku e sufiho *-dor* gradualmente a pèrdè e /r/ final (apókope) i transformá den e sufihó *-dó*. Por ehèmpel, den e buki *Woordenlijst en Zamenspraken* (1859), por mira ku no tabata skirbi ningun palabra ku e sufihó *-dó*, sino solamente ku e sufiho *-dor*. Aki ta sigui algun ehèmpel den nan ortografia original. Manera por mira, a skirbi e sufiho *-dor* algun biaha ku un /o/ i otro biaha ku /oo/. (Mira tambe anekso 3)

hoengadoor	-	dobbelaar, speler
koertidoor	-	leerlooijer
kriadoor	-	schepper
plantadoor	-	zaaijer
sakadoor	-	tondeldoos
strikador	-	strijkster
vencedor (sali -)	-	overwinnen

I aki ta sigui algun ehèmpel mas di palabra ku ta kaba ku *-dor*, ku a topa den e novela *Un lugar de calamidad*, tradusí na papiamentu pa Cobil na 1940. A mantené e ehèmpelnan den nan ortografia original:

vendedor	lezador
comedor	pecador
corridor	skirbidor
jaagdor	trahador

Den e *Handwoordenboek Nederlands-Papiaments* (Jansen, 1947), por enkontrá, entre otro, e siguiente ehèmpelnan. A mantené e ehèmpelnan akí tambe den nan ortografia original. (Mira tambe Anekso 2 pa mas ehèmpel.)

administrador	criador	pegador
baluador	dispididor	libertador
blasfemador	drechador	skuchador
bromador	gobernador	spaardor
colador	hacidor	verfdor

Den e buki *Gramatica Papiamentu* di E.R. Goilo, publiká na 1953, Goilo ta trata *-or* komo un di e sufihonan produktivo, na página 41. E no ta menshoná *-dor* ni *-dó*, pero manera por mira akibou, tur e ehèmpelnan duná ta derivá ku e sufiho *-dor*. E sufiho variante *-dó* no ta aparesé den su lista di sufiho tratá. Goilo ta duna e siguiente palabranan komo ehèmpel den su bukí:

bailador	kapdor
baridor	lesador
cantador	matador
cobrador	skirbidor
comedor	tirador
ferfdor	trahador

I por último, den e buki *Pekelé cu pikel* di Pater Brenneker (1965), a topa e palabra *parador* komo ehèmpel. Esaki ta un palabra ku Brenneker tabata uza pa referí na e hòmbnernan ku tabatin e kustumber di keda para te patras den misa. A base di e ehèmpelnan menshoná akiriba, por konkluí ku *-dor* tabata e sufiho produktivo den e promé parti di siglo XX i e siglo anterior. (Mira anekso 4: ehèmpel di palabra saká for di *Woordenlijst en Zamenspraken* (1859).) Pues, tabata derivá palabra nobo ku *-dor*, hasta a base di rais verbal hulandes: *ferfdor*, *jaagdor*, *lezador*, *kapdor*, *spaardor*. Pero despues di su transformashon, su kambio pa e sufiho *-dó*, e sufiho *-dor* ta bira improduktivo. I den transkurso di tempu, *-dó* ta bira gradualmente e sufiho produktivo, manteniendo e mes balor semántiko di *-dor*, esta, ku e palabranan derivá ku *-dó* ta referí na e agente (animá/no animá) di e akshon verbal. En prinsipio, por agregá *-dó* na tur

verbo di akshon pa forma palabra nobo (sustantivo) i asina ekspresá agente di e akshon verbal (Dijkhoff, 1993).

Algun ehèmpel:

E *papiadó* a kuminsá papia.

papiadó (agente) < papia (ver.)

E *kontestadó outomátiko* a stòp di funshoná

kontestadó (agente) < kontestá (ver.)

Konsekuensia di e transformashon di sufiho *-dor* den *-dó* ta ku e palabranan derivá ku ta kaba ku *-dor* tambe poulatinamente a laga e /r/ final kai (apókopé) i krioyisá, ounke por nota ku ainda tin algun palabra ku ta den un proseso di transformashon/kambio. Ehèmpel:

diktador – *diktadó*, *distribuidor* – *distribuídó*, *eksportador* – *eksportadó*,
prokurador – *prokuradó*, *wardador* – *wardadó*, *vendedor* – *vendedó*.

Dijkhoff (1993) ta remarká ku no ta derivá palabra nobo ku e sufiho *-dó* a base di verbo ku ta kaba ku e vokal /u/ den papiamentu (restrikshon fonológiko), (p. 150), ounke, manera e mes ta opservá despues, awendia bo ta topa e palabra *bòltu-dó*. I den Van Putte & De Windt (2014) a topa tambe *fretudó* i *pleistudó*.

Den e promé parti di siglo XX, aparentemente ta solamente *-dor* tabata e sufiho derivativo produktivo, a lo ménos den fuente skirbí. Sin embargo, segun tempu tabata pasa, *-dor* a krioyisá, adaptando su mes na idiosinkrasia di papiamentu. Lagando e /r/ final kai, el a transformá den *-dó*. Aktualmente, *-dó* ta e sufiho produktivo den papiamentu ku e balor semántiko menshoná ariba, *-dor* a bira improduktivo. Na su lugá, ta uza solamente e sufiho krioyo *-dó* pa derivá palabra nobo ku e balor semántiko di agente (ánimá/no ánima) di e akshon verbal.

Aki ta sigui algun ehèmpel di e adaptashon (krioyisashon) ku gradualmente a tuma lugá den transkurso di tempu (Mira tambe Anekso 2 pa mas ehèmpel.):

boksdor	>	bòksdó
bebedor	>	bebedó
ganjador	>	gañadó
hungador	>	hungadó
lesador	>	lesadó
kosedor	>	kosedó
luchador	>	luchadó
skirbidor	>	skirbidó
tirador	>	tiradó
trahador	>	trahadó

A base di tur loke a keda tresé dilanti akiriba, i den kuadro di regularisashon i fihashon di vokabulario di papiamentu, ta proponé pa rekohé i standarisá tur palabra/variante derivá ku e surfiho *-dó*. I tambe tur otro palabra apokopá, esta, tur otro palabra ku a adaptá na e sufiho *-dó*. Esaki ta nifiká ku no ta nesesario apliká diversifikashon semántiko pa e palabranan ku ainda ta pronunsiá ku tur dos sufiho. Por ehèmpel:

atrakadó – atrakador; diktadó – diktador; formadó – formador; gobernadó – goberador; informadó – informador; salvadó – salvador, etc.

Uzo di variante den e kasonan akí ta simplemente indikativo ku e palabranan akí ainda ta den e proseso di transformashon. Nan no a kaba di adaptá òf krioyisá ainda. Aki ta sigui algun ehèmpel mas di palabra ku, al pareser, tambe ainda ta den e proseso di kompletá nan transformashon. E basilashon eksistente ta hasi nan, pues, simplemente variante fonológiko (no semántiko) di otro. Ehèmpel di variante:

atmirador	>	atmiradó
atministrador	>	atministradó
diktador	>	diktadó
gobernador	>	gobernadó
salvador	>	salvadó
kreador	>	kreadó
wardador	>	wardadó
formador	>	formadó
mediador	>	mediadó

I manera a trese dilanti kaba, análisis di e fenómeno morfológiko akí por sirbi komo un bon ehèmpel di regularisashon di e sistema lingwístiko di papiamentu, eliminando asina variante ku aparentemente ya a dispersé òf ta den proseso di desaparishon for di e sistema morfológiko di papiamentu (leksikon), ya ku nan no tin ningun funshon gramatikal distintivo den e dje (Mira Anekso 4).

Konklushon

Relashoná ku regularisashon di palabra ku ta kaba ku *-dor* òf ku *-dó*, i basá riba e datonan kolekshoná i analisá pa e artíkulo akí, ta yega na e siguiente konklushonnan.

- Tur palabra derivá ku *-dó* ta palabra ku ta indiká agente (ánima/no ánimo) di un verbo di akshon. Ehèmpel: *batidó, papiadó, bringadó, gritadó, kontadó*. Generalmente, ta uza e palabranan akí (sustantivo) den e funshon di ahetivo den frase, por ehèmpel: *fruminga pikadó, hònber trahadó, muhé luchadó, mama abusadó, hende gañadó*.

I komo ehèmpel di agente no animá, por menshoná: *labadó, koladó, markadó (di buki), kontestadó (outomátiko)*. E kuater palabranan akí ta referí pues na un agente no animá, i nan tur tres tin un base verbal den papiamentu.

- Tur palabra derivá ku *-dor* ta palabra ku ta indiká agente (animá/no animá) di un verbo di akshon ku no ta aparesé den papiamentu. Por ehèmpel: *emperador, embahador, aviador, selador, senador, traidor, labrador*.
- Tur palabra derivá ku *-dor* ta palabra ku ta indiká *lugá* kaminda akshon di e verbo ta desaroyá. Eh. *komedor, Mirador, Koredor*. (A mantené, pues, e forma original den kua a tuma/fia e palabranan akí.)
- Tur palabra derivá ku *-dor* i ku ta funshoná komo athetivo den papiamentu ta palabra ku no tin un base verbal den papiamentu. Eh. *abrumador, alentador, prometedor, devastador*. (Ta mantené nan den e forma original den kua a tuma nan for di spañó.)
- Tur palabra derivá ku *-dor* i ku ta funshona komo sustantivo indikadó di un opheto/asuntu den papiamentu, ta palabra ku no tin un base verbal den papiamentu. Eh. *splendor, pudor, metrayador, lekdor, Ekuador*.

Ideal ta pa yega na un *corpus* òf *lexicon* di palabra papiamentu ku ta bálido pa tur e tres islanan abou, Aruba, Boneiru i Kòrsou. Ta poko konsehabel pa dos òf asta tres variante sigui eksistí despues di un òf mas proseso di standarisashon na kada un di e islanan separá. Krusial den e proseso akí ta pa yega na un standarisashon interinsular, aunke semper ta posibel indiká e diferente variantenan posiblemente den órden di preferensia.

Union Interinsular di Papiamentu

Basá riba loke a keda eksponé akiriba, por hasi e siguiente sugerensianan ku por tuma na konsiderashon den e proseso di standarisashon. E análisis akí por sirbi komo modèl pa e proseso di regularisashon di palabra. Ademas, por mira e sugerensianan akí tambe den un kuadro di unifikashon di idioma papiamentu. Un organisashon interinsular di e tres islanan ABC, esta, Aruba, Boneiru i Kòrsou, manera un Union Interinsular pa papiamentu, por ta un institushon adekuá pa fiha tur palabra kumbiní. E aspirashon pa unifiká idioma di e islanan ABC sigur lo benefisiá e empeño pa sigui revitalisá papiamentu.

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ANEKSO 1: Algun palabra ku (aktualmente) ta kaba ku sufiho *-dor* den papiamentu

abrumador	ath	prometedor	ath
akreedor	s	pudor	s
alrededor	s	selador	s
aviador	s	senador	s
Ekuador	s	splendor	s
embahador	s	traidor	s
emperador	s		
labrador	s	komedor	s (lugá kaminda ta kome)
lekdoor	s	Koredor	s (lugá kaminda ta kana i kore)
metrayador	s	Mirador	s (lugá kaminda ta para wak)

ANEKSO 2: Vokabulario basá riba dos dikshonario

Handwoordenboek Nederlands/Papiaments (Jansen, 1947)	Tradukshon na hulandes	Woordenboek Nederlands/Papiaments (Van Putte & De Windt, 2005)	Lista di palabra derivá ku -dó.
acusadó(r)	aanklager	akusador; akusadó	<i>bailadó</i>
acusador	beschuldiger	akusador; akusadó	<i>bebedó</i>
administrador	administrateur; beheerder	atministradó; atministrador	<i>bòrdado</i>
admirador	bewonderen	atmiradó; atmirador	<i>buladó</i>
adoradó(r)	aanbidder	adoradó	<i>chòldó</i>
agitador	opruier	agitadó	<i>dòrnadó</i>
			<i>drechadó</i>
aviador	vliegenier	aviador	<i>dunadó</i>
babadó	slabbetje	babadó	<i>eksploradó</i>
baliador	danser	baliadó	<i>eksportadó</i>
baluador	schatter; taxateur	baluadó	<i>fregadó</i>
			<i>fundadó</i>
batidor di klok	klokke(n)luider	batidó di klòk; reveladó	<i>furadó</i>
blafemador	godslasteraar	blasfemadó	<i>goliadó</i>
blanchador	witter	blanchadó	<i>harmadó</i>
botador	stemmer	botadó; botador	<i>humadó</i>
boxdor	bokser	bòksdó	<i>indikadó</i>
bromador	blaaskaak; grootsspreker; hufter; opschepper snoever; zwetser	bromadó; blòfdo; hasidó di buya; hinkadó di pikete; tiradó di pikete	<i>investigadó</i>
buscador di gera	ruziezoeker; twistzoeker	buskadó di pleitu; plèitadó; pichadó	<i>kantadó</i>
chupador di sanger	uitzuiger	eksplotadó	<i>kapdó</i>
colaborador	medewerker	kolaboradó; kolaborador	<i>kibradó</i>
coladó	vergiet; zeef	koladó	<i>kontadó</i>
colador	vergiet	koladó	<i>kòrtadó</i>
comedor	eetkamer; eetzaal	komedor	<i>landadó</i>
corredor	gang (v/e huis)	koredor	<i>lesadó</i>
cosedor	naaister	kosedó	<i>markadó</i>
criador	schepper	kreadó; kreador	<i>papiadó</i>
cumprador	afnemer; koper	kumpradó	<i>peladó</i>
destilador	distilateur	-----	<i>pikadó</i>

dispididor	verkwister	dispididó	<i>pikidó</i>
drechador di oloshi	horlogemaker; klokkenmaker	drechadó di oloshi	<i>piskadó</i>
drumidor	langslaper	lantadó lat	<i>publikadó</i>
embahador	afgezant; gezant	embahador	<i>retadó</i>
emperador	keizer	emperador	<i>reveladó</i>
frifridor	fliklooier; klaploper	frifridó	<i>ronkadó</i>
ganjadó(r)	bedrieger	gañadó	<i>sendedó</i>
ganjador	leugenaar	gañadó	<i>skirbidó</i>
gastador	verkwister	gastadó	<i>tokadó</i>
governador	gouverneur; bestuurder; regeerder	governador; gobernadó	<i>trahadó</i>
grabador	graveur	grabadó	<i>yoradó</i>
hacidó di redashi	roddelaar	hasidó di redu	<i>spùitdó</i>
hacidor di gera	ruziemaker	-----	<i>sambuyadó</i>
haladó (di kabai)	streng	-----	<i>kolaboradó</i>
hungadó(r)	dobbelaar	hungadó di dou/dais	<i>bòksdó</i>
hungador	speler	hungadó	<i>partidó</i>
hungador di bala	voetballen	hungadó di futbòl	<i>tenedó</i>
hungador di dam	damspeler	hungadó di dam	<i>eksaminadó</i>
hungador di schaak	schaken	hungadó di skak	<i>imitadó</i>
hungador di tennis	tennisspeler	hungadó di tènis	<i>redadó</i>
instigadó(r)	aanhitsen; aanstoker; opruier	instigadó	<i>likidadó</i>
jangadó, boonchi -:	oude wijven	-----	<i>matadó</i>
labadó	duiker (in de weg)	labadó	<i>kobadó</i>
landador	zwemmer	landadó	<i>tentadó</i>
lesador	lezer	lesadó	<i>baidó</i>
libertador	bevrijder	libertador; libertadó	<i>ponedó</i>
lubidadó	vergeetachtig	lubidadó	<i>ganadó</i>
mahador	zanikkous; zanikpot	mahadó	<i>pèrdèdó</i>
mirador	toeschouwer	miradó	<i>bendedó</i>
mitrajador	machinegeweer ; mitrailleuse	metrayador	<i>kumpradó</i>
orador	spreker	orador; oradó	<i>buskadó</i>
pagador, mal -:	wanbetaler	pagadó, mal -:	<i>kobradó</i>
papiadó(r)	babbelkous; babbelaar	papiadó	<i>labadó</i>

papiadó, bon -:	bespraakt	-----	<i>limpiadó</i>
papiador	spreker	papiadó	<i>sakadó</i>
partidor di carta	brievenbesteller	partidó di karta	<i>sembradó</i>
pecador	zondaar	pekador; pekadó	<i>siguidó</i>
pididó(r) di limosna	bedelaar	pididó di limosna	<i>sirbidó</i>
pididor	verzoeker	-----	<i>hasidó</i>
piscador	visser	piskadó	<i>skidó</i>
procurador	procureur	prokurador	<i>skuchadó</i>
pudor	schaamtegevoel ; zedigheid	pudor	<i>soñadó</i>
redador	klikker, verklikker	redadó	<i>supladó</i>
salbador	heiland; verlosser	salbador	<i>spardó</i>
sambujador	duiker	sambuyadó	<i>stetdó</i>
santificador	heiligmaker	-----	<i>stimadó</i>
scuchador	luisteraar; toebehoorder	skuchadó	<i>stiwadó</i>
sirbidó(r)	bediende	trahadó	<i>stürdó</i>
sirbidor	dienaar; gedienstige; knecht	sirbidó	<i>subidó</i>
sirbidor di misa	misdienaar	sirbidó di misa	<i>desaroyadó</i>
spaardo	spaarzaam; zuinig	-----	<i>suministradó</i>
spaardor	spaarder	spardó	<i>taksadó</i>
splendor	luister; praal; pracht; staatsie	splendor	<i>deklamadó</i>
tenedor di boeki	boekhouder	tenedó di buki	<i>tresedó</i>
tentadó	plaaggeest	tentadó; tentador	<i>trokadó</i>
tentador	plaaggeest	tentadó; tentador	<i>usadó</i>
tirador	schutter	tiradó	<i>vensedó</i>
tocador	speler; muzikant	tokadó	<i>violadó</i>
tocador di tamboer	trommelslager	tokadó di tambú	<i>votadó</i>
tocador di vió	violist	tokadó di fió	<i>maradó</i>
trahadó	arbeidzaam; werkzaam	trahadó	<i>yangadó</i>
trahadó(r) di pan	bakker	-----	<i>yudadó</i>
trahador	arbeider; werker; werkman	trahadó	<i>zagdó</i>
trahador di sombré	hoedenvlechter	trahadó di sombré	<i>chikadó</i>
traidor	verrader	traidor; traidó	<i>chifladó</i>

transformador	transformator	-----	<i>chokadó</i>
verfdor	schilder	fèrfdó	<i>chuliadó</i>
wardador	bewaker; wachter	wardadó; wardador	<i>chupadó</i>
wardador, angel -:	schutsengel; beschermengel	angel wardadó	<i>debedó</i>

ANEKSO 3: Lista kompleto di e palabranan derivá ku *-dor* saká for di *Woordenlijst en Zamenspraken* (1859), di Bernardus Th.J. Frederiks i Jacobus J. Putman.

boeladoor	- vliegende visch	plantadoor	- zaaijer
defendedoor	- patroon	rondoor	- rond
kamnadoor	- telganger	sakadoor	- tondeldoos
kantadoor	- (-)	salbadoor	- zaligmaker
kastigadoor	- straffer	sierbidoor	- dienaars
kocedor	- naaister	sirbidoor	- knecht
koempradoor	- kooper	strikador	- strijkster
koertidoor	- leerlooijer	tokadoor (di klok)	- klokluiders
konsoladoor	- trooster	trahadoor	- werkmans
kriadoor	- schepper	traidor	- verraders
matadoor	- slager	vencedor (sali -)	- overwinnen
pekadoor	- zondaar	wardadoor	- herder, oppassers
piskadoor	- visscher		

WAKIENDO, MOPIENDO, STOPIENDO, BETIENDO ...: DESAROYO OF DILEMA DEN APIAMENTO?

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“Televidentenan, nos ta wakiendo e auto di polis ta acercando, indicando cu parada ta cabando”. Esakinan tabata palabra di un presentado hoben cu tabata transmiti parada di Carnaval na Aruba. Unabes cu su colega a coregi esaki, a cuminsa haya reaccion di tur banda. ”E ta bon”, “E ta malo”, “E ta pas”, “E ta un desaroyo”, ”Semper a uz’e, pues e ta bon”. Diripente Aruba a conoce un sin fin di experto di Papiamento. A cuminsa un discusion ferviente riba e medionan social cu a pone e Papiamentistanan bay habri buki di gramatica di Papiamento bek. Hopi a cuminsa compara un palabra cu otro y wak kico ta aceptabel of no. Sinembargo, e pregunta latente a keda: Wakiendo, daliendo, mopiendo: desaroyo of dilema den Papiamento?

Por bisa cu cambio linguistico ta tuma lugar ora cu tin un forma linguistico nobo a tuma lugar y ta uza pa cierto grupo den un comunidad di hablante, y ta adopta pa e otro miembronan di e comunidad ey y acepta como norma (Jennifer Coates, sociolinguista). E cambionan den idioma ta tuma lugar riba tres diferente area; vocabulario, gramatica y fonologia. Di e tresnan aki, e cambionan gramatical ta tuma mas tempo, mientras vocabulario ta bay mas lihe cu e bay bin di concepto nobo. Factor cu tin influencia riba cambio di idioma por ta social, economico y politico.

E vision standard ta cu pidgin y idioma crioyo ta idioma mixto cu un vocabulario superstrato y gramatica di e substrato, cu ta e base pa clasifica e idiomanan aki, segun nan base lexical (Suzanne Romaine, 2000). Papiamento ta un di e idiomanan aki; un idioma Afro-Portugues. Papiamento ta consisti, mescos cu tur idioma crioyo, di palabra adapta y adopta di otro idioma, entre otro, Spaño, Portugues, Ingles y Hulandes, cu desde colonisacion a haci su entrada den Papiamento.

Entre e palabranan adapta/adopta di Hulandes ta haya entre otro e siguiente verbonan: wak (waken), mop (moppen), boks (boksen), buig (buigen), broei (broeien). Interesante ta cu net e verbonan monosilabico, cu ta caba cu un consonante, no conoce e forma di gerundio. Si tira un bista riba e reglanan, segun e conocedonan di Papiamento y e Papiamentistanan, ta tuma, por ehempel, e siguiente regla di un Papiamentista di Curaçao:

E verbo dal y e otro verbonan tuma of derviva for di Hulandes no tin un gerundio, p.e. skop, ferf, mors, zorg etc... Na lugar di gerundio, nos tin otro manera di expresa e mesnificacion o cu algo mas di acento: Nos ta ripiti e verbo, p.e: ta traha e ta traha. (Goilo, 1953).

Segun otro Papiamentista di Aruba: No ta tur verbo tin un forma di gerundio. Algun verbo cu no tin e ta: bedar, bedei, brek, clinchi, cou, dal, di, drei, fango, ferf, frei, kie, lapi, meste, mosh, po, pui, pupu, rek, respo, scarmai, scop, snui, tin, wak, worry, zorg. Pa e grupo aki, nos ta por uza *bezig* + Verbo pa expresa cu e accion ta tumando luga (Dijkhoff, 2000).

Den Papiamento ta uza mas di 50 verbo monosilabico cu ta caba cu consonante. E verbonan aki ta:

bek, bit, bel, bet, boks, buig, broei, check, chok, cou, dal, deal, dek, dop, dres, cay, coy, fax, fix, frei, grap, gum, haal, hap, hak, hor, huur, jump, kier, klap, leg, lek, los, pak, pik, piks, rei, sak, scop, scrap, show, spaar, spat, spuit, straal, straf, strike, stet, stik, stuur, test, tik, treat, trip, trot, yop, zaag, zeur, zom, zwaai,
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Fuente: Vocabulario Ortografico di Papiamento, 2009

Si tuma solamente e palabranan procedente di Hulandes, lo por mira cierto corelacion. Di e 50+ verbonan, cu ta monosilabico y cu consonante na final, 39 ta procedente directamente di Hulandes. E palabranan aki no conoce e forma di gerundio den e idioma for di cual nan ta procedente, esta Hulandes, y e palabranan aki en cuestion no conoce gerundio den nan forma original.

Ta uza nan den un contexto continuo den Hulandes, door di combina “is bezig te / aan het + verbo”. Den Papiamento tambe, e uzo general ta mescos. Si tuma e palabranan procedente di Portugues y Spaño cu tambe ta monosilabico, y cu ta caba cu consonante, *bay* (*vay, tres persona singular na Portugues*), *cay* (*caer*), *coy* (*cojer*), *kier* (*quiere*), solamente *bay* y *cay* conoce e forma di gerundio ‘*bayendo*’ y ‘*cayendo*’. Pa *coy* , sa scucha e forma *cohiendo*. Sin embargo, pa *kier* no conoce e forma di gerundio, siendo cu den e idioma di procedencia, e conoce e forma gerundio cu ta *queriendo* . Si sigui analisa poco mas aleu, ta descubri cu e verbo ta procedente di Latin. Esti zapato *quier* romper (E sapato aki ta bay kibra), cu por ta un posibel descendencia via Portugues, forma presente indicativo. Si tuma e palabranan descendiente di Ingles, niun conoce e forma di gerundio den Papiamento, pero si den Ingles. Y asina mes, no ta uza e forma aki den Papiamento.

Awo, pakico tanto conmocion pa cu *wakiendo*? Por deduci cu *wak* ta bini di e palabra *waken* di Hulandes. Den Papiamento a tuma esaki over como *wak* . Den Hulandes esaki ta nifica:

1. ‘s nachts de wacht houden: ik zal bij de zieke waken
2. nauwkeurig toezien, zorg dragen: ouders, waakt over uw kinderen!
3. op zijn hoede zijn voor: waken voor verslapping (Vandale)

E hablante di Papiamento ta uza e verbo *wak* den e siguiente contextonan:

1. *Mi ta wak pa mi mayornan. (cuida nan)*
2. *Mi a wak Ralph na Playa (a tira su bista bista riba dje)*
3. *Mi ta wak pa mi bay. (ta percura pa haci esey posibel)*
4. *Mi ta bay wak parada di Carnaval. (observa)*

Kisas por tira un bista riba e otro verbonan cu tambe ~~ta representa~~ tin un nificacion casi similar. Ta trata di e verbonan *mira* y *weita*. Di e tres verbonnan aki, esun menos uza den idioma diario ta *weita*.

E verbo “mira (mirar) ta procedente di Spaño. (origen lat. *mirāri* 'admirarse').

1. tr. Dirigir la vista a un objeto.
2. tr. Observar las acciones de alguien (Real academia Española).

Esaki ta nifica cu e persona cu ta ehecuta e accion di ‘mira’ ta tuma su tempo pa e observa algo.

1. *Mi a mira Ralph ta cana bay na auto. (observa pa un periodo di tempo)*
2. *Mi ta mira cu mi no ta bay gradua. (anticipa)*

Un hablante di Papiamento lo distingui e dos verbonan aki for di otro den nan uzo den natural den idioma diario. Pa un hende cu ta siñando e idioma, e ta algo nobo y lo e tin necesidad di mas splicacion.

Pa loke ta uzo di gerundio den Papiamento, regularmente por tende den pueblo, cu Papiamento no conoce e forma di gerundio. Sin embargo, esaki ta un forma bastante comun, cu ta uza principalmente cu e verbonan cu ta tuma di Spaño. Ta uza gerundio pa enfatisa cu un accion ta tumando lugar na e momento cu un papiado ta papiando, of tabata tumando lugar na e momento cu e fenomeno cu e verbo principal ta expresa tabata sosodiendo. (Manual di gramatica di Papiamento, 2010) E regla stipula pa forma gerundio den Papiamento ta: Generalmente ta forma gerundio di e verbonan cu ta caba cu vocal y cu ta deriva for di verbo Spaño. Ta forma gerundio di e siguiente manera:

1. Si e verbo ta caba cu vocal *a*, ta laga e vocal aki cay afo, y ta pone *-ando* acerca.
pasa → pas+ando → pasando
2. Si e verbo ta caba cu vocal *e* of vocal *i*, ta laga e vocal *e* of e vocal *i* cay afo, y ta pone *-iendo* acerca.
come → comiendo
bisti → bistiendo. (Manual di gramatica di Papiamento, 2010)

Loke a pasa ta, cu mescos cu e verbonan di dos silaba, di descendencia Spaño, cu si conoce e forma gerundio, a tuma e regla y aplica esaki na un verbo, den e caso aki e verbo *wak*, door di añadi *-iendo*.

Pa obtene un bista di loke e hablanan di papiamento ta pensa di e desaroyo entornu wakiendo, a haci un encuesta online. *E pregunta tabata: Bo ta haya cu den Papiamento, nos mester por permiti e siguiente desaroyo: wakiendo, mopiendo, betiendo, tikiendo, freyendo etc..? (y asina tin mas cu 50 verbo mas di e mesun categoria).* E resultado tabata lo siguiente:

Cantidad di respondente	Contesta SI	Contesta NO
96	5 (5.2%)	91 (94.8%)
	E motibonan duna: 1. Mester por laga e desaroyo aki drenta e idioma, pasobra e ta natural. 2. Idioma ta dinamico y no tin otro manera pa uza e verbonan aki. 3. Asina por elimina ‘ta bezig ta’ dilanti di e verbonan aki.	E motibonan duna: 1. Conservacion. 2. Falta di conocimiento ta conduci na esaki. 3. E no ta zona bon. 4. E ta mahos. 5. Nos mester proteha nos idioma 6. Nos ta imitando Spaño mucho

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Particion segun edad:

14 pa 30	31-50	51 y mas grandi
23(24%)	37(38.5%)	36(37.5%)

*E edad mas halto ta 80 aña.

Por mira cu tin un preferencia bou di esnan cu a responde. Si observa e particion segun edad, e cantidad ta casi igual reparti. Di e respondentenan entre 14 y 30 aña, mayoria a haya les di Papiamento den enseñansa avansa. Aunke cu a pidi pa contesta cu solamente si of no, 9 respondente a duna un comentario, ningun relaciona cu gramatica, pero mas bien relaciona cu emocion. Pues por conclui cu tin cierto preferencia pa no laga e desaroyo aki tuma lugar.

Un desaroyo similar, cu casi no ta pone atencion na dje, sino na scol so, ta e verbonan *wordo* y *ser*. Ta uza *wordo*, tuma for di e forma <worden> di Hulandes, pa pone e frase den forma pasivo. Mes cos ta haci cu *ser* <ser> di Spaño. Cua a bin prome? Pa esaki no tin evidencia concreto. Di e dos verbonan aki, *wordo* ta mas uza. Analisa e siguiente ehempelnan:

E auto a wordo horta dilanti mi cas → A horta e auto dilanti mi cas, A ser perdi → a perde.

Un di caracteristicanan di idioma crioyo ta cu raramente ta uza construccion pasivo. Den e poco idiomanan Crioyo cu ta uza esaki, e ta sea marginal pa e idioma, of e ta fia recientemente for di un idioma superstrato. (Romaine, 2000: 52). Hopi biaha ta e medionan di noticia skirbi ta uza e forma aki. Pues, te poco tempo pasa, e medionan aki tabata e unico ehempel di con ta uza y skirbi Papiamento. Sin embargo, unabes cu Papiamento a haci su entrada den enseñansa avansa, HAVO/VWO, na Aruba, e docentenan di Papiamento a scoge pa pone enfasis pa no uza e formanan aki, pues, pa preserva e característica di bos pasivo di Papiamento como idioma crioyo. Por bisa cu esaki ta exitoso y ta sirbi como prueba tambe di cuanto poder e hecho cu Papiamento ta presente den enseñansa, tin.

Pa contesta e pregunta: Wakiendo, dilema of desaroyo den Papiamento? Te cu 10 aña pasa mayoria di hablante di Papiamento tabata considera nan mes autoridad y conocedo ferviente di e idioma den tur su aspectonan: enseñansa no tabata brinda conocimiento di e idioma. Como cu nunca Papiamento a haya un lugar den enseñansa, a crea e impresion cu Papiamento no ta un idioma, ku su balor ta menos compara cu otro idioma, ku e ta mescla di tur idioma, pues, ku e no tin ‘gramatica’, y cada ken por a haci y deshaci con cu nan kier. Awendia ainda bo por tende algun guia turistico ta splica con Papiamenta ta un mescla di tur idioma. Papiamento su ortografia a keda standarisa na 1976, creando asina un plataforma pa publicacion, cu na su turno ta contribui na mas publiacion y obra cu ta keda skirbi. Papiamento a drenta enseñansa avansa na 2004. Na 2017 e prome examen na nivel di HAVO a keda traha pa prome biaha. Pues, enseñansa di Papiamento ta yegando mas y mas cerca e hobennan, cu na nan turno ta reeduca e mas bieunan tokantee reglanan y uzo corecto di e idioma. Esaki ta nos experiencia tambe den practica. Na su turno esaki a contribui na e hecho cu concientisacion y balorisacion pa cu e idioma a crece. Na 2016 Papiamento a keda introduci na University of Aruba, den e curiculo di Social Work and Development, Organisation, Governance & Management como materia. Unabes cu nos sigui den e rumbo aki, cu Papiamento sigui haya su luga correspondiente den e curiculo di University of Aruba, tambe dominio di e idioma riba un nivel mas halto lo sigui amplia.

Sin embargo, idioma ta dinamico y ta sinta riba e schoudernan di e hablantenan. Un di e factornan cu por ocasiona cambio den idioma, manera ya menciona, ta influencia di un otro idioma den comunidad di e hablantenan. Den e caso di *wakiendo*, por deduci facilmente cu ta trata di un verbo di origen Hulandes, cu ta sufri cambio door di influencia di Spaño, bayendo contra tur regla di gramatica di Papiamento. Como Papiamentista, lo bo kier conserva puresa di bo idioma mas tanto posibel, manteniendo mas tanto posibel e rasgonan di un idioma crioyo. Pero esaki no ta completamente den bo man. Bo por compar’e cu un auto di control remoto cu motor trahando cu tur forsa, mientras bo ta want’e duro den bo man, imposibilitando e di core. Unabes acepta y adapta, e regla di cu e verbonan monosilabico cu na final tin

consonante por haya un forma di gerundio, nos lo haya forman verbal manera *stopiendo*, *mopiendo*, *betiendo*, aplicando asina un regla cu lo no ta logico pa cierto verbo, manera, entre otro, *stop*, *tik*, *tip*, cu ta denota acciondiripiente. Prome cu aplica cualkier regla adicional, mester tene cuenta cu aceptabilidad y con ta aplica e reglanan aki. Pues e contesta ta, cu e fenomeno *wakiendo* ta por lo pronto, un dilema, den un idioma cu awo numa ta den su fase di institucionalisacion. Pero como cu ta trata di idioma, un vehiculo dinamico, carga pa hende, probablemente aki cincuenta aña , e lo ta un desaroyo. Mientrastanto, nos mester keda *wak*, *mop*, *stop* y *bet*.

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CREOLE LANGUAGES, STATUS, “CORRECTNESS,” AND IDENTITY: A LOOK AT PAPIAMENTU ON FACEBOOK

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Introduction

Creole languages in the Caribbean are constantly contested as actual languages based on their similarities to their European lexifier counterparts. Although there are some creole languages, such as Haitian Kreyòl and Papiamentu that have become official languages on some of the islands where they are spoken by a majority of the population, many creole languages in the Caribbean are not accorded that status. Furthermore, while these languages are widely seen as an integral part of a cultural identity they are nonetheless often considered to be useless in education. For instance, no Caribbean nation has adopted a formal policy at all levels of education to teach in their creole language, opting instead to use standardized varieties of European languages.

While certain creole languages are perceived as degraded forms of the former colonizer's language, Papiamentu, a language spoken in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao (the ABC Islands), is not regarded as a degradation of either its lexifier or the colonizer's language. Since its distinctness from Dutch and its linguistic ambiguity makes it difficult to discern where its origins concretely lie, Papiamentu isn't seen as a broken form of Spanish or Portuguese either¹. Instead it is measured against the linguistic standards of Dutch, English, and Spanish and is therefore seen as incomplete. Because of this, translanguaging occurs frequently on the islands as well as in Papiamentu speaking communities abroad. English, Dutch, and Spanish are considered as secondary languages on the islands and translanguaging usually occurs through the use of these three languages with Papiamentu.

In order to define what constitutes a creole language, it is essential to deconstruct what the term “creole” means in reference to the Caribbean and how the languages of the Caribbean have come to be defined through this particular term. Specifically in discussing the ideology behind creole languages, what does creole mean in the context of language and its role in identity formation? This question is made more complex when investigating the notion of creolism and its relation to the elites of society. What factors allowed these elites to historically identify with a Creole that articulates a separate

¹ In some historical documents, it was described as broken Spanish, but currently, it is not considered to be a corrupted form of Spanish or Portuguese.

identity from the colonizer? Within the context of creolism, how does super-diversity play into the construction of identity through language?

Mervyn Alleyne suggests that the initial concept of creolism is a product of the colonialist project to construct a binary antithesis or Other to Europe, in order to justify the plunder of the land and labor of non-European peoples and the erasure of their languages and cultures. This becomes evident when we consider how such terms as “classical”, “modern”, and “civilized”, have been used hegemonically to refer to all things European, and how such terms as “traditional”, “folk”, “savage”, and “primitive” have been used to refer to all things non-European. Alleyne proposes that the term “creole” advances “this process of control through language” (2011: 54). “Creole”, as a contested term, embodies what can be considered Caribbean and what cannot. Historically, as these terms controlled how the nation-state in the Caribbean was formulated, the identity of the nation-state became distinct from that which has prevailed in Europe. In turn, creole in the Caribbean, and everything associated with that term, became its own form of identity. It is in regard to this identity that creole languages are regarded as markers.

Alleyne notes that the creole languages, a by-product of creolism itself, are automatically categorized as low status languages. Expounding on Irvine and Gal’s three semiotic processes, Phyak elaborates on Alleyne’s point to show how this categorization is marked through iconization and fractal recursivity (2015: 380). The inferior position of creole languages is a direct result of the inferior socio-political status assigned to Caribbean island nations. Creoles are thus marked as being distinct from non-creole languages because of their relationship to the hegemonic European languages from which they derive most of their lexicon. While they are considered broken forms of European languages because of their relationship to African linguistic practices, their status as Creole languages puts them just a notch above that accorded to African languages (Alleyne 2011: 55).

Alleyne notes, “‘creole’ languages defy the authoritative definitions of linguistic science” (2011: 57), and their hybridity is precisely why some scholars label them as exceptional. As the origins of creole languages are rather difficult to prove, it makes it difficult to demonstrate that all of these languages are descended from one “proto-language”. DeGraff cautions against thinking about creole languages as exceptional, as it can further their stigmatization. He further cautions against the idea that creole languages are European languages that have been somehow “contaminated” by African languages and their speakers (Degraff 2003: 394). Douglas notes that the notion of impurity directly correlates to who is considered impure, and that “primitive” societies, were defined as such according to binary Western hegemonic norms (2002: 114-115).

DeGraff asks, “How can the slave be both a full-fledged human being and a chattel? Thus the apparent problem posed for Europeans by the formation of European-like

creole languages: How can the slave (a lesser human?) speak a language that sounds like the full-fledged language of his or her (fully human?) European master?" (2005: 535). As Fleming and Lempert note, the use of any language is conditioned through what space it occupies and who can utter it (2011: 6). According to the dominant discourses of colonialism, people of non-European descent, especially the enslaved, are not full-fledged human beings, therefore they do not have the capacity to speak a "full-fledged" European language, and instead can only speak an "inferior" or "corrupted" version of that language. This is one of the assumptions made when people speak of creole languages as "broken forms" of their European lexifier languages.

Don Robotham's Creole Society Theory asserts that "Creole culture was able to provide the nodal line of development of these societies and, after the appropriate reforms, constituted the only basis for their further advance" (2011: 69). Creole culture, and by extension creole languages, become the only way that societies in the Caribbean are able to "advance." One reason for this is because notions of hybridity and *mes-tizaje* permit them not to be considered African, but instead to be considered to be the product of a diluted form of an African cultural existence manifested in the Caribbean (Alleyne 2011: 56), thus allowing creole societies to create their national identities. This is evident in the debates regarding the orthographies of creole languages. In discussing Haitian Kreyòl, Doucet and Schieffelin state,

The orthography debates about kreyol share . . . structural and symbolic properties of dichotomizing discourses. Critical to the debates is the question of who counts and who does not, who is "us" and who is "them". In terms of nation building, these oppositions often point to serious social divisions and ambivalences that have deep historical roots" (p. 177).

These "social divisions and ambivalences" are the result of how identity is defined through creolism.

Creole languages have been used in the Caribbean as a way to assert a cultural identity which is distinct from a European identity and more prominently, as distinct from an African identity. For instance, Papiamentu can culturally be described as an Afro-Portuguese creole but is distinct enough from African languages, especially in its vocabulary, so as not to be considered an African language. Similarly, Haitian Kreyòl, which is spoken by populations which could be considered to be more closely linked to their African past than those who speak Papiamentu, is also not commonly considered to be an African language. In any case, these two languages distinguish themselves from other creole languages spoken in the Caribbean because of the relatively high status that they are assigned in the societies where they are spoken by a majority of the population. This fact will be of importance when analyzing the phenomenon of language policing as it manifests itself in Papiamentu.

Though each creole language has its own complex history, the status of creoles as cultural identity markers allows for their speakers to assert their identity through specific

choices in language use. This, in turn, allows for speakers to police their own language based on their personal linguistic ideologies. For instance, in Papiamentu, some see loanwords and gerunds as elements of contamination from other languages. As Irvine suggests on the use of Latinate words in employee memos, what is considered “respectable” is based on personal linguistic ideologies (2011: 18-19). “Respectability” in the case of creole languages, is judged according to the use or non-use of certain words or grammatical markers and is evident in how Papiamentu and other creole languages are policed on social media platforms such as Facebook. People are making a conscious effort to write in specific registers that they deem appropriate or respectable. Moreover, they also police how others are writing and using their language.

Creole languages are generally understudied in the field of linguistic anthropology. While there is a sizeable literature on the linguistic aspects of Creole languages and their genesis, there have been fewer studies done on the impact that culture and history have on the language choices made by their speakers, and minimal scholarly work on policing in creole languages. (Léglise & Migge, 2015: 14) The present study was designed to begin to fill some of these gaps in our knowledge.

Data Analysis

DeGraff notes that since creole languages are often compared to their lexifiers, remarks about their usefulness are often coded with racial and classist undertones (2008: 124). Additionally, this tends to create ideologies about creole languages as limited, and therefore not capable of being useful in all types of linguistic situations. Garrett suggests that creole languages are often stigmatized as being useful only in specific registers and genres because of how they are positioned in multilingual or diglossic situations (2005: 533-591).

One of the ways in which Caribbean creoles have been studied is through language socialization. For instance, Amy Paugh’s (2012) ethnography on children and language practices in Dominica highlights how children are socialized to use different languages in particular settings. Decisions made by speakers about when and where to use Dominican French lexifier creole (Patwa) in relation to English have not only had a profound effect on linguistic practices on the island but they have also had an influence on ideologies about Patwa itself. These socializing practices diminish the status of Patwa and relegate its use to specific spaces (2012: 99). She found that while Patwa is seen by its speakers as a source of cultural capital, it is also seen as language that holds children back in terms of job opportunities. Similarly, on the ABC Islands, Papiamentu is seen as an important marker of local identity, yet children are socialized into believing that Papiamentu will not take them as far as Dutch or English will, despite the fact that Papiamentu enjoys higher prestige in Aruba and Curaçao than Patwa does in Dominica.

It is also interesting to observe the use of marginalized languages, specifically creole languages, in spaces such as Facebook. Through Facebook, speakers of creole languages are able to use their language in a way that has been previously limited primarily to personal face-to-face contact. Moreover, Facebook opens up a space in which ideologies can be affirmed or challenged, usually through policing. Phyak contends that

Facebook language policing is an intersection of the total ‘linguistic culture’, which includes actors’ beliefs, ideologies, and cultural backgrounds. We also see that ideological contestation on Facebook reproduces current offline discourses in which Nepali and English are iconized as markers of national identity and globalization, respectively, while members of ethnic minorities are constantly challenging these ideologies (p. 391).

Similarly, there are similarities between online and offline discussions about Papiamentu, its legitimacy, the “correct” way to use it, etc.

I therefore have designed the present study with the following two research questions in mind:

- 1) How is Facebook, as a public space, used to facilitate the socialization process through shaming, policing, and critiquing discourse?
- 2) What are the assumptions about status that underpin the online use of Papiamentu in relation to Dutch, Spanish, and English?

The policing that is engaged in on Facebook not only challenges the legitimacy of creole languages, but it also challenges language standardization and language policy designed to promote creole languages. For instance, in Screenshot 1, the poster advances a critique in Dutch of the standard orthography for Papiamentu in Curaçao by

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Vraagje over Papiamentu spelling. In Papiamentu schrijf je fonetisch, althans dat is mij verteld. Dus je schrijft hoe je het uitspreekt. Is dat de regel? En hoe luidt die regel dan? Bijvoorbeeld het woord 'toilet'. Wordt het: toalet, towalet, tualet, tuwalet of twalet? Welke is de juiste en waarom? En waarom moet dit, want persoonlijk vind ik het vreemd en vind ik het er lelijk uit zien. Dus waarom is het niet gewoon 'toilet'.

Little question over the Papiamentu spelling. In Papiamentu you write phonetically, at least that is what I'm told. So you write how you pronounce it. Is that the rule? And how is the rule applied then? For example the word 'toilet'. Is it: *toilet*, *towalet*, *tualet*, *tuwalet* or *twalet*? Which is correct and why? And why is it thus, because personally I find it strange and I think it looks ugly. So why isn't it just 'toilet'.

Screenshot 1 Facebook



disguising it as a question, in order to follow the guidelines for the page, also written in Dutch (*Durf te Vragen* = dare to ask). The poster not only asks about the spelling of the word *tualèt*² ('toilet'), but she/he also publicly "shames" the standard orthography (and, by extension, these responsible for designing and promoting it) by critiquing the recommended spelling. This type of public shaming is not directed at a specific user of the language, but instead it is directed at the "rules" of the language. This is accomplished by listing every imaginable way that *tualèt* can be spelled phonetically. Although she/he seems not to know which spelling is the correct one, the poster still invites the audience to form their own opinion, guided by the poster's own ideologies concerning attempts to design orthographies for creole languages that are more phonetically based than the writing systems of their European lexifiers, stating that "*vind ik het vreemd en vind ik het er lelijk uit zien*" (I find it strange and I think it looks ugly). Instead of explicitly promoting the legitimacy of European languages over creole languages, this poster does so implicitly, in a metalinguistic critique of the Papiamentu orthography, in which she/he simultaneously invalidates the language and delegitimizes efforts to increase its effectiveness and extend its use to all domains.

The commenters in Screenshot 1 engage with the poster's critique mainly by literally answering the question posed, rather than by overtly reaffirming this "shaming of the rules". Although some comments affirm the poster's stance concerning the orthography, most attempt to answer the original question. For instance, in the second to last comment, someone mentions the limitations of their Papiamentu dictionary and refers the poster to Dr. Marta Dijkhoff, one of the noted linguists on the island, who has done much to promote Papiamentu. It is interesting to note here that such conversations allow people to gain easier access to prominent scholars and policy makers.

The only comment not written in Dutch is written in Papiamentu. This post stands out for two reasons. First, because it is written in Papiamentu, it invites the original poster to respond in Papiamentu and second, the commenter seems to be using a typically Afro-Caribbean form of 'double voicing' so that it is unclear whether the commenter is affirming the poster's stance or challenging it. By replying *hesta ko'i koño* (an expression roughly translated as "that is some shit"), the commenter could be affirming the poster's stance by agreeing that the orthography is a *ko'i koño* or she/he could be challenging that stance by critiquing the entire post as a *ko'i koño*, or he/she could be doing both at the same time. To highlight the ambiguity and potential for word play here, the poster responds by asking the commenter *kiko ta un koi konio* ('What is a *koi konio*?) complete with an emoji that sticks its tongue out. This could also be seen as a case of double voicing, which can suggest that the poster knows exactly what the

² This is the official spelling in the phonetic orthography (Curaçao). In the Aruban orthography, the word is spelled as *toilèt*. Other words include *WC* (*watercloset*) and *wesé* (most likely a phonetic spelling of the Dutch pronunciation for the letters W and C).

commenter is implying or that the poster is sarcastically challenging the commenter to clarify the comment, or both.

Policing discourse can also be accomplished primarily through the comment section instead of the post itself. For instance, in Screenshot 2 the poster invites the audience to comment by presenting a text which is fairly typical of natural spontaneous speech in Aruba, that contains multiple examples of code switching and other types of translanguaging, asking the audience whether the text is *malo of bon?* (bad or good?). This post highlights how the discourse on Papiamentu is debated through the notions of “good” or “bad” language. Perhaps, unintentionally, the author becomes an agent of policing when he asks the question of whether the example is *malo* (bad) or *bon*

It's interesting how we in Aruba put different languages together in one sentence; this is what I saw written on the internet today (bad or good?):

Hola hola good morning, *lastimosa mente* I won't be present, I am busy *inval* for the afternoon. A worker is on vacation, another went for two days to Curaçao and one went urgently to the Netherlands for them to escape with his/her twins, so I won't be able to make it today.

Screenshot 2 Facebook



(good). By inviting his audience to not only critique the text but to also police how the language should be used, the poster is inviting them to become arbiters of language correctness and language purism. How, then, does translanguaging work when it is mitigated through a colonial historical context and not through an “understanding of their bilingual world” (Lasagabaster & García, 2014: 558)?

While translanguaging exemplified in the poster is representative of everyday linguistic practices in Aruba and Curaçao, it is clear that some of the commenters consider

this to be a degradation of Papiamentu. This is evidenced in the first comment where notions of identity are tied to a specific language. By declaring that the passage represents a “*falta di RESPET y AMOR PA BO IDENTIDAD*” (‘lack of respect and lack of love for your identity’) and furthermore, “*MACAKERIA*” (‘monkey business’), the commenter appears to be claiming that only a ‘pure’ form of Papiamentu, that is, one that makes use of minimal translanguaging, is appropriate to serve as a marker of Aruban identity. This point of view further has served to further stigmatize the language and its speakers, who freely use words and structures from English, Dutch and Spanish to creatively communicate in Papiamentu.

Eckkramer notes that linking language to identity has historically been used to promote “the formation and acceptance of a strong local identity” (2003: 101). This pressure to conform to the colonial norm of mono-lingualism, mono-culturalism and mono-identification can be felt in the following comment, which adds: “*Jen di floheria nos ta gaba cu nos sa mas cu un idioma*” (‘Full of laziness, we boast that we know more than one language’). This remark is a meta-critique of the discourse on multilingualism on the islands, because it claims that the idea of Aruba as a multilingual nation which is promoted in the tourist literature, for example, is a fallacy because of the use of translanguaging. In the process, the commenter is replicating the hegemonic discourse that mixing languages is a sign of lack of real competence in any one of them.



Screenshot 3 Facebook

Screenshots 3 and 4 demonstrate how Papiamentu accommodates translanguaging, in this case by a female student describing her academic and personal lives. For instance, when she uses Papiamentu to discuss a science book given to her by her aunt, she uses Dutch words such as *natuurkunde* (physics) and *scheikunde* (chemistry) to describe her fascination with the world of science. She also uses the word *bibliotheek* (library) instead of the Papiamentu word, *biblioteka*. What is interesting to note is her overt usage of Dutch words to describe scientific terms instead of their Papiamentu counterparts. Through preliminary research and observations of everyday Papiamentu



Screenshot 4 *Facebook*

conversation, there are numerous instances where Dutch is used to describe scientific or mathematical terms, even though the equivalent words exist in Papiamentu. In my opinion, this is due to the fact that, because ABC islanders are mainly taught in Dutch in school and at university, their experiences with the sciences have been mediated predominantly through Dutch. It is also important to note that the correlation between Dutch and academic and professional success can be attributed to the ways children are socialized to associate Dutch with disciplines such as science.

In other passages by the same student in Papiamentu, translanguaging still occurs but in some of these cases she employs English words such as *shock*, *challenge*, and *switch* instead of Dutch loanwords. She does so, for example, when recounting the story of how her father passed away and how that event became the motivation for her to finish school. I wonder if English is triggered here in narrative discourse dealing with dramatic life events because of the influence of English in the media (especially American TV shows and movies).

Screenshot 5 Facebook



Screenshot 6 Facebook

Days like these make me miss Kòrsou 🇵🇸 #DiaMundialdeLaArepas



Aside from the use of translanguaging through Papiamentu, the language can also be used metalinguistically to discuss language itself. For instance, in Screenshot 4 there is a discussion about “correct” forms of language that unfolds almost completely in Papiamentu. The poster’s comments critique the use of the Dutch derived word *sfera* in Papiamentu which the poster believes is sometimes being used incorrectly because the original Dutch definition of the word makes it inappropriate in some situations where it is used in Papiamentu. He then provides what he thinks is the correct and more limited definition of the term in Papiamentu as well as the correct word to use in the situations where he contends *sfera* should not be used. By referencing a dictionary to further substantiate his point, he positions his stance as legitimate, and most of the commenters seem to agree. The first commenter takes the poster’s point even further by stating that “the influence of the Dutch language in Papiamentu, more so than ever, is destructive. [This is due] mostly by the *Yunan di Kòrsou* (Curaçaoans) that have gone to live briefly in the Netherlands.” While the original poster never suggests that translanguaging represents the degradation or the “destruction” of Papiamentu, the commenter uses this post to express his thoughts on the insertion of Dutch words into Papiamentu.

Also in Screenshot 4, a commenter uses Papiamentu to critique a Spanish newspaper advertisement for the International Day of the *Arepas*, a snack originally from Colombia and Venezuela, but which has also become typical of Curaçao, as noted by the icon of the Curaçaoan flag. A commenter critiques the advertisement by stating, “I

liked the one [called] *ensalada de gallina*. It's *pollo*, it died already." Although not claiming explicitly to be a scholar of language, the commenter is using Papiamentu to point out what she/he sees as an error, employing translanguaging by finishing the statement in English for emphasis. It is interesting to note that the original poster responds to him by asserting that the advertisement may be correct after all, since in Peru there is dish called *caldo de gallina* or in any case the designer might have been using *papia-nol*, a mixture of Spanish and Papiamentu. \

Conclusion

What does it mean to police a language whose legitimacy is constantly contested? In contrast to their European lexifiers, the status of creole languages is not guaranteed by their widespread use in their respective societies. While some creole languages have a semblance of an official status others are merely considered to be artefacts of cultural identity. This does not, however, impede them from being used extensively and policed regularly on social media. As is the case with other creoles in the Caribbean, the use of translanguaging in Papiamentu, instead of being considered as something foreign which somehow contaminates an essentialized and monolithic 'pure' form of the language, could instead be considered an important and integral part of what it means to be a speaker of Papiamentu, and, by extension, a citizen of the ABC islands..

Can multilingualism on social media platforms therefore be seen as a performance of language competence in the Caribbean (Léglise & Migge, 2015, 53)? The present study, as well as the literature that has been sourced, suggest that social media platforms do indeed allow creole language speakers to hone their multilingual skills. If multilingualism, multiculturalism and multi-identification are becoming increasingly necessary in order to survive and thrive in increasingly multi-polar yet globalized societies, then the mono-lingualism, mono-culturalism and mono-identification that Europe has forced upon itself and its colonies over the last 500 years are becoming a thing of the past. And who among the peoples of the world are better equipped for a pluri-lingual, pluri-cultural and pluri-identified future than the speakers of Papiamentu and the other creole languages of the Caribbean?

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ETIQUETTE IN HET SARNAMI: EEN ONDERZOEK NAAR VERSCHUIVINGEN

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Inleiding

Het Sarnami in Suriname, ook wel Hindostaans genoemd, is een lingua franca, ontstaan uit verschillende aan elkaar gerelateerde talen die gesproken worden in de Indiase deelstaten Uttar Pradesh, Bihar en Jharkhand: Awadhi, Bhojpuri, Maithili, Magahi. Officieel heeft het Sarnami geen status, maar het heeft sinds 1986 wel een officiële spelling. In 1985 heeft R. M. Marhé het boek *Sarnami Byākaran; een elementaire grammatica van het Sarnami* uitgebracht. In dit populair-wetenschappelijk opgezette werk wordt een beschrijving van de grammaticale verschijnselen van het Sarnami gegeven. Ook wordt, uitgaande van de gelijkwaardigheid van alle talen, aangetoond dat het Sarnami als de moedertaal van Hindostanen de basis is waarop een succesvol Hindi- of Urduonderwijs kan stoelen. De belangrijkste eis hierbij is dat het Sarnami als gelijkwaardige taal wordt beschouwd en wordt bevrijd van verstikkende vooroordelen (Marhé, 1985). In de veeltalige Surinaamse gemeenschap heersen over en weer nogal wat vooroordelen en onbegrip ten aanzien van de positie van de talen en de relaties tussen de talen onderling. Deze zijn terug te brengen op een gebrek aan inzicht en aan juiste informatie over de Surinaamse taalsituatie in het algemeen. Een groot deel van de Hindostanen van wie het Sarnami de moedertaal is, is niet altijd bereid om het “Hindostaans” te spreken. Als reden wordt vaak gegeven dat men zich geneert voor het eigene of dat men denkt het Sarnami niet voldoende te beheersen.

Zo treden verschuivingen op, wat in het bijzonder opvalt in het taalverkeer tussen ouderen en jongeren. Het begroeten van de grootmoeder van vaderszijde (adji)¹ diende op een bepaalde wijze te geschieden: “pailigie adji” (ik raak uw voeten aan, adji). De adji zegt op haar beurt “kaljaan raho²” (dat je voorspoedig mag leven). Dit schetst de relatie tussen kleindochter en grootmoeder, een relatie van respect en liefde voor elkaar. Ik heb echter geconstateerd dat deze manier van begroeten in de meeste families niet of nauwelijks meer voorkomt. Thans is “dag, adji” al voldoende.

¹ De begroeting ‘pailigie’ geldt voor ieder die qua leeftijd en rang ouder of hoger is. Dus ook voor de grootouders van beide zijden (adja, adji, nana, nani).

²Behalve deze zegen, kunnen ook andere zegeningen uitgesproken worden.

Niet alleen deze omgangsvorm is aan het verdwijnen, het is ook het geval met andere aanspreekvormen in het Sarnami. Zo is het persoonlijke voornaamwoord āp (u) voor iemand die in relatie en/of status hoger staat dan de spreker niet meer gebruikelijk. Deze verschuivingen in het begroeten/aanspreken waren de aanleiding om veranderingen in de etiquette in het Sarnami te onderzoeken.

Methoden en technieken

De hoofdvraag is:

- Welke veranderingen vinden er plaats in de taalkundige omgangsvormen bij de huidige generatie Sarnamispreekers?

De volgende deelvragen komen aan de orde:

- Welke beleefdheidsregels voor begroeten en aanspreken komen voor in het Sarnami?
- Welke verschillen zijn er tussen ouderen en jongeren wat deze beleefdheidsregels betreft?

De tweede deelvraag wordt beantwoord aan de hand van een klein onderzoek waarbij ouderen boven de 55 jaar en jongeren onder de 35 jaar worden ondervraagd. Er is voor gekozen om een scheiding aan te brengen in de groep van respondenten, zodat de generatieverschillen duidelijk zijn. Het schijnt dat Hindostaanse jongeren (mannen) tegenwoordig meer Sranan dan Sarnami spreken, wat ook invloed heeft op het taalgebruik. De respondenten (8 mannelijke) zijn uit één familie afkomstig, waardoor wordt voorkomen dat er veel verschillen zijn in de interpretatie van beleefdheidsvormen. Etiquette is veelal ook een onderdeel van de opvoeding (sanskaar) en kan van familie tot familie verschillen.

De respondenten vertalen elk vijf specifieke zinnen uit het Nederlands naar het Sarnami. In deze zinnen komt een duidelijke vorm van aanspreking voor. Daarnaast moeten zij in vijf beschreven situaties aangeven wat de juiste manier van begroeten is. De vertalingen worden opgenomen en getranscribeerd. De prognose is dat de jongere generatie zich anders zal uitdrukken dan de oudere generatie.

Etiquette in het Sarnami

Het Sarnāmi (hierna: Sarnami) is de taal die als moedertaal wordt gesproken door Surinamers van Hindostaanse afkomst in Suriname en in Nederland. Aan deze naam is men sinds het begin van de jaren 70 geleidelijk gewend geraakt dankzij taalemancipatorische activiteiten van een aantal (taal- en cultuur-) politiek bewuste jonge Surinaamse intellectuelen in Nederland. Deze activiteiten en talloze publicaties (in de vorm van beschouwende artikelen, gedichten, spreekwoorden, volksverhalen, dichtbundels en tijdschriften) hebben ook in Suriname invloed gehad. De sprekers van het Sarnami noemen hun taal ook Hindustani of Sarnami-Hindustani. Met de naam Sarnami wordt het Surinaamse karakter van de moedertaal van Hindostanen benadrukt, ook al zijn de wortels

van het Sarnami in Noord-India. Deze naam die ‘Surinaamse taal’ of ‘Surinaams’ betekent, is afgeleid van het woord Sarnām, zoals de Hindostaanse Surinamers hun nieuwe vaderland van oudsher noemden.

De Hindostaanse cultuur kenmerkt zich door een rijke traditie, die is overgedragen van generatie op generatie. Anno 2017 is er natuurlijk veel veranderd, maar enkele tradities, zoals het aanspreken en begroeten van ouderen, zijn in veel opzichten behouden al is het in aangepaste vorm.

Begroeten in het Sarnami/Badhaai³

De etiquette of het decorum is een geheel van cultuurgebonden beleefdheidsregels en omgangsvormen. De kern van de etiquette is rekening houden met de gevoelens van anderen en met de gebruiken in een samenleving, in alle situaties waarin mensen met elkaar omgaan. Beleefdheidsregels, omgangs- en aanspreekvormen worden meegegeven in de opvoeding, maar geoefend in alle andere situaties. De taal is bij uitstek het middel om de etiquette over te dragen.

Het Sarnami kent verschillende vormen van groeten. Een groet is een betuiging van beleefdheid, vriendschap of eerbied door woord of gebaar van personen die elkaar ontmoeten of die afscheid nemen. Elke groet wordt gebruikt in een specifieke situatie met een specifieke bedoeling. Verder is de relatie tot degene die gegroet wordt belangrijk. Ook de status is bepalend voor de groet die iemand toebedeeld krijgt.

Hierna volgt een schematische weergave van de verschillende vormen van begroetingen, de betekenis ervan, de context waarin ze worden gebruikt en de wedergroet die erbij hoort.

De verschillende vormen van begroetingen in het Sarnami/Badhaai

Groet	Betekenis	Context	Wedergroet
Paillagie/ pau lagu	Ik raak uw voeten aan	Paillagie is letterlijk genomen een handeling, waarbij degene die groet de voeten van de gegroete moet aanraken. Het is een teken van respect, omdat de gegroete persoon ouder is in leeftijd en in een hogere familiere relatie staat, bijvoorbeeld ouders, grootouders, ooms, tantes. De rang/status, relatie en leeftijd worden hierbij in acht genomen. De gegroete persoon is in de positie om een zegen uit te spreken over de degene die groet. Let wel, een oudere zegt nooit paillagie tegen een jongere.	Als antwoord op paillagie, wordt een zegen uitgesproken. Die kan variëren: Anand raho (Het ga je goed) Kaljan raho (Het ga je goed) Tjiranjivi raho (Het ga je goed) Ajushman/ Ajushmati bhawo (Dat je lang mag leven)

³Dit artikel handelt uitsluitend over de Hindoes. Ook Moslims, oorspronkelijk afkomstig uit India, worden tot Hindostanen gerekend, maar behoren niet tot de doelgroep van dit stuk.

			Sau bhagjawati bhawo/ Sada suhagan raho (Dat je gelukkig getrouwd mag zijn) Haribhakt raho (Dat je altijd gelovig mag zijn) Djie jo (Dat je lang mag leven) Khush raho (Dat je gelukkig mag leven)
Ramram	De naam van God Ram eren	Hier gaat het om een streekgebonden groet. Waarschijnlijk kwam een groep immigranten uit een streek waar de god Ram werd geëerd. Deze groet kan door iedereen gebruikt worden. Er is sprake van een gelijke relatie, hoewel sommigen deze groet ook gebruiken tegen ouderen.	De wedergroet op Ramram is Sitaram. Godin Sita is de gemalin van Ram. Indien een oudere begroet wordt, kan deze een zegen uitspreken.
Namaste, Namaskaram, Namaskaar	Ik buig voor de ziel (Atma) in jou	Namaste is een universele groet die voor eenieder gebruikt kan worden, ongeacht de relatie, status, afkomst, leeftijd. Het is een pure begroeting van de ziel die huist in het lichaam van de persoon. Hierbij hoort ook het vouwen van de handen en het licht buigen van het hoofd.	De wedergroet hierbij is ook Namaste.
Pranam	Ik buig voor de ziel in jou	Indien men de andere persoon op een heel respectvolle manier wil begroeten, dan gebruikt men 'pranam'. Hierbij wordt achter de naam van de aangesprokene ook het achtervoegsel 'djie' of 'shrie' geplaatst. De pandit (priester) zou dus begroet moeten worden met "Pranam panditdjie".	De wedergroet hierbij is ook pranam.
Hari ohm Maharadj	Letterlijk: hallo pandit	Een vrij onbekende groet, die plaatsvindt tussen twee of meerdere pandits onderling.	Hari ohm Maharadj

Door gebrek aan kennis en onwetendheid over de eigen cultuur worden bepaalde vormen van begroetingen nauwelijks meer gebruikt, bijvoorbeeld pranaam. Vroeger werd de kinderen met de paplepel ingegoten op welke manier ze wie moesten begroeten. De normvervaging hierin is heel goed merkbaar. Paillagie is nu een symbolische groet, omdat bijna niemand meer de voeten van de andere persoon aanraakt. Terwijl dit aanraken niet een handeling van nederigheid is, maar een handeling waardoor je gezegend wordt.

Aanspreken in het Sarnami/ Sambodhieth

In het Sarnami worden drie personen in het enkelvoud en meervoud onderscheiden (persoonlijke voornaamwoorden): spreker, toegesprokene, degene die noch spreker, noch toegesprokene is. De bezittelijke voornaamwoorden worden bijvoeglijk gebruikt en staan in nauw verband met de drie persoonlijke voornaamwoorden. Ze worden in combinatie met *kar* of *ké* (van) gebruikt.

Het Sarnami kent in de tweede persoon drie niveaus van beleefdheid bij de persoonlijke voornaamwoorden. Dit geldt voor de 2^e persoon enkelvoud.

- Tú: alleen in een sterke neerwaartse gezagsrelatie (volwassene – kind/ of bij grote intimiteit zoals in een gebed naar God⁴)
- Túm: alleen in gelijke relaties
- Āp: alleen bij een opwaartse gezagsrelatie/ bij formele aansprekingen

Hieronder wordt schematisch weergegeven

Grammaticale personen in het Sarnami

Functie	Enkelvoud	Meervoud
Onderwerp	Tú- jij	Tú log/ sab (han)/lon- jullie
Bezittelijk vnw	Tor/-e – jouw	Tú log (an)/ sab (han)/ lon ke- jullie
Meewerkend vnw	Toke- aan jou	Tú log (an)/ sab (han) lon ke- jullie
Lijdend vw	Toke- jou, je	Tú log (an)/ sab (han) lon ke- jullie, je
Beleefdheidsvorm		
Onderwerp	Tú/ āp – u	Tú/ āp –u
Bezittelijk vnw	Tomhar/ tomhare/ āpke- uw	Tomhar/ tomhare/ āpke – uw
Meewerkend vw	Tomhe/ āpke- u	Tomhe/ āpke- u
Lijdend vw	Tomhe/ āpke – u	Tomhe/ āpke- u

Beleefdheidsnormen worden verder ook aangegeven door bepaalde achtervoegsels (ji, shri, o) toe te voegen. Wanneer het duidelijk is over welke persoon gesproken wordt en de personen een groep vormen, kan –log in –logan veranderen. Hán (ja) wordt vaker gebruikt dan ji hán, terwijl het laatste juist altijd beleefd is. Het persoonlijk voornaamwoord tú kan ook u betekenen, mits het werkwoord een o-uitgang krijgt. Bijvoorbeeld: Tú karlo (u deed) en Tú karle (jij deed).

De praktijk

De respondenten vertalen elk vijf zinnen uit het Nederlands naar het Sarnami. Hun vertalingen worden opgenomen op de band, en later getranscribeerd. In deze zinnen gaat het expliciet om de aanspreekvormen.

1a. Grootvader, spreekt **u** ook Sarnami? b. *Adja, āāp bhie Sarnami bolo hai?*

2a. **Ik** geef **je** gelijk (hierin). b. *I bat par ham toke/ tomhe leti deila.*

⁴ De filosofie hierachter is dat God niet buiten degene die bidt aanwezig is, maar in hem of haar.

3a. **Ik** geef **u** hierin gelijk.

b. *I bat par **ham aāpke** leti deila.*

4a. Wie ben **jij**?

b. ***Tú** kai hai?*

5a. Heeft **u** al gegeten?

b. ***Aāp khailo?***

Daarna worden vijf situaties geschetst waarbij er sprake is van een begroeting. De respondent moet aangeven wat volgens hem de juiste manier van begroeten is.

Manier van begroeten

Situatie	Begroeting
Jij- oom (broer van de vader)	<i>Pailigie dada</i>
Grootmoeder- pandit	<i>Pailigie babaji/ panditji/ Namaste babaji/panditji</i>
Phoewa- phoewa (zus van de vader- zwager van de vader)	<i>Ramram</i>
Jij- vader	<i>Pailigie pitaji/ pitashri</i>
Jij- eigen kind	<i>Namaste / na begroeting ashirwaadh geven</i>

In totaal zijn er acht respondenten geïnterviewd (4 personen ouder dan 55 jaar en 4 personen jonger dan 35 jaar). De respondenten hebben vrijwillig geparticipeerd aan het interview. Aan hen is kort uitgelegd wat het doel is van het interview en dat enkele zinnen moeten worden vertaald van het Nederlands naar het Sarnami. Ook moesten ze aangeven wat de etiquette van begroeten is binnen een bepaalde situatie. Tijdens het interviewen van de respondenten ouder dan 55 jaar viel het op dat zij geneigd waren om antwoord te geven in het Hindie. Een respondent gaf aan dat Sarnami een Túti bhasa (letterlijk: kapotte taal) is en daarom niet zuiver is.

Resultaten met betrekking tot aanspreekvormen

1a. Grootvader, spreekt u ook Sarnami? **b. Adja, āp bhie Sarnami bolo hai?**

Frappant was dat twee van de respondenten ouder dan 60 jaar de grootvader niet rechtstreeks zouden aanspreken met āp (u), maar in de vorm van de derde persoon enkelvoud: hamar adja bhie Sarnami batija tha?; Hamar nana batija tha Sarnami? (Spreekt mijn grootvader Sarnami?)

Eén respondent kon geen antwoord geven op de vraag, terwijl een andere respondent in plaats van het persoonlijk voornaamwoord 'āp' 'Tú log' heeft gebruikt. Tú log is verkeerd gebruikt, omdat dit een meervoudsvorm is.

Bij de respondenten jonger dan 35 jaar zouden er drie 'Tú' en één 'āp' gebruiken om de adja aan te spreken. Vermeldenswaardig is dat alle vier respondenten hier 'Hindoe-stanie' hebben gebruikt voor de benaming van de taal in plaats van Sarnami.

2a. Ik geef **je** gelijk (hierin).

b. *I bat par **ham toke/ tomhe** leti deila.*

Bij deze vraag had elke respondent ouder dan 60 jaar een andere vertaling voor ‘gelijk geven’: sahamath, baraabrie, satjie baath, leti deila. Eén respondent heeft ‘tomhe’ gebruikt voor je (de beleefdheidsvorm), terwijl de drie anderen ‘toke’ hebben gebruikt. Alle respondenten jonger dan 35 jaar hebben hier ‘toke’ gebruikt.

3a. Ik geef u hierin gelijk.

b. *I bat par **ham aāpke** leti deila.*

Eén respondent kon geen antwoord geven hierop, twee respondenten hebben ‘aāpke’ gebruikt voor de vertaling van u, terwijl één respondent gewoon ‘toke’ zou gebruiken. Drie respondenten jonger dan 35 jaar hebben hier ‘aāpke’ gebruikt, terwijl één respondent toke heeft gebruikt.

4a. Wie ben jij?

b. *Tú kaun hai?*

Bij deze zin hebben twee respondenten ‘Tú ke bato’, terwijl de twee anderen ‘Tú ke bate’ gebruikten. Het verschil tussen ‘bato’ en ‘bate’ is dat bato enigszins beleefder overkomt.

Drie respondenten jonger dan 35 jaar hebben hier ‘Tú ke bate’ gebruikt, terwijl één de beleefdheidsvorm ‘āp’ heeft gebruikt, zonder dat hij daar reden voor had.

5a. Heeft u al gegeten?

b. *Aāp khailo?*

Eén respondent heeft het woord ‘bhodjan’ gebruikt voor eten, drie anderen ‘khaile’. Eén respondent heeft ‘khai bhailo’ gebruikt, wat een beleefdheidsvariant is (met de o-uitgang). Twee respondenten jonger dan 35 jaar hebben ‘Tú’ gebruikt in plaats van ‘āp’, terwijl twee respondenten wel ‘āp’ hebben gebruikt. Frappant is dat drie respondenten bovendien zouden zeggen: khai tjukle (eten gedaan?).

Resultaten m.b.t. begroetingen

1. Jij- oom (broer van de vader)	<i>Pailigie dada</i>
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Alle respondenten boven de 55 jaar hebben unaniem de juiste begroeting gebruikt.

Twee respondenten jonger dan 35 jaar hebben aangegeven met ‘pailigie’ te zullen groeten, terwijl één Ramram zou zeggen. Eén respondent gaf aan dat hij afhankelijk van de situatie of met pailigie of met ramram zou groeten.

2. Grootmoeder- pandit	<i>Pailigie babaji/ panditji/ Namaste babaji/panditji</i>
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Alle respondenten boven de 55 zouden ‘pailigie pandit(ji)’ gebruiken, hoewel één respondent aangaf dat hij, als de pandit in leeftijd jonger zou zijn, Ramram zou gebruiken. Drie respondenten jonger dan 35 jaar zouden ‘pailigie pandit’ gebruiken, terwijl één Ramram zou zeggen. Frappant is dat geen enkele respondent het achtervoegsel ‘ji’ zou toevoegen voor pandit.

3. Phoewa- phoewa (zus van de vader- zwager van de vader)	<i>Ramram</i>
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Twee respondenten gaven aan dat ze elkaar met ramram zouden begroeten, terwijl twee respondenten zeiden dat er sprake zou zijn van ‘bheth’ ofwel ‘gale lage’ wat omhelzen betekent.

Eén respondent jonger dan 35 jaar gaf aan dat er hier omhelsd zou worden, één respondent gaf aan dat de jongere zus ‘pailigie’ zou zeggen, één respondent gaf aan dat ‘kaise rahaile’ (hoe gaat het?) genoeg zou zijn, terwijl één respondent zei dat ‘didie kaise’ (zus hoe gaat het?) zou volstaan.

4. Jij- vader	<i>Pailigie pitaji/ pitashri</i>
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Drie respondenten zouden ‘pailigie pitadjie’ gebruiken, terwijl één ‘pailigie pa’ zou gebruiken.

Eén respondent jonger dan 35 zou ‘pailigie pa’ zeggen, twee zouden ‘dag pa’ zeggen en één respondent zou ‘fa/ fawaka’ zeggen.

5. Jij- eigen kind	<i>Namaste / na begroeting ashirwaadh geven</i>
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Bij deze situatie kwamen interessante antwoorden. Het blijkt dat ouderen hun eigen kind niet eerst begroeten, het kind groet (pailigie) en dan wordt hij gezegend door de vader/moeder. Eén respondent zou wel ‘beta kaise (kind, hoe gaat het?)’ zeggen.

Ook bij de respondenten jonger dan 35 was er sprake van vertwijfeling: twee respondenten zouden ‘dag (naam kind)’ zeggen. Eén wist niet hoe hij zou groeten, terwijl één gewoon ‘kaise’ (hoe is het?) zou zeggen.

Slotopmerkingen en conclusies

Na analyse van de antwoorden van de respondenten kom ik tot de volgende conclusies. De jongeren gebruiken liever de term ‘Hindostanie’ in plaats van ‘Sarnami’. De ouderen zijn geneigd om ‘Hindie’ te spreken, één respondent gaf bovendien aan dat ‘Sarnami’ een ‘Tútie bhasa’ (kapotte taal) is. Hieruit blijkt dat de status van het Sarnami niet hoog is in deze groep.

De oudere generatie gebruikt de aanspreekvormen wel op de juiste manier en kent het verschil in gebruik tussen tú, āp, toke en tomhe. Hoe ouder de spreker, hoe meer hij geneigd is om een ander met ‘toke’ aan te spreken. Dit heeft waarschijnlijk te maken met het feit dat degenen die hij spreekt meestal jonger zijn.

De helft van de respondenten jonger dan 35 jaar heeft steeds de juiste aanspreekvormen gebruikt. Het verschil in gebruik tussen tú en āp is niet altijd duidelijk. Iedereen wordt met tú aangesproken. Drie jongeren hebben bij de laatste zin ook ‘tjukle’ gebruikt voor het werkwoord eten, wat letterlijk betekent ‘eten gedaan’, in plaats van het werkwoord eten te vervoegen.

De respondenten ouder dan 60 jaar zouden iemand die ouder is dan zichzelf (broer van de vader/ vader) op de juiste manier begroeten met ‘pailigie’. Hoewel één respondent

‘pa’ zou zeggen in plaats van ‘pitaji’. Ook de pandit zou op deze manier begroet worden, bovendien zouden ze panditji zeggen. Dit benadrukt het respect voor de pandit. Eén respondent zou wel Ramram panditji zeggen, indien de pandit in kwestie jonger zou zijn dan hij. Dit is een incorrecte manier van groeten, gezien de pandit altijd hoger is in status.

De ouderen hebben het verschijnsel ‘bheth’ benoemd als begroeting. Dit houdt in het omhelzen van elkaar en gebeurt meestal tussen twee mensen die in status gelijk zijn. Maar ook dit verandert. Als een ouder familielid een jongere neef of nicht lang niet heeft gezien, wordt er ook ‘bheth’ gedaan.

Opvallend is dat de ouderen niet kunnen aangeven hoe zij hun eigen kind zouden begroeten. Het is gebruikelijk dat een kind zijn ouder altijd eerst groet, waarop de ouder teruggroet (dit is afhankelijk van de manier waarop het kind groet). Maar bij het afscheid nemen zegenen de ouderen de kinderen wel (het ga je goed).

Het is gebleken dat de jongeren eerder voor Ramram zouden kiezen, dan voor ‘pailigie’. Behalve wanneer het om de pandit gaat, dan zouden drie jongeren hem op de juiste manier begroeten (pailigie), één jongere zou Ramram gebruiken. Dit is een incorrecte manier van groeten, omdat de pandit geen gelijke is van de spreker. Opvallend is ook dat alle jongere respondenten gewoon pandit zouden zeggen en niet het achtervoegsel ‘ji’ zouden gebruiken.

De jongeren kiezen ervoor om eerder ‘kaise’ (hoe gaat het) te gebruiken, dan echt te begroeten.

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Het begroeten van hun vader levert interessante resultaten op: slechts één respondent zou het doen zoals het moet, twee zouden in het Nederlands groeten (‘dag pa’), terwijl één in het Sranan zou groeten (‘fa?’). Ook hun eigen kind zouden ze min of meer op dezelfde manier groeten: ‘dag (naam van het kind), of hoe gaat het?’

Samenvattend kan geconcludeerd worden dat er verschuivingen plaatsvinden in de manier waarop men elkaar aanspreekt en de manier waarop men elkaar begroet. De oudere generatie doet het nog zoals het behoort, terwijl bij de jongere generatie de Westerse invloeden duidelijk te merken zijn: de taal waarin wordt gesproken, het tutoyeren van ook oudere personen, het aanspreken van de pandit bij zijn titel in plaats van panditji. Er is overduidelijk een taalverandering in het Sarnami gaande. Specifieke culturele elementen gaan hierdoor verloren. Een belangrijk feit is ook dat de invloed van een multilinguale samenleving groter is dan de etiquette/traditie in een bepaalde taal. De sprekers van het Sarnami moeten voor zichzelf nagaan in welke mate zij hun taal zuiver willen houden en in welke mate zij invloeden van buitenaf toelaten.

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**RECOVERING OTHERED CULTURES AND
HISTORIES IN THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN
AND BEYOND**

CONTESTING RESPECTABILITY AND SEXUAL POLITICS IN POST-EMANCIPATION CURAÇAO¹

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Introduction

Most studies in the Caribbean about the history of sexuality focus predominantly on gender roles in kinship and family. In fact, in the Caribbean, sexuality has been a “taboo subject off-limits for scholarly research” as Jenny Sharpe and Samantha Pinto conclude in their review article “The sweetest taboo: studies of Caribbean sexualities: a review essay” (2006: 247). This is also valid for the Dutch Caribbean islands, where the few studies on sexuality deal with its present manifestations in Curaçaoan society. However, the situation seems to be changing slowly as more empirical studies are being produced that historicize sexuality in Caribbean society.²

There is a need to study the colonial history of sexuality in Curaçao, in particular during the slavery and post-Emancipation periods. I endorse historian Patricia Mohammed who asserts in her article *Towards indigenous feminist theorizing in the Caribbean* that “feminism as an expression of sexual equality must be itself historically located, despite the global discourse which feeds its growth” (Mohammed, 1998: 7). This implicates in particular the intricately complex and contradictory inter-relationships of race, gender and class as they played out in men’s and women’s experiences with sexuality during colonial slavery (Brereton, 2013). What comes out of recent feminist scholarship is that colonial slavery was both a system of exclusion and one of gender supremacy and racialized sexual dominance – a conclusion which the Curaçaoan historians Nolda Römer (1980; 1992), Sonia Cuales (1998) and Jeanne Henriquez (2006) have also drawn.

In this article, I explore the historically specific manifestations of sexuality that have culturally defined or challenged popular conceptions of gender in Curaçao. I look at the cultural politics deployed during colonial times, aimed at shaping ideal male and

¹ This is an adapted version of the Public Lecture titled “Contesting respectability: sexual politics in post-emancipation colonial Curaçao”, delivered in Amsterdam on March 27, 2017. That lecture was part of the NWO program “Cultural practices of citizenship under conditions of fragmented sovereignty: gendered and sexual citizenship in Curaçao and Bonaire”, a partnership between the University of Amsterdam and the University of Curaçao. The lecture was made possible by: Dr. Sruti Bala, Assistant Professor in Theatre and Performance Studies at the University of Amsterdam; Amsterdam Centre for Globalisation Studies; the Amsterdam School for Cultural Analysis (ASCA); the Netherlands Institute for Cultural Analysis (NICA); the Amsterdam Research Centre for Gender and Sexuality (ARC-GS); and Atria-Institute on Gender Equality and Women’s History.

² See Schields (2017); Bala (2017-2022); Allen (forthcoming)

female Curaçaoan behaviors in the post-Emancipation period, between 1863 and 1915. I also look at how this was replicated and/or contested by those toward whom it was directed. As a turning point in the history of Curaçao I use 1863 when slavery was abolished and about thirty-five percent of the population became freed citizens (Oostindie, 1995: 56). I apply the term ‘respectability’ – which is expressed in the local creole language of Papiamentu through terms such as *hende drechi* [respectable people] – to address both the colonial cultural politics of gender relationships and its social implications for the Curaçaoan working class.

It is important to look at how respectability was defined in the colonial policy of westernization as it was implemented within the power dynamics of the state and the Roman Catholic Church after Abolition in 1863. Principally during the 19th century, this Church became a social institution that increasingly played a very important part in the dynamic cultural encounter between enslaved, freed, and free people. After Abolition, while the African descended working class struggled to define the meaning of freedom, the Church, much more than the colonial state, grew to become an important primary institution exercising authority and control over the lives of this segment of the population.

The purpose of this article is to give insight into the ways in which institutions with power in Curaçao approached respectability in the post-Emancipation period, not only as a class and race ideology, but also as one of gender. The paper also aims to illustrate how the popular classes dealt with respectability by replicating and/or resisting it.

Respectable behavior: *hende drechi* and more

In Papiamentu, the main language in Curaçao, the term *hende drechi*, meaning ‘a respectable person’, has been and is still used to denote someone who behaves according to certain moral values and norms, such as good manners, piousness and chastity, as well as other good Roman Catholic virtues. The adjective *drechi* also appears as a verb, *drecha*, in the expression *drecha bida*, which literally means reforming or bettering one’s life, in this case specifically as part of the process of becoming a *hende drechi*: a respectable person. The Roman Catholic Church came to use the expression *drecha bida* to promote having a ‘proper’ family relationship by regulating one’s sexual life through (monogamous) marriage. An informant born in 1903 explained it explicitly to me during an interview that I had with her in 1983: “In the past the Roman Catholic Church would visit your home and when the priest came to your home and [noticed that] you were living together as man and woman without being married, he would advise you to get married, to *drecha bida*, i.e. to better your life.”³

After the Abolition of slavery, a certain notion of marriage was used to urge cohabiting black, working-class men and women to get married legally as well as in church and in that way become properly married spouses who live monogamously in a nucle-

³ Interview of Severina Valks. born in Kenepa in 1902, by Rose Mary Allen, 8-9-1983.

ar family household (Allen, 2007). In his letter read at the Emancipation of the enslaved in the Dutch Caribbean in 1863, the Vicar Apostolic J.F.A. Kistemaker explicitly emphasized this notion and stated that the formerly enslaved should adhere to the norms of sexual morality and monogamy instead of the less secure and unstable family lives that they had presumably lived during slavery.⁴

So, especially in the post-Emancipation period, the term *drecha bida* came to hold more meaning than just that of its two constituent words. The term represented an ideology with certain attitudes towards sexuality for the African descended working class and stood for specific patriarchal notions of gender roles and behavior for men and women. *Drecha bida* became central in the life of the African descended working class who used the term to refer to the ideal family. During conversations with me, elderly people would often say about a couple that had lived a long, married life: “*Nan a biba drechi*” or “*Nan a biba un bida drechi*”, both meaning that the couple had lived a respectable life.⁵

Individual members of the working class who adhered to the ideology of *drecha bida* tended to experience advancement in their status in society. Consequently, for some a *bida drechi* [respectable life] became an aspiration for social mobility and a way to contest the socially inferior position that the society imposed upon them. In this sense, *drecha bida* as a process and *bida drechi* as the result of that process contain elements similar to the politics of respectability – a concept which has become central in African American gender history. Scholars such as Evelyn Brooks-Higginbotham (1994) and Victoria Wolcott (2001) have applied the term respectability to refer to a certain way of life of African Americans, in which they adopt the manners and morality of the dominant European descended culture in an attempt to counter the negative image attached to the behavior patterns associated with their own color group. Respectability is seen here to be a coping strategy adopted by African Americans in their efforts aimed at social advancement and at destigmatizing themselves from the prevailing status notions in American society. Higginbotham and Wolcott have applied the term to the attitude of middle-class and working-class African American women who, lacking the phenotypically European physical features preferred by society, may attempt to enhance their status by displaying certain practices (e.g. in terms of clothing and hairstyle), conduct and lifestyles similar to those of the European descended upper classes.

Peter Wilson has also used respectability in his book *Crab antics* (1973), which is based on ethnographic research on the English and English lexifier creole-speaking Colombian island of Providencia, near the east coast of Nicaragua. Wilson defines respectability as a value system acted out (e.g. through language and lifestyle) by the

⁴ *Kerkelijke Courant*, no. 368, vol. 30, 16-1-1864; *Amigoe*, 1-7-1863.

⁵ The concept is still used at present: in 2016, a 55-year-old lady who had cohabited with her partner for over 25 years told me that she had “bettered her life” [*drecha bida*] through formal marriage.

middle class and by women of all social classes on the island in an attempt to attain a certain level of social advancement. Wilson considers the Christian Church to be a principal agent in the formulation and propagation of respectability, as it is the foremost actor in the public domain of sociability for the middle class and especially for women, who are notably more devout than their male counterparts (Wilson: 102).

For the male culture, Wilson coins the counter-concept of ‘reputation’, which points to autochthonous behavior – the adaptation by men to local conditions, especially by spending time on the street and, by extension, in the rum shop where an all-male crew gathers at every opportunity to drink, play games, and above all talk. Qualities that are important for creating a (male) reputation are fathering children and supporting them economically, but not necessarily raising them. According to Wilson, reputation also involves a readiness to fight in defense of one’s honor and a proficiency in the use of language, notably sweet talk, word games, riddles, storytelling, boasting, puns, insults and cursing. Musical ability and knowledge of local lore, fishing, carpentry and mechanical skills are also essential parts of a man’s reputation and of the ideal masculinity (Wilson: 149, 150). Wilson has been criticized (Boucher, 2003) for reducing a complex set of behaviors to a binary opposition, since in Caribbean societies, both men and women adhere to the principle of respectability, as the case of Curaçao also shows.

The culture of dissemblance as a methodological challenge

Much of the data in this paper is drawn from my oral history research which I started to conduct in the 1980s to examine how Afro-Curaçaoans journeyed from slavery to freedom. I have approached this research from a feminist perspective that recognizes power as a central factor in the lives of the research objects. Such an approach derives from a need to lend a voice to oppressed, marginalized, excluded and ‘hidden’ groups in a gender-inclusive way. My feminist approach entails looking at how institutions of power constructed colonial-based power in the daily lives of marginalized groups. The approach also requires looking at how these groups contested these power constructs and articulated resistance. Consequently, in this paper I deal not only with the way in which the Roman Catholic Church promoted the post-Emancipation politics of respectability, which I have been able to deduce from archival material such as newspapers and letters and other documents written by the religious leaders. Through oral history research, I also listen to the voices of the people who experienced and responded to the politics of respectability.

The voices of those historically silenced can be heard through their narratives. What has struck me is that during oral history interviews, women especially were at first less likely to cooperate. Fortunately, this has changed in the course of time. But in particular women born at the end of the 19th or beginning of the 20th century would initially disqualify themselves as having lived a life that supposedly was not worth

writing about. These women silenced themselves because historically their social lives were not considered important. And when I did obtain their willingness to be interviewed, they would still prefer not to talk about intimate aspects of their lives. In other words, I had to break through several cultural walls behind which these women positioned themselves.

Scholars of African American social life have called this phenomenon the “culture of dissemblance” which is visible particularly among African American women who have in the course of time learned to hide and mask their feelings, secrets and private lives from the prying and judgmental eyes of the dominant classes (Simmons, 2012: 433). Darlene Clark Hine sees dissemblance as a kind of protective shield adopted in particular by African descended women who, while creating an appearance of openness and disclosure, actually shield the truth of their inner selves from the oppressor (1989: 915). According to her, one of the characteristics of the culture of dissemblance is that African American women remain silent about much of what they endure in their lives. They would rather not tell the whole story of their experience so as not to be judged according to the demeaning stereotypes to which they have long been subjected (p. 915). According to Francis White, this behavior became a habit transmitted inter-generationally; painful narratives would not be talked about or would be presented as mere fragments of stories that show more heroism and are less painful (White quoted in Malhotra, 2013: 178).

Attention to body language becomes important when silence is exhibited in relation to inner experiences. An informant born in 1888, while recollecting how she had become pregnant by the overseer of the plantation where she lived and worked, did not use the term pregnancy, but moved her eyes and hands to describe her situation. She said: “The overseer had many children by different women. Once he ... [here the informant rapidly closed and opened her eyes several times, while hitting her right fist in the palm of her left hand] ... me. After the child was born, I continued to work on the plantation.” As researcher, I became aware of several motions, gestures and noises that were part of the conversations and that were important for understanding the inner experiences of informants.

Informants could also use humor to camouflage certain feelings. This sometimes confused me, as one would rather expect anger to be expressed. However, humor can function as a coping mechanism to release frustration and stress. For some informants, humor provides a sense of power and control over those who view them unquestionably as inferior (Mason, 2009).

Oral narratives have enabled me to submerge myself into the deeper waters of the lives of informants and to bring forward meaningful information that usually does not get mentioned, perhaps not even in conversation with their own relatives. Once trust has been gained, the oral history interviews give women in particular a space to comment upon issues in their life that are relevant to them, to pinpoint values, and to con-

demn what they see as wrong. Their narratives explain how women have understood, negotiated and sometimes challenged dominant societal ideals. It is their oral histories that have allowed them to redefine themselves by voicing their life testimonials and (in that way) construct their selfhood. They also initiated me, as a local researcher, in the ways in which ethnicity, race, gender, class, and in this case also religion, intersect and influence people's lives.

Creating a *bida drechi* as a way of life

As mentioned, the years following Abolition provided the paradigmatic context for *bida drechi*, due to the fact that both the state and the church feared that emancipated Afro-Curaçaoans would slide back into what they called “an uncivilized state”, believed to be the consequence of their African heritage and the destabilizing influences of slavery. The Catholic Church assumed that Afro-Curaçaoans ought to be uplifted especially from their “out of control” behavior consisting of sexual relationships outside the institution of marriage. The above-mentioned letter of the Vicar Apostolic Kistemaker, read aloud on Emancipation Day, placed heavy emphasis on marriage and monogamy in association with moral behavior to temper the so-called hypersexuality of Afro-Curaçaoans.⁶

In Curaçao, it was the Catholic Church that was significantly involved in the politics of respectability by attempting to instill values and respectable behavior in Afro-Curaçaoans. This does not exempt other powerful institutions from their part in this project. For example, in 1883 and again in 1885, the colonial government passed a decree stating that unmarried women (even those with children) were not to be given a piece of land upon their request. For many formerly enslaved, a piece of land was a much-desired item to seek personal autonomy and escape the dominant power of the plantation owners. This escape was frequently called *sali for di pia di shon*: coming out from under the ‘feet’ [control/dominance] of the plantation owner. Married women too were denied a piece of land, as such a request could only be made by their husband. In that period, the working class exerted growing pressure upon government to make land accessible for the purpose of agriculture and home construction, and the government indeed increasingly distributed land (Allen, 2007). In making decisions about land ownership, the colonial government applied a gender-biased policy and in essence institutionalized the husband as the head of the nuclear family, in conformity with the teachings of the Church.

Although the colonial state, the local upper classes and the Dutch Reformed Church all benefitted from the politics of respectability upheld by the Catholic Church and had a vested interest in maintaining and promoting it, their involvement was less significant than that of the Catholic Church. The teachings of the Catholic Church – known popularly as *lei di pastor* [the law of the priests] as oral history has taught us

⁶ *Kerkelijke Courant*, no. 368, vol. 30, 16-1-1864; *Amigoe*, 1-7-1863.

— were embodied in many rules and measures that were used to exercise strong supervision over the moral lives of the faithful. Conversion to Catholicism was supposed to go along with a transformation of culture. To spread the Gospel among the population, a weekly series of life stories was published in Papiamentu newspapers; moral values were integrated into these stories that dealt with people's life-situations.

Sexuality was viewed in sharply gendered terms and, therefore, sexual culture was structured around a heavily polarized understanding of gender. As part of the religious condemnation of premarital sex, single mothers and their children were especially stigmatized and shamed. For example, in baptism the Church made a distinction between children born in wedlock and those born out of wedlock, which cast shame on the latter. Until far into the 20th century, people born out of wedlock could not be ordained as priests or be trained to work as schoolteachers (Paula, 2005). The following interview fragment gives some idea of how the Church could apply humiliation very directly and personally: "... My first children were twins. I was not married. I went to ask the priest to baptize them. When I requested this of the priest, he walked away and every time I asked he would slam the door in my face. I got many blows with the door from him ...".⁷

Around the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, young working-class people experienced significant changes in their lives, which threatened the respectability and moral conduct endorsed by the Church as a regulating and sanctioning institution (Broek, 1992; Allen, 2007; 2011). Young men and women would migrate in large numbers from the countryside into town in search of work. Young men were also on the move to work elsewhere in the Caribbean region or as sailors on ships. Migration as a survival mechanism was condemned by the Church as it was deemed to throw these young black men back into a state of "uncivilized rough behavior", which the Church had tried hard to get rid of during their time in school. Priests frequently wrote about the perils that both sexes, but young women in particular, encountered in town and that impeded them from leading a moral and decent life. In town, young women were easily at risk of being sexually approached. Church archives are replete with letters about young women who were harassed by their employers. Some of these documents are based on complaints by these women or by their families who acted as plaintiffs and presented harassment claims to church or even state officials.

The Church made great efforts to educate young women and men in its attempt to create respectable citizens. For women, the Church preached domesticity and purity, which it attempted to instill from an early age through the educational system. Women's respectability was defined in terms of their location within the domestic sphere as mothers and wives, subordinate to their husband who was the provider and the head of the family. In this way, the Church worked towards engraining the subordinate position of women within the patriarchal structure of the family and the society in the

⁷ Interview with Simmons (no Christian name registered; born 1888) by R.M. Allen, 15-1-1980 (*NatAr*).

popular consciousness. The Church would also react whenever these values were at risk.

Respectability could mean becoming excluded from (segments of) society. For example, young women who joined the Legion of Saint Mary or Kongregashi were placed under tight supervision and stringent constraints.⁸ They had to display high moral conduct in terms of dress and action and were kept apart from their age group. They were not allowed to participate in any popular events and could only attend mandatory church activities.

Respectability meant different things for men and women. The Church approached boys and girls in very different ways. Boys were socialized to become responsible and dedicated husbands, providers and fathers who maintained a disciplined sexuality. The Church often complained about having less control over working-class Afro-Curaçaoan males after they left school. It seemed less successful at disciplining males according to Catholic values (Allen, 2007). However, deviation from the dominant codes of respectability was less damaging for men than for women. This position of relative privilege became expressed in the Papiamentu proverb '*Un hòmber ta kai den lodo, lanta sagudí su kurpa, e ta keda hòmber* [A man may fall in the mud, but he can stand up, shake off the mud, and still be considered a (respectable) man].'

The Church created opportunities for both local women and men who abided by the politics of respectability. They were able to get a respectable job, for example in the teaching profession – though sometimes as non-qualified schoolteachers at certain primary schools – and they often obtained work upon the recommendation of a priest. People who lived a respectable life could also make better use of the social facilities which the Church had developed, such as hospital care (Van der Mark, 1999) and social welfare, while their children could attend the best schools (*skol di plaka*).

Becoming respectable also required downplaying or rejecting one's own ethnicity as well as Afro-Curaçaoan customs. The expression *No hasi kos di bo koló* [Don't behave like a typical black person] explicitly articulates the idea that being a respectable citizen means behaving and thinking differently than the rest of your color or class group. One could argue that respectability meant that people had to engage in a type of mimicry and become what Frantz Fanon would have called people with "black skin, white masks".

In these ways, the ideology of respectability created a specific class of families that lived according to its rules and who enjoyed the social and sometimes economic advancement associated with it. Consequently, the drive for respectability, powered by a struggle for social advancement, widened the status differences between members of the working class. By linking status (worthiness of respect) to sexual propriety, behavioral decorum and neatness, respectability had a gatekeeping function. Respectability established the right to respect and to full citizenship.

⁸ Some were chosen by the nuns while others volunteered. The girls were called *kongrenis*.

Women deviating from norms of femininity

As mentioned before, men seemed to have more freedom to deviate from the principles of respectability than did women. However, there were women who did not feel compelled to live up to the standards of femininity dictated by respectability. In my research, I have encountered women who resisted and contradicted the dominant ideal of respectable behavior. In town, there existed what was known as the *kambrada*: an erotic relationship between two women. The *kambrada* can be compared to the *mati* relationship between Afro-Surinamese working class women, studied by Gloria Wekker (2006). The *kambrada* relationship in Curaçao is highlighted in the book *E no por kasa* [She cannot get married] by Willem Kroon, published in 1923. The author, a devout Catholic, wrote the book to condemn the erotic *kambrada* relationship. Aart Broek (1992), who has written about the role of the Roman Catholic Church in Dutch Caribbean literature production, states that the Church was aware of the visible existence in the city of this type of relationship and was against it. Oral history contains many memories of women who maintained same-sex relations, either out of preference or because their male partner had migrated or sailed out to sea. *Kambrada* relationships were not secretive but quite public – which means that they were to some extent accepted or tolerated. Still, while some of these women even adopted children from couples who had many offspring and were not able to take proper care of all of them, they were generally not considered respectable.

Another example of women openly not behaving according to the norms of respectability is provided by *tambú* – a social event in which drumming accompanied singers who performed *kantika di tambú*: *tambú* songs. *Tambú* was the most persecuted of all African-derived customs in Curaçao. During slavery, slave-owners feared *tambú*, as it offered opportunities for the enslaved to gather and to express disgust about their situation through the songs. Catholic clergy also heavily condemned the *tambú* songs and dance, which they saw as lascivious and sexually immoral. After Emancipation, state and church continued to heavily condemn and criminalize *tambú*, seeing it as a repository of unruly, debased and unmanageable practices and behavior.

Women often served as *kantadó di tambú*: singers of *tambú* songs which they themselves sometimes composed. The lyrics of the songs would comment upon current events and had been the object popular disapproval. They could refer to individuals, from one's ingroup or outgroup, who had misbehaved. A characteristic of *tambú* songs is the use of cunning word play and double entendre. The composition of the lyrics received much attention; the words were carefully chosen to trigger a response from the chorus singers, drummers, dancers and onlookers. These women composers/singers had the ability to conceive of sharp lyrics that really gave the people to whom the song referred a (verbal) whipping. The women often went beyond the boundaries set by society and showed assertiveness and courage in the composition and presentation of the *tambú* songs. In that way, they created a certain space for themselves in a patriarchal

society. They would, for example, publicly complain about a misbehaving husband or another male in their household who had taken advantage of the privileges that males enjoyed in Curaçao's society.

These women *kantadó di tambú* and the women who participated as dancers and on-lookers did not fit the prevailing notions of feminine respectability. No respectable woman could be found participating in *tambú* events, which were labeled as *ko'i bochincha* [disorderly events] or even *ko'i diabel* [gatherings of the devil]. By transgressing the ideological norms of respectability, these women could not be viewed as *hende drechi*, as respectable.

I would like to elaborate on one of these *tambú* singers, Petronilia Coco, better known as Petoí, whom I interviewed several times in 1992 together with the linguist Ini Statia.⁹ In that year, she received an award for her contribution to oral history during the Third Conference of the Association of Caribbean Women Writers, now known as the Association of Caribbean Women Writers and Scholars. The award was a conscious decision of the local organizing committee.¹⁰ The committee defied many local prejudices by considering *tambú* as literature, by recognizing Petoí as an author, and by giving her a prize for her major role in *tambú*. In her acceptance speech, Petoí expressed enormous gratitude and said that she would never in her life had expected to receive such an award. Her life had been full of challenges since the day she was born in 1915. As the eldest daughter in her family, she bore the socio-economic burden of caring for the family. Whenever her mother became pregnant, she as a young girl had to maintain her mother's work, and after her mother began to work again, she had to care for the young baby. Hence, she could not attend school for very long. She got introduced to *tambú* at a young age as it was a popular cultural expression in her neighborhood. In one of her interviews she related that when she sang, she would sometimes cry, because the lyrics of the songs were a replica of her own life.

Her looks did not meet the racialized somatic norm; she was often called ugly because of her dark skin color and wide nose. This did not prevent her from expressing herself in public and whenever she was reminded of her physiognomy during public events, she would reply to the person in question: "Looks do not determine who a person is, but their behavior does." She never got married and had no children of her own, and in this way too she challenged the norms of female respectability which dictated that women should be wives and mothers.

The dominant discourse described her, like all other female *tambú* singers, as unruly, disorderly and vulgar. These were women who behaved autonomously and defied the submissive 'feminine' role imposed by patriarchy. Petoí expressed her autonomous behavior, saying: "*Ami mes ta doño di mi mes, ta mi mes ta skibi mi nòmber, niun hende*

⁹ The interviews were conducted by Rose Mary Allen and Ini Statia in 1992.

¹⁰ The president of the local organizing committee at that time was the late Joceline Clemencia.

no por firma nada pa mi [I am my own keeper, I write my own name, and nobody can sign anything for me].”

Petoi’s whole life was burdened by the societal expectations attached to being a ‘good’ woman and her life story gives us some idea of how hard it was to live outside the bounds of gendered respectability. Despite her outstanding role in *tambú* and even her international recognition, Petoi continued to face many difficulties; until her death in 2001 she depended on a modest government pension and some assistance from people who valued her contribution to traditional culture.

Conclusion

The politics of respectability, for which I have used the local terms *bida drechi* and *drecha bida*, focuses our attention on how in the post-Emancipation period, ideology and power influenced unequal social relations in terms of gender, color, religion and class. It also brings to the fore hegemonic notions about sexualities and ‘proper’ gender identities for men and women of Curaçao’s African descended working class in relation to social advancement. Some members of this group appropriated the politics of respectability for their own social advancement and adjusted their identities and self-perception accordingly. However, the notion of respectability was also contested, as people expressed oppositional views and intentionally displayed non-sanctioned behavior.

Respectability resulted in a process of inclusion for those who were willing to adopt this ideology for their social advancement and exclusion for those who challenged this cultural constraint on their behavior. Those who challenged respectability were principally women who chose not to live up to the standards of femininity dictated upon them by the ideology of respectability.

By examining the traditionally unheard voices of counter-hegemonic discourse, I have sought to highlight the opposition and even resistance to the dominant ideals of respectable behavior that have had an impact especially upon women in Curaçao’s patriarchal society. By looking at it in that way, I have tried to discover how historically specific manifestations of discourses on sexuality have defined our conceptions of gender in Curaçao. The fact that even today, 100 years later, *kambrada* relationships, the participation of women in *tambú*, and even *tambú* itself are still not accepted as fully ‘respectable’ by all sectors of society, that women resisting domesticity are still deemed unruly and seen as unfit to be mothers, and that ‘respectable women’ are still judged primarily by their somatic appearance and phenotypical characteristics instead of their intellect or other capabilities suggests that the old politics of respectability is still alive and plays an important role in present-day Curaçaoan society. This is important to take into consideration when trying to bring about changes in attitudes and beliefs regarding gender in society.

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SANGAMENTOS IN SURINAME: KONGOLESE RITUALS IN SARAMACCAN MAROON CULTURE

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Introduction

When Silvia de Groot organized in 1970 her legendary trip to Africa with four Surinamese *granmans* in search of their African roots, she took the men to Ghana, Togo, Benin, and Nigeria (1974: 15-37). This decision should not be of surprise since it is generally assumed that slaves of West-African origin had a decisive influence on the development of Afro-Surinamese culture. It is, of course, well known that the slave population in Suriname also included considerable numbers of people of Central-African origin – 30.6% of the total according to Vos, Eltis and Richardson (2008: 244) – but their impact has traditionally received less attention.

Most slaves in Suriname with roots in Central Africa had embarked in Loango, which accounts for the name Lángu of one of the original villages in Saramacca (Hoogbergen, 2008: 218; Smith, 2015: 41). Loango once constituted the northern periphery of the mighty Kingdom of Kongo and comprised an area along the Atlantic coast of Africa that today corresponds to the southwestern part of Gabon and the western part of the Republic of the Congo. Although linguistically and culturally similar to the Kongo kingdom, it broke away from its powerful neighbor in the early sixteenth century (Martin, 1972: 33-41; Nganga, 2016: 57). Smaller numbers of Central Africans in Suriname had embarked in other ports of the Kongo region, such as Mpinda in Soyo, and Malembo in Kakongo (Postma, 1990: 101; Arends, 1995: 248; Smith, 2015: 41). In fact, John Gabriel Stedman not only refers to Loangos in his *Narrative* (1796) but also includes the “Congo tribe” in his list of major “slave nations” in Suriname (1806: I:216, II:279-80).

Stedman’s expression “Congo tribe” derives from the Portuguese “nação do Congo”, a general term used in reference to people from the northwestern part of today’s Angola and the southwestern part of today’s Democratic Republic of Congo (the region of Bas-Congo). Today’s scholars prefer to use the term “Kongo” instead of “Congo”, in order to distinguish between the ancient Kingdom of Kongo and the later Belgian and French colonies in the region. Unlike in countries such as Brazil and Cuba, where the Kongo

kingdom is considered a source of major influence on the nations' African derived cultural identity, it is generally assumed that the Kongolese influence on Afro-Suriname culture was of minor importance. It is therefore quite astonishing that the most convincing source of evidence on the existence, outside of Brazil and Cuba, of a Kongolese performance known as *sangamento* is precisely Suriname.

In this article, I will first explore the importance and meaning of *sangamentos* in the Kingdom of Kongo. I will then search for traces of *sangamentos* in the Kongolese diaspora, which will ultimately lead to Saramacca. I will end the article with a reflection on what the discovery of *sangamentos* in Saramacca implies for our understanding (or lack thereof) of Surinamese maroon culture.

Sangamentos in the Kingdom of Kongo

The term *sangamento* was coined by the Portuguese, the first Europeans to establish contact with the Kingdom of Kongo in 1483. While it might be tempting to relate its meaning to the Portuguese word *sangue*, blood, the term *sangamento* is actually derived from the Kikongo verb *ku-sanga*, to rejoice, that evokes the spectacular leaps, contortions, and gyrations of the dancers (Fromont, 2014: 12).

The origin of the mock war performance is uncertain but may relate to the mythical founding father of the Kongo kingdom, called Lukeni, who crossed the Congo River and conquered new land thanks to his military skills and his command of iron technology. One of the earliest descriptions of a *sangamento* comes from Rui de Pina, who in his late-fifteenth-century account on the Kingdom of Kongo mentions how the king “assembled all his nobles in court”, whereupon he “took his bow and arrows and went to the square”, where “as if in combat he played games and all those who were present participated, some with their voices, others with their hands, others with drums [and] other instruments” (Radulet, 1992: 123).

Starting in the mid-seventeenth century, Italian capuchins delivered a series of extensive witness accounts. One of them was Giovanni Francesco da Roma, who provided the following account:

On these occasions, [the king] is richly dressed and wears a crown of great value on his head, similar to the one worn by emperors. In his left hand, he holds his big shield and in his right hand he holds his unsheathed sword. The nobles are also wearing their richest clothes, and even the soldiers do too, with the exception of those with a naked upper body, which helps them to remain agile with the sword and with the bow and arrow. On their heads, they attach lots of feathers of different colors. With the king in the middle, they start running in a group, holding unsheathed swords in their hands, shouting as if they were planning to loot the city. On the squares, they stop, and from opposite sides of the square some men come forward. ... [T]hey start fighting and handle their shields, swords, bows, and spears with such dexterity and agility that it is a pleasure to

watch. They jump now and then, squat, straighten themselves up, and give horrifying looks while they shout and scream (Bontinck, 1964: 130-31).

These martial exercises were the absolute highlight of celebrations in the Kongo kingdom. This was, in particular, the case at the election of a new king or on the kingdom's official holiday, July 25th, dedicated to St. James the Greater. The Kongolese devotion to this Catholic saint relates to the victory (with Portuguese assistance) of Mvemba a Nzinga over his half-brother Mpanzu a Kitima in the Battle of Mbanza Kongo in 1506. The new king, better known under his Iberian baptismal name Afonso, dedicated his victory to a miraculous intervention by St. James, who, wearing a scarlet cape and riding a white horse, had appeared under the sky leading an army of knights under a white Constantine cross (Brásio, 1952: 256-59).

The solemnities in honor of Saint James traditionally included a *sangamento*, described by Marcellino D'Atri as "a warlike dance, involving various contortions and movements of the body. Armed with arrows, bows, shields, sticks, and swords, dancers move both their arms and their feet, jump in the air, squat to the ground, pretend to launch an assault on the enemy, and then pretend to flee from them" (Toso, 1984: 276-77). *Sangamentos* also took place on other major Catholic holidays. Andrea da Pavia observed in Soyo how on Easter, "the great prince makes his apparition in gala costume with his entire court" and, after receiving his blessing, takes his sword and shield and "begins a war dance which in their language, they call *sangare*. The dignitaries do the same while shouting loudly. After a while, they exchange the swords for bows and arrows, and repeat the same dance" (Jadin, 1970: 444).

Da Pavia was also deeply impressed by the celebrations on St. James' Day, when the prince inspected his troops and *sangamento* were performed. According to Da Pavia, all the chiefs had to "parade in front of the prince and execute a war dance and other military maneuvers. All this takes place on the church square [where] a large gallery, decorated with rugs and other tapestries, has been built" (Jadin, 1970: 449-51). It was also in Soyo that Antonio Zucchelli witnessed a *sangamento* during Corpus Christi festivities. He observed that "*sangare* is their military exercise, which is carried out, however, without any order, without any rule, and without any art. They carry either the bow and arrows or another weapon in their hands, and then turn to one side, then to the other, take some steps forward or two backwards, while making all kinds of movements with their bodies, their mouths, their legs, and their arms." He concluded that "they make such weird gestures that if somebody would see them not knowing what they were doing, he would think they were crazy" (1712: I:197-98).

Intercultural contacts

In consequence of Afonso's rise to power, Portuguese culture became fashionable in Kongo. The local nobility adopted Portuguese baptismal names, titles, coats of arms, banners, and styles of dress. Even after the Kongolese relationship with the Portuguese

had soured in the mid-sixteenth century, and Portugal began to rival Kongolese control over the slave trade from its own stronghold in Luanda, Portuguese cultural influence in Kongo remained strong. Subsequent Kongolese kings continued to position themselves in the lineage of Afonso, using his coat of arms and Portuguese symbols of royalty such as the crown, sword, cape, throne, scepter, and, above all, religion to legitimize their claim to the throne (Newitt, 2010: 13). Even Kongolese kings who made an alliance with the Dutch against the Portuguese remained attached to Catholicism and resisted Dutch attempts to introduce Protestantism. In 1642, King Garcia II went as far as to publicly burn a stack of Protestant books in the kingdom's capital São Salvador (Jadin, 1975: 355; 429-31).

The frequent contacts with the Portuguese, and later also the Dutch, affected *sangamentos*. For instance, Da Roma observed the use of European musical instruments during *sangamento* performances, including “European drums from Portugal and the Netherlands” (Bontinck, 1964: 130-31). Dancers also started to use European swords. Research reveals, in fact, that swords with golden or silver daggers were among the most desired gifts among members of the Kongolese elite (Jadin, 1966: 228-29). Lorenzo da Lucca commented that it was “funny to see some with a sword and ... others with a musket ... running around in a disorderly form, while making grim faces and abnormal contortions. The one making the strangest gestures was most applauded” (Cuvelier, 1953: 54).

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Girolamo Merolla da Sorrento even argues that the *sangamento* he observed in Soyo had two parts: one during which traditional clothes and weapons were used, followed by a second one with European dress and weaponry:

The Prince practices two acts of war; in one, according to the style of the country, he uses an arch and arrows, putting on top of his head a sheaf of very wide feathers made in the shape of a crown; in the other, he wears a hat, on top of which many feathers flutter, and a chain, a cross of gold, [with] strings of corals, pendants [hanging] from the neck all the way to the knee, and a small scarlet overcoat, embroidered with gold thread, open from both sides so that arms can be stretched out for hunting and for other gallantries [such as] to use the harquebus (1692: 157).

According to Cécile Fromont (2014: 24-26), the cross and the red cape in this performance are allusions to iconography of St. James and recall the mythical foundation story of the Catholic kingdom under Afonso I. One could, thus, argue that the *sangamento* described by Merolla da Sorrento combined the kingdom's two foundation stories: the traditional one in allusion to the hero Lukeni and the modern one in allusion to the first Catholic king Afonso.

Sangamentos also functioned as a tool of diplomacy. In 1642, Prince Daniel da Silva of the rebellious Kongolese province of Soyo sent diplomats to Recife, then the capital of Dutch Brazil, to discuss cooperation. Soon after, his rival King Garcia of Kongo also

sent a committee to Recife (Brásio, 1960: 81; Jadin, 1966: 150-51). In Recife, these Kongolese diplomats performed a *sangamento*. According to Caspar van Baerle, the dancers had “strong, vigorous bodies, and black faces ... they were very nimble in their movements and oiled their limbs to facilitate this ... [They] were marvelous to see, the way they leapt, the fearful flourishing of their swords, their eyes flashing as they pretended an attack on their enemy” (Van Berckel-Ebeling Koning, 2011: 238). According to Johan Nieuhof, the Kongolese diplomats “were very talented sword fighters and made horrible faces” (1682: 56).

Despite the gradual decline of the Kongo kingdom by the late seventeenth century, European visitors continued to observe *sangamentos* for a surprisingly long time. In 1816, the British explorer James Tuckey witnessed what he called a “*sanga*”. In this “war dance”, he explains, “the performer, with a sword, looks about from side to side as if expecting the enemy.” At last he sees them and “flourishes his sword half a dozen times towards the quarter in which they are supposed to appear; advances; his eyes glowing fire; return triumphant; while the spectators are clapping their hands and striking their breasts in turns; he then squatted down” (1818: 207-08). During his journey through northern Angola in 1873, Joachim John Monteiro witnessed how the King of Matuta “shook his sword at [the visitors] like a harlequin at a clown in a pantomime, [his men] all rose and followed him for a few paces, and then dropped on their knees whilst he went through the dance and sword exercise again.” After the dance was finished, the guests presented their offering, including palm wine, to the marquis, who according to Catholic ritual “made the sign of the cross over it with his hand, repeating at the same time some words in Latin” (1876: 120). In 1880, the Baptist missionary William Bentley described how during a visit to Kongo, “a notable chief of the district came to do honour to the king after the most approved fashion.” As he came in sight of the king, he “drew a long cavalry sword from the sheath.” He “danced round and over his sword, twisting it in and about those ancient spindle-shanks in a marvelous manner.” “As a ‘ceremonial’”, Bentley concludes, “this *sanga* was the most impressive” (1900: 201-02).

From Paul Belloni du Chaillu, we learn that *sangamentos* may also have existed in the neighboring kingdom of Loango. Upon his arrival in the 1850s, his delegation was welcomed by two “armies”, who “played the drums, shouted war songs, and fired guns”, which was followed by a mock war performance that he characterized as “a type of military salute”, Belloni du Chaillu claimed that this performance was organized to “celebrate the greatness and splendor of Sangala”, which he believed to be the name of their king. In actuality, it may well have been a reference to the performance itself (Merlet, 1991: 176-78). One of the last observations of a *sangamento* can be found in the work of the British anthropologist John Weeks. He visited the Kingdom of Kongo in the 1880s, when it was ruled by King Pedro VI, and witnessed a “*nsanga*”, which he defined as “a crowd of folk who shout, wave knives, and fire off guns to the sounding

beat of a big drum” (1914: 132). Recent research by Jelmer Vos (2015: 106) revealed, however, that when a man called Kiditu was invested as chief of São Salvador in the year 1911, he was seconded by two men, who “carried old Kongo swords of status [and] carried out a *sangamento*, a ritual performance that sanctioned the rule of kings.” The longevity of the tradition confirms the strong attachment in the Kongo region to the performance. It also raises the question of whether traces of *sangamentos* can be found in the Kongolese diaspora.

***Sangamentos* in the Kongolese diaspora**

Considering that the vast majority of enslaved Kongolese was taken to Brazil, it should not surprise that traces of *sangamentos* can be found in the context of king election ceremonies in Catholic brotherhoods composed by slaves of the “Kongo nation” in Brazil (Dewulf, 2017: 97-132). In fact, slave communities periodically elected their own leader, whom, according to Kongolese custom, they called their king and celebrated with a parade. One of the earliest extensive descriptions of such a king election ceremony comes from Pernambuco, where, in 1666, the French traveler Urbain Souchu de Rennefort observed that “after celebrating Mass, a group of about four hundred men and one hundred women elected a king and a queen, marched through the streets singing and reciting improvised verses, playing drums, trumpets, and frame drums. They were wearing the clothes of their masters and mistresses, including golden chains and pearls; some wore masques” (1988: 225).

Later sources provide more detailed descriptions of king election ceremonies. A famous example is that of Henry Koster, who during his stay in Pernambuco between 1809 and 1815 described in his diary how “in March took place the yearly festival of our Lady of the Rosary, which was directed by negroes; and at this period is chosen the King of the Congo nation.” These sovereigns “exercise a species of mock jurisdiction over their subjects which is much laughed at by the whites; but their chief power and superiority over their countrymen is shown on the day of the festival.” Koster witnessed “a number of male and female negroes, habited in cotton dresses of colours and of white, with flags flying and drums beating; and ... we discovered among them the king and queen, and the secretary of state. Each of the former wore upon their heads a crown, which was partly covered with gilt paper” (1816: 243-44).

Another extensive description was provided in 1817 by the Germans Johann Baptist von Spix and Carl Friedrich Philipp von Martius, who visited Brazil in the context of the Austrian expedition that accompanied Maria Leopoldina of Austria when she married the Brazilian emperor Pedro I:

So, an election had taken place to appoint the King of Kongo, Queen Nzinga, several princes, and princesses with six chamberlains and six chamber ladies, who in a festive parade were now presented to the public. In front, one could see blacks holding banners, while others followed carrying statues of Saint

Francis, Saint Salvator, and Our Lady, all of them painted in black. ... Then came last year's king and queen, still with scepter and crown, and the newly elected couple, decorated with diamonds, pearls, coins, and other precious objects they had gathered for the feast. ... The next day, the spectacle was repeated with a different theme because the new king of the blacks was to receive the visit of a foreign envoy to the court of Kongo. The royal family and court, all richly decorated, went in full pomp to the market square. ... In front of them marched a group of musicians in two rows. ... The dancers announced the envoy and delivered his gifts with jumps and leaps while making horrible grimaces, and moving their bodies in grotesque positions (1854: 219-20).

The welcoming ceremony of the foreign envoy is clearly reminiscent of a *sangamento*. While most black brotherhoods ceased to exist in the aftermath of abolition, in rural parts of Brazil some of these Catholic mutual-aid and burial associations have survived until the present day. Known as *congadas* or *congados*, their festivities traditionally take place on the feast of the brotherhood's patron saint, such as the black Saint Benedict (October 5), the black Saint Iphigenia (September 21), and Our Lady of the Rosary (first Sunday in October). Celebrations begin with the hoisting of the flag, which is followed by a procession that, accompanied by firecrackers symbolizing salutes, includes mock war performances with swords, cudgels, or sticks (Cascudo, 1979: 242-45; Van der Poel, 2013: 241-45).

Similar brotherhoods composed of slaves of the "Kongo nation" used to exist in Cuba. In the 1930s, Lydia Cabrera (1979: 77-78) still met older people who recalled how there used to be a "black king in frock coat, holding a sword and sitting on a throne besides his Queen, where they were surrounded by their courtiers. There, they ruled in African style." One of Cuba's most prestigious brotherhoods was that of the *Congo Reales*, reserved for slaves who originated from the heartland of the Kongo kingdom. It was known for its impressive regalia during the traditional *Día de los Reyes* (Epiphany) and Corpus Christi processions (Thornton, 2016). During a visit to Santiago de Cuba in the 1870s, Walter Goodman observed such a parade of "Congo Negroes", that was headed by "a brace of blacks, who carry banners", and who were followed by "a battalion of colonels, generals, and field-m Marshals, in gold-braided coats and gilded cocked-hats." "These are not ordinary masqueraders", he claimed, "but grave subjects of his somber majesty King Congo, the oldest and blackest of all the blacks: lawfully appointed sovereign of the coloured community" (1873: 137). According to Ramiro Guerra (1989: 14), the Cuban "dance of the king of Kongo" was a type of "war dance", which points in the direction of *sangamentos*.

Despite the clear parallels to the Kongolese performance, neither in Brazil nor in Cuba is the term *sanga* or *sangamento* used in the context of brotherhood rituals. In 1887, Antonio Bachiller y Morales did observe, however, that one could hear songs by slaves during Epiphany festivities in Havana that ended with the terms "sángala" or "sángara".

He associated these terms with an alcoholic drink, calling them synonyms for “brandy” (p. 117). The same applies to Fernando Ortiz, who also translated the expression “sángala, muleque!” which he picked up in an Afro-Cuban dance, as “brandy, boy!” (1985: 285). Ortiz (1952: 213) did, nevertheless, make a connection to *sangamentos* with his claim that the Afro-Cuban term *changüí* – a style of music typically linked to the eastern region of Guantánamo – may be derived from the Kikongo word *sanga*.

Similar terms can be found in sources from North America. In his novel *The Dutch dominie of the Catskills* (1861: 279-80; 311; 364), David Murdoch wrote that slaves in the Hudson Valley had a “king” and used to organize dance gatherings during which one could hear them crying out loud the word “sangaree”. In her collection of *Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Islands* (1942: 13; 99), Lydia Parrish identified a ring-play song that used the exact same word for its refrain: “If I live, *sangaree*. Don’ get kill’, *sangaree*.” Like Bachiller y Morales and Ortiz, Parrish assumed that the term related to an alcoholic drink, a mixture of wine, sugar, nutmeg, and water. Yet, in his *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (1949: 200), Lorenzo Turner claimed that the term “sangaree” derived from the African word “sangari”, which he defined as “a ring dance”. Turner also included the term “sanga” in his list of Africanisms in the Gullah dialect, which he identified to be of Kikongo origin and translated as “to dance the sword dance.”

Also on the island of Curaçao, we encounter an expression in the context of a mock war performance that is conspicuously similar to *sanga*. According to Paul Brenneker (1975), in a “stick fight that in ancient times used to be organized in Curaçao ... the winner was the one who managed to beat the other on the head” and “if the loser would bleed from that wound, the bystanders would shout ‘Sanger pa *tambú*!’ which meant that he had to let a few drops of blood fall on the drumhead” (p. 2512). Although the Papiamentu term “sanger” could just as well be derived from the Spanish/Portuguese “sangrar” (to bleed), the similarity to *sanga(mento)* is striking. The assumption that the *tambú* dance may relate to *sangamentos* corresponds to John Thornton’s (2012: 394) opinion that “if [*sangamento*] dancing passed to America, it might be found in the martial types of dancing that one meets in occasional accounts of stick fighting.” In fact, an earlier report by John de Pool (1935: 78-79), who lived in Curaçao at a time when such stick fights were still taking place, refers to the performance as “una esgrima primitiva” (a primitive swordplay). Moreover, Curaçaoan *tambú*-music has a variant known in Papiamentu as *tambú-di-sanka* (Rosalia, 1997: 82). What is usually translated as “*tambú* for the buttock”, may actually be a reference to the Kikongo term *sanga*. This assumption corresponds to Luis Arturo Dominguez’ (1988: 11) theory that a variant of *tambú*, introduced in Coro, Venezuela, by runaway slaves from Curaçao, can be traced back to mock war dances from the Kingdom of Loango.

The most convincing piece of evidence that Kongolese slaves did, in fact, bring their *sangamento* war dances with them to the Americas can be found in Johannes King’s *Skrekiboekoe* (Book of Horrors), written between 1864 and 1895. Born in a maroon

community in the Lower-Saramacca region of Suriname, King later became a Christian missionary worker for the *Unitas Fratrum* or *Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine*, known in English as the Moravian Church. In his writings, King refers to a celebration that erupted after a committee of Saramaccan diplomats had signed a peace treaty with the Dutch authorities and returned home with gifts:

The next morning, they took a piece of white cloth and raised the flag in the name of the *Gran Gado* [Great God] or the *Masra Gado* [Lord God] in heaven. They all kneeled down on the ground and thanked the *Masra Gado* for all the good things He had done to them ... and then they raised another flag with a piece of black cloth. This one they raised in the name of the former warriors who had fought the whites and won battles. Then they all gathered around this flag to give thanks to these warriors and honor them. They blew African trumpets which in ancient times Africans had made out of wood in Africa. Whenever they went off to battle, they liked to blow them and to speak with each other through these wooden trumpets. ... When they blew their trumpets, they would also shoot their guns, beat the drums, sing, and dance while playing the *sanga* drums. The adults performed the *sanga* everywhere. The word *sanga* means that a lot of people with guns, axes, and spears run around everywhere, acting just like the warriors used to fight in Africa, with a lot of battle noise. The adults showed the teenagers and girls how they used to fight with the white men, and performed how the warriors attacked the plantations of the whites and took people with them into the jungle. When they performed the *sanga* they fired a lot of guns ... and people kept shouting *feti, feti, feti* [fight] and ... when they were finished, they brought a drink they had made themselves from sugarcane and called *boesi dram* [bush rum]. And then they poured some of it on the ground. That was a sacrifice to God and to the ancestors (De Beet, 1995: 247-249).

Sangamentos must have existed in Saramacca since at least the mid-eighteenth century. Significantly, the Dutch Ensign J.C. Dörig, who occupied the office of post-holder in the two decades following the first peace treaty, mentions in his report about a visit to Saramacca in 1763 how the local captain Samsam “had 30 to 40 shots fired off, then had drum and horn played, and had his people go through strange exercises [grimaces] with guns and swords. When it was over, Samsam said it had been done in my honor” (Price, 1990: 47). In both cases, we find clear parallels to the Kongo kingdom, where *sangamentos* were typically associated with celebrations involving the payment of taxes and welcoming scenes at diplomatic gatherings.

Kongolese influence on Afro-Surinamese culture

Richard Price (1983: 169) showed that *sangáa* still exists in Saramacca culture as a “wild melee in which men armed with machetes and guns ... dash all round the village chasing away evil.” Today, Price (2010: 64) claims, it is “restricted to the final morning

of second funerals, when the ghost of the deceased is definitively chased from the village in a wild melee led by youths.” According to Kenneth Bilby, the term *sanga* also exists among the Aluku, a maroon community in French Guiana. He characterizes it as “a particular genre of music and dance that goes with a rite that is supposed to be held for any Aluku who kills another human being, a way of honoring the killer for his fierceness.” Price and Bilby agree that the terms *sangáa* and *sanga* “seem very clearly to be derived from Kikongo”, and express surprise that “*sanga* music and dance are seen as being variants of *Kumanti* music and dance”, despite the fact that the latter is traditionally thought “to be derived exclusively from Akan speaking peoples” (Price, 2010: 431). Building on this conclusion, one wonders if other Afro-Surinamese customs might also be of Kongolese origin. One could, for instance, think of King’s reference to the raising of white and black flags, a tradition that was also observed in Loango by Captain Nathaniel Uring in the early eighteenth century (Dewar, 1928: 35-36). Moreover, Frank Hagenbucher-Sacripanti (1973: 183) has shown that whenever a king was buried in Loango, the funeral was accompanied by a mock war dance in his honor. This implies that the *sangamento* performance on the day of the “second burial” in Saramaccan culture may not serve to shy away evil spirits, as Price claims, but rather, as Bilby argues, to honor the brave deeds of the deceased.

Interestingly, the use of flags in the context of *sangamento* performances can be traced back to the Portuguese. In fact, De Pina claims that immediately after Portuguese missionaries had baptized the first king of Kongo in 1491, “the King and his nobles went to the square, where they performed many feasts during which they imitated battles, as is their custom”, and “when they were finished, the speaker and the friars gave the king a flag with a cross, which they had brought with them from Portugal” (Radulet, 1992: 127). One should, in fact, not forget that by the time the transatlantic slave trade from Central Africa began to boom, many European elements had already become integrated in Kongolese culture. As a result, enslaved Kongolese not only brought indigenous, “purely African”, cultural traditions with them to the Americas but also syncretic, “Luso-African” traditions.

This conclusion also applies to elements relating to Catholic faith. One example is the maroon settlement of Palmares, in seventeenth-century Brazil, that was dominated by slaves who originated from the Kongo region. When Johan Maurits of Nassau sent out expeditions against Palmares, he was informed by his intelligence officers that the inhabitants had erected a church in the capital and that Zumbi, the king of Palmares, did not allow the presence of “fetishists”. Portuguese sources confirm that there were images of Catholic saints and the Virgin Mary in the maroon settlement, and that there was a priest who baptized children and married couples (Nieuhof, 1682: 14; Van Berckel-Ebeling Koning, 2011: 236; Gomes, 2010: 170; 222). This observation questions the widespread assumption that Catholicism had been forced upon all African

slaves and that it functioned merely as a veneer underneath which their “purely African”, indigenous beliefs remained hidden. As the case of Palmares indicates, however, slaves did not necessarily wish to liberate themselves from all Catholic influences once they ran away but sometimes remained strongly attached to it. This conclusion corresponds to the assumption by Marina de Mello e Souza that upon arrival in the Americas, many slaves from the Kongo region did not perceive Catholic elements as something foreign since “Catholicism represented a link to their native Africa” (2005: 83). Ronaldo Vainfas (2000: 67-68) also claims that “African Catholicism, as it existed in Kongo and Angola, influenced the way Catholicism developed within the black community in Brazil, with its brotherhoods of Our Lady of the Rosary and its celebrations at the occasion of the coronation of black kings.”

This observation raises the question of whether enslaved Kongoleses may also have introduced Catholic elements in Afro-Surinamese culture. This question is all the more legitimate considering the observation by Adriaan van Berkele in 1680 about the slave population in the Guianas that “several among them are baptized” (Bel, Hulsman & Wagenaar, 2014: 153). The assumption that at least some of the slaves in Suriname may have been familiar with Iberian Catholic practices could explain why one of the slave songs in Bantu language recorded by Melville and Frances Herskovits in Suriname, was a veneration song in honor of the Virgin Mary (1936: 606-07).

One could even speculate that the remarkable success of Moravian Church missionary work in Suriname may relate to the fact that for some in the African descended community, Christianity was not as foreign as scholars have traditionally been inclined to believe. That such hypothesizing is legitimate, can be shown with reference to the Danish Virgin Islands, where the same Moravian Brotherhood that was active in Suriname also did missionary work. Upon his arrival in the Virgin Islands in the 1760s, the Moravian brother Christian Oldendorp observes that it was common “primarily by the Negroes from the Congo” to perform “a kind of baptism ... characterized by pouring water over the head of the baptized, placing some salt in his mouth, and praying over him in the Congo language.” “Before the baptism”, he writes, “an adult *Bussal* [e.g. an unbaptized slave who arrived directly from Africa] must receive five to six lashes from the baptizer for the sins which he had committed in Guinea. Afterwards there is a Negro celebration, provided by the more prosperous of the slaves.” According to Oldendorp, these slaves had “recognition of the true God and of Jesus Christ” and had learned these baptismal rituals from the Portuguese, who “have made a great effort to enlighten and improve these ignorant people with Christian teachings.” Oldendorp also explains that the ritual involved baptismal fathers and mothers who “adopt those whom they have baptized ... and look after them as best they can. They are obliged to provide them with a coffin and burial clothing when they die. Usually, the baptizer buries those whom he has baptized” (Oldendorp, 1987: 263). This passage leaves no doubt that members of

the Kongolese slave community in the Virgin Islands had voluntarily adopted elements rooted in Portuguese Catholicism before their arrival in the Americas.

Whether the same could possibly apply to Suriname and whether Johannes King may have had predecessors are questions yet to be investigated. One of the problems in this respect is that, starting with Melville and Frances Herskovits in 1934, the research on maroon communities has been dominated by the search for “pure Africanisms”. While the earliest historians working on slave culture in the Americas had mainly been interested in an assumed process of assimilation according to European standards, the Herskovitses highlighted the importance of indigenous African continuities. The paradigmatic shift in the study of black culture in the Americas they initiated was later enhanced by the American civil rights movement that emphasized black resistance and black pride. This shift had a profound influence on the way scholars have been studying maroon societies ever since. For instance, Price (1990) is honest about the fact that his “own biases” led him to be primarily interested “in the possibility of reconstructing the heroic birth of the Saramacca nation.” He admits that this “romantic sense – never fully lost” induced a tendency to perceive only “non-Christian Saramaccas” as “‘real’ Saramaccas”, whereas those who had adopted Christian elements were “somewhere down the bumpy road leading to the hated but ambiguously alluring world of ‘whitefolks’” (XIII-XIV).

For scholars who perceive the adoption of Christian elements as a form of decadence and display an eagerness to glorify black resistance, the legacy of the Kingdom of Kongo with its deep involvement in the transatlantic slave trade, its massive adoption of Portuguese cultural elements, and its formation of a syncretic variant of Catholicism is in many ways uncomfortable. In order to properly understand the impact of Kongolese culture in the Americas, however, we need to break with the selective nostalgia of scholars that traces black culture in the Americas back to an untouched, virgin, and innocent African motherland. Since the sixteenth century, the Atlantic basin was an immense intercultural zone and the African continent was marked by intra- and extra-African cultural exchanges to which not only Arab-Islamic but also European-Christian – predominantly Luso-Catholic – cultural elements contributed substantially. This requires complementing the important shift in the study of black culture in the Americas once spearheaded by the Herskovitses with an equally important focus on intercultural contacts between Africans and Europeans on African soil.

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OUT OF CONTROL: *MARRONAGE* IN THE GREATER CARIBBEAN AND THE DUTCH RESPONSE

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Many different aspects of Afro-Atlantic and Caribbean history are not easily explained without including maroons in the analysis (Faracclas, 2012). For example, we rarely ask the question as to why the European colonial powers didn't establish sugar plantations in West Africa, instead of in the Caribbean?

The answer to this question is that, in fact, the Europeans *did* try to establish plantations in West Africa, but they invariably failed because the workers could easily commit *marronage*, that is, they could run away back to their home villages when they realized that they were being treated as chattel slaves. From the 1400s to the 1800s, West Africans successfully prevented the Europeans from taking their land and, in the few cases where they granted permission to the Europeans to establish plantations on African soil, these plantations failed because the workers were out of control and ran away. Our account of the Portuguese role in the sugar trade is based largely on the comprehensive history of the Portuguese and the Portuguese empire published by A.R. Disney in 2009.

To help solve the problem of Africans committing *marronage* and running away from the plantations the Portuguese established sugar production on small islands off the coast of West Africa, where it was easier to control the enslaved workers and to prevent them from becoming maroons. The first successful sugar island was Madeira which became the world center for sugar production in the 1490s, but during the 1500s the center for world sugar production shifted to the African offshore island of São Tomé.

While they were establishing sugar plantations on São Tomé in the early 1500s, the Portuguese and Sephardic Jews fleeing persecution on the Iberian peninsula also tried to grow sugar on the neighboring island of Anno Bom. In Anno Bom, many enslaved Africans ran away to the mountains from the plantations to become maroons, and these maroons, together with the enslaved Africans successfully stopped all sugar pro-

duction on the island and expelled the plantation owners. For centuries, the victorious Africans would not allow any Europeans on the island, even priests. This was the very first successful overthrow of an Afro-Atlantic sugar plantation economy, and, like the Haitian revolution some 300 years later, it was led by maroons.

By 1550, São Tomé had become the center for world sugar production, but from the beginning large numbers of enslaved Africans escaped the plantations to the mountains and forests to become maroons. In 1578, the maroon leader Amador led a revolt that began the process of the abandonment by the Portuguese and the Sephardic Jews of their sugar plantations on the island. As maroon attacks continued, the Portuguese moved their head-quarters from São Tomé to the neighboring island of Príncipe.

Many of the Portuguese and Sephardic planters who fled São Tomé went to Brazil to start new plantations, and by 1590, the center for world sugar production shifted from São Tomé to Brazil. By 1600, Northeastern Brazil had become the center for world sugar production. From the very beginning, however, large numbers of enslaved Indigenous people and Africans escaped to the mountains and forests to become maroons.

Between 1620 and 1650, the Dutch invaded and conquered Northeastern Brazil from the Portuguese, and formed an alliance with the Sephardim to transform sugar production there to a more capitalistic type of enterprise. The maroons and enslaved soon realized that the Dutch were imposing a much harsher form of capitalistic slavery. In the end, the maroons and enslaved helped the Portuguese to reconquer Northeastern Brazil from the Dutch.

After the Portuguese reconquest of Northeastern Brazil, the Dutch and the Sephardim were expelled and many eventually ended up in the Caribbean. While the sugar industry in Brazil returned to a pre-capitalist mode after 1650, the Dutch and the Sephardim were determined to re-establish the capitalist production of sugar on the English island of Barbados and other nearby islands. With massive financial and naval support from the Dutch and financial and technical support from the Sephardim, the capitalist production of sugar became so successful in Barbados and the rest of the Caribbean, that the world center for the production of sugar shifted from Brazil to the Caribbean by 1700.

In sum, if we want to understand why the first successful and permanent transition to capitalist sugar production happened in the Caribbean around 1650, it is necessary to understand the role that maroons played in:

- 1) Making it impossible for sugar plantations to be established on the African mainland from 1400 to 1800, driving sugar production to the offshore islands.
- 2) Overthrowing the offshore island sugar plantation economies in São Tomé and Anno Bom, driving sugar production to Brazil by 1590.
- 3) Preventing the establishment of capitalistic production of sugar in Brazil, driving the Dutch and the Sephardim to the Caribbean by 1650.

It is difficult to understand why the English, with the help of the Dutch, decided to establish sugar production on a relatively small island like Barbados, unless once again, we see maroons as a driving force in Afro-Atlantic history. Because of its relatively small size, Barbados was the ideal place for the English, with help from the Dutch and Sephardim, to experiment with a new capitalist model of sugar production, where the enslaved could be closely monitored, controlled and exploited more completely than under the Portuguese or the Spanish. Because of its relatively flat land, Barbados was also an ideal place to prevent the enslaved from running away to the mountains and forests to become maroons.

The financial, military and technological cooperation between the English and the Dutch in the Caribbean from 1630 to 1700 is difficult to understand, given the fact that England and the Netherlands were often at war with each other at the time. Why were the Dutch so willing to protect English Barbados from attacks by the Spanish and Indigenous peoples? Why were the Dutch so willing to finance the Barbados sugar plantation owners and provide slaves to them? We can only understand this strange alliance if we take into account the central, driving force of African and Indigenous maroon resistance to the plantation economy.

This brings us to another maroon story, this time in North America in the English colonies of Roanoke in North Carolina between the 1580s and the 1620s. Although the English, French and Dutch wanted to establish colonies in the Americas in the 1500s, the Spanish and Indigenous peoples successfully blocked their efforts.

One of the first attempts by the English to establish a colony in the Americas was the Roanoke settlement in North Carolina near the Virginia border in the 1580s. After two failed attempts to establish a settlement, Governor John White led a third group of settlers to Roanoke in 1587. The settlers could not grow food because of a severe drought, so White went back to England, claiming that he would bring back food for them. But when White returned three years later, the Roanoke settlement was deserted.

Sir Walter Raleigh, who directed the Roanoke expeditions from England, claimed that the Roanoke settlers had been massacred by hostile Indigenous peoples, and during the colonial period and beyond, Raleigh's dubious explanation has become part of the official discourse on US history. But over the centuries, increasing evidence has come to light that suggest that the Roanoke settlers, in an act of *marronage*, left the settlement to live with the local Indigenous peoples.

As early as the 1580s, eyewitnesses who had been part of the first two groups of settlers reported that relations between Roanoke and neighboring Indigenous peoples were good. Indigenous peoples in North Carolina and Virginia today also claim Roanoke ancestors and bear family names inherited from the settlers who ran away to live with them (Miller, 2000).

By 1607, the English were trying again to settle in North America, this time at Jamestown in Virginia. Just as in Roanoke, the first few attempts to settle from 1607 to 1620 failed because the settlers were starving. The conditions in Jamestown deteriorated to the point where of the thousands of settlers who had arrived there, only a handful survived, some by eating human flesh (Faraclas, 2013).

During these difficult times, one in every seven settlers, as well as some enslaved Africans, chose to run away from the colony and become maroons, living with the local Indigenous peoples (Linebaugh & Rediker, 2000). This *marronage* and cohabitation between European, African and Indigenous peoples became a threat to the interests of the English businessmen of the Virginia Company.

In reaction to this challenge, the investors in the Virginia Company in England replaced the first governor of Virginia, Sir George Percy with Governor Thomas Gates and Deputy Governor Thomas Dale. Both Gates and Dale had extensive ties to the Calvinist Netherlands, where Dale had lived from 1588 to 1609 and where Gates died in 1619. At this time, the newly independent Netherlands had become a center for a new capitalist understanding of politics and economics, and Gates and Dale were eager disciples.

Under Gates and Dale, a harsh regime of Dutch-inspired forced labor was imposed on the settlers in Jamestown, as well as equally Dutch-inspired *apartheid* laws that punished any form of cohabitation between European, Indigenous and African. By 1620, the initial work force in Virginia consisted of Europeans, Indigenous peoples and Africans. In spite of all their efforts, it became impossible for the businessmen in Virginia to impose the kind of labor discipline, exploitation and control that they needed in order to establish their Dutch-inspired capitalist utopia/dystopia. Within thirty years, they turned to enslaved African labor to achieve their goals (Vergne et al., 2011).

Despite harsh punishments, including torture and execution, meted out by Gates, Dale and their successors, first in Virginia and then in the rest of the slave-holding states of the US, the enslaved continued to run away, establishing major maroon settlements in areas such as the Great Dismal Swamps of Virginia, which lasted until emancipation in the 1860s. In essence, Gates and Dale turned Jamestown into a prison-like work camp, on a model that they borrowed from the Dutch. It had become clear to the English, many of whom saw the Netherlands as a leader in imposing a new capitalist regime of discipline and forced labor, that the Dutch had the answer to their labor management problems. By a series of chance coincidences, the Jamestown colony eventually managed to survive. The *marronage* in Roanoke and Jamestown made the English question their whole colonial enterprise, and they found the answer to their questions in the new capitalistic and Calvinist regime in the Netherlands.

Barbados was first claimed and then settled by Anglo-Dutch Calvinist merchant Sir William Courten from 1624 to 1625. Courten, who spent many of his formative years in the Netherlands, was the son of a Calvinist Dutch businessman who had fled to

England from the Catholic Spanish, who had controlled the Netherlands up until 1585. It is therefore no accident that the English colonization of Barbados received military and financial support from the Dutch, whose ships protected the colony from the Spanish and Indigenous peoples.

Barbados thus became the testing ground for a new capitalist regime of forced labor and control over the workforce inspired by the Dutch and piloted by the English in Virginia. The first labor force in Barbados consisted of Europeans, Indigenous peoples and Africans, but the attempts of English businessmen to enforce their new regime of forced labor were initially unsuccessful on the island. Within a few decades, this time relying on Dutch models tested in Brazil, they had found a solution: a new more capitalistic form of racially-defined chattel slavery, where African descended peoples would be subject to unprecedented levels of labor control and exploitation.

Because of its relatively small size and flat landscape, Barbados was the ideal place to ensure that enslaved Africans would have a maximally difficult time running away and becoming maroons. Enslaved Africans found resourceful ways to resist slavery in Barbados and the rest of the Caribbean. From the very beginning of colonization until the abolition of slavery and beyond, there were maroon settlements on virtually every island and every mainland colony in the region.

In small and flat Barbados, where *marronage* was more difficult than elsewhere, the enslaved built rafts that were carried by ocean currents to the neighboring island of St. Vincent, where they were welcomed by some of the Indigenous peoples who had already been cohabiting with enslaved Africans who had survived a shipwreck there. Over time, these indigenous people became phenotypically African, giving rise to a new ethnic group: the Garinagu, or 'Black Caribs'. As Afro-Indigenous maroons, the Garinagu became the fiercest point of resistance to slavery and the imposition of capitalist forced labor in the Caribbean. The Garinagu successfully resisted colonization and enslavement on St. Vincent until 1797, and by that time, the system of racially-defined capitalist chattel slavery was disintegrating throughout the Americas.

Although official historical discourses attribute the abolition of slavery to the work of European descended Abolitionist activists in England and North America, the key role played by maroons in the collapse of the slave regimes in the Americas is more often than not minimized or completely ignored. By the end of the 1700s the maroons in the three biggest sugar producing territories of the Caribbean, English Jamaica, French St. Domingue (Haiti) and Dutch Suriname, had become so successful in destabilizing the plantation economy that they had forced the English and Dutch to sign treaties with them as sovereign nations, and by 1803, they had lead the first successful overthrow of a plantation economy in the Americas in Haiti.

It was largely through the sustained and effective resistance of maroons throughout the Americas that businessmen in Europe, the US, Brazil and elsewhere eventually

had to replace it with other capitalist forms of labor discipline, control and exploitation, such as ‘apprenticeship’ and wage-slavery.

It is impossible to understand how the central political, economic, and social institutions of the Atlantic World emerged from Barbados to Benin, from Boston to Bahia and from Bermuda to Bristol without respectful acknowledgement and careful study of the powerful agency of maroons at every historical moment, in every region, and under every colonial power in the entire Afro-Atlantic.

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ERASING THE MARGINALIZED FROM HISTORY: THE EDITING OF JOHN GABRIEL STEDMAN'S *NARRATIVE OF THE MAROON EXPEDITIONS* IN 18TH CENTURY SURINAME

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Introduction

This article seeks to demonstrate how important elements in John Gabriel Stedman's *Narrative* of his participation in the expeditions against the maroons in 18th century Suriname which deal with maroons and other marginalized peoples were silenced by his editors. It also aims to explain how the voices and agency of maroons and other marginalized Caribbean peoples have been minimalized or completely erased by discourses of power and hegemony.

The theoretical framework within which the present study was conducted is that of Critical Discourse Analysis. Riggins (1997) asserts, "discourse analysis acquires a critical dimension when the focus is precisely on the relation of language to power and privilege" (p. 2). Van Dijk (2008) posits that discourses can be analyzed in many different ways, depending on the general analytic approach or the kind of genres analyzed. In the present work, Van Dijk's triangulation framework for critical discourse analysis (CDA) was utilized. This socio-cognitive framework stresses the relationship between social systems and individual cognition with a psychological emphasis on processes of social cognition. Another reason why the CDA framework was selected is because it not only allows, but requires social engagement and action.

Gee's (2011) approach and useful "toolkit" coincide with many of Van Dijk's theories and practices. Gee sees discourse analysis as "closely tied to the details of language structure (grammar)", while it also "deals with meaning in social, cultural, and political terms, a broader approach to meaning than is common in much mainstream linguistics." (p. ix)

Both Gee and Van Dijk stress the crucial role that both external and internal context play in the critical analysis of discourse. In this study, we consider both the 'external' editing done by editors, as well as the 'internal' editing done by Stedman himself on the *Narrative*. Additionally, their respective frameworks serve to reveal and confirm

how discourses of power and hegemony are utilized to control public discourse and to maintain and justify slavery in Suriname.

The sample texts for critical discourse analysis were chosen from John Gabriel Stedman's 1790 *Narrative*. Some of our excerpts from the 1790 edition were compared to the corresponding passages in the 1796 text edited by Johnson, but which retained some of the passages previously edited by Thomson. The excerpts were then submitted to critical analysis.

From the beginning, Stedman, as well as his 1796 publisher Joseph Johnson, clearly understood that the *Narrative* could be censored by the English government, in the panic that followed the Haitian Revolution, a world-shaking event where the agency of maroons was clearly in evidence. Stedman defiantly defended his right to criticize others freely "till I shall have found out the Reason why Vice ought not to be Expos'd to the World as well as Virtue made Conspicuous" (1988, [1790]: 10). Johnson insisted that some changes were necessary and, in the end, they reached a "happy medium". Johnson anticipated that Stedman's numerous accounts of barbaric tortures of slaves, even in their edited and watered-down form, together with his illustrations, would "stand as one of the strongest indictments ever to appear against plantation slavery." (Price & Price, in Stedman, 1988: lxi).

Multiple Voices

Stedman cannot be said to speak in a single voice throughout either the 1790 or the 1796 edition. He constantly catches the 21st century reader completely off-guard as he seems to veer radically and inconsistently from rebellious social critic to conformist apologist for the dominant system, from liberal advocate for social justice to conservative advocate for acquiescence to domination, from caring spouse to indifferent sex partner.

The warning on the bottle is heteroglossic, since Stedman interleaves and interweaves at least two different social languages. Of course, in many cases, this sort of interleaving proves to be very intricate, with the two or more social languages more fully integrated, and harder to tease apart. In the instances where these voices become inseparable, we reach the point where many of Stedman's words could be interpreted in different ways by different audiences, and thus they could be said to be 'multiply voiced'.

Such multiple voicing is evident in Stedman's ambiguous portrayal of lack of any overt display of emotion related to pain on the part of African descended people when subjected to the abominable tortures inflicted upon them by the colonial authorities, which could be interpreted by anti-slavery audiences as stoic fortitude and/or iron-willed resistance, but by pro-slavery audiences as an inhuman lack of feeling and/or an 'uncivilized' lack of 'sensibility' on the part of African descended people:

From these gloomy Mansions of despair, this very day, seven Captive-Negroes were selected who being led to the place of Execution by a few Soldiers, which is in the Savana, and where the Sailors and Soldiers are inter'd, 6 were hanged and one broke alive upon the rack, besides which one White Man before the court house was scourged by a the publick executioner – who is in this Country always a black – But what makes me take particular notice here was the Shameful injustice of showing a Partiality to the European who ought to [have] known better by letting him escape with a slight Corporal Punishment, while the poor African who is destitute of precept Laws, for the same crime, viz, Stealing money out of the Town Hall – lost his Life under the most excruciating Torments through which he manfully went without heaving a Sigh or Complaining, and while one of his Companions with the rope about his neck and just going to be turn'd off[f] gave a hearty laugh of Contempt at the Magistrates who attended the Execution – I ought not to omit that the Negro who flog'd the White Man inflicted the Punishment with the greatest Marks of Commiseration all which *almost* had induced me to deside between the Europeans and African in this Colony – that the first were the greatest barbarians of the two – a name which tarnishes Christianity and is bestowed on them in too many Corners of the Globe, with what real degree of Justice I will not take on me to determine.

Having testified how much I was hurted at the cruelty of the above execution – and Surprized at the intrepidity with which the Negroes bore theyr Punishment – a decent looking Man stept up to me –

Tho/said he/ Sir – you are but a new comer from Europe – and know very little about the African Slaves without which you would testify both less feeling and Surprize – Not long ago / continued he / I saw a black man hang'd alive by the ribs, between which with a knife was first made an insision, and then clinch'd an Iron hood with a Chain – in this manner he kept living three days hanging with his head and feet downwards and catching with his tongue the drops of water / it being in the rainy season / that were flowing down his bloated breast while the vultures were picking in the putred wound, notwithstanding all this he never complained and even upbraided a negro for crying while he was flog'd below the Gallows – By calling out to him – “you man? Da boy fasi” – “are you a Man you behave like a boy” – Shortly after which he was knocked in the head by the More Comiserating Sentry who stood over him – with the butt end of his Musquet – another Negro/said he/ I have seen *Quartered* alive who after 4 Strong horses were fastened to his Legs and Arms, and after having had Iron Sprigs drove home underneath every one of his nails, on hand and feet – without a motion he first

ask'd a dram and then bid them pull away without a Groan – but what gave us the greatest entertainment / continued he / were the fellows Jokes, by desiring the Executioner to drink before him – in case there should chance to be poison in the Glass, and bidding him take care of his horses least any of them should happen to Strike backwards – as for old Men being broke upon the rack and young women roasted alive chain'd to Stakes there can be nothing more common in this Colony –

I was putrified [sic] at the inhuman detail, and breaking away with a curse from the Damnable Spot of laceration Made the Best of my way home to my own Lodgings –

1988, [1790], Chapter 6, pp. 102-104

1773 – May 21, 22

At this point, we must consider the role that Stedman played as an editor of his own work, that is, as editor of the record of his own life. Stedman makes sure that we know “how much I was hurted at the cruelty of the above execution” and how “I was putrified [sic] at the inhuman detail, and breaking away with a curse from the Damnable Spot of laceration Made the Best of my way home to my own Lodgings”. Throughout the *Narrative* in all of its versions, Stedman is careful to constantly remind us of how, as a gentleman with gentlemanly sensibilities, he is appalled at how people of African descent and other marginalized people such as soldiers were treated by the colonial authorities. We do not, however, read of any formal complaints made by Stedman to the authorities or any other concrete action he might have taken to help put an end to such treatment.

To add even more complexity to the situation, in the 1796 edition we must consider the very different voices of not one but two separate editors, Johnson and Thomson. Stedman was so upset with the pro-slavery slant inserted into the text by Thomson, that he burned all 2,000 copies of the edition of the *Narrative* that Thomson had edited. Nevertheless, some of Thomson's text remained in the 1796 version edited by Johnson, since there was no time to completely revamp all of it. While Johnson's voice was more consonant with that of Stedman, it was still in many cases quite distinct, as demonstrated in our comparisons of the 1790 edition with that of 1796.

Multiple perceptions

In the text, we are confronted not only with the phenomenon of multiple voicing, but also with that of multiple perceptions. Stedman often expresses shock at what he considers to be atrocious treatment of the African descended enslaved as well as of European soldiers and sailors, while the European descended officers and the European descended inhabitants of Suriname consider the same events to be normal aspects of daily life. The following text illustrates this point:

Some of the Negroes one day representing to this Lady the many Severities she Daily Inflicted and Supplicating her to be of a Milder disposition, She instantly knock'd out the Brains of a *Quaderoon-Child*, And Caused 2 of the heads of its relations to be Chopped off. Being young Negroe Men who had Endeavoured to Oppose it – These heads &c when she had left the Estate were Nnow tied in Silk Handkerchiefs, and by the Surviving Friends Carried to Paramaribo. Where they were Laid at the Governors Feet With the following Speech –

This your Excellency is the head of my Son, and this is the head of my Brother,, Struck off for Endeavouring to Prevent Murder by our Mistresses Command, we know our Evidence is Nothing in a State of Slavery, But if these Bloody heads &c are a Sufficient proof of What we Say, We only Beg that such may be Prevented in time to Come, When we Will all Cheerfully Spill our Blood and our Sweat, for the Preservation and Prosperity of our Master and Mistress –

To Which the Answer, was that they were all Inhumanly Flog'd round the Streets of Paramaribo for having told a Lie, till the Infernal fury was Glutted with Persecution – Had any one White Person Been Present at the above Carnage, the Evidence Would have been Good, but never that of a Negroe in the Colonies, and ever [even] then she would have Escaped by Paying a fine of 50 [pounds] Each Murder – enough, my Soul relents at Dwelling Longer on the Subject –

1988, [1790], Chapter 17, pp. 340-341 1775, April 23, May 1-4

The following passages taken from Stedman's diaries first in 1774, one year after his arrival in Suriname, and then in 1775, two years after his arrival, demonstrate how his perceptions and voice shifted over time. When the same passages are compared in the 1790 version versus the 1796 version, we also see how the perceptions and voices of the editors have impacted the *Narrative*:

In 1774, after one year in Suriname, Stedman says this about the slaves and maroons in the 1790 edition:	In 1774, after one year in Suriname, Stedman says this about the slaves and maroons in the 1796 edition:
[They should NOT be free but instead] dependent and under proper restrictions, not so much for the sake of the European as for that of the African himself, with whose passions, debauchery, and indolence I am perfectly acquainted....They would indeed provide for their immediate subsistence but would no more think ... of amassing wealth by industry...Indeed the twenty thousand Saramaka Free Negroes ... are a glaring instance, for they want neither land,	What are we doing by a sudden emancipation, but turning the poor creatures over to more cruel masters? ... The national character of these people, as I have remarked it, ... is perfectly savage; the 20,000 Ouca and Seramica free negroes ... have lived ... under no control of Europeans for a number of years, and yet I have never seen any marks of civilization, order, or government among them, but, on the contrary, many examples of ungovernable passion, debauchery, and

time, hands, nor proper tools for cultivation, but will ten times sooner be employed in dancing, drinking, and catching fish ... than in planting coffee, sugar, ...or indigo, and by which their wealth in a short time might be increased” (1992, [1790]: 93)	indolence.” (1796: 203)
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In the 1790 edition, Stedman’s remarks about the maroons were similar to the remarks that the English and the Dutch had been making about the Spanish in the Americas since the 1600s: Essentially, he complains that they spend too much time enjoying life and too little time making money. In the 1796 edition, the same passage no longer depicts maroons as merely venal and lacking industry, and instead depicts them and the enslaved together as a nation (read ‘race’) of uncivilized, ungovernable savages who should not attain freedom, as their counterparts had in Haiti. In any case African descended peoples remain inferior in Stedman’s fundamentally othering discourse.

In 1775, after two years in Suriname, Stedman says the following about the maroons in the 1790 edition:	This passage is entirely absent from the 1796 edition.
And where in a state of tranquility they [the maroons] seemed, as they had said to us, to want for nothing, being plump and fat, they catch in great abundance by artificial traps and springs, which they preserve by barbecuing, while rice, cassava, yams, plaintains, and so on, their fields are ever overstocked ... Salt they make with ashes of the palm treeThe pistachio nuts they also convert into butter, and the palm-tree wine they are never in want of...Soap they have from the dwarf aloes...The silk-grass plant and <i>maureeccee</i> tree provide them hammocksNeither do they want candles, being well provided with fat and oil As for clothes they scorn to wear them, preferring to go naked in a climate where the mildness of weather protects them. (1988, [1790]: 216)	

This passage from the 1790 edition is completely absent from the 1796 edition. This erasure follows a general pattern whereby any agency that had been attributed to the maroons by Stedman in the 1790 edition was de-emphasized or completely eliminated from the 1796 edition. According to his original 1790 edition, after two years in Suriname, Stedman seemed to have gained a real appreciation for the agency of the maroons, but in the 1796 edition of the *Narrative*, this evolution in his perceptions of the maroons and his discourse about them is not as evident, due to the influence of the

perceptions and voices of his editors. It should be noted that at the time when Stedman was writing about the abundance resulting from the African and Indigenous subsistence economics practiced by the maroons, the masses of people of London and the other cities of Great Britain were landless and either unemployed or working for starvation wages in the scarcity resulting from capitalism.

The agro-industrial plantation economy of Suriname was founded on the mass production of sugar, which demanded the coerced agricultural labor of enslaved peoples of African descent as well as the coerced industrial labor of these same enslaved peoples to guarantee the immediate processing of the harvest. As this plantation economy intensified, it demanded more and more slaves for labor. Thus, African slaves were transported to Suriname and to other Caribbean colonies. However, the European propertied classes soon realized that to enforce the system and make it work, it was necessary to project both coercive and discursive power: the former through the imposition of brute force, and the latter through the use of ideology to manipulate and subjugate both the African and European descended laboring classes.

Van Dijk (2008) refers to these ideologies as a 'system of ideas', which belong to the symbolic field of thought and belief. These ideologies serve to legitimate, conceal, manipulate and/or oppose power and dominance. He states,

[t]his occurs at the level of mental or social abstractions that have no empirical ground. Therefore, one needs to see ideologies expressed or lived by social actors, and "at work" in concrete social situations, that is in everyday *social practices*. Thus, forms of everyday discrimination against women and minorities may be studied as manifestations of sexist and racist ideologies (p. 6).

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As Van Dijk further asserts, "even when such discrimination is largely ideologically based, it does not as such 'articulate' these ideologies themselves, at least not explicitly." Therefore, the analysis of those discourses which "explain, defend, legitimate, motivate or otherwise 'formulate' fragments of 'underlying' ideologies" (p.6) must be scrutinized to render overt their covert messages.

In the excerpt from the *Narrative* cited in the section above, the switch from a discourse that portrays the maroons as indolent to a discourse that portrays them as savages is emblematic of how hegemonic shifts in ideology are articulated. Another clear example of this type of shift can be found in the passage below, where a 1790 discourse that sees the laboring classes, including the African descended enslaved as well as the European descended soldiers and sailors as deserving of better treatment is transformed into a 1796 discourse that sees the laboring classes as in need of greater discipline. These two discursive shifts typified much of the transformation of dominant discourses of political economy that accompanied the ongoing transition to capitalism over course of the 17th and 18th centuries, much of which was propelled by the profits derived from the sugar economy in the Caribbean as well as by the powerful

challenges to this system posed by oppositional forces such as the maroons in Suriname and the rest of the Caribbean.

In the 1790 edition, Stedman's constant complaints about the mistreatment of sailors, soldiers, the enslaved in the colonies and the working classes in Europe make him seem like an advocate for social justice. In the 1796 edition, much of Stedman's 1790 critique of the abuses of power that he witnessed in the Americas and in Europe is replaced by diatribes on the necessity for strict discipline to be imposed on all of the laboring classes.

Labor discipline in the 1790 Version:	Labor discipline in the 1796 Version:
Permit me here to make a short observation on the usage of the navy and Army in the west Indies as I have done before on that of the Negro Slaves – The Sailor and the Soldier who are on Duty in the Colony if taken proper care of are certainly two of the most useful members in helping to Support it what strong Spirited and willing drudges are they when properly protected and Encouraged by theyr Commanders – How careless are they with their lives – and how ready and fearless of Danger to protect their Officers if they are well supported and are but fairly dealt with...	...I shall ever think it my duty to support that the strictest discipline and subordination (when tempered by justice) is absolutely necessary amongst all large bodies of people, of whatever class or description, not only for the good of the public in general, but as the surest means of avoiding severity on the individual (the consequence of too much lenity) and of being painfully obliged to establish good order at last by perpetual round of reluctant rigour and chastisement.

As shown in the 1790 and 1796 versions of the passage below, Stedman's critique of the treatment of European descended soldiers was subject to even more censorship from the editors than his critique of the treatment of African descended peoples in Suriname. Besides leaving out some of the graphic detail of the suffering of the soldiers in the 1790 edition, the 1796 edition omits almost all reference to the deliberate policies of the colonial and military authorities in inducing, perpetuating and exacerbating that suffering. In the 1790 version of the *Narrative*, Stedman clearly lays the blame for the desperate situation in which he and his troops find themselves at the self-serving, short-sighted, penny wise/pound foolish, and corrupt policies and practices of the upper echelons of the European colonial and military hierarchies.

In the 1790 edition, Stedman singles out his immediate superior Colonel Fourgeoud for his harshest criticism, but through this acerbic and at times ironic critique, he rails at the totally corrupt Dutch (and British) systems of military procurement and provision. As was also the case on the ships, this entire supply operation was seen by commanding officers as nothing more than an opportunity to pocket a quick profit by making sure that the food and medicines made available to the soldiers and sailors under their command were of the very worst quality and in perpetual short supply, even if this meant that the men starved and/or died for lack of food and medical care. The

greed of these officers was so great, that they would routinely forbid their troops from eating locally available food and insist that they consume the often rotten provisions supplied from Europe.

This behavior was by no means criticized by the ruling classes at the time, who considered those who pushed their men the hardest to be the shrewdest businessmen among them, deserving of admiration and praise rather than condemnation. Indeed, the Dutch maintained their competitive advantage in shipping by offering the lowest prices for carriage and cargo of any of the European powers. This they accomplished in part by routinely starving the sailors aboard their ships.

Taking his cue from Linebaugh and Rediker (2001) Faraclas (2012) maintains that the two key labor sites of the colonial period were the ship and the plantation, and the brutal practices of labor discipline inflicted on the sailors aboard the ships (and the soldiers, their counterparts on land) as well as on the enslaved on the plantations during the 17th and 18th centuries served as the models for the pitiless work discipline that was to be inflicted on the European factory workers during the Industrial Revolution in the 19th century. The internalization of this unprecedented form of work discipline was a key element in the response of the European propertied classes to the challenge posed by the two key points of resistance to their system, the pirates, who were mainly former sailors who refused to be subjected to labor discipline on the ships and the maroons, who were mainly former enslaved persons who refused to be subjected to labor discipline on the plantations. In the end, both of these groups could be considered to be maroons, one sea-based and the other land-based. The challenges to the colonial system posed by these maroons was so great that the propertied classes were forced to abandon chattel slavery in favor of wage slavery in the 19th century. But this transition depended crucially on the degree to which the wage laborer would accept the hegemonic, discursive domination of domesticated ‘civilization’, instead of the coercive domination of the whip.

Because the internalization of hegemonic discourse was so intimately tied to the internalization of labor discipline by the European working classes at this particular moment in history, Stedman’s critical analysis of the mechanisms by which he and his men were made to suffer, his identification of those responsible for it, and especially his near justification for rebellion against it in 1790 were all either completely omitted or substantially watered down by the editors in the 1796 edition. References to Colonel Fourgeoud were excised or made less direct and damning in the 1796 version, and any suggestion that the calamities that befell Stedman and his men were due in any but the most casual and insignificant way to deliberate policy and officially sanctioned practice was censored out.

At the end of the passage, Stedman pulls back from his critical posture to assume to posture of the proper self-editing writer, to re-establish his credentials as a civilized Enlightenment gentleman, claiming that because of how “little reason is there in a

Common Soldier” the troops lacked the reason (a code word for ‘civilization’ in Enlightenment discourse) necessary to improve their lot and thus deserved their misery. Stedman then goes on to dismiss his own quasi-revolutionary rumblings in this passage by claiming that “all such reflections and many more we must impute to the effects of a frenzy fever, which seem’d already to have affected my Pericarnaium”.

Suffering among the soldiers 1790 edition:	Suffering among the soldiers 1796 edition:
Now came down from Patamaca in an open Canoo and burning Sun Lieut. Stromer the Commander of the Cerberus in a violent fever, drinking Cold Water from the River for all relief, also a Jew Soldier of the Society Port La Rochelle with the account that the Rebels had actually past the Creek above the last Estate two days before as had been reported viz, from E. to W. at the same time delivering me a Negro Woman and sucking Child who had formerly been Stole by the Rebels, and now had found means to make her Escape. From below I received also news that Major Medlar had sent to Town from the Jew Savannah 2 barbecc’d hands of the Enemy kill’d by the rangers—that an Officer and 10 Men were landed at Devils Harward with Provisions under my Command, and that one of my seek Men there had died – yet an order from Fourgeoud to seek out if possible a dry Spot to build a Magazine – I now having detached my Lieut. Mr. Hammer to take the Command of the Cerberus at Patamaca instantly weighed, and row’d down till before the Casipoery Creek where we past such a Night as no Pen can describe being crowded with all Sorts of People, the Seek Groand, the Jew prayd, the Soldiers Swore, the Negroes beg’d, the Women Sung the Child Skweek’d the fire Smoaked, the Rains poured down and whole Strunk to such a Degree that I vow to God I began to think myself little better off than in the black Hole of Calcutta. Heaven and Earth all seemed now to Conspire against us. Got the Account that Lieut. Stromer was dead at Devils Harwar – We drop’d down till before that Place to bury him decently but such was utterly impossible, since having contrived	Now came down from Patamaca, on the 28th, Lieutenant Stromer, the commander of the Cerberus, in a burning fever, and scorched by the sun in an open canoe, drinking cold water from the river as his only relief. In this situation, a Jew soldier, of the Society post La Rochelle, accompanied him, with the account that the rebels had actually passed the creek two days before, one mile above the Jaji estate, as had been first reported, viz. marching from east to west. – He at the same time delivered to me a negro woman, with a sucking infant, who had formerly been stolen by the rebels, and had now found means to make her escape. From below I received also the news, that Major Medlar had sent to town from the Jew Savannah two dried hands of the enemy, killed by the rangers; that an officer with ten men and some provisions were landed at Devil’s Harwar, there to be under my command; and that one of my marines at that place was dead. The same dispatches brought an order for me to look out for a dry spot, and, if possible, to build a temporary storehouse. (154) I immediately detached my lieutenant, Mr. Hamer, to take the command of the Cerberus, and having weighed anchor, rowed down till I arrived before the Casepory Creek, where we passed such a night as no pen can describe : – The sick groaned, the Jew prayed aloud, the soldiers swore, the negroes intreated, the women sung, the child squeaked, the fire smoked, the rains poured down, and the whole vessel slunk to such – a degree, that I began to think myself but little better off than the unfortunate persons who were confined in the black hole at Calcutta. At six o’clock the next morning, however, the joyful sun broke through the clouds, and I dropped down with the Charon before Devil’s

to make a Coffin of old boards, the Corps[e] drop'd through it before it reached to the Grave and afforded absolutely a shocking Spectacle, we nevertheless found means to go through the rest of the Interment with some decorum, having covered it over with a Hammock by way of a Pall, and fired 3 Volleys by all the Troops that had strength to Carry Arms, this over I regaled the Officers on a Glass of Wine, and once more took farewell of Devils Harwar On the 6th, having wrote Colonel Fourgeoud that the Rebels were past above La Rochelle ...

To Day my other Officer MacDonald fell sick but refused to be sent to Devils Harwar on account of leaving me thus quite by myself – I have say'd that we had no Surgeon but a parcel of Medicines, these which consisted in emetics – Laxatives – and Powders / of which I knew not the proper use / I at their desire daily distributed to the Men, who loading their Hammocks [stomachs] with heavy salt Provisions and no exercise, had actually sometimes need of art to assist nature, while these briny Meals of Pork and beef, Col: Fourgeoud insisted on, to be much wholesome food in a tropical climate than fresh provisions – which he say'd by the heat corrupted in the Stomack whereas the others underwent a proper digestion and this may be perfectly true for those whose Stomacks were strong enough to support the Argument but of such were but few on board either the Cerberus or the Charon—I had also some Plaisters on board the barge, but these were indeed very soon expended by the running ulcers which covered over all the Crew, and this was easily accounted for, since in this Climate / where the Air is impregnated with Miriads of invisible animalcules/ the Smallest Scratch immediately becomes a running Sore, and scratching must be daily occupation where one is covered over with Musquitoes &c. I have say'd the best Antidote and cure was lemon or lime acid, but this we had not; [138] * * *

This Day Mr. Macdonald was much Worse, however by seeing me receive a Letter from

Harwar. On the 29th, I delivered my sick officer and five sick men, besides my other passengers, for whom I had done all that was in my power, but that was very little; and having flowed the newly-arrived provisions in a proper place, I once more returned to my dreadful station, where I came to an anchor on the first of August. The following day, between the flowers, we saw great numbers of monkies, of which I shot one, and having had no fresh meat for a long time, I ordered it to be dressed, and eat it with a good appetite. We were at this time in a shocking situation, not only wanting refreshment; but the men's cloaths and hammocks were rotting from day to day, not only from their being all most confidently v/et, but being also composed of the very worst materials sent from Holland. On the third, I received the account that Lieutenant Stromer was dead at Devil's Harwar. On the fourth, we dropped down before the place, to bury him directly, in the hope of doing it with decency, but we were disappointed ; for having contrived to make it to a coffin (p. 156); a coffin of old boards, the corpse dropped through it before it reached the grave, and exhibited a shocking spectacle we nevertheless found means to go through the rest of the interment with the same decorum, having covered it over with a hammock by way of a pall; then fired three vollies with all the troops that had strength to carry arms. This being over, I regaled the officers with a glass of wine, and once more took a farewell of Devil's Harwar. On the sixth, having first written to Colonel Fourgeoud, to acquaint him that the rebels had passed above La Rochelle, and that I had found a spot for a magazine at Barbacoeba, I informed him also of the death of my lieutenant, Mr. Stromer; and recommended my Serjeant, who had been an officer of hussars, for advancement. 1796:154-156

This place was formerly a plantation, but is now entirely occupied by the military, who keep here a post, to defend the upper parts of the river Coticca. The soil is elevated and dry, which makes it the more remarkable that it should 'be so extremely unwholesome, yet such it certainly is: and here hundreds of soldiers have been buried. It

Col: Fourgeoud he seem'd to revive, / as we did all / expecting now to be reliev'd from our horrid Situation. But what was our Mortification at Reading that we were Still to Continue on the cursed Station / by his order who like a true General was Relentless of our Misery and Complaints/ which Letter was accompanied by a present of fish hooks and tackle, to make up for the deficiency of other refreshments, and indeed Salt Provisions which began daily to grow both worse and less – \139] * * *

I at last fell Seek myself and upon the whole was now truly in a Pitiful Condition, deprived of both my Officers and my Serjeant, my Men upon the three Stations / viz. the 2 barges, and Devils Harwar together / melted down to only 15 from the 42 without a Surgeon or Refreshment surrounded with a black forrest, and exposed to the Mercy of a relentless Enemy should he be Inform'd of our defenceless Situation – the remaining few declaring they were doom'd to destruction, and who could hardly be prevented from rising in rebellion, and going down the River Cottica with the Charon against my orders. But how little reason is there in a Common Soldier, had they only Considered that our Commander in Chief had other Fish to fry at Paramaribo, Where he made wise Plans for his ensuing Campaigns, and wrote Letters to Holland with an account of his already begun Exploits, which to be sure had a much better grace, and more marcial appearance from the number of Dead, /no Matter in what manner they were kil'd / that where [were] mentioned in their bloody Contents, Indeed I myself was not altogether free for making some unfavourable reflections, such as that the Enemy having cross'd the Pattamaca Creek, A few troops from all Quarters ought to have march'd against them, But all such reflections and many more we must impute to the effects of a frenzy fever, which seem'd already to have affected my Pericarnaium— While he that was the unnecessary Cause shall be detested. (134-145) July 27-August 23 1773

lies on the right side of the river as you go upwards, and had formerly a path of communication with the river Pirica, on which were a few military guards; but this is now little frequented, and quite overgrown.

p. 159: On the 8th my other officer Macdonald fell sick, but refued to be sent to Devil's Harwar, as he would not suffer me to be left quite by myself. I have said that we had no surgeon, but carried with us a parcel of medicines, which consisted of emetics, cathartics, and powders, of which I know not the proper use. At their desire, however, I daily distributed them to the men, who, loading their stomachs with heavy salt provisions, and using no exercise, had sometimes occasion for art to affect nature. But these briny meals of pork and beef, Colonel Fourgeoud insisted were much more wholesome food in a tropical country than fresh provisions; for, by a most curious theory, he asserted that the latter corrupted in the stomach by the heat, whereas the other underwent a proper digestion. Unfortunately for us, there were but few on board either the Cerberus or the Charon, whose stomachs were in a state to digest such food.

On the 9th Mr. Macdonald was much worse; however, on seeing me receive a letter from the Colonel Fourgeoud, he seemed relieved from our horrid situation. But what was our mortification, at reading that we were still to continue on this forlorn station! This letter was accompanied by a present of fish-hooks and tackle, to make up for the deficiency of other refreshments; and, indeed, of salt provisions, which began daily to get both worse and less

The receipt of such unwelcome intelligence made the whole crew declare they were sacrificed for no manner of purpose; while the negroes sighed, pronouncing the words, Ah! *Poty Backera!* Poor Europeans! (162)

Throughout the 1790 edition, however, it becomes apparent that what inspired Stedman's criticism of the colonial and military authorities was not some passing loss of reason due to fever, but instead his critical analysis of the causes of the suffering endured by himself, his men, the enslaved and everyone else who was subject to their rule. In his account of his farewell to his troops, he aims another critical shot at the usurious practices of the officers in charge of paying the troops, citing the pittance that they eventually received for all of the hardship they had endured as well as all of the risk to life and limb that they were lucky enough to have somehow survived.

In the following passage, he exposes the corruption involved in paying the soldiers for their service in notes instead of in coin, which allowed the commanding officers to skim ten per cent off the top of all of the wages paid and divert it into their private accounts. He also mentions the corrupt practice on the part of commanding officers of not passing on certain government subventions to soldiers to defray taxes and fees, which the men were forbidden to even talk about in public. Stedman uses the term "industrious" in an ironic but double voiced way to refer to those such as Colonel Fourgeoud who engaged in such common conduct, because in the eyes of the businessmen of the ruling classes, a man such as Colonel Fourgeoud would have been admired for his skill in turning a profit, no matter what the consequences to the people in his service.

Payment in notes instead of coin, 1790 edition:	Payment in notes instead of coin, 1796 edition:
I ought here not to Forget that the Industrious Fourgeoud Again Pay'd us all in <i>Paper</i> by which / as usual / we Lost 10 P Cent, but which equivalent/ by letting the Jews have the Gold & Silver/ he Carefully Lodged it in his own private Pockett – the many hundreds of Florins Allow'd us by Government to Defray Excise duties, Taxes, &c. were also never brought to account, or rather we were forbid to Enquire after them, but these were trifles when divided amongst so many – yet while in one hard Lump they were no Contemptible Picking. (595 February 10-26, 1777)	I ought here not to omit, that the industrious Colonel Fourgeoud once more paid us all in paper, by which, as usual, we lost ten per cent.; which, by letting the Jews have the gold and silver, he prudently lodged in his own pocket; and while the many hundreds of florins allowed us by government to defray excise duties, taxes, etc. were never brought to account, or, rather we were forbidden to enquire after them at all. These trifles indeed, when divided among so many gentlemen; but, in one solid mass, they were no contemptible picking. (365)

Insult is added to injury in the passage below, where Stedman critically assesses the exorbitant amount of money deducted from each man's pay to cover the purported expense of the inadequate and rotten food and medicine that they had received from Holland during their service. But, in the end, Stedman edits his own discourse to bring it back into the narrow confines of permissible dissent allowed to a civilized Enlightenment gentleman. No sooner does he bemoan the low rate of pay for soldiers than he

berates them for their “sailor like” lack of ‘reason’ (read ‘civilization’) in spending it “like asses” on prostitutes, drinking and other ‘ungentlemanly’ activities at the local brothels. Meanwhile, we have evidence that these same brothels were also frequented at times by Stedman himself.

In the 1790 version, Stedman takes a first step in laying the blame for his suffering at the feet of a single individual, Colonel Fourceoud, thus shifting his critique from a dangerous critical analysis of an entire system to a domesticated complaint against the behavior of a particularly reprehensible person. But he only goes partly down this path in the 1790 version of the *Narrative*, since he also asks the following rhetorical question and provides his own critical answer:

while should any one ask, how Came the Court to be blinded & deceived [by rampant corruption on the part of individuals such as Fourceoud]? My Answer is because it is the *Fashion* all over Europe, nor Can the Prince Avoid it, whose high & Elevated Situation in Life let him be never so well inclined too often prevents him to see otherwise than with borrow’d eyes or through a *Cloud*.

In this way, Stedman points to the systemic nature of the abuse of power, but attributes it to oversight rather than to the fundamental nature of a system in which greed is systematically rewarded and where sociopaths rise to the top.

Stedman defends his modest critique of the system by stating that it is better to state the truth to a sovereign than to praise him or her uncritically, so that he/she can do what is necessary to correct any wrongs done to those over whom they have responsibility. He ends the 1790 passage with another rhetorical question and answer, that serves to reign in his criticisms, so that they might be seen as permissible for a civilized Enlightenment gentleman: “But Should any of my Friends throughout this narrative think themselves hurt or too Rufully treated they may depend that while I have the Severity to unmask vice & folly I at the Same time possess the Generosity to give ev’ry Gentleman that Satisfaction to which I reasonably think he stands intitled”.

Stedman attributes his candor to the fact that “I am not a man of the fashion; especially since I liv’d so long amongst the uncivilized, I delight in like them openly & equally, to Sound a man’s vices as well as his virtues, which Character I adopt not only as being more manly but more Suitable for the General benefit of mankind” once again claiming the moral high ground of the “uncivilized” but ‘noble savages’ among whom he has lived in Suriname.

In any case, any trace of a systemic critique is completely erased by the editors of the 1796 edition, where all of the abuse faced by Stedman and his men is blamed solely on the actions of Fourceoud, as a single aberrant (thus atypical) individual. In contrast to the 1790 edition, in the 1796 edition Stedman states unequivocally that “*one* man alone was the cause of all our sufferings”. In this way, Stedman’s work becomes less of a critical analysis of a system of domination and more of an exposé about the particular behavior of a particularly corrupt commanding officer.

In both versions, Stedman is careful to avoid direct criticism of the Dutch nation or of the intentions of Dutch sovereign rulers. In fact, he sings their praises and to some extent encourages their Enlightened intervention in rooting out the corrupt practices he encountered in Suriname. In the 1790 and 1796 editions Stedman also mentions that the Stadtholder (the Dutch equivalent of sovereign) “honour’d me with a new Captains Commission to Reenter in the Honorable General *Stuarts* Regiment” and in the 1796 version he further states that it was the Stadtholder “who not only was pleased to give me a gracious reception, remarking, that by my looks I must have suffered much, but soon after promoted me to the rank of Major in the same Scottish regiment”. These honors bestowed by those overseeing the entire Dutch colonial enterprise on a civilized Enlightenment gentleman who knew just how far he could go in his social critique may suggest that it was not just his editors, but Stedman himself who saw it in his interest to convert the potentially radically critical text of 1790 into the conventional domesticated text of 1796.

Stedman’s farewell to his troops, 1790 edition:	Stedman’s farewell to his troops, 1796 edition:
On the Eighteenth the Troops were finally Cleared off their remaining arrears, and those who Chose it permitted to Return to theyr <i>old</i> Regiments when some of the privates had 30 or £40 to Receive and which/sailor like/having won it like Horses they spent it like Asses – Amongst others a young Fellow named James Keefhaber & whose former Regiment was in-quarter’d in the Same town hired 3 Coaches to Carry him the length of one Street only, ordering a Couple of Drunken Fiddlers in the first—his knapsack in the Second, & himself in the 3d. Supported by a Couple of hungry whores – he nevertheless was shipwreck’d being run Foul of by the place Major who having broke the Fiddles, & Set the Ladies a Dreft tow’d himself safe to the Quarter-Guard after a hard struggle, where he Came to an Anchor in the Bilboes, till the Gale of his Dicipation was quite Spent & he had got rid of all his Balast. & while in a similar manner now went most of the money that had been earned with so much danger sweat and hardships – At last it became my turn to keep <i>my long made promise</i> & bid a lasting farewell to Colonel Fourgeoud’s Regiment from which I on the tenth day of August [July] /in Consequence/ obtained my free <i>dismission</i> having requested it immedi-	On the 18th the troops were finally cleared with, and paid their remaining arrears, and those who chose it permitted to return to their <i>former</i> regiments. Some of the privates had from thirty to forty pounds to receive, which, sailor-like, having earned it like horses, they spent like asses. Among others, a young fellow of my company, whose late regiment chanced to be quartered in the very same town, hired three post-chaises to carry him the length of one street only, ordering a couple of drunken fiddlers in the first, his knapsack in the second, and placing himself in the third, supported by a brace of frail sisterhood: he was, however, unfortunately shipwrecked in his course, being run foul of by the <i>major de place</i>, who, having broken the fiddles, and set the ladies adrift, towed the roaring adventurer himself, after a hard tug, to the quarter-guard, where he came to an anchor in the bilboes, till the gale of his dissipation was quite spent, and he had got rid of all his cargo In a similar manner went most of the money which had been earned with so much danger, hardship, and fatigue. Now came the time to keep my long-made resolution of bidding a <i>lasting farewell</i> to Colonel Fourgeoud’s regiment; from which, on the 10th day of August, I obtained my free demission, having requested it, immediately after my debar-

ately after my debarcation from the Prince of Orange, & who at the same time honour'd me with a new Captains Commission to Reenter in the Honorable General *Stuarts* Regiment which I had left in September 1772, while for this long & painful Service Viz to this verry day, my pay had amounted to little more than £ 450 having been Stop'd near 200 Guineas for the Putrify'd beef, Rusk-bread, & hard peas that so miraculously had kept my Soul & Body together.

And now before the God of Heaven do I Sol-
emnly declare that sooner than to undergo my
former miseries again, for whatever Reward, I
would even embrace the fate of poor *Madan
Blanchard* the sailor & end my days amongst the
Savages at Pelew – When Tirany Commands the
post of Honour is a private Station – Let me
however not utter this as a Reproach to the Duch
nation in General, who indeed Omitted nothing
for our Preservation & encouragement, a people
whose Gallantry has been for ages as Conspicu-
ous as theyr Courage, witness the admirals *Van-
Tromp*, *Peet-Heyn*, *Obdam* & *DeRuyter*, not
Forgetting the Hero *Zoutman* who so lately as
nobly Signalized himself against the Valiant
Parker on the Dogger bank – Neytherlet me
Reflect Against the *Corps* in which I served so
long whose Perseverance & Bravery without
exception ought ever to make them Notable in
History while the Patience, firmness & Resolu-
tion of the *Scotch swich* & *Waloon* Private Sol-
diers, well deserves to be recorded for theyr
Lasting honour, but *Fourgeoud* the hapless
Fourgeoud Alone is the Object not now of my
Revenge, but of my unceasing Reproach Whose
Unmanly want of Feelings was the death of so
many Worthy men, while the Sovereign was
infamously imposed upon by those who Rec-
ommended this an to Such a distinguished Rank,
& Office, as I myself have taken the Liberty to
tell them since my Return, but which Recom-
mendation to Court proceeded from self interest
Alone to be Reinburs'd them money that he Was
in theyr debt & not from a Contentiousness of
his merit – while Strength of Constitution &
indefatiguable Perseverance were Assuredly his
Due, such, & such alone were the Causes of our

kation, from the the Prince of Orange, who at the
same time honoured me with a fresh Captain's
commission in the Honourable General Stuart's
regiment, which I had left in September 1772;
while from that date to this very day my full pay
had amounted to little more than four hundred
and fifty pounds sterling, having regularly been
stopped out of this sum *ten pounds per annum* for
the putrid beef, pork, rusk-bread, and hard pease,
that so miraculously had kept soul and body to-
gether.

Let me not, however, be considered as
wishing to cast a reflection on the Dutch nation
in general, who indeed omitted nothing for our
preservation and encouragement during this long
and painful service: a people whose virtues have
been for ages as conspicuous as their valour –
one man alone was the cause of all our suffer-
ings.

Going now to take my leave of Surinam,
after all the horrors and cruelties with which I
must have hurt both the eye and heart of the feel-
ing reader, I will close the scene with an em-
blematical picture of *Europe Supported by Africa
and America*, accompanied by an ardent wish
that in the friendly manner as they are represent-
ed, they may henceforth and to all eternity be the
props of each other.

On the 25th of August I repaired to the palace of
Loo, in Guelderland, where, by the Colonel of the
regiment, I was introduced to his Serene High-
ness the *Stadtholder*; who not only was pleased
to give me a gracious reception, remarking, that
by my looks I must have suffered much, but soon
after promoted me to the rank of Major in the
same Scottish regiment.

As I had not the pleasure also to see a
few others of my fellow sufferers recompensed
after their hardships, I had reason to think the
less of our former troubles; thus, instead of in-
dulging in censure, I found a more solid consola-
tion in the triumph of *truth*, which was *brought
to light* without my farther interference.

Among others, poor Colonel Fourgeoud

Hero's preferment which I have formerly promis'd once to divulge, while should any one ask, how Came the Court to be blinded & deceived? My Answer is because it is the *Fashion* all over Europe, nor Can the Prince Avoid it, whose high & Elevated Situation in Life let him be never so well inclined too often prevents him to see otherwise than with borrow'd eyes or through a *Cloud* – Should now the next Question be why do I Reveal the above *poor man's* Weaknesses to the World! Candidly Reply because it is Already too much the Custom Also to trumpet nothing but praise & adulation, & as I am not a man of the fashion; especially since I liv'd so long amongst the uncivilized, I delight in like them openly & equally, to Sound a man's vices as well as his virtues, which Character I adopt not only as being more manly but more Suitable for the General benefit of mankind – But Should any of my Friends throughout this narrative think themselves hurt or too Ruffly treated they may depend that while I have the Severity to unmask vice & folly I at the Same time possess the Generosity to give ev'ry Gentleman that Satisfaction to which I reasonably think he stands intitled – (pp. 616-617).

did not long enjoy his good fortune; for he was scarcely arrived in Holland, with the remaining few who stayed some time behind us, than his beloved *ptisan* having failed him, he was one morning found *dead* in his bed, attended only by a negro, and buried with military honours at the Hague.

Not long after this, expired also in Surinam Fourgeoud's mortal enemy, the Governor of the Colony; which vacancy was most worthily filled up by the Colonel *Texier*, and since by the deserving Mr. *Wichers*.

1796, Chapter 30 (pp. 393-397)

The maroons proved to be much less easily manipulated by the hegemonic discourses being formulated and propagated by the symbolic elites in the metropolises and the colonies than were the European descended working classes and the enslaved. Stedman was impressed by the depth of the maroons' social, economic and political analysis and their ability to use that analysis to deconstruct hegemonic discourse. The maroons had few illusions concerning the 'blessings' of civilization that the Europeans were promising them.

When discursive domination fails, the ruling classes must resort to coercive domination. If one seeks to assess the power of the maroons to effectively subvert the Dutch, English and French colonial projects, one need look no further than the extent to which their three key sugar producing colonies, Suriname, Jamaica, and Haiti became militarized zones where the maroon threat not only substantially destabilized, but also eventually overturned the system of chattel slavery. The cost in life and limb to those enlisted and coerced to counter the maroon threat was devastating. Thousands of European working class soldiers would sacrifice their lives to ensure the profit margins of the European propertied classes.

Suriname is the paradigmatic example of how the businessmen who controlled the commerce of the colonies would stop at nothing in their attempts to establish their capitalist dystopia in the Caribbean. In Suriname, this meant a constant state of war, where every possible tactic was used to no avail in the effort to exterminate the maroons. In this fight, the lives of African descended and non-propertied European descended people were considered to be eminently expendable. In the end, a complete ‘scorched earth’ policy whereby entire regions were deforested and rendered infertile achieved an unstable stalemate between the maroons and the colonial authorities, but, by the time that was achieved, the businessmen in London had already seen the writing on the wall and knew that the days of chattel slavery were numbered in the Americas. According to Price (Stedman, 1988, [1790], Introduction):

The war [in Suriname], then, was characterized by the colonial troops’ criss-crossing, more or less blindly, vast expanses of treacherous forests and swamps, with the maroons – through an efficient system of spies and lookouts – almost always remaining at least one step ahead, and often setting fatal ambushes for their pursuers at the enormous cost of life among his troops; some eight hundred thirty additional men were sent from Holland in 1775 to supplement the original contingent of eight hundred, yet only a couple of hundred lived to return to Europe (p. xxvi)

Stedman came to Suriname as part of this war effort. He was one of many thousand military personnel recruited by the colonial authorities from various parts of Europe in an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to defeat roaming bands of a few hundred maroons each. With all of its contradictory voices and points of view, Stedman’s *Narrative* remains one of the few actual eye-witness accounts of the creative, efficient and effective agency of maroons in contributing to the demise of chattel slavery in the Americas. Price and Price observe (Stedman, 1988, [1790], Introduction):

We now know that the maroons against whom Stedman and his comrades fought consisted of a number of very small bands – at the height of their strength a total of no more than several hundred men, women, and children. Organized primarily according to the plantations on which they had served as slaves, these maroon groups periodically banded together, split apart, and re-joined, depending on the immediate military situation and on the shifting alignments of their leaders – the charismatic Boni and his father, Aluku; their major allies Coromantyn Codjo and Suku; and other lesser-known chiefs such as Kwami (Quamy), Ariko, and Pudja van La Paix. (p. xx)

As a person intimately involved in all aspects of the conflict, Stedman’s casualty figures are even more apocalyptic and damning than those mentioned by Price. In the 1790 edition, the human cost of the war is described in careful detail and various

causes for the devastation are cited. In the 1796 edition, however, there are fewer details provided as to how the European descended soldiers met their fate and one cause is given primacy over all others for their demise – the climate. By attributing the casualties to climate, the editors attempt to render the agency of the maroons invisible in this key battleground in the eventually successful struggle against slavery and colonial domination. By removing the graphic details of suffering provided by Stedman in the 1790 version, the editors also do their best to maintain an appetite in Europe for this as well as the many future wars to be waged in the coming centuries, both in Europe and in the colonies, where the laboring classes would senselessly sacrifice themselves again and again in order to feed the insatiable greed of the propertied classes, whose hegemonic interests editors and writers such as Stedman, Thomson and Johnson typically serve.

Before embarking on his discussion of these most serious and weighty matters, Stedman takes yet another opportunity to do self-editorial promotion of his own merits as a civilized Enlightenment gentleman, by pointing out that the only thing that could give him some solace in pondering the plight of his fellow soldiers was the fact that because he had survived, he had been able to manumit three “deserving” slaves before leaving Suriname. By “deserving” we can read those slaves who had been close enough to Stedman, particularly his concubine Joanna, to become receptive to his efforts to ‘civilize’ them and ‘save’ them from ‘savagery’.

It is not difficult to see how this late 18th century Enlightenment notion of the civilizing mission of a gentleman in the colonies would play an important role in formulating the notion of the White Man’s Burden that was used to justify an unprecedented expansion in European colonial plunder of nature, women and non-European descended peoples in the 19th century. Stedman declares that he considers himself lucky to have survived because some of those of his comrades in arms who perished “had left Slaves behind them too nearly Connected”, that is, had died before they could free their own closely “deserving” slaves, especially their concubines.

Stedman’s account of horrific casualties in the 1790 edition	Stedman’s account of horrific casualties in the 1796 edition
What could not but Greatly Contribute in Restoring my tranquility was the happy Reflexion that / if I had in some measure hurted myself / I had at least done material good to a few others by Relieving 3 Deserving people from a State of Bondage – nor had I enter’d 1 Farthing into Debt notwithstanding, while my Constitution was Perfectly sound, & my Character unspotted with the smallest blemish, favours of Fortune that too many of my Friends Could not boast of, Several of whom	Everything being at last perfectly adjusted for our departure, both vessels, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel des Borgnes, weighed anchor on the morning of the 1 st of April 1777, when, with a fresh breeze at E. we put to sea, and kept course N. and N.W. – Motionless and speechless, I hung over the ship’s stern till the land quite disappeared. After some days, however, by considerable exertions, I got the better of my melancholy though not of my affection, and my mind became once more composed

had left Slaves behind them too nearly Connected, while others were Ruin'd both in the frame of theyr Body & mind past all Recovery; for instance no less than 4 of the handsomest Young Officers in the Corps went to Europe with incurable Ruptures, while others Lost the use of *all theyr Limbs* & some theyr memory Nay one or two were entirely deprived of theyr mental faculties, & Continued in a state of *insanety* for ever. In Short out of a number of near twelve hundred Able bodied men now not one hundred did return to theyr Friends at home Amongst whom Perhaps not 20 were to be found in perfect health, all the others / a very few of the Remaining relief Excepted, / being Repatriated, sick; discharged, past all remedy; Lost; kill'd; & murdered by the Climate, while no less than 10 or 12 were drown'd & Snapt away by the Alligators – Among the dead were including Surgeons betwixt 20 & 30 Officers, three of which number were Colonels & one a Major, which were the Fruits of this Long & Disagreeable expedition in the marshes & woods of Surinam.

One or two remarks I must still make before I leave this Subject, which first are that amongst the Officers & Private men who had *formerly* been in the West Indies, none died at all, while amongst the whole number of near 1200 together I can only Recollect one Single marine who Escaped from Sickness--& next that of the few belonging to the Corps that now were on theyr Voyage for the Texel, I myself was the only Officer who had sail'd out with the Regiment in 1772 those Gentlemen Excepted Alone who now belong'd to the Staff or Head Quarters – Reflexions which Assuredly Could not miss to make me very thankful Since 'tis most true that

Of all things in this world health is
the best

And is most valued when 'tis Least
Possest

Chapter 30, pp. 606-607, 1777 – April 1, 14

and calm. What chiefly contributed to the restoring of my peace, was the comfortable reflection, that if I had in some measure injured myself, I had at least done good to a few others, by relieving three innocent and deserving your people from a state of bondage. Yet this action, I was assuredly most amply rewarded by the preservation of my life, principally owing to their unremitting care and attention, while such numbers fell around me, and more were ruined in their constitution, the victims of the climate and the service, some having lost the use of their limbs, and some of their memory; nay, one or two were entirely deprived of their mental faculties, and continued in a state of incurable insanity for ever.

In short, out of a number of near twelve hundred able-bodied men, not hundred returned to their friends and their country : and perhaps not twenty amongst these were to be found in perfect health. Among the dead were (including the surgeons) between twenty to thirty officers; three of which number were colonels, and one a major. So very destructive was the service to the Europeans in such a climate; and such ever must be the result of the most successful operations in the unwholesome atmosphere of woods and marshes.

One or two remarks I must make before I conclude this subject, which are: --First, that among the officers and private men who had formerly been in the West Indies, none died, while among the whole number of above one thousand privates, I can only recollect one single marine who escaped from sickness; and next, that of the few belonging to the corps that were now on their voyage for the Texel (those gentlemen alone excepted, who at this time belonged to the staff) I myself was the only officer who had sailed out with the regiment in 1772. This last was a pleasing reflection indeed, and which could not but render me sincerely thankful to Providence. Chapter XXX, pp. 381-383.

The passages below indicate that Stedman owed his survival in Suriname in no small way to his class privilege. Unlike most of his comrades who died directly or indirectly from lack of access to food and medicine, even while in the field he was receiving parcels of food and drink from his friends and fellow gentlemen and when he was in urgent need of medical attention, he was taken in by Mr. De Lamar, who procured a physician to attend to him. None of these ultimately life-saving resources would have been accessible to European descended working class soldiers. Despite the fact that he blames Fourgeoud for the calamities that befell him and his men, he dutifully gives no small share of these presents to his commanding officer. In this way, Stedman shows that despite his severe criticisms, he knows his place in the political and social hierarchy and pays tribute to those above him, while taking regular advantage of the perks due to someone of his own rank.

Stedman Gets by with a Little Help from his Friends, 1790 edition:	Stedman Gets by with a Little Help from his Friends, 1796 edition:
I now received 6 Gallons of Jamaica Rum from Paramaribo and which / except two / I gave all in a present to my Friend Fourgeoud – being now determined in Imitation of the Indians to worship the Devil from fear, <i>not</i> from adoration – (p. 213)	On the 6 th I received six gallons of rum from Paramaribo, four of which I gave as a present to Fourgeoud. (p. 263)
At Devils Harwar I now meet a Cargo of Tea, Coffee, Bisquit, butter, Sugar, lemmons, rum, and 20 Bottles of Clerret sent me by my friends, directed to La-Rochelle, and which I again / independent and in Spite of the barbarous usage hat I had so lately met with / gave all in a present to poor Fourgeoud 12 bottles of wine excepted, which we drank to the healths of our Wives and Mistresses in the barge, nor could I help pitying Colonel Fourgeoud, whose Age/he being about 60/ and indefatigable exertions claim'd the attention of the most indifferent, and who during this trip / if few Rebels were taken/ had certainly Scowered the forest from the River Comwina to the mouth of the Wana Creek, dispersed the Enemy, and demolished their support – (pp. 230-231)	At Devil's Harwar I met a cargo of tea, coffee, biscuit, butter, sugar, lemons, rum, and twenty bottles of claret, sentme by my friends, directed to La Rochelle, which I again, notwithstanding the barbarous usage that I had so latterly met with, gave all in a present to poor Fourgeoud, twelve bottles of wine excepted, which we drank in the barge to the healths of our wives and mistresses; nor could I help pitying Colonel Fourgeoud, whose age (he being about sixty) and indefatigable exertions claimed the attention of the most indifferent: for during this trip though but few rebels were taken, he had certainly scourged the forest from the river Comewina to the mouth of the Wana Creek, dispersed the enemy, and demolished their habitations, fields, and gardens, and thus cut them off from all prospect of support. (p 283)
At last we arrived before Mr. De Lamar's Door at Paramaribo, when I step'd a shoare amongst a croud of Friends, who all flock'd round to see me, and to welcome me to Town, and in the Land of the living, it having been reported that I was dead so many different times – Next was	On the evening of the 13 th , we supped at the estate Mondesire, and thence kept rowing down all night and day, shouting and singling till the 15 th at noon, when, the tide serving, we went on shore at the fortress Amsterdam; whence crossing the river, we arrived before Mr. De Lamar's

sent for my Dear, my inestimable <i>Joana</i>, but who burst in tears the moment she beheld me not only for Joy at my Still existing, but from seeing my very distress'd Situation. However these precious drops I soon kissed away, and all was happy; this ended my second Campeign and with this I put an end to the Chapter. – (p. 231.)	door at Paramaribo. I stept ashore among a croud of friends, who all flocked round to see and to welcome me to town. I next sent for my inestimable Joanna, who burst into tears the moment she beheld me, not only for joy at my still existing (for it had been reported that I was no more) but also from seeing my very distressed situation – Thus this ended my second campaign, and with this I put an end to the chapter. (283-284)
I was now extremely poorly, and low – However prepared to go this Evening to Paramaribo, in consequence of which I waited on Colonel Westerloo to ask his Commands – but who now / without Ceremony / told me / not only / that I was devoted to Destruction by Colonel Fourgeoud, for having dared to find fault with his wise Manoeuvres and which was certainly too true, but that he had orders as a proof of it not to let me be removed to Paramaribo, till I should be bed-fast dying and unable to move—the effect that this Answer made on my Spirits I shall not attempt to discribe, Suffice it to say that I lost all reserve at once and having cursed the cause of my Distress publicly, and allow'd, against whom I throughout [threw out] the most bitter imprecations, as the Wilful Cause of my Death, I strol'd in the Adjoining Woods, unarm'd, and in the Condition of a frantick, deliberating whether to end my own existence or not; the last prevail'd, and returning home I now drank such a Quantity of Jamaica rum, to alleviate my Distress that it had nearly prevented me from forming resolutions of any kind for ever after – . . . and resting upon a Negroes Shoulder, I at 12OClock at noon walk'd to the Waters Side, where Stepping in the boat, I left this human <i>butchery</i> & where I had buried to many brave fellows, & row'd with 6 Negroes and my black boy to the Town of <i>Paramaribo</i>—a here I arrived on the 14th, at 2, OClock in the morning, but I having no residence of my own, was most Hospitably received at the house of a Mr. De La marre a Merchant, whose Wife was Joanna's Sister, and for which last he immediately dispatched a Servant to the house of her Aunt. And	I requested that I might be removed to Paramaribo for the chance of recovery; but this he peremptorily refused to allow me, by Colonel Fourgeoud's express command. The refusal of so reasonable request made me almost distracted, and agitated spirits so much, tht on the morning of the 12th, determined to exchange my wretched existence one way or other, I insisted on being immediately removed, or wished for death, which the surgeons declared must be the consequence soon, if I was not permitted to go down, and in the meanwhile I vowed that I should attribute my decease to their unprecedented barbarity. A consultation was now held on the subject; and at last, not without great difficulties, a boat was ordered to row me down to Paramaribo, but no white servant was permitted to attend me. Thus leaving the Lieutenant Colonel employed in fortifying Devil's Harwar with pallisadoes, where now also was a numerous garrison, I at twelve o'clock at noon walked to the wataerside, supported by a negro, on whose shoulder I rested, till I at length stepped into the boat, followed by my black boy Quaco, and finally left the diabolic spot where I had buried so many brave fellows. On the 14th, having rowed day and night, at two o'clock in the morning, we arrived at the town, extremely ill indeed; where, having no residence of my own, I was hospitably received at the house of a Mr. De La Marre, a merchant, this gentleman not only received me, but immediately sent a servant for poor Joanna, who was at her mother's, and another for a physician to attend me, as my weak and hopeless condition now required every assistance that the town of Para-

another for a Physician, I being extremely ill indeed, which was the end of this brilliant, this Fruitful expedition; after an Absense of 2 Months, and 12 days, (1790, p. 160)	maribo could afford.(1796, 192-193.)
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In conclusion, although it is tempting to see John Gabriel Stedman's *Narrative* as the articulation of a courageous voice against the injustices of racially defined chattel slavery, agro-industrial capitalism, imperialism and/or patriarchy, after close and critical analysis, the *Narrative* emerges as an ambiguous, doubly voiced document that, as a result of editing by both Stedman himself and the publishing houses which delivered his work to the public, does not go beyond the bounds of permitted dissent for an Enlightenment gentleman of the late 18th century.

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**RECOVERING OTHERED PRACTICES IN
LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION IN THE DUTCH
CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND**

STATE TRADITIONS AND LANGUAGE REGIMES IN ARUBA AND OTHER SMALL ISLAND STATES: SOME PRE- LIMINARY THOUGHTS ON THE STUDY OF LANGUAGE LEGISLATION AS DISCOURSE

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Decolonization in small island states from a linguist's point of view is an understudied area. Most projects and publications focus on the political, historical and social consequences of decolonization processes – most often from a metropolitan perspective – for relations between the formerly colonized and the former colonizer, as well as on responsibility for and resolution of problems resulting from colonization. Voices from the formerly colonized are heard in these debates, but the international academic arena seems to be dominated by the discourse of research groups in the traditional seats of power, Europe and the US. In this article, I would like to propose a more in-depth study of language legislation, and legislation in general, as discourse that represents the uneasy postcolonial relations in the Kingdom of the Netherlands, on the basis of a case study of the Aruban Official Languages Ordinance (2003), the Primary Education Ordinance (1989) as well as the supranational Kingdom Act on Citizenship (2011).

The discrepancies between language policies and laws in postcolonial small island states and social practice in these communities can often only be explained through a deep understanding of the extent to which language policies these islands are co-determined by the state tradition and language regimes of the former colonizer (Sonntag & Cardinal, 2015). In the discussion on language policy in small island states, the argumentation used in favor of specific languages is likely to be rooted in the former colonizer's frameworks (DeGraff, 2016). This leads to language policies and practices that can only be explained on the basis of the colonial past, rather than on the basis of common and basic linguistic insights.

There are a few terminological and critical considerations to be taken into account as well when studying the questions of language, law and policy in small island states. Basic binary descriptors, like minority/majority languages, regional/national languages, or the concept of dominance of languages have to be used with caution when discussing the politics of language in small island states. Traditional Anglo-Saxon monolingual

approaches to the study of these *de facto* multilingual societies tend not to yield interesting results, because they neglect the fact that the majority language of these societies is not the colonial heritage language of governance, education and law, which is usually a language that is foreign to the vast majority of the population. It is often the case that language legislation in these postcolonial semi-autonomous states reflects attempts to consolidate the position of the majority languages, but in its formulation it actually reinforces the hegemony of the former colonizer's language.

In many cases, the island state will follow the state tradition of the former colonizer with respect to law, governance and education, adopting the former colonizer's constitutional, legal and governmental framework, including much of its educational system and educational language policy. Innovation in the different domains of language use in the public sector in these countries is likely to follow the developments of the former colonizer's systems. Quality control – either in government, the judiciary or the educational system – is modeled on that found in the metropole, and more often than not, the quality control agencies of the former colonizer are invited to impose their frameworks on the small island state's systems. In contrast, the economic and business sectors of society appear to follow a different and more pragmatic path, developing their own language practices in all domains, including the drafting of – sometimes problematic – contracts that are not written in the language of the law (the colonial heritage language), but instead in a language more accessible or acceptable to the island's population. As such, the development of language policy, planning and practice in the public sector appears to be moving in a very different direction from language policy, planning and practice in the private sector, resulting in an increasing disconnect between the educational, governmental and judicial systems on the one hand and societal practice on the other.

Aruba is a small island state in the Caribbean where four languages are dominant in different domains of language use. A majority of the Aruban born population speaks all four dominant languages, Papiamentu, Dutch, English and Spanish. All four languages can be considered to be dominant languages: Papiamentu is an official language and the home language of 68% of the population of the island; Dutch – spoken by six percent of the population – is the other official language and the dominant language of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to which Aruba belongs; English – spoken as a home language by 8 percent – is the dominant language of tourism, the predominant industry in Aruba; and Spanish – spoken as home language by 14 percent – is the language of nearby Venezuela and Colombia, and as such is the regionally dominant language (Mijts & Waterman, 2016).

Law, in a parliamentary democracy, can be viewed as the discourse in which the norms, values and fundamental basic principles of a society are laid down by the collective voice of that society, the democratically elected parliament. In Rousseau's approach, laws in the sovereign state represent the voice of the people and the expression of their

general will (Rousseau, 1762). As such this voice has to be taken seriously as a representation of what is formalized as the people's voice. Due to the nature of the law making process, laws are static in character and are always representations of a compromise with the past.

A discursive approach to law provides us with insights into democratically confirmed belief systems as to what is considered to be appropriate behavior and what is not, and, when we talk about language laws, about which language can be considered to be appropriate, and which is not. These laws are translated into policies that (try to) regulate practice in institutions and societies. It is interesting to study the possible tensions between those policies and the law, but in this article we limit ourselves to a study of the law as it is at this moment, and how it reflects belief systems. In doing so, we will demonstrate that the law on language in Aruba is a vehicle of (post-)colonial thinking as it exhibits a demonstrable inclination towards favoring Dutch over Papiamentu as a language that is more adequate for specific governmental, educational and legal purposes, where language choices do not actually need to be specified by law.

The main legislation that prescribes or describes language use in Aruba are the Official Languages Ordinance (2003) and the Primary Education Ordinance (1989). Language legislation in Aruba positions Papiamentu as a language that is at best tolerated and at worst excluded from use. The Official Languages Ordinance, article 2, states that Papiamentu and Dutch are the official languages of Aruba. In this article, contrary to alphabetical order, Papiamentu precedes Dutch in an apparent symbolic attempt to put emphasis on the role of Papiamentu in Aruban society. Article 3 of the same ordinance regulates the use of languages in interaction between citizens and government. It does give both parties the authority to communicate in one of the two official languages, but it does not provide a guarantee to the citizens that the government will use the language of the citizen. Both citizen and government are free to use the language of their choosing. The law makes provision for translation, but only at the expense of the citizen who requests it, and without any guarantee of quality.

Articles 4.1 and 4.2, which regulate languages used in an oath, promise or statement, does stipulate that Papiamentu and Dutch can be used alongside each other, but in this part of the ordinance, Papiamentu is presented as an accepted alternative for Dutch. The phrasing 'instead of the legally prescribed Dutch words, one is allowed to use the corresponding Papiamentu words' does not give both languages equal status, but instead positions Dutch as the norm and Papiamentu as an acceptable alternative.

Article 5 contains only five words, but these words are crucial: '*Wetgeving geschiedt in het Nederlands*' (The language of legislation is Dutch). In this article, the language of legislation is prescribed, and it is not the majority language, but the home language of only 6 percent of the population of the island. No provisions have been made in this law that stipulate how the government might provide translations of legislation in the people's language. Ignorance of the law excuses no one, but how are you supposed to know

the law if the law does not speak your language? Further stressing the exclusive use of Dutch in legal matters, article 6 states that the language of criminal proceedings is Dutch. Despite the fact that there are minimum requirements laid down in international law on the availability of court interpreters, this practice in which the judicial process is organized around the linguistic skills of the judicial system and not of the population is questionable. The fact that no formal training for Papiamentu – Dutch translators and interpreters is available further problematizes this situation.

Education in the multilingual state of Aruba poses its challenges. Educational success is low, drop out ratios are high and the failure rate of those that make it to higher education is high as well. This results in a low percentage of higher educated Aruban citizens in society and on the labor market. Multiple reports and publications over more than five decades attribute this low success rate mainly to the choice of the Dutch language as medium of instruction in primary education. The use of Dutch, or an artificial form of Dutch, given that most pupils and teachers are Papiamentu-speaking, serves to alienate pupils from the educational process and to create extra obstacles for academic success. Still, this practice is prescribed by law. The Ordinance for Primary Education treats Dutch as the norm: article 9 prescribes Dutch as the official language of education, except for the first two years of kindergarten. It is only a recent special ruling by the Minister of Education that has allowed Papiamentu to be used as the language of instruction. As such, this law stipulates that the language of the former colonizer is to be preferred over the language of the majority of the population.

The last example takes us beyond the borders of the country of Aruba up to the level of legislation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands that applies to four countries, Aruba, Curaçao, Sint Maarten and the Netherlands. It is interesting to note that during the discussions on this law in the Aruban national parliament, this legislation was seen as a symbolic recognition of the importance of the Papiamentu language. Article 8.d of this law stipulates the linguistic requirements for the acquisition of state citizenship: if one wants to become a national of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, while resident and complying with all other requirements, one must submit proof of sufficient knowledge of the Dutch language. Yet, residents applying for the same citizenship in Aruba, Curaçao, Sint Maarten and the Netherlands Caribbean island municipalities of Bonaire, Sint Eustatius and Saba, must submit proof of knowledge of both the Dutch language *as well as* the prevailing language of that territory. Unfortunately, this condition limits the possibilities for these islands to integrate residents who want to become citizens, because they must pass two language tests instead of one. Moreover, one of these language tests poses particular problems for most potential candidates, since Dutch is not present in the media, in the linguistic landscape or on the labor market of these islands. The double language test that was hailed as a recognition of the islands' languages in fact has become an extra obstacle, potentially limiting the full social and legal integration of long term residents of these islands.

This brief analysis demonstrates that, despite the fact that former colonial ties have been replaced by a different set of relations designed ostensibly to take the Kingdom of the Netherlands into the 21st century, the laws concerning language on Aruba are a paradigmatic example of how the state tradition of the Netherlands continues in the legislation of the now officially autonomous islands of the Kingdom, in spite of solid evidence that the language policy that results from this legislation does not appear to lead to favorable results for the populations of the islands. The voice of the people of the nation of Aruba that should be represented in law appears to be overruled by voices that represent the former colonizer's truths and state traditions. The continuing predominance of the metropolitan state tradition which has always favored the Dutch language is demonstrated in the formulation of legislation in which the mother tongues of the overwhelming majority of the populations of the islands is at best presented as an acceptable alternative to Dutch, and at worst excluded from use in key areas where citizens' rights are at play: in education, the judiciary, law making, and even in the people's right to citizenship.

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WHAT ISLANDS SUCH AS ST. EUSTATIUS AND ST. CROIX IN THE EASTERN CARIBBEAN CAN LEARN ABOUT SUCCESSFUL LITERACY IN CREOLE LANGUAGES FROM ISLANDS SUCH AS THE ABC ISLANDS, JAMAICA AND HAITI IN THE WESTERN CARIBBEAN

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Introduction

The relationship between language spread, imposition and domination and the political and economic dominance imposed by colonial and neo-colonial powers can be explained by Phillipson's (1992) theory of Linguistic Imperialism. When examining the situation of language spread and language hierarchies and in turn language use and maintenance in the Caribbean, the significant impact of Westernized and European agendas becomes apparent. Phillipson claims that Linguistic Imperialism is a 'subset of linguisticism.' He defines linguisticism as the "practices, ideologies, and structures used to legitimate, enact and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined based on language" (p. 47).

The provision of language teaching and learning in the imperial language is a crucial factor in linguistic imperialism. This of course has repercussions for not only which languages are chosen but also what forms of the language and what cultural values are reflected in the language curriculum. The experiences in integrating creole languages into the curricula on islands such as the ABC Islands (Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, see Pereira 2010; 2011; 2013; Dijkhoff & Pereira, 2010; 2017; Croes, 2006; 2013), Jamaica (see JLU, 2008; Devonish, 1996; 2003; 2007; 2010) and Haiti (see Degraff, 2013) in the Western Caribbean offer opportunities for the development of a praxis on islands such as St. Eustatius (Statia, see Faraclas, Kester & Mijts, 2013; 2016) and St. Croix in the Eastern Caribbean (see Torres, 2009) that may foster a decolonizing approach to teaching and learning. Listed below are ten guiding principles which might facilitate a positive transfer of experience and expertise in effective creole education from the Western to the Eastern Caribbean:

1 *Recognition, inclusion, and valorization of the Creole in education*

Based on numerous studies of bilingualism, evidence supports that acknowledging and reinforcing a child's mother tongue early on and specifically developing early literacy skills in a child's mother tongue better supports later academic outcomes in English and other imperial languages. Nonetheless, Caribbean teachers have been trapped in a mechanical and authoritarian educational system characterized by regressive tendencies that inhibit the process of acquisition and valorization of native creole languages as a tool for social change.

Creole speaking students are at a disadvantage at schools because their creole languages are considered 'broken', 'corrupt', or 'ungrammatical' and posing an unsurmountable obstacle for the acquisition of the standard. Both the Creole and the standard language must be used side by side, and given equal status and functions within the classroom. Through research based approaches administrators and policy makers can help in the implementation of educational programs in creole languages in Statia and St. Croix, similar to the initiatives already undertaken on the ABC Islands with Papiamentu/o, in Haiti with Kreyòl and in Jamaica with Jamaican Creole. These actors have the power to determine whether students feel included or excluded in schools. By bringing students' languages into the classroom, their culture and history are validated. Using Creoles as the medium of instruction in these territories teachers can foster the development of intellectually and linguistically active students who will be able to challenge a linguistically biased and crippling system, thus becoming future agents of change.

2 Especially in cases where the Creole and its lexifier coexist, it is necessary that students and the community in general be cognizant of the significant differences and interface between both varieties

In the case of St. Croix, Crucian must be used and recognized as a tool to strengthen the students' proficiency in Standard English. As observed in student and teacher exchanges in St. Croix, sometimes students (and teachers) switch to speaking the creole language in the middle of a lesson without being aware that they have done so. In order to ensure that students and teachers become consciously aware of the nature, purpose and process of language learning and use, a training program similar to the one implemented in Jamaica can be developed to assist teachers in honing their language proficiency skills and in recognizing both varieties so they can in turn devise strategies to help students do the same.

The historical and linguistic situation in Aruba preclude Papiamentu from being mistaken for a variety of Dutch; nonetheless, it suffers, similar negative comparisons to European languages as do other Creoles. Of utmost importance is the development of a writing system for the Creole. However, because of the socio-political underpinnings of language planning efforts, and the lack of perceived legitimacy of creole languages,

the formulation of a writing system includes two critical goals not usually found in other contexts: (1) choosing a variety of the Creole that would be accessible to the majority of speakers of the language, and (2) establishing the Creole as an autonomous language from its lexifier so that it is perceived as a separate, legitimate language (Siegel, 2005). Statia and St. Croix need to consider the question of putting their Creoles to writing in relation to the two types of orthography at their disposal, namely a phonemic orthography and an etymological orthography. An inherent advantage of a phonemic orthography is that it produces a written form of the Creole discrete from that of the lexifier. On the other hand, the etymological orthography, since it retains spellings closely associated to words in the lexifier language, reinforces the interpretation that the Creole is merely a nonstandard offshoot of the lexifier.

3 All actors must form part of the decision-making process

The process whereby *Scol Multilingual* has been established in Aruba shows the benefit of incorporating as many stakeholders as possible in the processes of research and decision-making for the adoption of language education policies in Statia and St. Croix. Government language policies in the Eastern Caribbean have not only been used to enact colonial domination from the metropole, but they are also a function of economic and social struggles among contending national elites, all seeking to compel compliance among subordinate groups.

In addition to learning useful research skills that enhance the participation of each person, baseline studies and bottom up approaches build on sharing life experiences and developing community narratives and histories in communities. Communities which have been excluded from decision-making in the past, will have the opportunity to learn new methods to analyze their social reality, and to seek new forms of grassroots participation that enable them to organize and collaborate in transforming the quality of education and in turn their quality of life. Although Statia has adopted a bottom up approach to research, they have failed to recognize the mother tongue of most of the population. This yields an incomplete result that still shortchanges their children. St. Croix has also failed to recognize their vernacular and regrettably is imposing educational models from the United States on its children.

4 Teachers play a vital role

In the programs being implemented to integrate creole languages into the curriculum in the ABC Islands, Jamaica and Haiti, teachers are receiving on-going and supportive training, since they are the professionals who are directly involved in implementing educational policy hands-on with the students. When teachers are considered crucial participants in the implementation process and encouraged to express their concerns or suggestions, projects have a higher chance of success. Contributing to the obstacles

faced by speakers of these vernacular varieties is the notion that a 'standard' is the only acceptable form of language. The unfortunate consequences that flow from that notion are made worse by the fact that many teachers themselves exhibit negative attitudes towards students whose language differs markedly from the standard 'ideal' because teachers themselves are products of an educational system that devalues creole languages and cultures. There are still entrenched negative attitudes among teachers and the general public reinforced by the standard language ideology that promotes the superiority of one form of language, and the ideology of monolingualism that downgrades bilingualism and bidialectalism (Siegel, 2007).

Siegel claims that a logical step would be made to overcome the obstacles faced by students if "teachers recognized creoles and minority dialects as legitimate forms of language, if children were allowed to use their own language to express themselves until they learned the standard, and if they learned to read in a more familiar language or dialect" (2007: 67).

It should be of no surprise that, given much of the educational baggage that teachers bring into the classroom, the opposite is often the case where the vernacular is seen as an unsurmountable obstacle in acquiring the standard. This calls for extensive training and support of teachers regarding the value of the Creole. During the training, special emphasis must be given to the daily challenges that the teachers will encounter. It is very important for schools to contribute to the healthy and positive development of children and youth. The question on the minds of many administrators, policy makers, practitioners and teachers is how to do this in an effective way.

In Aruba and Jamaica in the Western Caribbean, comprehensive teacher training programs designed to aid teachers to revalorize Creoles and to adopt approaches and devise strategies that will help them improve students' academic performance, behavior and character are in place. With the recognition in Aruba of Papiamentu as a vehicle of instruction and the decision to implement a multilingual program that recognizes other varieties as well, the *Instituto Pedagógico Arubano* has sought to create educational experiences for teachers involving the valorization of language and culture to foster creative, cognitive, reflective development in children, youth and the community as a whole. The many national and international conferences, the workshops and the courses including the travel-exchange *Perspectiva Mundial De Educacion* contribute to set up teachers for success and to become key agents of change.

In the case of Jamaica, the Bilingual Education Project (BEP) involved redesigning instruction to support bilingualism in Jamaican Creole and Standard Jamaican English. This was done by providing learning and teaching materials in both languages, and by training teachers specialized in Jamaican Creole teaching. Implementation was therefore complemented by an ongoing process of translation of teaching materials and teacher training in bilingual delivery. This overhaul required the full commitment of teachers to aid in the success of the initiative. Wagner (2014) highlights how in the

Bilingual Education Project pilot teachers and teachers in training were using the recently translated materials (from Standard Jamaican English to Jamaican Creole).

Siegel (2007) points out that there have also been some developments with regard to awareness programs and that the CAPE syllabus course ‘Communication Studies’ in Jamaican high schools is an example of a program that includes a ‘Language and Society’ module that focuses on the linguistic situations in Caribbean territories and their historical background. This module also highlights features and characteristics of the grammar of creole vernaculars as compared and contrasted to those of Standard English. This program recognizes and explores cultural and linguistic differences as a rich educational opportunity for both teachers and students.

5 *Moving beyond the dichotomy of the Creole vs. the imperially imposed language*

One of the greatest assets of the *Scol Multilingual* Project in Aruba is the recognition of plurilingual nature of their society. Since most cultures are in themselves multilayered and polyvalent, including, recognizing, and valuing the diverse linguistic and cultural heritages of all students within the classroom is an effective way of both addressing increased cultural and linguistic diversity in schools, as well as improving the educational experiences, and longer-term educational success and achievement of students. The polyvalent nature of creole languages collides with homogeneity.

Croes (2006; 2013) considers the *Scol Multilingual* project to be the first initiative that explicitly supports multilingual education through a holistic approach and regards learning as a process of construction. Given that every language transmits a particular sociocultural perspective, *Scol Multilingual* regards Aruba’s sociolinguistic context not only as a producer of multilingual individuals, but also as a producer of multicultural individuals. It intends, unlike traditional schools, to utilize the students’ multilingualism and multiculturalism as complementary stepping stones in the attainment of knowledge. This project proposes to gradually introduce literacy instruction in four languages during the first years of schooling, in order to produce students who are literate in all four. The most salient obstacle that this project has encountered is the traditional Dutch-only system itself and the language attitudes that come along with it. In order to address both the pedagogical and social aspects of the Aruban context, the project has designed the curriculum in a way that permits the expansion of the social functions of the languages to academic functions.

The recognition of plural languages, cultures, and identities could be of benefit for the eastern Caribbean. For example, De Jesús (2010) explains that for centuries St. Croix has attracted people from many countries. Processes of immigration still continue today and its peoples speak at least 20 languages. Frequently the same individual will embody a plethora of languages, cultures and identities. Most of the population speaks at least two languages – Virgin Islands Standard English and Crucian English lexifier Creole. In addition, more than 40% of the people speak one or more of Spanish varieties – from

Puerto Rico, Vieques, the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Central America, etc. Furthermore over 25% of the population speak at least one or more additional languages – a second or third English lexifier Creole, one or more French lexifier Creoles, US Standard English, etc. De Jesús' fieldwork involved gathering evidence of the multiple languages spoken on the island. Regrettably St. Croix's rich linguistic environment is not recognized by its educational system. Similar contact situations involving numerous languages and cultures abound and Aruba and *Scol Multilingual* is at the forefront of the efforts for recognition of this fact.

6 *Incorporating models that reflect the organizing principles of traditional subaltern Caribbean sociétés de cohabitation into planning, decision making, and community*

Sociétés de cohabitation (González-López, 2011; Faraclas, 2012) articulate an alternative positive self-identity that negates the sub-humanity attributed to Caribbean peoples as slave descendants by dominant others. Their fluidity of linguistic and cultural identification offers a historically informed framework that allows them to present all languages and cultures as being of the same value as those of the imperial powers. The acknowledgement of vernacular languages gives all a voice to talk about and thus realize their imagined community and offer greater social democratization. The Eastern Caribbean islands of Statia and St. Croix must connect their pedagogical practice with theories of language and power, and should engage in dialogue with other territories involved in similar initiatives.

Educational programs inspired by various aspects of the *sociétés de cohabitation* which have played such an important role in Caribbean history as well as in shaping Caribbean society, can have a positive impact on learners' motivation to learn multiple languages. In *sociétés de cohabitation*, language contact has never been seen as a problem to eventually be resolved by the adoption of one dominant language. In *sociétés de cohabitation* the imperial or standard variety loses its exclusivity in favor of a role alongside other languages in projecting multiple voices and a pluricultural identities which incorporate a pluri-lingualism. By incorporating this less exclusive and less monocultural approach, our schools could become part of the solution to the inter-communal conflicts that are among the most poisonous legacies of colonialism in the Caribbean, by equipping young people to embrace the true multilingual nature of Caribbean societies.

Cummins explains that in “an era of globalization, a society that has access to multilingual and multicultural resources is advantaged in its ability to play an important social and economic role on the world stage” (2001). *Sociétés de cohabitation* have always seriously challenged and still challenge the colonial order. *Sociétés de cohabitation* can help transcend the legacy of colonialism in order to acknowledge and valorize the variety and complexity of Caribbean languages and cultures and move them out of the

fringes of declining colonial Empires. All the centrifugal elements of *sociétés de cohabitation* create a plurivalent and heteroglossic space in resistance to homogenizing standardization.

Another of the characteristics that has facilitated the success of the *Proyecto Scol Multilingual* in Aruba and that can be useful to other Caribbean communities is that, as a modern reflection of *sociétés de cohabitation* it engages the community, moving away from the idea of a culturally homogeneous national identity by celebrating ethnic and cultural diversity. It also re-values pluriculturalism in Aruba, which can help overcome long-standing prejudices, racism, and ethnic tensions on the island.

7 Production of contextualized local materials

Eastern Caribbean educational systems tend not to provide materials in the local creole language since they do not recognize Creole's place in education. In the Western Caribbean, we have examples of locally produced didactic material in the ABC Islands, Jamaica and Haiti. Having such materials available positively affects attitudes towards creole languages and cultures among students who seem more motivated to learn through creolized modes of instruction, and this in turn can positively impact teachers, principals, and parents. The production of materials in creole languages in the Western Caribbean is not restricted to formally didactic genres, but there are also examples of other materials that make use of the vernacular (newspapers, short stories, media, phonebooks, etc.).

As mentioned before, critical to the production of print materials is the progress made in orthography development in the ABC Islands, Jamaica and Haiti. In Aruba, there is a prolific tradition of production of materials. Many of the resources prepared as source materials to help and encourage local literacy projects in Papiamentu in Aruba and Papiamentu in Curaçao, recognizing orthographic differences within the ABC Islands, are produced by *Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma* (FPI). In Aruba, educational and cultural institutions and organizations (Departamento di Enseñansa, Drumi Dushi, Fundacion Lanta Papiamentu, etc.) aid in the production of literacy materials. The availability of dictionaries, grammar books, literature (both translations into Papiamentu and original works in Papiamentu), textbooks and workbooks for every single subject and all of significant quality (in terms of appearance/presentation and content) elevate the status of the vernacular.

Regarding the instruction materials in Jamaica, Wagner (2014) explains that even though after an initial evaluation of the BEP, evaluators were concerned by the lack of sufficient funds to reproduce high quality materials for each student, they recognized and highly praised the creative efforts put into contextualizing the materials and making sure every student received a copy. The evaluators recognized as a strength of the BEP that the materials being created by Jamaicans were extremely useful in the process of contextualizing learning for primary education. At the level of secondary education,

Jamaican Creole is used as part of the CAPE syllabus course ‘Communication Studies.’ Increasing the availability of contextualized learning material and re-tooling educators to participate meaningfully in the process of developing them for their own use is vital for the success of any program that integrates creole languages into instruction.

8 Support of a critical mass of organizations in the recognition and promotion of the Creole

Aruba has been especially effective in enlisting the support and collaboration of diverse organizations in the promotion of Papiamentu for literacy, national pride and as a marker of identity. We have already highlighted the important contributions of *Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma* but there are many other promoters of Papiamentu. For example, the Foundation *Bon Nochi Drumí Dushi* established in 2007 as a reading promotion group, initially enlisted a group of teachers to read to children. They later recruited volunteers of all kinds (parents, grandparents, community leaders) to read to children at different venues around the island. They routinely organize motivational campaigns to recruit more volunteers, and make their presence felt at various public and cultural events. They have also created a website that includes general information about the foundation, as well as reading materials divided into a section that also includes puzzles and games customized for children, and a section for parents and other family members who wish to partake in reading to children in Papiamentu.

Another organization is *Fundacion Lanta Papiamentu* (FLP) which has as its main objective to spread awareness regarding the importance of Papiamentu as the official and national language of Aruba and the mother tongue of the majority of the population. FLP organizes a variety of educational and cultural activities to highlight the importance of Papiamentu locally and internationally, alongside many other groups and organizations, including *Grupo di Corector di Papiamentu*, *Biblioteca Nacional Aruba*, *Departamento di Cultura Aruba*, etc. Besides PSML, there are other educational institutions that collaborate in the promotion of Papiamentu as part of their academic mission, including: *Instituto Pedagógico Arubano*, *Departamento di Enseñansa*, and *Universidad di Aruba*. If and when Statia and St. Croix decide to embrace, promote and support their Creole languages in their educational systems, they must understand that if they want to replicate the levels of success in the Western Caribbean, they must replicate the continuous, ongoing promotion of the creole language as well as the collaboration of a range of actors and stakeholders beyond those in the school.

9 Use of the creole language for scientific inquiry in all subject areas and the integration of technology

A lesson to be learned from the MIT Initiative in Haiti is the application of the Creole especially to those fields of study and scientific inquiry with which many who are still

biased against Creoles would not associate the vernacular (Degraff, 2013). The Initiative's use of digital technology and open educational resources online, all in Kreyòl, to improve science, technology, engineering, and math education, as well as leadership and management, is a step in the right direction for elevating the status of the language and broadening its linguistic register and vocabulary repertoire.

That said, the application of Creole to scientific inquiry must not merely be an effort, similar to those which typify linguistics as well as other fields of study, to seek to gain authority and popularity by appealing to a 'scientific pedigree'. According to Harding (1986), the underlying premise is that we are a scientific culture, since scientific rationality has permeated the modes of thinking and acting of our public institutions (1986: 9). In modern societies "neither God nor tradition is privileged with the same credibility as scientific rationality" (Harding: 16). Thus, more and more theories and hypotheses are validated under a veil of scientific rigor and scientific data and objectivity. Supposedly unbiased and pure scientific research provides a distorted view of the reality of scientific data. Scientific information and scientific theories are economic commodities that other scientists and academics consume.

As Harding points out, regardless of the deep-seated Western cultural belief in science's inherent progressiveness, "...science today serves primarily regressive social tendencies; and that the social structure of science, many of its applications...its ways of constructing and conferring meanings are not only sexist but also racist, classist, and culturally coercive" (p. 9). Harding adds that during the last century the role of science is no longer that of an "occasional assistant" but that of the direct manufacturer of economic, political, and social accumulation. Harding acknowledges that the question should not be: "how to preserve it, as if carved in stone or else to completely reject the European [scientific and epistemological] legacy, but rather how to update it so that it, like many other 'local knowledge systems,' can be perceived to provide valuable resources for a world in important respects different from the one for which it was designed" (p. 125).

She claims that reflecting on an appropriate model of rationality in our culture is a project with immense potential consequences because it could produce a politics of knowledge-seeking that would show us the necessary conditions to transfer control from the 'haves' to the 'have-nots' (p. 20).

The concern to define and maintain a series of rigid dichotomies in science and epistemology... is inextricably connected with specifically masculine- and perhaps uniquely Western and bourgeois-needs and desires. Objectivity vs. subjectivity, the scientist as knowing subject vs. the objects of his inquiry, reason vs. the emotions, mind vs. body – in each case the former has been associated with masculinity and the latter with femininity. In each case, it has been claimed that human progress requires the former to achieve domination of the latter" (p. 23).

Part of Harding's critique of the natural sciences is understanding the extent to which science is also gendered. If the nature, uses, and valuations of knowledge-seeking are to become humanly inclusive ones then we must be aware of the economic, political, and psychological mechanisms that keep science sexist. Concurring with Harding, these mechanisms must be eliminated from any project that seeks to bring creole languages and cultures to the forefront by embracing scientific inquiry and research. Violence and competition have been the key methods by which Western science has established domination over nature and colonized persons.

The adoption of creole languages and cultures into Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) fields under a *société de cohabitation* approach could help move science to those more inclusive valuations of knowledge instead of those dominant paradigms of science that seek to justify the domination of non-European descended peoples by European descended peoples.

Science can develop from and be part of a critical, moral and democratic discourse that fosters co-operation as part of its core values. These co-operation-based models of science have been commonplace in most human cultures and for most of human history. Co-operation based science is naturally entrenched in the efforts of communities to manufacture their own knowledges and resources in their own image and in their own interests, while the dominant archetype of science is practiced by an elite group of isolated specialists who fashion realities in the interest of a dominant class (Faraclas et al., 2008).

Faraclas et al. (2008) contend that paradigms of science are perpetuated through language in the form of metaphors. Much of Western science is based on metaphors of competition. *Sociétés de cohabitation* have always offered peoples in the Caribbean spaces for cooperation and validation of their own powers to create knowledge, and *sociétés de cohabitation* could be used as a model for new approaches to science and education and all realms of society. The use of technologies in the quest to transform the world, must not result in yet another vehicle for Westernization. The role of technologies in promoting creole languages and cultures in education must make worldwide communication possible and be critical and self-relexive, to see if in fact technologies can be used to better the human condition as the Western and non-Western worlds collide.

In Haiti we see how Kreyòl-based classroom tools and methods have the potential to shift educational outcomes toward both distributive and political equity. The MIT-Haiti Initiative serves as a model where close collaboration between humanists, educators, scientists, mathematicians, and engineers provides a space of possibility for all stakeholders. Linguistics is critical, alongside education and STEM, for facing global challenges, especially in promoting participatory readiness and distributive justice in disenfranchised communities that speak disenfranchised local languages – in Haiti and beyond.

10 *Learners aid teachers in the teaching/learning process*

We offer two vignettes as examples of teacher-learner interactions we have witnessed. The first comes from a school in St. Croix:

Ms. Rivera* corrects Joseph* when he responds in Crucian to the question:

“Where did you go?”

/Mi bin a stour/, says Joseph*

“I went to the store,” corrects the teacher without acknowledging whether the response correctly answers the question or not.

Joseph* does not participate again in class that day.

(*names have been changed)

In many cases in the Eastern Caribbean, when the vernacular is not the official language and teachers are seen as the only authoritative fluent speakers of the standard variety (whether this is true or not), we see students who feel unsure about their language and in turn feel unsure about themselves and their potential as learners. We gather from some teacher-learner interactions and exchanges in Eastern Caribbean school settings that engaging in classroom interaction with teachers of the standard variety is a struggle, primarily because the pupils may be positioned as dehumanized non-adults who do not know the target language and bring nothing to the teaching-learning process, or are only seen to be contributing corrupted, worthless forms. In her 2009 dissertation: “Attitudes of Crucian Students and Educators toward Crucian Creole as a Language of Learning” Geissa Torres concludes that:

The general feeling in St. Croix is that S[tandard]E[nglish] is the language to be spoken because of its worldwide prestige. It is the language of upward mobility that will ensure a respected place in the business world while Crucian is viewed as an obstacle to achieving higher educational and professional goals and as the dialect of the illiterate. Therefore, speaking in Crucian is reserved for informal domains (interactions among friends and relatives), whereas English is mainly used in formal domains (school and work). Crucian Creole does not enjoy the prestige that SE does due to the constant negative rhetoric against it from the hegemonic SE education that started with the ... colonial regime. By enforcing SE, educators are doing what they think is best for the students. Educators believe that Crucian retards the development of English; therefore, since teachers feel responsible for preparing students to become respected professionals, they emphasize SE as the linguistic medium through which that goal must be achieved. Parents also support an English-only methodology for the same reasons teachers do. Many students testified that parents had scolded them for using the “jargon” or “broken English” at home.

As a result, the students made an immense effort to restrain themselves from using Crucian at home and at school.” (p.155)

A second vignette is an exchange witnessed in one of the schools in the pilot project of *Scol Multilingual* in Aruba:

Ms. Williams* (whose first language is Papiamentu) is teaching Spanish at the elementary level. While teaching a song about the family, a student William*, asks how to say “grandfather” in Spanish. Ernesto*, a student who has recently come to Aruba from Venezuela and whose first language is Spanish, explains to his classmates that “*abuelo*” is “grandfather” and “*abuela*” is “grandmother.” Ernesto* seamlessly takes on a role of teacher for the rest of this class teaching Spanish vocabulary and modeling Spanish pronunciation.

(*names have been changed)

To resist the marginalizing practices encountered elsewhere, students in *Scol Multilingual* who master any of the languages that other classmates do not, choose to reframe their relationship with the teacher as aids in the teaching-learning process, and from the identity position ‘teacher’, rather than ‘student’, claim the right to speak and teach classmates. The success of these types of interaction can be explained in part by social learning theory, as outlined by Bandura (1963), who describes the process of observational learning in which a learner's behavior changes because of the observation of the behavior of others and its consequences. The theory identifies several factors that determine whether observing a model will affect behavioral or cognitive change. When students perceive similarity of the model to themselves, this increases their self-efficacy, leading to more effective learning of modeled behavior.

Discussion

Hancock posits that exposing learners to various languages and cultures at an early age offers them experiential advantages in perception and concept development (1977). Parents, students, cultural leaders, educators and governments, should come together in order to make teaching and learning more relevant in a changing Caribbean and in a changing world. They must constantly update their understanding of their target audience and their understanding of the material reality of those who participate in the process. The language of the metropole can no longer be the determining factor for the selection of the language(s) used as media of instruction. Now, in a progressive Caribbean, the plurilingual, pluri-cultural and pluri-identified nature of the peoples must be recognized, cultivated and celebrated.

Since preparation is the key that will unlock the door of opportunity for the twenty-first century, students at all levels should be given the opportunity to study and use various

languages. Studies on foreign language teaching and learning have shown that the earlier a student begins the study of a foreign language the better she or he is able to perform not only in that foreign language but in other subject areas. But what if, rather than considering these languages to be “foreign”, we considered these languages instead were recognized to be a part of the cultural makeup of Caribbean peoples? Certainly, the benefits and rewards will have an impact not only on the educational life of the learner but also on her/his overall quality of life as well. A monolithic monolingual model of instruction which is the prevailing paradigm in most Atlantic colonial societies “treat Caribbean culture and languages as determined and constrained by historical events such as slavery and reproduce a narrative of impossible oppositional struggle against colonial and postcolonial/ neocolonial domination” (Burton, 1997).

The right to education is fundamental. It shapes the life of the individual, and opens new opportunities of understanding, knowledge and self-assurance. For those who speak a creole language, education in the mother tongue establishes a communicating bridge with the traditions, history and language of the community to which they belong. We must recognize that the multiple varieties spoken in each territory of the Caribbean constitute a wealth of voices that should find spaces as valuable resources in the educational landscape. Recognition of creole languages and cultures similarly recognizes:

the decentered, heteroglossic sense of personal authority over language and of personal power through language into the Creole Space brought by African and Afro-Caribbean peoples. Language and power are not the exclusive dominion of elites and Euro-centric peoples, and when Africans and Afro-Caribbean peoples through heteroglossia embrace their traditional sense of personal and community control over their languages, cultures and existence, they can subvert and transform systemic forces that seek to impose a unitary truth (Faraclas, Walicek, Alleyne, Geigel, and Ortiz, 2007: 22).

Educators, policy makers, government officials and Caribbean peoples in general must recognize the value of creole languages as evidence of the flexibility, resistance and creativity of Afro-Caribbean peoples (Glissant, 1997; 1999); in perpetual bilingualism/multilingualism (Bernabé, 1990) who are not only pluri-lingual, but also pluri-cultural, and pluri-identified (Faraclas et al., 2008).

Concurring with Barcant (2013), the examination of the educational policies regarding language in the Caribbean can greatly benefit from feminist postcolonial and de-colonial approaches. Presenting brief glimpses of the linguistic situation in some territories of the Western and Eastern Caribbean we have examined how language is integral in the production and maintenance of culture and reflects the dynamics of power relations (Freire, 2000) and how the language of the colonizer became the tool for imposition and oppression of the minds of the colonized (Smith, 2007).

The colonial agenda has hegemonically imposed a single language in its attempts to exert political domination over land and people. Said (2012) enlightens this discussion by clarifying how the concept of ‘othering’ cannot be separated from the imposed colonial language. Nonetheless, the existence, survival, prominence, and recognition of creole languages that are now rising from the shadows where imperial narratives had been trying to push them, serve to challenge the colonial discourse of domination through acts of identity and resistance. These acts, sometimes overtly and forcefully, but many times as Bhabha (2012) observed, “not through political opposition but through ambivalence within the recognition of dominating discourses, stand against erasure and as testament to peoples’ agency”. Creoles gather, as part of their hybrid nature, a rich legacy of contributions of European, Indigenous and African descended peoples and their recognition in education will ensure that the cultural and linguistic repertoire of the Caribbean landscape is diversely enriched.

The response to the repressive social order in the Caribbean cannot be mere opposition to dominant discourse and institutions. Instead, pro-active community work, research and dissemination are necessary to create a new set of realities on the ground. The recovery and recognition of peoples’ plural identities, plural cultures, and plural languages is necessary for providing spaces where Caribbean people to thrive. In Fanon’s (2007) terms the colonial agenda of language imposition has been a prolonged system of epistemic violence, but the complex colonial (patriarchal) structure can also reproduce blindspots for equal representation and resistance.

In this article, I have attempted to identify elements of the informal educational systems which have emerged organically over the past five centuries from the feminized, Africanized, Indigenized creole cultures of the Caribbean as both a foundation stone as well as a source of inspiration for the design and implementation of education policy and practice that serves our interests and reflects who we are as Caribbean peoples. This entails that Caribbean peoples (as demonstrated in many of the language policies observed in the Western Caribbean) routinely defy (as Pollard, 1994 suggests) society by defying its imposed language. Subverting and appropriating features from the cultural and linguistic repertoires at their disposal have been the ways in which Caribbean peoples have created their fluid identities as a way to not only resist or survive in the face forces that seek to homogenize, marginalize and erase, but also to thrive amidst those nullifying forces.

Conclusion

Our future depends not only on widespread awareness of the positive transformations that occur as a result of the pluri-identified, pluri-cultural and pluri-lingual negotiation process emerging from intense contact in the on-going evolution of the Caribbean landscape. Our future also depends on positive action taken towards more inclusive teaching and transmitting of the language, history, heritage and culture of all peoples in Caribbean societies, including the implementation of pluri-identified, pluri-cultural and pluri-

lingual models throughout the whole educational process, creating a major role for creole languages and building upon students' knowledge of other languages in a realistic, challenging and meaningful way throughout the education system and society in general.

The models from the Western Caribbean are foundation stones through which the Eastern Caribbean and the world can embrace new ways to instill pride and self-esteem in students, provide paths for learning about their languages and heritages, for revalorizing their worldview, for relearning and retaining their linguistic and cultural awareness, and for determining where they fit in a fast-evolving world around them. To achieve these goals, Caribbean peoples do not have to follow a blueprint established by the formal systems of the metropolises that usually become monstrosities that perpetuate colonial imposition through inapt and imported 'fixes' on the peoples of the region. Instead they just need to look around to see what their neighbors are doing to create organic informal educational systems designed to embrace the feminized, Africanized, and Indigenized creole cultures of the Caribbean to find solutions that ensure that their languages, cultures, heritages and native customs are not lost, but preserved for generations to come.

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KAN GRAMMATICAONDERWIJS VAN HET NEDERLANDS LEUK EN TOCH LEERZAAM ZIJN?

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Inleiding

Aan de University of Curaçao (UoC) wordt sinds 2005 een Tweedegraads Lerarenopleiding Nederlands (TLN) aangeboden en sinds 2006 een Lerarenopleiding Funderend Onderwijs (LOFO). Deze opleidingen kampten in hun aanvangsjaren met grote uitval in de propedeusefase. Bij een onderzoek binnen deze opleidingen bleek dat de taalvaardigheid Nederlands van relatief veel studenten niet het verwachte streefniveau benaderde. Tevens bleek er een grote mate van taaldiversiteit binnen de groepen te bestaan (zie o.a. Bak-Piard et al., 2016). In de afgelopen jaren is binnen deze opleidingen onderzoek gedaan naar een alternatief deelprogramma taalvaardigheid en didactiek Nederlands dat meer succes in de propedeusefase bij de studenten moest bevorderen. De resultaten van dit onderzoek zullen in het komend jaar bekend worden gemaakt.

Dit artikel gaat over een alternatieve aanpak voor diverse modules ‘Grammatica’ bij TLN en berust op enkele van de gevonden ‘ontwerpprincipes’ in bovengenoemd onderzoek. Het doel is om kennis en ervaring te delen met professionals die geïnteresseerd zijn in de didactiek van het Nederlands in een context waar deze taal een officiële, maar vreemde taal is.

In dit artikel geef ik eerst aan wat de aanleiding was voor een alternatieve aanpak bij het grammaticaonderwijs aan de TLN. Vervolgens geef ik een schets van de laatste ontwikkelingen rondom taal, ‘taal leren’ en het leren van het Nederlands. Dan beschrijf ik de beginsituatie van de TLN in de periode waarin met een alternatieve aanpak van grammaticaonderwijs is gewerkt. Ten slotte geef ik een beschrijving van de alternatieve aanpak bij de modules en de resultaten hiervan. Het geheel wordt – met toestemming van de studenten – geïllustreerd met delen van hun werk en besloten met een korte evaluatie van en reflectie op de aanpak.

Aanleiding

In de periode 2012-2014 gaf ik met enkele collega’s de modules ‘Grammatica’, ‘Schrijfvaardigheid’ en ‘Didactiek grammatica’ in jaar twee van de TLN. Mijn promotieonderzoek had mij veel nieuwe inzichten verschaft die ik wilde gebruiken. Aangezien de

meeste studenten van de TLN docent Nederlands willen worden, moeten ze gedurende hun schoolstages lessen grammatica aanbieden. Volgens de jongere studenten verwachten de leerlingen lessen grammatica Nederlands die modern, boeiend en vooral leuk zijn. Zij willen dus graag de grammatica op een andere manier aanbieden, maar weten niet precies hoe.

Als lerarenopleider stel je jezelf de vraag: Welk type programma-inhoud en welke didactische aanpak komt het meest tegemoet aan de leerbehoefte van groepen studenten binnen een meertalige en Caribische context waarin het Nederlands een taal is die behalve in het onderwijs niet veel in de omgeving van de studenten en hun leerlingen wordt gebruikt? Deze vraag stond centraal bij de alternatieve aanpak die ik samen met enkele collega's in de periode 2012-2014 bij twee cohorten heb uitgetoetst.

Grammaticaonderwijs

De wijze waarop invulling moet worden gegeven aan grammaticaonderwijs is al decennialang een punt van aandacht, of het nu om de moedertaal, tweede taal of vreemde taal gaat. Ideeën over goed grammaticaonderwijs verschillen per tijdvak en per deelwetenschap (zie o.a. Blankesteyn, Coppen & Smit, 2017). Net als bij de discussie rondom taalonderwijs lijkt ook bij de discussie rondom goed grammaticaonderwijs een soort 'paradigmastrijd' te bestaan. In de ene periode is meer aandacht voor de zogenaamde grammatica-vertaalbenadering, in andere periodes is er meer aandacht voor de audio-linguale, communicatief-utilitaire, receptieve en/of handelings-psychologische benadering (zie o.a. Van der Linde, 2014). Als het om het schoolvak Nederlands gaat, lijkt er momenteel een verschuiving plaats te vinden van het communicatief-utilitaire paradigma (zie o.a. Van de Ven, 2011) naar een paradigma van bewuste-geletterdheid (zie o.a. Neijt et al., 2016). Met deze term bepleiten genoemde auteurs, die deel uitmaken van het zogenaamde *Meesterschapsteam Nederlands*, een verzoening van de gerichtheid bij het schoolvak Nederlands op talige en literaire vaardigheden met die van kennisinhoud in het vak.

Voor wat betreft de inhoud en didactische aanpak van het Nederlands als tweede taal geeft Kuiken (2016), specialist op het gebied van het Nederlands als tweede taal, een overzicht van de ontwikkelingen van de afgelopen 40 jaar. Volgens hem staan wij bij het ontwikkelingspunt waarbij meertaligheid als norm aangenomen moet worden; er standaard binnen opleidingen aandacht moet zijn voor aspecten van het Nederlands als tweede taal; leraren-in-opleiding de houding aangeleerd moet worden van 'leven lang leren'; en beproefde concepten en didactische aanpakken uit de afgelopen 40 jaar gehervat moeten worden.

Specifiek en actueel onderzoek op het gebied van het Nederlands als *vreemde* taal, is er amper en wordt mondjesmaat vanuit de hoek van de internationale neerlandistiek ontwikkeld (zie o.a. Rampart, 2017).

De laatste jaren is echter ook vanuit sociolinguïstisch en antropologisch oogpunt een verschuiving waar te nemen in het denken over taal en ‘taal leren’. Centraal daarin staat dat taal niet langer wordt opgevat als een monolithisch, onveranderbaar, normatief en telbaar construct – verwijzend naar bijvoorbeeld ‘het’ Engels, ‘het’ Nederlands, ‘het’ Spaans en ‘het’ Frans – maar veeleer naar een geheel van talige verschijnselen en elementen, veelal afkomstig uit meer dan één ‘taal’, dat het talige repertoire van de taalgebruiker uitmaakt en als zodanig wordt gebruikt om betekenisvolle communicatie te realiseren. Dit nieuwe perspectief op taal wordt kernachtig samengevat als een overgang van een begrip van taal als zelfstandig naamwoord naar een begrip van taal als werkwoord, in het Engels aangeduid als *language* ‘talen’ of, om het meertalige karakter ervan aan te duiden, als *polylingual language* of *polylanguage* (zie o.a. Jørgensen et al., 2016). Een dergelijke opvatting heeft ook consequenties voor de vraag hoe met taaldiversiteit in het onderwijs op een positieve manier kan worden omgegaan zonder daarbij de talige normativiteit die het onderwijs vereist en die ook tot de opdracht van het onderwijs behoort uit het oog te verliezen (zie o.a. Blommaert & Backus, 2011; Spotti & Kroon, 2015).

Ondertussen gaan alleen al bij de gedachte aan grammaticaonderwijs Nederlands bij vele leerlingen en studenten in het Caribische gebied de haren recht overeind staan en horen wij de kreet: “Nee, dank u!!!” Niet omdat zij grammaticaonderwijs Nederlands onbelangrijk of nutteloos vinden, maar vanwege een soort *angst* dat zij die nooit goed genoeg zullen beheersen en daardoor hun kans op studiesucces zien verschrompelen. Dit bleek uit diverse observaties en inventarisaties, gedaan tijdens de lessen grammatica aan de TLN in de afgelopen veertien jaar.

De beginsituatie

Normaliter worden aan de TLN de modules ‘Grammatica 2.3’ (54 uur), ‘Schrijfvaardigheid 2.3’ (54 uur) en ‘Didactiek grammatica 2.3’ (54 uur) in dezelfde periode aangeboden, los van elkaar en door verschillende docenten. Tijdens de module grammatica krijgen de studenten lessen in de traditionele grammatica en leren zij opnieuw taalkundig en redekundig ontleden zoals zij dit al tijdens hun vooropleidingen in meer of mindere mate gehad hebben. De module wordt met een toets ‘Taalkundig en redekundig ontleden’ afgesloten.

Tijdens de traditionele module ‘Schrijfvaardigheid’ oefenen de studenten met het foutloos schrijven van functionele teksten die in hun taalportfolio worden opgenomen. Tevens sluiten zij de module af met een toets ‘Functioneel schrijven’.

Bij de traditionele module ‘Didactiek grammatica’ leren de studenten om lessen grammatica voor de middelbare school te ontwikkelen. Tevens oefenen zij met het geven van deellesjes aan medestudenten en ontvangen zij daar feedback op van zowel hun medestudenten als hun docent. Deze module wordt afgesloten met een toets over de

diverse wetenschappelijke benaderingen van grammaticaonderwijs en over gemaakte lessenseries.

Conform de kennis die ik tijdens mijn promotieonderzoek had opgedaan, zou het beter zijn om de hierboven genoemde modules geïntegreerd aan te bieden. Mijn inschatting was dat daarmee de doelen van de afzonderlijke modules beter en sneller konden worden bereikt. Tevens zou zo'n aanpak financieel voordeliger voor de opleiding zijn. Bij de alternatieve aanpak staat de integratie van de inhoud van de drie hierboven genoemde modules centraal en wordt het accent gelegd op een didactische aanpak gebaseerd op de eerder genoemde principes. Het accent ligt niet op het kennen en toepassen van alle grammaticale regels van het Nederlands, maar op het zich bewust zijn van de eigen opvattingen over 'het leren van de Nederlandse taal'. Op het zich bewust zijn van de eigen ervaringen met het leren van grammatica en het zich bewust zijn van de vele verschillen in de 'superdiverse'¹ studentengroepen en de omgeving waarin het Nederlands wordt geleerd. Daarnaast ligt het accent op samen wetenschappelijke kennis leren opsporen, die kennis opdoen en bewust inzetten bij het verhogen van de eigen taalvaardigheid en die van leerlingen, en de daarbij gemaakte keuzes kunnen verantwoorden. Het is geen spel van goed of fout, slecht of beter. Het gaat om het leren monitoren van de eigen grammaticale ontwikkeling en aan leerlingen leren hoe ook zij dit kunnen doen. Dit met inzet van het hele taalrepertoire waarover zij beschikken, met gebruikmaking van de sociale media en de vele technologische middelen die er tegenwoordig voorhanden zijn. Iedere student is uniek en volgt waar nodig een individueel traject, terwijl er ook ruimte is voor veel gemeenschappelijke activiteiten binnen de groep. Voor de lerarenopleiders (inclusief mijzelf) betekende het veelal beter leren luisteren naar de leerbehoefte van de studenten, leren om beter de beginsituatie van de individuele studenten en van de groepen in kaart te brengen en deze kennis vervolgens goed te benutten. Tevens konden wij als lerarenopleiders bij een dergelijke aanpak beter leren om studenten meer medezeggenschap te geven bij het invullen van de inhoud van modules, de didactische aanpak en de evaluatievormen. Het ging er dus om studenten als medevormgevers van het onderwijs te durven zien en deels ook als leermeesters van de lerarenopleiders. Te durven om het proces als samenspel te ondergaan waarbij niemand boven de ander staat en iedereen van iedereen kan leren. Tevens konden de participerende lerarenopleiders – indien dit nog niet het geval was – de (taal)diversiteit die er in de groepen is, leren herkennen, accepteren en er creatief, flexibel en functioneel mee omgaan (managing diversity), zoals de studenten dat graag zien en ook zelf als leraar willen toepassen.

¹ Superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007) is een term die gebruikt wordt om aan te geven dat we in de samenleving als gevolg van processen van globalisering, mobiliteiten en de enorme vlucht van digitale media te maken hebben met nieuwe vormen van diversiteit, door Vertovec aangeduid als "diversification of diversity".

Ter illustratie een groep studenten die in het jaar 2014 deze geïntegreerde module heeft gevolgd. De groep van 25 was heel divers en bestond uit studenten van verschillende cohorten. Het grootste cohort stamde uit 2013 en telde op dat moment 13 studenten. De overige 12 waren van cohorten uit 2005 t/m 2011. Enkele studenten uit 2010 en 2011 moesten de losse modules overdoen; de overige waren ooit in de cohorten 2005 t/m 2008 begonnen, om diverse redenen met de opleiding gestopt, in het veld gaan werken en wilden de studie alsnog afronden. Af en toe liepen ook spontaan studenten uit de cohorten 2011 en 2012 binnen, die de module het jaar daarvoor reeds afgerond hadden; zij kwamen vrijwillig assistentie bieden aan de huidige groep. Ook schoven soms studenten uit Nederland of België aan, die in het kader van hun stage een college wilden observeren.

De leeftijd van de studenten ligt tussen de 19 en 65 jaar. De vooropleiding varieert van havo, sbo-4² tot 1e-graads-docent in een ander vak of andere taal en lesgevend binnen het voortgezet onderwijs. Ook de (taal)achtergrond van de studenten is verschillend, evenals hun gender, land van herkomst, motivatie om de opleiding te volgen, hun sociaaleconomische situatie, hun visie op (taal)onderwijs en docentschap. Een deel van de studenten komt van Curaçao, een deel komt uit landen (en gebieden) als Aruba, Bonaire, St. Eustatius, Suriname, Zuid-Amerika, Nederland, België of elders. Zo'n vijftig procent is gemotiveerd om docent Nederlands te worden. Een deel van de studenten is meer geïnteresseerd in literatuur, taalkunde, journalistiek of zelfs in een heel andere richting, zoals de politieopleiding, rechtenstudie, maatschappelijk werk³. De meeste studenten die aan deze module deelnemen hebben een propedeusediploma behaald en commitment⁴ betuigd aan de opleiding. Data verzameld binnen de opleiding tonen aan dat 50% van de studenten die aanvankelijk niet gemotiveerd waren om docent Nederlands te worden, dit uiteindelijk toch worden. De meeste studenten die aan deze module deelnemen, hebben in het jaar ervoor al aan een alternatief deelprogramma taalvaardigheid Nederlands deelgenomen, waarbij zij o.a. conform de hierboven genoemde principes hebben leren werken. Dit geldt niet voor de studenten uit de oude cohorten. Studenten van het niet-vrouwelijk geslacht zijn in de minderheid. Bij de UoC bestaat niet de mogelijkheid om je als student als homoseksueel, biseksueel, transseksueel, binair of anderszins te registreren, maar ook die 'diversity' bestaat.

² Sbo staat voor Secundair Beroeps Onderwijs en is vergelijkbaar met het mbo op de BES-eilanden en in Nederland.

³ Genoemde data zijn verzameld door een model van binnen de opleiding en een tijdens het grote onderzoek ontwikkeld registratiesysteem. Het goed in kaart brengen van de beginsituatie van de individuele studenten en van de cohorten bleek een onmisbare voorwaarde voor het succesvol draaien van een alternatief programma en van een alternatieve didactiek om de doorstroom te bevorderen.

⁴ Een eis die gesteld wordt aan studenten die in eerste instantie niet echt gemotiveerd zijn om leraar Nederlands te worden. Wie zich niet kan of wil committeren aan de eisen van de lerarenopleiding wordt geadviseerd om niet met de opleiding door te gaan (de mogelijkheid van een bindend negatief advies bestond in die periode niet).

Als lerarenopleider heb ik sinds 2013 ervaring opgedaan met het ontwerpen en uitvoeren van onderzoek binnen twee lerarenopleidingen, en tevens met het geïntegreerd aanbieden van de module grammatica, schrijfvaardigheid en didactiek grammatica. Dat deed ik samen met een team van drie andere lerarenopleiders die naast hun lerarenopleiderschap ook professioneel bezig zijn op het gebied van kunst (toneel, muziek, schrijven en schilderen). Deze docenten waren door mij geselecteerd op basis van hun kennis en kunde maar ook op basis van hun vermogen om op een bewuste, creatieve, flexibele, verantwoordelijke, reflecterende, samenwerkende, verbindende en vooral ook gelijkwaardige manier met studenten en collega's om te gaan. In het jaar 2014 heb ik de geïntegreerde module hoofdzakelijk alleen gedraaid om te zien of dit mogelijk was, omdat dit goedkoper zou zijn. Ik heb hierbij wel veel feedback gekregen van mijn focusgroep van lerarenopleiders, studenten uit eerdere cohorten en een student-assistent.

Inhoud en vorm van de geïntegreerde module in vogelvlucht

Afspraken vooraf

Vóór de start van de module is tussen de opleiders en de studenten een aantal afspraken gemaakt. Het was een bewuste keuze om studenten medezeggenschap te geven om zoveel mogelijk tegemoet te komen aan de leerbehoeften van de studenten. De verwachting was dat de studenten hierdoor medeverantwoordelijkheid voor hun eigen ontwikkelingsproces zouden dragen. De alternatieve aanpak is met de groep studenten besproken, evenals de evaluatiewijze. Afgesproken werd dat het doel van de afzonderlijke modules onveranderd zou blijven en dat er zowel formatief als summatief zou worden getoetst. Zowel tijdens als aan het einde van het traject zouden wij de aanpak en het proces samen evalueren.

Om de angst voor de traditionele grammatica bij de studenten weg te nemen, is met de studenten afgesproken dat wij grammatica niet op een traditionele wijze zouden toetsen. Afgesproken werd dat studenten zowel groeps- als individuele opdrachten zouden krijgen en dat de resultaten hiervan voor 50% mee zouden tellen mits de studenten daar minimaal een 5,5 voor behaalden. Studenten kregen individuele opdrachten, afhankelijk van hun nog te ontwikkelen schrijfvaardigheid en grammaticaniveau; een werkwijze die ook in jaar 1 gehanteerd werd en waar de meeste studenten aan gewend waren.

Alle studenten werkten met persoonlijke taalontwikkelingsplannen en evalueerden hun vorderingen en aanpak zowel tussentijds als aan het einde van de module. Studenten werkten met een taalportfolio waarin zij (de resultaten van) hun opdrachten verzamelden en die ook gebruikten om hun voortgang te monitoren. Afgesproken werd dat studenten en docenten tevreden zouden zijn wanneer de studenten de inhoud en aanpak als fijn en leerzaam hadden ervaren, maar ook (middels hun taalportfolio en tijdens toetsen) konden aantonen dat zij zich qua kennis, vaardigheid en didactiek in de gewenste richting ontwikkeld hadden.

In onderstaand schema geef ik voorbeelden van wat bedoeld wordt met ‘zich ontwikkelen in de gewenste richting’.

- Zich bewust zijn van wat grammatica is en wat het niet is;
- Zich bewust zijn van de eigen ervaringen met grammaticaonderwijs en de invloed daarvan op de keuzes bij het ontwikkelen van lessen voor leerlingen;
- Zich bewust zijn van de eigen visie op grammatica(onderwijs) en hoe deze visie zich ontwikkelt;
- Kennis hebben van de verschillende stromingen in, en benaderingen van grammatica(onderwijs);
- Zich bewust zijn van de keuzes voor bepaalde denkwijzen bij het maken van lessen voor leerlingen;
- Zich bewust zijn van de eigen grammaticaontwikkeling, weten hoe zij deze kunnen bevorderen en laten zien hoe zij dit doen;
- Zich realiseren hoe verschillend de leden van hun groep over grammatica denken, hoe zij het onderwijs daarin ervaren hebben en dus ook hoe verschillend dit bij hun leerlingen zal zijn;
- Als groep aantoonbaar (wetenschappelijke) kennis over grammatica(onderwijs) verzameld en verwerkt hebben binnen de eigen visie;
- Aantoonbaar feedback op hun beheersing van grammatica Nederlands aangenomen hebben van medestudenten en deze feedback aantoonbaar verwerkt hebben;
- Aantoonbaar minimaal drie lessen grammatica in elkaar gezet hebben, waarbij een koppeling gemaakt is tussen de theorie over grammatica en de praktijk van hun stage, deze lessen gegeven hebben en de verkregen feedback daarop aantoonbaar verwerkt hebben;
- De standaardtoetsen, behorende bij de drie afzonderlijke modules, gehaald hebben.

Verder spraken wij af dat er opnames van lessen mochten worden gemaakt en dat deze samen konden worden besproken. Opnames van lessen mochten niet zonder toestemming van betrokkenen via sociale media en buiten de colleges om worden verspreid. Dit gold ook voor het werk van studenten dat als oefenmateriaal bij taalfoutenanalyse werd gebruikt. Alle voorbeeldmateriaal zou zoveel mogelijk worden geanonimiseerd. De module bestond uit 2x9 lessen van twee uur per week, met een uitloop van 1 uur voor individuele gesprekken en begeleiding waar wenselijk en noodzakelijk. Toetsen werden door minimaal twee docenten gemaakt en nagekeken. In week 10 werden de

toetsen door de studenten gemaakt. De lessen konden door meerdere docenten samen worden gegeven.

De aanpak in zeven stappen

Stap 1: Bewustwording, kennisnemen van verschillen en verbinden

Bij het allereerste college van de geïntegreerde module kregen de studenten drie vragen voorgelegd:

- Wat is volgens jou grammatica (Nederlands)?
- Wat zijn jouw ervaringen met grammaticaonderwijs (van het Nederlands)?
- Wat is jouw visie op grammaticaonderwijs (van het Nederlands)?

Onderstaand geef ik ter illustratie een aantal antwoorden/samenvattingen van de antwoorden die studenten in het jaar 2014 op de gestelde vragen hebben gegeven. Deze antwoorden komen sterk overeen met de antwoorden van de groep die in 2013 deze modules op een soortgelijke wijze aangeboden heeft gekregen. De zinnen zijn niet gecorrigeerd.

Wat is grammatica (Nederlands)?

- Grammatica **is alles** wat te maken heeft met de taal.
- Grammatica heeft te maken met **de woordvorm van een woord**. Hoe je het woord uitspreekt en schrijft.
- Grammatica is een belangrijke **onderdeel** van een taal die belangrijk is om te weten zodat **je goede zinnen kan formuleren**.
- Grammatica is **de leer van de regels** van een taal.
- Grammatica is de **verzameling taalregels** van een taal. Het zijn **afspraken** die wij als gebruikers van de taal hebben gemaakt en waar wij ons aan houden.
- Grammatica is op een **correcte manier een taal schrijven**. Je let op de zinsbouw van de taal.
- Grammatica is het **kunnen ontleden van zinnen** en het kennen en herkennen van zinsdelen, woordsoorten. **Redekundig en taalkundig**.
- Grammatica **is het skelet** van de taal. Een raamwerk waaraan alles hangt, zodat de taal begrijpelijk wordt.
- Grammatica is **het hart van ieder taal**. Ieder taal heeft zijn eigen hart, dus ook zijn eigen grammatica. Zonder een hart kan een persoon niet leven. Dit is precies ook zo bij een taal.

Zoals verwacht waren de antwoorden van de studenten niet eensluidend. Ze definiëren het begrip grammatica heel verschillend. Een kwart van de studenten refereert aan de leer van de regels van een taal. Sommigen laten onder grammatica ook aspecten vallen als ‘spelling’, ‘woordenschat’, ‘interpunctie’, ‘stijl’ en taalverzorging. Grammatica kan

een verzamelnaam zijn voor alles wat met taal te maken heeft, anderen denken in beelden over grammatica.

In het volgende schema volgt een samenvatting van de antwoorden op de vraag naar hun ervaringen met grammaticaonderwijs van het Nederlands tijdens hun vooropleidingen.

Wat waren jouw ervaringen met grammaticaonderwijs (van het Nederlands) tijdens je vooropleidingen?
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Op deze vraag gaven de meeste studenten aan dat zij al vanaf hun basisschool met grammaticaonderwijs Nederlands in aanraking zijn gekomen. De hoeveelheid grammatica, de wijze waarop en de context waarbinnen dit grammaticaonderwijs was verzorgd, verschilde per student of per groep studenten. Er waren in ieder geval veel meer verschillen dan overeenkomsten. Ook de wijze waarop studenten het ontvangen grammaticaonderwijs beleefd hebben, bleek heel verschillend te zijn.
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Sommigen gaven aan grammaticaonderwijs als prettig en verrijkend te hebben ervaren, anderen gaven aan het afschuwelijk te hebben gevonden; het werd ervaren als een onderdeel van taalonderwijs waar sommigen wel, anderen nooit greep op hebben gekregen. Concreet werden genoemd het vervoegen van werkwoorden, het ontleden van zinnen en het benoemen van zinsdelen. De beschrijvingen van de studenten gaven de indruk dat de meesten op een zeer traditionele wijze grammaticaonderwijs hebben gehad, waarbij de docent de kenner en de overdrager van de stof is en de leerling de onkritische, gedachteloze, initiatiefarme, passieve ‘slikker’ en ‘verwerker’ van de aangeboden ‘kost’ is.

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Net als bij de eerste vraag bleek dat de ervaringen van de studenten met grammaticaonderwijs van het Nederlands heel verschillend waren.

Ook bij de vraag naar hun visie op grammaticaonderwijs van het Nederlands waren de antwoorden dermate uitgebreid dat slechts deelantwoorden uit de teksten van enkele studenten in het schema opgenomen zijn.

Wat is jouw visie op grammaticaonderwijs (van de Nederlandse taal)?

- De Nederlandse taal kent voor bepaalde zaken niet voldoende en duidelijke regels. Bijvoorbeeld het gebruik van de lidwoorden, aanwijzende voornaamwoorden en de verbuiging van bijvoeglijke naamwoorden. Moet je een vreemdetalspreker van het Nederlands dergelijke fouten zwaar aanrekenen?
- Mijn moedertaal is Spaans, die van de student aan mijn rechterkant Sarnami en van de student aan mijn linkerkant Chinees. Ik vind dat vergelijkend grammaticaonderwijs aangeboden moet worden. Er moet een lijst zijn waarin je kunt zien waar de grammatica van het Nederlands verschilt van die van het Papiamentu, het Engels, het Spaans, het Sranan Tongo, het Chinees en het Frans bijvoorbeeld. Ik denk dat dit het leren van het Nederlands op onze eilanden gemakkelijker zal maken.
- Zomaar regels van talen (ook het Nederlands dus) uit je hoofd moeten leren, vind ik een nutteloze zaak. Je onthoudt de regels na een toets vaak toch niet meer. Hoeveel lessen grammatica hebben wij al niet op de lagere en middelbare school gehad? Waarom beklijft de stof niet? En ik ben dan wel op Curaçao geboren, maar in Nederland opgegroeid. Echt frustrerend, dat ik moeite met grammatica blijf houden.
- Laten wij bij het leren van grammatica meer gebruik maken van de technologische ontwikkelingen. Tegenwoordig kun je samen met leerlingen en met behulp van een computer en de ‘social media’ hele leuke lessen maken. Laat de leerlingen zelf de regels (her)ontdekken. Dat is toch veel leuker?
- Ik houd van de Nederlandse taal (al weet ik dat je dat op deze eilanden niet hardop mag zeggen). Ik wil graag alle regels van het Nederlands kennen en goed beheersen. Maar ik loop vaak tegen het probleem aan dat ik niet eens weet of iets onder grammatica valt of niet.

Stap 1 had vooral de bedoeling om de studenten stil te laten staan bij hun eigen denkwijze; hen te laten onderzoeken of zij een visie hebben, zo ja welke en waar die op gebaseerd is. Of zoals een studente die in Nederland opgegroeid is in de groep opmerkte: “Goh, ik wist echt niet dat jullie die niet in Nederland opgegroeid zijn (NVT’ers) zo anders dan ik tegen bepaalde regels van het Nederlands aankijken; dit vind ik een eyeopener.” Omgekeerd ontdekten NVT’ers dat NT1-studenten ook moeite hebben met bepaalde regels van het Nederlands en dat ook zij hun best moeten doen om bepaalde regels onder de knie te krijgen.

Verder diende Stap 1 om de studenten te laten inzien dat zij de keuze kunnen maken om actieve, kritische, initiatiefrijke, onderzoekende, zelfreflecterende en elkaar ondersteunende leerders van grammatica van het Nederlands te worden en te ervaren wat de meerwaarde hiervan is, zowel voor henzelf als voor hun toekomstige leerlingen.

Belangrijk bij deze eerste stap is het inzicht dat er weliswaar veel verschillen in de groep zijn, maar dat ze daar overheen kunnen stappen en op zoek moeten gaan naar een punt van verbinding. Zo'n punt van verbinding kan een gemeenschappelijk doel zijn, zoals bijvoorbeeld nieuwe kennis opsporen, op creatieve wijze een collage of film met informatie maken, of leuke lessen grammatica. De doelen als focuspunten, niet de verschillen, met de acceptatie dat iedereen uniek is en dat dit goed is.

Na Stap 1 moesten de studenten hun eigen visie op grammaticaonderwijs terzijde schuiven tot een later stadium, wanneer zij deze konden vergelijken met de verschillende visies zoals verwoord in de wetenschap. Mogelijk zouden ze ook constateren dat hun visie veranderde door het volgen van de module.

Stap 2: samenwerkend, onderzoekend en creatief leren

Nadat de studenten tijdens het eerste college schriftelijk een antwoord op de gestelde vragen hadden gegeven, moesten zij in groepjes van drie enkele opdrachten uitvoeren. Doel van de opdrachten was de studenten te stimuleren om op onderzoek uit te gaan, na te denken over hun eigen en elkaars visie over grammaticaonderwijs in relatie tot de wetenschappelijke kennis over grammatica en grammaticaonderwijs en in te zien dat er theoretische benaderingen ten grondslag liggen aan oefeningen die in lesmethoden Nederlands op de middelbare school aangeboden worden. Zij werden ook aangespoord om na te denken over de wijze waarop zij zelf het beste grammatica (Nederlands) leren. Tevens werden zij gestimuleerd om de keuze te maken om, met behulp van de benadering(en) die het beste bij hun leerstijl en leerbehoefte past, hun eigen beheersing van grammatica van het Nederlands verder te ontplooiën. Tevens konden zij hun luister- en spreekvaardigheid Nederlands oefenen door met elkaar in het Nederlands van gedachten te wisselen over hun bevindingen. Indirect bereidden zij zich ook voor op hun taak als docent Nederlands die bewuste keuzes moet maken bij het ontwikkelen van lessen grammatica. Bij zulke opdrachten werden de doelen van de afzonderlijke modules in de praktijk geïntegreerd. Enkele voorbeelden van zulke opdrachten:

- Zoek in wetenschappelijke literatuur de definitie van grammatica en grammaticaonderwijs (van de Nederlandse taal) op en benoem deze.
- Zoek feitelijke informatie op met betrekking tot enkele benaderingen van grammaticaonderwijs en probeer de verschillen te benoemen. Bespreek jullie bevindingen met elkaar en geef het weer in bijvoorbeeld een creatieve collage.
- Analyseer een methode Nederlands die bijvoorbeeld op jullie stageschool wordt gebruikt bij het onderdeel grammatica. Doe dit conform de methode die jullie geleerd hebben bij de module 'Methoden analyse en onderzoek'. Bespreek met elkaar de mogelijke wetenschappelijke benadering(en) van grammaticaonderwijs die aan die methode ten grondslag ligt en doe hier verslag van in een vrij te kiezen vorm.

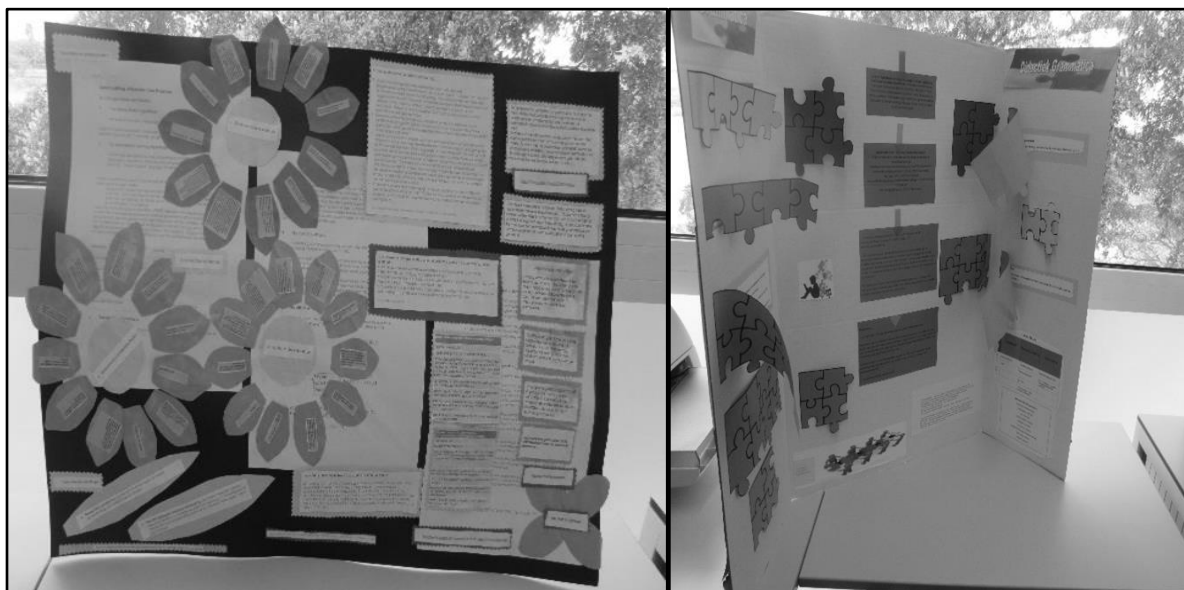
- Bekijk jullie persoonlijke visie op grammaticaonderwijs nog eens en nu in het licht van de mogelijk nieuw verworven kennis en geef aan bij welke benadering(en) jullie visie het meest aansluiting vindt.

De groepen werden samengesteld door de docent(en) van de modules die op de hoogte was (waren) van de beginsituatie van de studenten. De groepjes bestonden meestal uit een moedertaalspreker, een tweedetaalspreker en een vreemdetaalspreker van het Nederlands. Deze keuze was bewust om de studenten te laten ervaren hoe verschillend zij – gezien hun verschillende relatie ten opzichte van de Nederlandse taal – tegen het onderwerp en de opdrachten aankeken en hoe ze toch samen tot een goed eindproduct konden komen.

De geschreven stukken van de studenten werden door de lerarenopleiders op inhoud, structuur en grammaticale fouten geanalyseerd. De hoeveelheid grammaticale fouten in de zinnen van sommige studenten (vooral uit de cohorten 2005 – 2008) gaf de indruk dat zij amper grammaticaonderwijs in hun vooropleidingen hadden gehad, en riep de vraag op waarom zoveel grammaticaonderwijs de studenten niet in staat heeft gesteld om grammaticaal correctere zinnen te maken, terwijl de meeste studenten uit genoemde cohorten al jaren voor de klas staan in het basis- of het voortgezet onderwijs.

De opdrachten leverden een aantal eindwerkstukken op die soms op kunstwerken leken. Sommige groepen maakten collages, anderen een filmpje en weer anderen een toneelstukje waarin de verzamelde en verworven kennis verwerkt was. Studenten gaven tijdens de evaluatie aan deze opdrachten inhoudelijk intensief te hebben gevonden, maar ook heel prettig vanwege de creatieve kant ervan. De collages werden voor

Afbeelding 1: voorbeeld van opdrachten gemaakt door studenten



de glazen ramen van het lokaal geplaatst, zodat voorbijgangers ze konden bewonderen en bestuderen. Het feit dat de studenten hun werken op die manier konden ‘exposeren’ was voor sommigen heel stimulerend. Studenten hadden hierdoor het idee dat zij indirect en op een leuke manier kennis over grammatica van het Nederlands aan de passanten aan het overdragen waren.

Stap 3: theorie en individuele opdrachten

Nadat de studenten opdracht 2 hadden uitgevoerd en voldoende informatie hadden verzameld en verwerkt in een geschreven stuk, behandelde(n) de lerarenopleider(s) samen met hen de verschillende bestaande opvattingen over grammatica en grammaticaonderwijs (stof die gedeeltelijk ook bij andere modules als ‘Theorie taal leren’ en ‘(vreemde)Taaldidactiek’ aan bod komt).

Daarnaast kregen de studenten gedurende het college nog een aantal opdrachten die zij thuis individueel moesten uitvoeren. De studenten analyseerden eerst hun eigen stukken op grammaticale fouten, maakten hun persoonlijke verbeterplannen en gingen aan de slag met het vergroten van hun kennis en vaardigheid met betrekking tot de grammatica van het Nederlands. De stukken van de studenten met de meeste grammaticale fouten werden (binnen een veilige sfeer en anoniem) klassikaal geanalyseerd, besproken en van feedback voorzien. Als onderdeel van de module ‘Schrijfvaardigheid’ kon een vaktermenlijst (reeds gedeeltelijk en door de studenten zelf in jaar 1 aangelegd) worden uitgebreid en zowel wat betreft de spelling, de uitspraak en de woordbetekenis uit het hoofd worden geleerd en toegepast. Studenten die na het volgen van jaar twee bij TLN een andere studie wilden gaan doen (bijvoorbeeld rechten) mochten in plaats van een lijst met vakjargon voor docenten Nederlands, een vakjargon van hun toekomstige beroep of opleiding aanleggen en werden ook daarin getoetst. Zo probeerden wij ook aan de leerbehoeften van deze groep studenten tegemoet te komen.

Stap 4: Theorie gekoppeld aan praktijk

In deze stap volgde het ‘doceren’ van de grammaticaonderdelen die deze specifieke groep nodig had. Stel dat uit de geanalyseerde geschreven stukken van de studenten bleek dat de meeste studenten in de groep de verbuigings-e bij een bijvoeglijk naamwoord onjuist gebruikten, dan werd zo’n onderwerp klassikaal behandeld door studenten (samen met de opleiders). Het is niet de verwachting dat de studenten na zo’n les geen fouten meer maken met de verbuigings-e. Omgaan met de verbuigings-e komt in bijna geen enkele methode voor het leren van het Nederlands (op Curaçao) voor. Inzien waarom vele tweede- en vreemdetaalsprekers van het Nederlands fouten maken met de verbuigings-e is al een hele stap vooruit voor de meeste studenten. Daarnaast wordt tijdens de lessen geoefend met – binnen de opleiding – ontwikkelde opdrachten die

studenten kunnen helpen om meer aandacht te hebben voor de verbuigings-e in de Nederlandse taal. Studenten oefenden ook met het maken van specifieke opdrachten voor hun leerlingen.

Keuzes voor de onderwerpen werden samen met de studenten gemaakt, maar de stem van de lerarenopleiders (die een totaaloverzicht van de behoeften van de groep hadden), was bij dit onderdeel beslissend. Individueel konden studenten altijd extra feedback en/of aanwijzingen krijgen en de meeste studenten waren er al in geoefend om zelfstandig kennis te verwerven en zich te bekwamen in bepaalde aspecten van de Nederlandse taal.

Stap 5: Het ontwikkelen van lessen voor ‘middelbare school leerlingen’

Een volgende stap was om te proberen grammaticalesen voor leerlingen van de middelbare school (brugklas) te ontwikkelen waarbij rekening wordt gehouden met de (taal)diversiteit in de groepen. Studenten moesten lessen maken van de regels die zij zelf het slechts beheersten, want hier op het instituut mochten zij daar gerust fouten mee maken en konden zij feedback ontvangen. Tevens moesten de studenten aangeven welke theoretische (wetenschappelijke) benadering(en) van grammatica ten grondslag ligt (liggen) aan de inhoud van hun les en hun gekozen didactische aanpak. Vervolgens moesten zij individueel of in groepsverband een les aan hun studiegenoten geven die op hun beurt voor brugklasleerlingen op Curaçao moesten spelen (soms die van havo, soms die van vsbo⁵ en soms die van het speciaal onderwijs). Ze analyseerden daarna eerst zelf hun aanpak en ervaringen met de les en ontvingen daarna positieve feedback en leerpunten van de medestudenten en de lerarenopleiders. Met behulp van de ontvangen feedback moesten sommige studenten dezelfde les verbeteren en opnieuw geven. Alle studenten maakten individueel een verslag (kon ook per audio) van hun ervaringen met het opstellen en geven van de les en het verwerken van de ontvangen feedback. Alle studenten hielden individueel een logboek bij met daarin hun bijdrage, per datum, hoeveelheid uren en verkregen resultaat.

In 2014 moesten NVT-studenten grammaticalesen Nederlands maken voor de NT1-studenten. NT1-leerlingen worden in de praktijk van scholen in het Caribische gebied vaak niet gezien en er wordt vaak van uitgegaan dat zij niets hoeven te leren omdat het Nederlands hun moedertaal is. Dit is een misvatting. NT1-leerlingen hebben ook behoefte aan goed grammaticaonderwijs van het Nederlands. De NT1-studenten moesten op hun beurt lessen voor de NT2- en de NVT-studenten maken. Bijvoorbeeld, heeft grammaticaonderwijs alleen betrekking op schrijfvvaardigheid? Kunnen ook bij het spreken grammaticale fouten worden gemaakt en zo ja, hoe hoor je dat? De NT2-studenten (vaak afkomstig uit Suriname of Nederland) maakten bijvoorbeeld een les over strategieën voor het leren beheersen van bepaalde grammaticale regels van het Nederlands

⁵ Vsbo is te vergelijken met vmbo op de BES-eilanden en in Nederland.

voor NVT'ers, zoals deze NT2-sprekers het zichzelf hebben aangeleerd. Studenten leerden door deze opdracht om o.a. vanuit verschillende perspectieven naar de Nederlandse taal te kijken.

De lessen 'didactiek grammatica' hebben voor veel plezier gezorgd maar soms ook voor huilbuien. Vooral de studenten die niet uit het Caribische gebied afkomstig waren, wisten zich soms geen raad met het gedrag en de kritische vragen van 'de leerlingen'. Soms ontstonden de huilbuien ook door een soort catharsis bij het herkennen van wat sommige studenten al tijdens hun stages hadden ervaren.

Als we de lessen die de studenten in deze periode samen of alleen hebben ontwikkeld gereviseerd in een bundel zouden opnemen, dan zouden wij een collectie moderne en leuke lessen grammatica van het Nederlands hebben die goed is voor de ontwikkeling van zowel NT1, NT2 als NVT leerlingen: goed voor de multiculturele en meertalige samenleving dus.

Stap 6: Toetsen

Het toetsen was vanaf het begin een verhit discussiepunt onder de studenten. Velen zagen op tegen de toetsen. Er zijn afspraken gemaakt over hoe en wat er getoetst zou worden (rekening houdend met de informatie die in de modulebeschrijvingen opgenomen was en met algemeen geldende kwaliteitseisen voor toetsen). Tussentijds is dit steeds opnieuw herhaald. Studenten hadden zelf ook veel in de hand door de opdrachten uit te voeren die zij in hun taalportfolio op moesten nemen. Ook werden afspraken gemaakt over de wijze waarop de bijdrage van elke individuele student beoordeeld zou gaan worden, ondanks het feit dat studenten veel samen moesten doen. Naast deze opdrachten moesten de studenten drie theoretische toetsen maken. Deze toetsen moesten voor de meeste studenten wel haalbaar zijn, omdat zij de stof grotendeels zelf (op basis van semigestructureerde opdrachten) hadden opgespoord, verwerkt, aan elkaar gedoceerd en ook toegepast bij diverse opdrachten. Ondertussen hadden zij op individuele basis aan hun schrijfvaardigheid (in het bijzonder grammatica) en woordenschat (van het grammaticale vakjargon) verder gewerkt en veel nieuwe kennis op creatieve wijze verwerkt in (functionele) opdrachten. Om de angst voor de traditionele grammatica bij een aantal van de studenten weg te nemen, is tijdens het eerste college met de studenten afgesproken dat wij grammatica (in eerste instantie) niet op een traditionele wijze zouden toetsen. Echter, voor de aanvang van de toetsperiode was aan de studenten gevraagd of zij een kleine toets traditionele grammatica aandurfd. "Ja", zeiden ze, "mits het behaalde cijfer voor de toets alleen meetelt wanneer wij de toets goed maken." Zo'n afspraak is niet gebruikelijk, maar om de angst voor de toets weg te halen, kozen wij ervoor om de wens van de studenten in te willigen. De meeste studenten hebben de deoltoets goed tot zeer goed gemaakt, enkelen haalden pas bij de herkansing een voldoende.

Het behalen van de deoltoets traditionele grammatica zegt natuurlijk niet alles over de daadwerkelijke beheersing van de grammaticale regels van het Nederlands. Het taalgebruik in hun taalportfolio leende zich vaak beter voor een gesprek met de studenten over hun daadwerkelijke ontwikkeling: welke regels konden zij goed toepassen, met welke regels hadden zij moeite en hoe wilden zij zich nog verder ontwikkelen en langs welke weg?

Stap 7: Evaluaties

De aanpak van de geïntegreerde module is op diverse manieren en op verschillende momenten geëvalueerd. Tussendoor is met de studenten mondeling geëvalueerd, zodat steeds tijdig kon worden bijgesteld. Ook is de inhoud en aanpak met een klein team van lerarenopleiders om de week geëvalueerd op basis van een lijst met aan het begin van de module opgestelde evaluatiepunten. Studenten hebben in hun reflectieverslagen individueel hun mening gegeven over de inhoud en aanpak. Deze zijn in hun taalportfolio's terug te vinden. De modules zijn tevens – conform standaardprocedures die binnen de faculteit gelden – geëvalueerd, en ook die informatie kon bij de reflectie op de toegepaste alternatieve aanpak worden meegenomen. Aan het begin van de module is de afspraak gemaakt dat de inhoud en aanpak van de geïntegreerde module als goed wordt beoordeeld wanneer de studenten er tevreden over zijn en zij in hun taalportfolio aantoonbaar hebben gemaakt dat zij zich in de afgesproken richting ontwikkeld hebben (inclusief het behalen van bepaalde toetsen). De meeste studenten gaven aan de module heel leuk en leerzaam te hebben gevonden. De meeste studenten hadden alle toetsen gehaald en ook via hun taalportfolio hun ontwikkeling laten zien. Een deel van deze studenten is inmiddels afgestudeerd, anderen studeren binnenkort af als docent Nederlands. Bijna alle studenten hebben al een baan in het onderwijs. Twee studenten zijn tegen het einde van jaar 2 met de opleiding gestopt. De een is de politieopleiding gaan doen, de ander een rechtenstudie. Beiden hadden zij de geïntegreerde module wel gehaald.

Ter illustratie volgen hieronder enkele opmerkingen die tijdens de diverse evaluatievormen onder de studenten naar voren zijn gekomen.

- Leuk, heel leuk!
- Anders: niet gedacht dat het ook op deze manier kon.
- Leerzaam: heel, heel leerzaam!
- Intensief: heel intensief. Er is tijd nodig om dit alles te verwerken.
- Eyeopener: veel geleerd waarmee ik in de praktijk verder aan de slag kan, ook bij andere talen die ik geef.
- Te kort: alles zou over een langere periode verspreid moeten worden.

- Ik vond er niks aan. Ik wilde gewone normale grammaticalessen krijgen waarmee ik mijn Nederlands kon verbeteren, want ik ga toch geen docent Nederlands worden.
- Feedback kwam soms heel hard aan, terwijl ik dacht dat ik goed met feedback om kon gaan.
- Er is nog veel stof blijven liggen die wij graag behandeld hadden willen zien: zie de vele vragen over grammaticaonderwijs die wij aan het begin van de module hadden geformuleerd.

De belangrijkste doelen van de aanpak waren bereikt. Studenten konden aantoonbaar maken dat zij in veel opzichten gegroeid waren. Door bijvoorbeeld te reflecteren op hun eigen visie over grammaticaonderwijs zagen studenten in dat hun visie van invloed is op de wijze waarop zij invulling geven aan lessen grammatica van het Nederlands. Ook gaven velen aan dat zij nu inzien dat zij bij het ontwikkelen van hun lessen grammatica niet alleen rekening moeten houden met de beginsituatie en leerbehoeften van de hele groep leerlingen, maar ook met de beginsituatie van de individuele leerling. Ook lijken velen te hebben ingezien dat het niet eenvoudig is om grammaticaonderwijs van het Nederlands aan te bieden aan groepen waar de (taal)diversiteit hoog is en al helemaal niet in een situatie waarin het Nederlands een vreemde taal is, zoals op de Caribische eilanden binnen het Nederlandse koninkrijk. Hier kom ik in een ander artikel op terug. In hun reflectieverslagen beschreven sommige studenten hoe zij hun angst voor grammatica Nederlands gedurende de modules hebben overwonnen. Niet dat zij op dat moment alle grammaticale regels van het Nederlands kenden en beheersten, maar een zekere ‘angst voor grammatica (van het Nederlands)’ leek te zijn ‘verdwenen’; een drempel was overschreden. En terwijl zij aan het begin met trillende benen de lessen grammatica binnenstapten, stonden zij aan het einde van de modules met een grote glimlach en zelfverzekerd originele lessen grammatica aan hun medestudenten te geven, waarbij zij gebruik maakten van de ICT-mogelijkheden (o.a. video-opnames die door deze studenten zijn gemaakt en vrijgegeven).

De lerarenopleiders (die vooral in 2013 waren ingezet) vonden de module intensief maar ook erg leuk. Leuk vanwege de creatieve en flexibele kant ervan, het feit dat er door meerdere lerarenopleiders werd samengewerkt, verschillende werkvormen en hulpmiddelen werden gebruikt, er veel interactie was, de studenten actief participeerden en de wijze waarop de lokalen waren ingericht en werden gebruikt. Daarentegen is het vele nakijkwerk en de schriftelijke terugkoppeling hiervan aan studenten als intensief ervaren. Tijdens de lessen gebeurde er veel in zo’n groep en soms moesten studenten psychologisch opgevangen worden. Gelukkig was er een goede samenwerking met de studieloopbaanbegeleiders, want ook zij boden – waar nodig – hun assistentie. Het geïntegreerd aanbieden van de modules werd door de lerarenopleiders als positiever ervaren dan het los aanbieden van elke module. Sommige lerarenopleiders gaven aan het

nog niet aan te durven om alleen zulk een geïntegreerde module te geven. Ze vonden de verschillen in de groepen (nu zij zich daarvan bewust waren geworden) te groot en de opdrachten en toetsen te veel. Het integreren van drie modules en deze ook door slechts één vakdocent laten verzorgen is zowel qua tijd als financieel goedkoper dan drie modules door drie verschillende docenten te laten verzorgen.

De lerarenopleiders hebben zich bij de evaluatie wel afgevraagd in hoeverre bepaalde moedertaalsprekers van het Nederlands, die bijvoorbeeld reeds in het bezit waren van een 1^e- of 2^e-graadsbevoegdheid in een andere taal, vrijstelling voor deze modules hadden moeten krijgen; zij scoorden nu voor alle drie modules een 9 of hoger. Het antwoord op deze vraag kwam van de betreffende studenten zelf. Hieronder een reconstructie van wat twee studenten tijdens een evaluatiegesprek hierover zeiden.

“Nee”, zeiden zij, “we hadden deze modules (zeker in deze geïntegreerde vorm) voor geen geld willen missen. Het klopt dat wij reeds over bepaalde theoretische en wetenschappelijke kennis over taalverwerving beschikken, het klopt ook dat wij reeds bekend zijn met bepaalde taal-leerstrategieën voor het omgaan met grammatica van een (vreemde) taal en het klopt dat wij reeds ervaringen hebben met didactiek van een ander vak of andere taal. Wat wij nu extra gekregen hebben, is inzicht in hoe de kijk van alle medestudenten op grammaticaonderwijs van het Nederlands is, hoe hun ervaringen daarmee zijn, hoe die ervaringen hun denken en handelen kleuren, maar ook hoe modern en creatief vooral de jonge medestudenten met ICT omgaan bij het ontwikkelen van lessen, hoe je samen ondanks alle verschillen tot prachtige producten kunt komen, hoe je in meertalige klassen taallessen (grammatica Nederlands) zou kunnen geven zonder dat iemand zich de meerdere of mindere van de ander voelt of zich zo gedraagt. Een deel van wat wij tijdens deze module geleerd hebben, gaan wij ook proberen om bij andere talen en vakken die wij geven toe te passen.”

Een studente schreef bijvoorbeeld in haar reflectieverslag: “Ik was bij het lesgeven bang voor die Curaçaose leerlingen die volgens mij een bloedhekel aan het Nederlands hebben (en dus ook aan mij), maar nu zie ik dat zij eigenlijk bang voor de Nederlandse taal zijn en voor mij en daardoor mogelijk in de aanval gaan. Je krijgt in zo’n situatie een soort strijd van ‘angst tegen angst’ in plaats van vertrouwen in elkaars vermogen om er samen goed uit te komen.”

Reflectie

Wereldwijd is er een tekort aan leraren (zie o.a. UNESCO, 2014). Binnen het Nederlandse koninkrijk is er een groot tekort aan docenten Nederlands. In Nederland en Bel-

gië loopt het aantal studenten dat de Nederlandse taal wil studeren terug (zie o.a. Vaesens, 2017). Op de Caribische eilanden binnen het koninkrijk is echter nog volop belangstelling voor het studeren van het Nederlands, al kan het aantal studenten dat zich jaarlijks bij de TLN aanmeldt verschillen. Volgens deskundigen op het gebied van het Nederlands als moedertaal is er in de benadering van het Nederlands als schoolvak een paradigmatische verschuiving van communicatief-utilitair in de richting van ‘bewuste geletterdheid’. Op het gebied van het Nederlands als tweede taal pleiten wetenschappers voor meer structurele aandacht voor de meertaligheid in de samenlevingen en dus ook in de schoolklassen en collegezalen. Sociolinguïsten sturen aan op een benadering waarin taal vanuit een breder perspectief wordt benaderd en waarbij rekening wordt gehouden met de zich steeds verder ontwikkelende superdiversiteit in o.a. het onderwijs.

Voor de start van de geïntegreerde module grammatica Nederlands stelde ik mijzelf de vraag: Welk type programma-inhoud en welke didactische aanpak kan het beste tegemoet komen aan de leerbehoefte van studenten die studeren binnen een meertalige en Caribische context, waarin het Nederlands een taal is die behalve in het onderwijs niet veel in de omgeving van de studenten en hun leerlingen wordt gebruikt? Uit de aanpak en evaluaties van het gegeven alternatieve programma bleek dat het niet noodzakelijk was om veel aan de inhoud van het bestaande programma te veranderen, maar wel voor wat betreft de benadering en de didactische aanpak van de grammaticaonderwijs van het Nederlands. Op de TLN hebben studenten voor, tijdens en na het volgen van het alternatieve programma samengevat het volgende aangegeven. Zij hebben behoefte aan een benadering en aanpak van grammaticaonderwijs (van het Nederlands) waarbij zij o.a.:

- Zich bewust zijn of worden van hun eigen kennis, ervaringen en opvattingen met betrekking tot het leren van de grammatica van de Nederlandse taal;
- Vanuit een onderzoekende houding zelf nodige kennis met betrekking tot grammatica van het Nederlands mogen opsporen en tot zich nemen;
- Individueel waar noodzakelijk en samen waar nodig bezig kunnen zijn met het ontwikkelen van hun competenties (waaronder grammatica van het Nederlands);
- Hun creativiteit mogen gebruiken om o.a. kennis op te doen, kennis te verwerken en innovatieve didactische werkvormen te ontwikkelen die zij bij het lesgeven aan leerlingen kunnen gebruiken;
- Instrumenten aangereikt krijgen waarmee zij hun eigen kennis van de grammatica van het Nederlands ‘een leven lang’ verder kunnen ontwikkelen en blijven monitoren;
- Medezeggenschap hebben bij het maken en invullen van modules, toetsvormen, de keuze van leermiddelen en didactische werkvormen;
- Gebruik kunnen maken van ICT-mogelijkheden en de sociale media;

- Het ‘taal leren’ vanuit een breder perspectief mogen benaderen (bijvoorbeeld door gebruik te maken van hun hele taalrepertoire), gezien de grote (talige) diversiteit binnen hun groep.
- Op flexibiliteit van hun lerarenopleiders mogen rekenen.

De ervaringen met de geïntegreerde taalmodules in de periode 2012-2014 doen mij vaak denken aan een advies dat de sociolinguïst en taalkundig antropoloog Blommaert voor het doceren van de Engelse taal aan studenten gaf. In zijn essay *Teaching English that makes one happy* (2015) schrijft hij: “When we teach people the language they need (...) we have to teach them the specific bits of the language that make them happy.” Wat mij betreft, gaat dit op voor het doceren van elke willekeurige taal en dus ook voor het Nederlands in welke context dan ook (NT1, NT2, NVT). Angst voor de Nederlandse taal en de Nederlandse grammatica kan strijd en verwijdering tussen mensen veroorzaken, terwijl plezier, vreugde, flexibiliteit, creativiteit en medezeggenschap gedurende de lessen grammatica zorgen voor verbinding tussen mensen, een prettige leerervaring en zichtbare groei bij alle betrokkenen.

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LA INVESTIGACIÓN-ACCIÓN COMO HERRAMIENTA PARA EL DOCENTE DE LENGUA EXTRANJERA

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La investigación-acción: consideraciones teóricas

En el campo de la investigación educativa se desarrollan investigaciones basadas en diferentes paradigmas. La investigación-acción tiene tanto características del paradigma cuantitativo como del cualitativo. Esta combinación de técnicas parece una manera fructífera para llevar a cabo investigaciones en el aula. En este artículo se comentan la práctica y la teoría de este ‘paradigma para el cambio’.

Por la teoría es bien sabido que en el proceso de adquirir una lengua extranjera es esencial que el aprendiz reciba suficiente *input* de la lengua en cuestión (Krashen, 1985). Visto que, generalmente, fuera del salón de clase la mayoría de los estudiantes no tienen mucho contacto con la lengua que están aprendiendo, es crucial que un docente les ofrezca a sus alumnos el máximo *input* posible. Si un docente aumenta la cantidad de *input* de la lengua extranjera, facilita y fomenta el proceso de adquirir esta lengua. Lo que se puede esperar, pues, de un profesor de lengua extranjera es que utilice el idioma que está enseñando como lengua de instrucción y como lengua de discurso.

En la práctica, sin embargo, se observa que muchos docentes utilizan la lengua materna de sus estudiantes para impartir sus clases, privándoles así de valiosas oportunidades de experimentar y practicar la lengua extranjera que están estudiando. La gran mayoría de los docentes son conscientes de que hay una brecha entre la teoría y la práctica, pero no saben cómo resolver el problema. Esta situación poco deseable se hace todavía más problemática en contextos multilingües donde hay varias lenguas maternas.

Veamos, por ejemplo, la situación en el Colegio Arubano, un colegio secundario en la isla de Aruba. En la situación lingüística arubeña, la lengua de instrucción (el holandés) es la primera lengua de un grupo muy pequeño. Oficialmente, la lengua materna de la mayoría de los aprendientes, el papiamentu, no puede ser usada como lengua de instrucción. Hay, sin embargo, una brecha entre la norma y la realidad y en la práctica se ve que en muchas clases se usa el papiamentu para facilitar el proceso de aprendizaje. La lengua más popular entre el alumnado es el inglés. Es también la lengua materna de bastantes estudiantes. El español se imparte como lengua extranjera, sin embargo, para más de un diez por ciento de los alumnos, este idioma es la lengua materna, lo que

significa que a veces tienen más dominio de la misma que sus profesores. En las clases del Colegio Arubano, hasta en las de lenguas extranjeras, se utilizan los cuatro idiomas mencionados, tanto para las instrucciones como para el discurso. Se trata de una situación difícil y babilónica en la que el proceso de adquisición de la lengua extranjera se ve obstaculizado.

Por utilizar solamente la lengua meta se podría solucionar esta problemática situación. Esta solución, sin embargo, no es tan fácil de realizar. Para empezar, muchos docentes no tienen una idea muy clara de las situaciones en las que utilizan una lengua u otra. Además, no saben cómo pueden cambiar su manera de trabajar y dónde pueden iniciar el proceso de aumentar el uso de la lengua meta. Una investigación-acción pudiera ayudar a resolverles estos inconvenientes.

Tradicionalmente se hace una diferencia entre la investigación cuantitativa y la cualitativa. En relación con las diferencias entre ambos paradigmas, Madrid, Pueyo y Hockly (s.f.: 21) observan lo siguiente:

[...] tanto las preguntas como los temas de investigación pueden examinarse desde distintas perspectivas, dependiendo del paradigma al que uno se adscriba y los procedimientos que emplee. [...] el paradigma que se adopta depende del tipo de investigación que se quiere emprender. Muy a menudo es necesario situarse en una posición ecléctica o combinar los paradigmas. [...] La orientación que se da a la investigación condiciona no sólo la manera de plantearse las preguntas y/o las hipótesis, sino también las maneras de recoger los datos. Existe una relación evidente entre la metodología, el paradigma investigativo y la naturaleza de la investigación llevada a cabo.

Hoy en día la distinción tradicional entre ambos paradigmas es menos rígida que antes. Al respecto, Cruz Galvis y Ferro (2014: 6-7) observan que se ve “El empleo complementario de técnicas y métodos cuantitativos y cualitativos, o el uso conjunto de cualquiera de estos métodos, [lo que] contribuye a corregir los inevitables sesgos presentes en uno de ellos.” Tradicionalmente se clasificó la investigación-acción dentro del paradigma cualitativo. En la actualidad, sin embargo, se considera esta forma de investigar un diseño ecléctico en el que se pueden combinar datos cuantitativos con datos cualitativos (Madrid, Pueyo & Hockly, s.f.: 44). La investigación-acción se ha convertido en una herramienta muy útil para llevar a cabo investigaciones en el aula: “[...] la investigación-acción continúa estando en auge y sigue siendo uno de los temas ‘estrella’ en el área de investigación educativa.” (Madrid, Pueyo & Hockly, s.f.: 80).

Se ha definido la investigación-acción, este ‘paradigma para el cambio’, de varias maneras. Madrid, Pueyo y Hockly (s.f.: 81) presentan la siguiente definición: “La investigación-acción consiste en una investigación a pequeña escala en que el profesor a título individual lleva a cabo en su clase investigaciones sobre la enseñanza y el aprendizaje en contextos muy específicos con grupos de alumnos muy concretos. La investigación-

acción es lo que el profesional reflexivo realmente hace en clase.” Para Hernández Sampieri (2011: 509-514), se trata de un diseño cuya finalidad es resolver problemas cotidianos e inmediatos y mejorar prácticas concretas; es el estudio de una situación social con miras a mejorar la calidad de la acción dentro de ella. Van Lier (2001: s.p.) presenta la siguiente definición: “La investigación-acción es una intervención a pequeña escala en el funcionamiento del mundo real, acompañada de un examen detenido de los efectos de dicha intervención.”

Cuando se trata de una investigación en el terreno pedagógico, la investigación-acción normalmente se lleva a cabo en la clase del profesor a través de proyectos de investigación a pequeña escala. Así, “[...] el profesor [...] busca incrementar su propia comprensión de los procesos de enseñanza en el aula, y provocar cambios en su práctica.” (Richards & Lockhart, 1998: cap. 1). Nogueral (1998) enfatiza el aspecto de la intervención como el aspecto clave de este tipo de investigación. Por medio de un proceso de observar y comprender, el docente puede reflexionar sobre su tarea pedagógica para así transformar la situación en clase y mejorar su propia manera de funcionar. También para Madrid, Hockly y Pueyo (s.f.: 79) el aspecto crucial de esta forma de investigación es “[...] la acción, como respuesta a un problema.”

Hernández Sampieri (2011: 509-514), refiriéndose a Stringer (1999), distingue tres fases esenciales en los diseños de una investigación-acción: observar (construir un bosquejo del problema y recolectar datos), pensar (analizar e interpretar) y actuar (resolver problemas e implementar mejoras). Enfatiza el carácter cíclico de todo el proceso: las tres fases se repiten “[...] hasta que el problema es resuelto, el cambio se logra o la mejora se introduce satisfactoriamente.” A pesar de ciertas críticas, la investigación-acción es muy popular. Los resultados obtenidos no tienen una relevancia universal, pero sí tienen su importancia para el docente involucrado que gracias a esta investigación puede desarrollarse profesionalmente y aumentar su competencia como docente.

La investigación-acción en la práctica

Existen varios modelos para la observación y el análisis de los discursos y la interacción en el aula. Mediante la planilla Lengua Meta - Lengua de Instrucción de Kwakernaak (2007; véase el Anexo) se puede inventariar en qué momentos y en qué contextos un docente utiliza cierta lengua. Después de haber analizado y evaluado los resultados, se pueden proponer ciertos cambios; concretamente, en nuestro caso: con base en datos cuantitativos, el docente puede cambiar hábitos y aumentar estructurada y gradualmente el uso de la lengua meta como lengua de instrucción y lengua de discurso para así fomentar y facilitar el proceso de adquisición de la lengua extranjera.

En nuestra investigación, la planilla fue completada por un tutor que dentro de un período de unos tres meses asistió a tres clases. Después de cada clase, el docente se reunió con el tutor. En estas reuniones, se combinaron los resultados recogidos por el tutor mediante la planilla Lengua Meta - Lengua de Instrucción (de carácter cuantitativo) con

las reacciones escritas por el profesor en su diario de clase (de carácter cualitativo). Durante estas sesiones de reflexión y evaluación entre el docente y el tutor, se propusieron ciertas acciones para la siguiente clase a observar.

El grupo que sirvió de base de nuestra investigación-acción fue un grupo estándar en el Colegio Arubano. Se trató de un grupo del tercer año de VWO (el nivel más alto del bachillerato; edad media de 15 años) con 26 estudiantes (17 chicas, 9 chicos). En cuanto a la lengua materna de estos estudiantes, se presentaba una imagen interesante, pero también muy arubeña: siete estudiantes hablaban holandés en casa; cuatro español; cuatro papiamento y dos inglés. Los demás hablaban dos lenguas diferentes en casa: holandés-español; holandés-papiamento; inglés-papiamento; inglés-holandés o papiamento-español. Tanto fuera como dentro del aula, estos estudiantes cambiaban constantemente de lengua. Generalmente se dirigían al profesor en holandés, pero también utilizaban español, inglés o papiamento para hacer preguntas o dar comentarios. El libro que se usa en los primeros tres años en el Colegio Arubano es *Gente Joven*, un método basado en el enfoque por tareas.

Los resultados

Primera clase (22 de abril de 2013)

Fue una clase con mucha interacción, tanto entre el docente y el alumnado como entre los estudiantes. El docente pudo desarrollar su plan de clase sin muchos problemas.

El resultado marcado por el tutor en la casilla 1 de la planilla indicó claramente que el docente se dirigió al alumnado en diferentes lenguas: español, holandés y, a veces, papiamento. No usó el inglés. Los estudiantes usaron el español casi exclusivamente para desarrollar las tareas y en ningún momento para hacer preguntas o dar comentarios. Parece que muchos estudiantes tenían miedo de hablar español ante todo el grupo. Es de suponer que si el docente usara más español, los estudiantes lo harían también. Si el docente hablara consecuentemente la lengua meta, podría exigir que sus alumnos también lo hicieran.

Los resultados de la casilla 2 indicaron que al comentar un texto se usó bastante holandés. Esto parece lógico. En general, los estudiantes que hablan holandés son los que tienen más problemas con palabras y ciertas construcciones en español. Una explicación en forma de, por ejemplo, sinónimos o antónimos, no es siempre suficiente para estos estudiantes. Proporcionar la traducción de una palabra es generalmente la manera más rápida y eficaz para solucionar los problemas de comprensión.

Para explicar aspectos gramaticales (casilla 5), el docente utilizó casi exclusivamente el holandés. Hay varios motivos que pueden explicar este hecho. Para empezar, *Gente Joven* no es un método directo; en la edición que se usa en el Colegio Arubano, se contrasta la gramática del español con la del holandés. No parece muy lógico, pues, que el docente no haga nada con los ejemplos y las explicaciones que ofrece el manual.

Además, los estudiantes arubeños aprenden la teoría gramatical en las clases de holandés, que es, como ya se ha observado, la lengua oficial de instrucción en los colegios de Aruba. Por lo tanto, no es tan raro que un docente de lengua extranjera recurra en su tratamiento de aspectos gramaticales de una lengua extranjera al holandés.

Lo que marcó el tutor en la casilla 6 llamó la atención. Cuando se trató de prohibir ciertas cosas o de amonestar a ciertos estudiantes, el docente usó casi únicamente holandés (su lengua materna y la lengua oficial de instrucción del colegio). Se observó que el docente saludó y despidió a cada alumno en su propia lengua (casilla 9); un aspecto humanístico que no necesita ser cambiado.

Acciones previstas:

- Para fomentar el uso del español por parte de los estudiantes, el docente debería utilizar en las categorías 1 y 7 (dar instrucciones estándar y reprimendas general; dar instrucciones estándar y ayuda a nivel personal) solamente español.
- En cuanto a la categoría 6, se debería usar más español.

Segunda clase (17 de mayo de 2013)

El docente pudo desarrollar su plan de clase sin muchos problemas. Los estudiantes cooperaron de una manera muy positiva y en general les gustaron las diferentes actividades. A consecuencia de las acciones previstas después de la primera clase, se observaron varias diferencias interesantes. El resultado marcado en la casilla 1 indicó que el docente utilizó casi únicamente el español para manejar el grupo en su totalidad. Explicó las tareas en la lengua meta, habló muy poco holandés y no usó en absoluto el papiamento. La consecuencia fue que la mayoría de los estudiantes trataron de hacer preguntas y dar comentarios en español. Fue curioso que el docente contestara en holandés a algunas preguntas hechas en español.

En cuanto a la casilla 6 se vio el mismo desarrollo hacia la lengua extranjera. Sin embargo, el docente siguió usando el holandés para mostrar su autoridad. Parece muy difícil usar la lengua extranjera en situaciones en las que el docente no puede correr el riesgo de que el estudiante no entienda ciertas prohibiciones o amonestaciones. Es de suponer que en estos momentos, que son a veces tensos, el docente no quiere discusiones o malentendidos y que por eso recurre, automáticamente, a la opción más fácil, en este caso el holandés, su propia lengua materna y también la lengua que los estudiantes relacionan más con la autoridad del profesor y del sistema.

Para la casilla 7 no se vio el desarrollo hacia la lengua meta que se notó en la casilla 1. Es verdad que la gran mayoría de las instrucciones individuales y el apoyo individual se dieron en español; no obstante, en bastantes momentos el docente recurrió al holandés, para así facilitar el trabajo de estudiantes que tienen esta lengua como lengua materna. La consecuencia fue que, tal como en la primera clase, estos estudiantes se dirigieron al docente en holandés y no en español. A los estudiantes que necesitaban más *input*, se les ofreció menos. Una situación dudosa que debería cambiar.

La materia tratada en esta segunda clase fue completamente diferente a la materia comentada en la primera clase. No se pudo marcar nada en la casilla 5; en la segunda clase no se trataron cuestiones gramaticales. En cuanto a la casilla 9, se notó lo mismo que en la primera clase: el docente saludó a sus estudiantes en sus propias lenguas.

Acciones previstas: Al comparar la primera clase con la segunda, se pudo observar unos cambios notables en cuanto al uso de la lengua meta como lengua de instrucción. Sin embargo, también en la segunda clase, el docente usó bastante holandés. Se repitieron, pues, en grandes líneas las acciones formuladas después de la primera clase.

- Para fomentar el uso del español por parte de todos los estudiantes, el docente debería utilizar en las categorías 1 y 7 (dar instrucciones estándar y reprimendas general; dar instrucciones estándar y ayuda a nivel personal) solamente español. Si el docente quiere que todos sus alumnos se dirijan a él en español, él mismo debe ser un modelo a seguir. No puede ser que un profesor tenga el ‘derecho’ de recurrir a la opción fácil, su propia lengua materna, mientras que el estudiante deba expresarse en la lengua meta.

- En cuanto a la categoría 6, se debería tratar de usar solamente español.

Tercera clase (3 de junio de 2013)

El desarrollo hacia la lengua meta que ya se observó en la segunda clase se continuó en la tercera. Lo marcado en las casilla 1, 7 y 8 indicó que el docente en estas situaciones utilizó solamente español. Así se vio claramente la consecuencia de una toma de conciencia por parte del docente en cuanto a la lengua de instrucción y el resultado de las acciones previstas. El efecto de este proceso iniciado por el docente fue que los estudiantes también se expresaron más en español, tanto durante el desarrollo de las tareas como cuando se dirigieron al docente. Se puede concluir que de una manera implícita el docente desempeñó una función modélica. Solamente un grupo pequeño de estudiantes de habla holandesa siguió dirigiéndose al profesor en su propia lengua.

El resultado de la casilla 2 indicó que el docente utilizó solamente español para explicar la materia. Tanto en la primera clase como en la segunda, el docente tradujo muchas palabras del español al holandés. Los resultados de la tercera clase indicaron que se usaron más sinónimos, antónimos o descripciones para aclarar dudas y preguntas por parte de los estudiantes.

La casilla 6 siguió siendo la casilla más problemática. Se concluye que cambiar hábitos en cuanto a intervenciones de este tipo es muy difícil; se puede suponer que una toma de conciencia y tener el firme propósito de hacer cambios en este aspecto no es suficiente.

Acciones previstas: Esta tercera clase observada fue una de las últimas clases del año escolar. Las acciones previstas mencionadas a continuación son, pues, acciones que el docente debería tomar en consideración en el nuevo año escolar.

- Seguir utilizando solamente la lengua extranjera para dar instrucciones estándar a todo el grupo (casilla 1).
- Seguir utilizando solamente la lengua meta para dirigirse al alumno individual, tanto para dar instrucciones y ayuda, como para comentarios o advertencias (casilla 7 y 8).
- Seguir utilizando solamente español para comentar textos en su totalidad y palabras dentro de los mismos (casilla 2).
- Hacer una lista en español con prohibiciones, amonestaciones y castigos y estudiarla, para que las intervenciones de la categoría 6 puedan ser hechas en la lengua meta.

La investigación-acción: críticas y problemas

Por ser un modelo flexible y reflexivo, la investigación-acción ha recibido bastantes críticas. Muchas de éstas tienen que ver con dos aspectos clave de cada investigación: la fiabilidad y la validez. Madrid, Pueyo y Hockly (s.f.: 89-90) observan que la investigación-acción se despreocupa completamente de ambos. Nunan (1992: 18-19) tiene una posición menos rígida:

En muchos casos los profesionales están menos preocupados por generar conocimiento generalizable que por resolver problemas urgentes relacionados con su lugar de trabajo. Cuando estas actividades de investigación-acción tienen como función el desarrollo profesional, sigo creyendo que si tratan cuestiones de interés para otros profesionales, si generan datos y los analizan e interpretan, entonces están cualificadas como investigación.

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Está claro que la investigación-acción no es capaz de producir hechos o verdades universales, pero por medio de la triangulación sí se puede generalizar los resultados obtenidos. En nuestro caso, esto se ha tratado mediante la triangulación del investigador (los datos provienen tanto del tutor que asistió a la clase como del docente que la impartió); la triangulación de los datos (se observaron tres clases en un periodo de unos tres meses); y la triangulación metodológica (en el análisis se combinan datos cuantitativos (la planilla) con datos cualitativos (los diarios del profesor).

Conclusiones

Se ha podido comprobar que la investigación-acción es una manera excelente para inventariar, analizar y mejorar una situación problemática en el aula. Mediante la planilla de Kwakernaak (2007), se pudo obtener una idea muy clara de las situaciones en las que se usó cierta lengua. Se vio que por el contexto multilingüe de Aruba, el docente no utilizó solamente su propia lengua materna y la lengua oficial de instrucción (el holandés) y la lengua meta (el español), sino también la lengua materna de la mayoría de

sus estudiantes (el papiamento). Después de una primera fase de inventario, concientización y reflexión, se pudo desarrollar una serie de acciones para cambiar la situación observada hacia una situación más fructífera en cuanto a la adquisición de la lengua extranjera. Ya dentro de unas semanas, el docente pudo aumentar sustancialmente la cantidad de español como lengua de instrucción y lengua del discurso. Así se pudieron crear verdaderos contextos comunicativos en los que el docente formó una fuente importante de *input* para sus estudiantes, fomentando y facilitando así su proceso de aprendizaje. En conclusión, resultó que el proceso de observar-inventariar-reflexionar-concientizar-actuar que forma la base de una investigación acción puede tener resultados muy positivos en muy poco tiempo.

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ANEXO: MODELO LENGUA META - LENGUA DE INSTRUCCION

Desarrollado por Kwakernaak (2007); traducido del holandés al español por Willem-Bant

FASE A: fases clásicas	1 - dar instrucciones estándar (por ejemplo: 'La página 43, por favor'; 'Kevin, la frase 3, para ti) y reprimendas generales (por ejemplo: 'Hagan silencio'; 'Atención, por favor')
	2 - tratar preguntas de textos de comprensión escrita o auditiva
	3 - comentar pruebas y exámenes
	4 - hablar sobre temas generales que no tienen que ver con la clase como tal (por ejemplo: el tiempo, las vacaciones, el fin de semana, actividades deportivas o culturales, etc.)
	5 - explicar gramática
	6 - prohibir, amonestar, impartir castigos clásicos e individuales (por ejemplo: cambiar de lugar, poner trabajos de castigo, expulsar de la clase, etc.)
FASE B: fases de trabajo individual /grupal	7 - dar instrucciones estándar y ayuda (por ejemplo: 'Hay que escribir toda la frase'; 'Eso lo puedes buscar en el diccionario')
	8 - hacer comentarios positivos (por ejemplo: 'Vas muy bien', etc.); dar advertencias generales (por ejemplo: 'si no terminas aquí, tienes que hacerlo en casa', etc.)
FASE C: antes y después de la clase	9 - saludar y despedir
	10 - charlas breves de índole social antes o después de la clase
	11 - acordar una cita con un alumno individual sobre una clase extra o repetir un examen, etc.
	12 - acordar una cita con un alumno individual sobre su comportamiento, cierto castigo, etc.
FASE D: fuera del aula	13 - saludar a estudiantes fuera del aula, por ejemplo, en el pasillo o durante el recreo
	14 - conversaciones cortas de índole social fuera del aula
	15 - conversaciones y consultas profesionales con colegas
	16 - conversaciones sociales y personales con colegas

EEN SCHOOLONTWIKKELINGSPLAN VOOR EEN SCHOOL VOOR HAVO EN VWO OP CURAÇAO¹

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Inleiding

Enkele jaren geleden heeft de Dienst Openbare Scholen (DOS) op Curaçao een traject ingezet om bij alle scholen die onder haar bestuur vallen het schoolontwikkelingsplan in te voeren. Dit is een wettelijke vereiste voor iedere school conform artikel 23 van de Landsverordening Voortgezet Onderwijs (LVO).

In dit plan legt de school verantwoording af aan alle belanghebbenden over de door haar gerealiseerde onderwijskwaliteit, hoe zij die denkt te borgen of te verbeteren. Kwaliteit mag geen toeval zijn, het is iets waar je als school voortdurend en gestructureerd aan moet werken. Dit betekent: het juiste beleid formuleren, de juiste handelingen verrichten en regelmatig evalueren of bereikt is wat je wilde bereiken. Het schoolontwikkelingsplan beslaat een periode van minimaal vier jaar en is richtinggevend voor meer gedetailleerde actieplannen die jaarlijks worden opgesteld.

Op het Kolegio Alejandro Paula (KAP), openbare school voor havo en vwo, is al enige jaren een kerngroep kwaliteitszorg actief. De afgelopen jaren is onder andere gewerkt aan het formuleren van een collectieve ambitie en het creëren van betrokkenheid bij en draagvlak voor kwaliteitszorg binnen alle geledingen van de school. Verschillende innovatieprojecten en verbeteracties zijn hieruit voortgevloeid. Maar er blijft ruimte voor verbetering. Zorg voor kwaliteit moet systematisch zijn en cyclisch van opzet. Het schoolontwikkelingsplan zou een instrument kunnen zijn om deze systematiek te realiseren.

Medio 2015 werd mij gevraagd of ik de schoolleiding en de kerngroep kwaliteitszorg kon ondersteunen bij het ontwikkelen van een schoolontwikkelingsplan. Uit mijn praktijkonderzoek is een concreet voorstel voortgekomen dat breed binnen de school gedragen wordt.

Het doel van dit onderzoek was de uitgangssituatie en de gewenste situatie op het KAP in kaart te brengen en de schoolleiding te ondersteunen bij haar analyse van de

¹ Dit artikel is in grote lijnen gebaseerd op mijn afstudeerscriptie 'Een schoolontwikkelingsplan voor het Kolegio Alejandro Paula', UoC, mei 2016.

resultaten die hieruit voortvloeien. Op basis van deze gegevens is een onderbouwde keuze gemaakt voor vier verbetertrajecten op de lange termijn (2016 – 2020).

Het onderzoek bestond uit twee delen: een literatuuronderzoek en een praktijkgericht onderzoek op de school zelf. In dit artikel zal ik eerst ingaan op de vraag wat kwaliteitszorg binnen het onderwijs inhoudt en welke rol de collectieve ambitie speelt in het hele proces naar een professionele schoolcultuur. Vervolgens zal ik de opzet van het praktijkgerichte deel van het onderzoek beschrijven en de belangrijkste resultaten bespreken. Tot slot geef ik mijn voornaamste aanbevelingen aan.

Kwaliteitszorg binnen het onderwijs

Kwaliteitszorg betekent systematisch de goede dingen nog beter proberen te doen. Regelmatig onderzoeken met behulp van geschikte instrumenten of dat werkelijk zo is en dat niet alleen bij jezelf checken maar ook bij anderen. Vertellen wat je doet: hoe het onderwijs eruit ziet en wat de school doet om de kwaliteit verder te verbeteren. En dat delen met iedereen die geïnteresseerd is.

De kern van kwaliteitszorg kan samengevat worden in vijf eenvoudige vragen:

1. Doen we de goede dingen?
2. Doen we die dingen ook goed?
3. Hoe weten we dat?
4. Vinden anderen dat ook?
5. Wat doen we met die wetenschap?

Werken aan kwaliteitszorg betekent echter niet alleen bezig zijn met verbeteringen; het betekent ook het vasthouden van alles wat goed gaat. Als een veranderingscyclus is afgerond, is het van belang dat de behaalde resultaten worden vastgehouden. Dit is wat men verstaat onder het borgen van kwaliteit. Borgen van wat goed gaat, om zo te voorkomen dat het goede na verloop van tijd minder goed wordt (Q5 Project Kwaliteitszorg Voortgezet Onderwijs, 2004).

Twee uitgangspunten voor kwaliteitszorg zijn van essentieel belang. Ten eerste vormt het primaire proces de basis: het pedagogisch en didactisch handelen van de leraren en het leren van de leerlingen. Voortbouwend op deze basis, richt kwaliteitszorg zich ook op de andere beleidsterreinen en de samenhang daartussen. En dat is weer een zaak van iedereen: docenten, ouders, leerlingen, schoolleiding en bestuur. In totaal worden zeven kwaliteitsdomeinen onderscheiden (Q5, 2004):

1. Opbrengsten;
2. Onderwijsleerproces;
3. Curriculum;
4. Faciliteiten en middelen;
5. Leerlingenzorg;
6. Management & organisatie;
7. Wisselwerking school en omgeving.

Ten tweede moeten de inhoud en opbrengst van de activiteiten ook extern getoetst worden. Een extern oordeel kan bijvoorbeeld worden gegeven door deskundigen, de onderwijsinspectie of collega's van andere scholen. De school zelf bepaalt vervolgens wat zij met een extern oordeel doet (Q5, 2004).

In het Concept Toezichtkader Funderend en Voortgezet Onderwijs heeft de Curaçaose overheid vastgelegd welke eisen zij aan de scholen stelt op het gebied van kwaliteitszorg: 'De school zorgt *systematisch* voor behoud of verbetering van de kwaliteit van haar onderwijs'. Acht indicatoren geven de scholen richting bij het vormgeven aan de zorg voor kwaliteit (Inspectie van Onderwijs Curaçao, 2015b):

1. De school heeft inzicht in de onderwijsbehoeften van haar leerlingenpopulatie;
2. De school evalueert jaarlijks de resultaten van de leerlingen;
3. De school evalueert regelmatig het onderwijsleerproces;
4. De school werkt planmatig aan verbeteractiviteiten;
5. De school borgt de kwaliteit van het onderwijsleerproces;
6. De school waarborgt de kwaliteit van het schoolexamen en van andere toetsinstrumenten;
7. De school verantwoordt zich aan belanghebbenden over de gerealiseerde onderwijskwaliteit;
8. De school draagt zorg voor de kwaliteit van het onderwijs gericht op bevordering van actief burgerschap en sociale integratie, met inbegrip van het overdragen van kennis over en kennismaking met de diversiteit van de samenleving.

Een school met een goed inzicht in de eigen uitgangssituatie is in staat realistische en relevante doelen te stellen: doelen die haalbaar zijn en die voor leerlingen en hun ouders van belang zijn (Hayer & Van der Linde, 2005).

De belangrijkste factor in de uitgangssituatie, is *de leerlingenpopulatie*. Ook de Curaçaose onderwijsinspectie vraagt scholen zich ten behoeve van het kwaliteitsbeleid te verdiepen in de uitgangssituatie: 'De school heeft inzicht in de onderwijsbehoeften van haar leerlingenpopulatie.' (Inspectie van Onderwijs Curaçao, 2015)

Het onderwijs is er voor de leerlingen en moet dus aansluiten bij hun wensen en behoeften. Daarnaast zijn de leerlingen de belangrijkste factor in het onderwijsleerproces, zij beïnvloeden direct de opbrengsten daarvan. Zonder een goed inzicht in de leerlingenkenmerken is het niet of nauwelijks mogelijk om kwalitatief goed onderwijs te bieden (Hayer & Van der Linde).

Een andere factor die in kaart moet worden gebracht, is *de omgeving*. Welke eisen worden vanuit de omgeving aan het onderwijs gesteld en hoe kan de school hier gehoor aan geven? Te denken valt aan de invloed van lokale wet- en regelgeving. Maar ook de verwachtingen van ouders kunnen beschouwd worden als omgevingskenmerk (Hayer & Van der Linde).

Ten slotte is *inzicht in de eigen sterke en zwakke punten* van belang. Als je weet waarin de school goed en minder goed is, kun je beter bepalen welke kwaliteiten je als school wilt behouden en welke verbeteringen je wilt nastreven. Kwaliteitszorg moet uitgaan van de *kwaliteit die reeds op school aanwezig is*. Een interne analyse maakt duidelijk waar de school goed in is en welke kwaliteit behouden moet blijven. Voor het maken van de analyse kun je gebruik maken van eigen informatiebronnen, zoals de resultaten uit een zelfevaluatie, en/of van externe bronnen, zoals een inspectierapport. Op basis van deze sterkte-zwakke analyse kun je vaststellen welke verbeterpunten de school moet nastreven. Daarbij zal de school keuzes moeten maken, op basis van de eigen identiteit en de visie op onderwijs (Hayer & Van der Linde).

Systematisch de kwaliteit evalueren betekent allereerst dat er gegevens nodig zijn. De kwaliteit van een school moet ergens uit blijken. Daarbij gaat het niet zozeer om eindresultaten als doorstroomgegevens en slagingspercentages, als wel om de *toegevoegde waarde*: wat heeft de school gedaan om de leerling naar dit niveau te brengen? Hoe heeft de school gewerkt vanaf de input – het startniveau van de leerling – naar de output – het niveau waarmee de leerling de school verlaat? (Hayer & Van der Linde)

In het Concept Toezichtkader Funderend en Voortgezet Onderwijs gebruikt de inspectie bij het kwaliteitsaspect ‘opbrengsten’ vier indicatoren:

1. De leerlingen behalen in de onderbouw het opleidingsniveau *dat mag worden verwacht*;
2. De leerlingen lopen weinig vertraging op in de bovenbouw van de opleiding;
3. De leerlingen van de opleiding behalen voor het centraal examen de cijfers *die mogen worden verwacht*;
4. Bij de opleiding zijn de verschillen tussen het cijfer voor het schoolexamen en het cijfer voor het centraal examen van een aanvaardbaar niveau (Inspectie van Onderwijs Curaçao, 2015b).

Verwachtingen zijn ergens op gebaseerd. Om toegevoegde waarde te kunnen meten, is het niet alleen noodzakelijk in kaart te brengen wat de uitgangspositie van de leerlingen is, maar ook om hun ontwikkeling systematisch te volgen middels een goed functionerend *leerlingvolgsysteem*. Alleen wanneer je een helder inzicht hebt in de uitgangspositie van de leerlingen, kun je realistische doelen stellen en kiezen voor een *duidelijk streefresultaat*. De functie van doelen is namelijk het streven vastleggen. En alleen met behulp van een goed leerlingvolgsysteem kun je nagaan in hoeverre je daadwerkelijk bereikt waar je naar streeft (Hayer & Van der Linde).

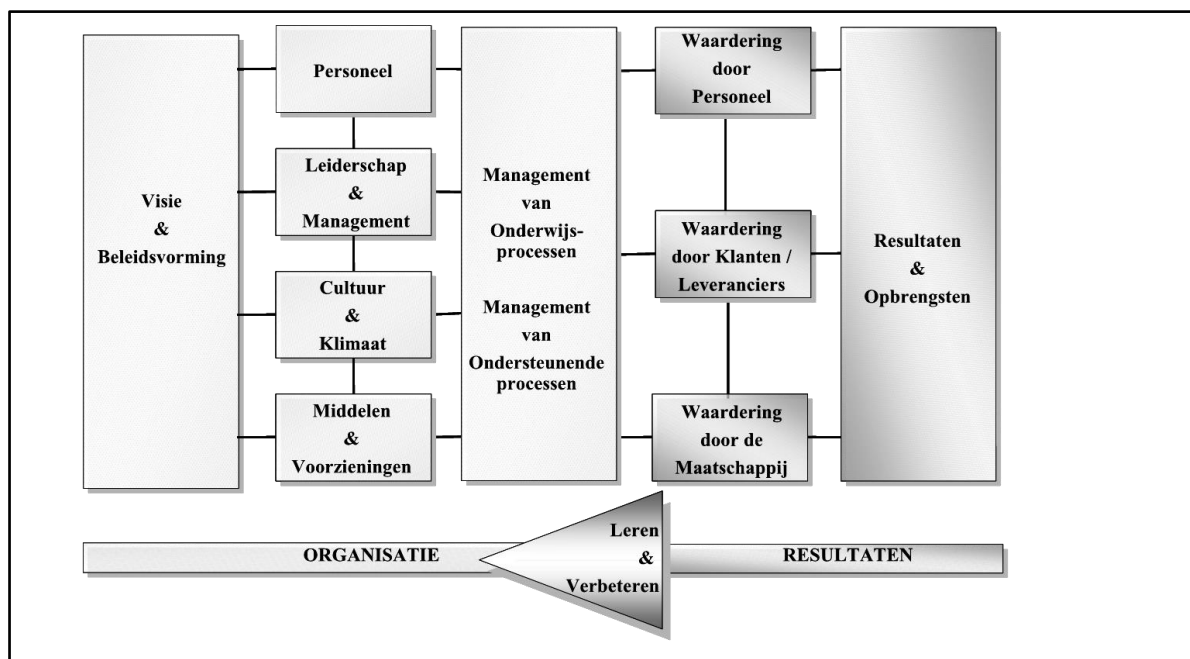
Gegevens over de opbrengsten kun je halen uit een goed functionerend leerlingvolgsysteem. Voor wie gegevens wil verzamelen over de overige kwaliteitsdomeinen, zijn tegenwoordig allerlei digitale instrumenten te verkrijgen. Deze zijn echter erg kostbaar en gebaseerd op de Nederlandse onderwijssituatie. Bovendien is het Nederlandse taalgebruik voor een grote groep leerlingen, collega's en ouders te ingewikkeld en

komen er veel termen in voor die niet van toepassing zijn op de onderwijssituatie op Curaçao.

Curaçao kent een grote culturele, sociaaleconomische en etnische verscheidenheid die het resultaat is van haar koloniaal verleden. Deze historische realiteit laat zich niet negeren: zij is op allerlei manieren zichtbaar in het onderwijs en vraagt om specifieke aandacht en oplossingen (KPEK, 2015).

Het KPEK, Kalidat Profeshonal Edukashonal Kòrsou, heeft in 2015 in samenwerking met het onderwijsveld bekwaamheidseisen geformuleerd voor alle docenten die werkzaam zijn in het primaire en secundaire onderwijsniveau op Curaçao, met als doel het minimumniveau aan kwaliteit bij het onderwijspersoneel op Curaçao te garanderen. Deze bekwaamheidseisen beschrijven indirect ook de voorwaarden en de toekomstige stappen die op verschillende niveaus moeten worden gedaan om een geschikte leeromgeving te creëren, met het benodigde lesmateriaal en de facilitaire voorzieningen, waarvoor overheid en schoolbestuur inhoudelijk en organisatorisch moeten zorgen. Deze bekwaamheidseisen zijn opgesteld vanuit de Curaçaose realiteit en kunnen de basis vormen voor een lokaal digitaal meetinstrument voor zelfevaluatie. Maar let wel, bekwaamheidseisen zijn *streefdoelen* die aangeven waar je je als docent op termijn op moet richten als je continu aan bekwaamheidsonderhoud wilt doen (KPEK, 2015). Andere mogelijke informatiebronnen zijn: voortgangsgesprekken met docenten, klasbezoek, contacten met hoger onderwijs, gesprekken met ouders, het inspectierapport en nog veel meer. Zolang je er maar voor zorgt gegevens van verschillende groepen te ontvangen. Informatie vanuit het lesgevend personeel en de schoolleiding alleen is te eenzijdig.

Om evaluaties systematisch te kunnen inzetten, is het nodig om te plannen wanneer je welk instrument gaat gebruiken. Ieder instrument moet met een vaste regelmaat worden gebruikt: het ene wordt misschien jaarlijks gebruikt, het andere eenmaal in de vier jaar. Een veel gebruikt hulpmiddel voor het aanbrengen van een systematische ordening is het managementmodel van het Instituut Nederlandse Kwaliteit (INK).



(Bron: Hayer & Van der Linde, 2005)

Dit model onderscheidt organisatiegebieden en resultaatgebieden. Het oorspronkelijke INK-managementmodel is op initiatief van de Algemene Vereniging Schoolleiders door Hayer & Van der Linde (2005) aangepast aan het onderwijs. Omdat het onderdeel 'cultuur en klimaat' zo belangrijk is voor de onderwijssector, is dit toegevoegd. En 'Visie en beleidsvorming' is links terechtgekomen vanuit de overtuiging dat het bepalen van de manier van werken op een school begint met het bepalen van een visie. Met het inzetten van instrumenten op zich, is echter nog geen sprake van kwaliteitszorg! Van kwaliteitszorg is pas sprake als instrumenten worden ingezet om inzicht te krijgen in de stand van zaken rond kwaliteit, en als op basis van die analyse de kwaliteit doelgericht wordt behouden of verbeterd. Systematisch werken aan kwaliteitsverbetering vraagt om een cyclische aanpak: het herhalen van de cyclus van plannen, uitvoeren, evalueren en aanpassen (Hayer & Van der Linde).

Collectieve ambitie en het proces naar een professionele schoolcultuur

Kwaliteitszorg vraagt om een professionele schoolcultuur. Er is een cultuur nodig die zich kenmerkt door voortdurende aandacht voor kwaliteitsverbetering, voor reflectie en ontwikkeling, een cultuur waarin de zorg voor kwaliteit een zorg is voor het hele schoolteam. Kwaliteitszorg doe je samen! De rol van de leidinggevende in het hele proces rond kwaliteitszorg is groot. Hoe stimuleer je als leidinggevende een professionele schoolcultuur?

Allereerst is het van belang dat zowel schoolleiding als docenten beseffen dat zij elkaar nodig hebben om veranderingen te kunnen realiseren. Dat zij moeten *samenwerken* in plaats van onderling te strijden om macht of zeggenschap. 'Leraren en leiding-

gevend en zouden vooral hun gezamenlijke ambities moeten formuleren en daar vervolgens naar toe moeten werken, ieder vanuit de eigen rol en in goede onderlinge samenwerking' (Both & De Bruijn, 2012: 18).

Ten tweede kenmerkt een professional zich door een sterke persoonlijke betrokkenheid bij het werk en een gedrevenheid om prestaties te leveren. In een organisatie waar een professionele cultuur heerst, wordt dit gestimuleerd en wil je samen als team beter worden. Ieder heeft zijn eigen kwaliteiten; binnen een professionele cultuur is hier oog voor en worden die verschillende kwaliteiten erkend, gewaardeerd en ingezet zodat het hele team er uiteindelijk beter van wordt. 'In een professionele schoolcultuur word je aangesproken op je kwaliteiten: welke bijdrage lever jij, met jouw kwaliteiten, aan het geheel?' (Both & De Bruijn: 20)

Een derde belangrijk punt is de manier waarop de besluitvorming tot stand komt. Besluiten worden genomen op basis van de kwaliteit van de argumenten of het voorstel en niet op basis van iemands positie binnen de organisatie. Er wordt minder vergaderd en meer samengewerkt, uitgetoetst en van elkaar geleerd. Eenieder neemt verantwoordelijkheid voor de resultaten van zijn of haar eigen werk en wil daar ook op aangesproken worden (Both & De Bruijn: 20).

Dit wil echter niet zeggen dat structuren en systemen er binnen een professionele cultuur niet toe doen. Zij zijn simpelweg niet leidend. Binnen een professionele cultuur zijn de gedeelde visie en het potentieel aan kwaliteiten van de medewerkers leidend (Both & De Bruijn: 21).

Maar wat wordt er bedoeld met termen als 'een gedeelde visie' en 'een gezamenlijke of collectieve ambitie'?

Er bestaat in de literatuur veel onduidelijkheid over wat termen als missie, visie, kernwaarden en dergelijke inhouden. Both en De Bruijn (2012) hanteren de volgende definities. De missie is waar de school voor staat, de visie beschrijft waar je naar toe wilt en kernwaarden bepalen hoe je te werk gaat om je toekomstdoelen te bereiken. Een collectieve ambitie is niet alleen datgene wat een team wil bereiken (visie) maar ook waar het team (levensbeschouwelijk of onderwijskundig) voor staat en op aangesproken mag worden (de missie). Een collectieve ambitie houdt in dat de persoonlijke doelen van de medewerkers overeenstemmen met de doelen van de organisatie als geheel. Een collectieve ambitie geeft richting: "(...) een school met een heldere collectieve ambitie waarin personeelsleden zich herkennen en elementen van hun eigen visie in terugvinden, heeft personeelsleden die weten waarom en waarvoor ze hun werk doen". Een collectieve ambitie zorgt voor samenhang. Bovendien stelt het de school in staat om nieuwe ontwikkelingen die op haar afkomen op hun waarde schatten door ze aan de collectieve ambitie te toetsen.

Een collectieve ambitie kun je niet aan een team opleggen. Hieraan wordt door interactie, uitwisseling en dialoog met alle betrokkenen gezamenlijk vormgegeven. Vol-

gens Both en De Bruijn kunnen we parallelen onderscheiden op drie interactieniveaus: die tussen schoolbestuur en schoolleiding, die tussen schoolleiding en leraren en zelfs tussen leraren en leerlingen. Een collectieve ambitie is op alle niveaus en binnen alle geledingen van de school herkenbaar aanwezig.

Het is belangrijk om visieontwikkeling als een doorlopend, continu proces te zien: de collectieve ambitie is nooit af. Een collectieve ambitie moet je systematisch herhalen en spiegelen aan de praktijk van elke dag. De wereld om ons heen is constant in beweging, de kinderen van nu zijn niet dezelfde als tien jaar geleden. Als school kun je daar niet aan voorbijgaan. Je zal een collectieve ambitie daarom steeds moeten actualiseren en bijstellen. Conferentiedagen, teambuildingsactiviteiten en dergelijke worden algemeen gezien als goede momenten om bij de collectieve ambitie stil te staan (Both & De Bruijn: 35-49).

Het belang van een gezamenlijke of collectieve ambitie wordt bevestigd vanuit de zelf-determinatie theorie (ZDT). De zelf-determinatie theorie is een motivatietheorie die sinds een aantal jaar ook toegepast wordt op de werkvloer. Volgens de zelf-determinatie theorie zijn drie basisbehoeften noodzakelijk voor de persoonlijke ontwikkeling en het optimaal functioneren van de mens: autonomie, verbondenheid en competentie. In het artikel *De Zelf-Determinatie theorie: kwalitatief goed motiveren op de werkvloer* wordt gesteld dat werknemers die zich autonoom, competent en verbonden voelen, beter zullen functioneren dan hun collega's van wie de behoeften niet (voldoende) bevredigd zijn.

Het concept autonomie wordt vaak opgevat als 'zelf kunnen beslissen'. Maar volgens de zelf-determinatie theorie is het gevoel zonder druk te kunnen functioneren belangrijker dan alles zelf aan te kunnen sturen. Dit gevoel van psychologische vrijheid kan tot stand komen wanneer werknemers de kans krijgen zelf (mee) te beslissen of wanneer zij keuzemogelijkheden krijgen. Het kan echter ook ontstaan wanneer de opgedragen taken voldoende betekenisvol zijn voor de werknemer. De behoefte aan autonomie is dus bevredigd wanneer werknemers volledig achter (de reden voor) hun gedrag staan. Een gezamenlijke ambitie kan hierin ondersteunend zijn omdat je als medewerker zelf meedenkt over de koers van de organisatie waar je deel van uitmaakt (Van den Broeck et al., 2009).

De mens wil zijn omgeving exploreren, begrijpen en beheersen. Dat geeft hem een gevoel van competentie. Wie zich competent voelt, zal met meer zelfvertrouwen zijn werk aanpakken. Een gevoel van competentie helpt werknemers zich verder te ontwikkelen en het verhoogt hun flexibiliteit om zich aan te passen aan veranderende omgevingen. Een gezamenlijke ambitie werkt hierin ondersteunend omdat het je bewust maakt van welke bijdrage jij met jouw kwaliteiten aan het geheel kunt leveren om die gezamenlijke ambitie een stukje dichterbij te brengen (Van den Broeck et al., 2009).

De behoefte aan relationele verbondenheid kun je omschrijven als de wens om positieve relaties op te bouwen met anderen. Werknemers kunnen zich verbonden voelen wanneer zij deel uitmaken van een hecht team en zij hun persoonlijke ervaringen in een veilige omgeving met elkaar kunnen delen. Ook hierin werkt een gezamenlijke ambitie ondersteunend: je voelt je als individuele werknemer meer betrokken bij het geheel, bij het resultaat als team (Van den Broeck et al., 2009).

Maar wat maakt dat die ene school bruist van de initiatieven en blijk geeft van een groot verandervermogen in tegenstelling tot andere scholen?

Als we praten over het verandervermogen van scholen of andere organisaties, mogen we een ding niet uit het oog verliezen: het feit dat de meeste mensen van nature helemaal niet van verandering houden. Verandering betekent namelijk verlies en dat veroorzaakt onrust. De mens heeft een natuurlijke behoefte aan continuïteit en zekerheid. Ook al zijn de aangekondigde veranderingen nog zo positief, wie als schoolleider verandering teweeg wil brengen, krijgt te maken met weerstand (Reeves, 2009).

Deze weerstand kan voor een belangrijk deel worden weggenomen door allereerst aan te geven wat *niet* gaat veranderen, wat we nog steeds waardevol vinden en willen behouden. Uitspraken als ‘het roer moet om’, doen namelijk geen recht aan de jarenlange ervaring en het vakmanschap van medewerkers. Men zal zich afvragen of men het al die jaren echt zo verkeerd heeft gedaan? De onzekerheid die dan ontstaat, zal de natuurlijke weerstand tegen elke vorm van vernieuwing alleen maar vergroten (Reeves, 2009).

Een benadering die rekening houdt met onze natuurlijke weerstand tegen verandering, is de zogenaamde oplossingsgerichte benadering. Volgens Visser en Schlundt Bodien (2005) richten organisaties zich bij veranderingen hoofdzakelijk op wat niet goed gaat en wordt er veel tijd gestoken in het zoeken naar probleemoorzaken en schuldigen. Bij oplossingsgericht werken doe je dit juist niet. In plaats daarvan wordt *succesgericht* gewerkt: wat gaat goed? wat werkt goed? hoe kunnen we dit uitbreiden? Een belangrijk onderdeel hiervan is het zogenaamde *sterkteperspectief*. Dit houdt in dat je er vanuit gaat dat mensen en organisaties in staat zijn om hun eigen doelen te stellen en te bereiken. Ze kunnen de sterkten, vaardigheden en capaciteiten in zichzelf en hun omgeving ontdekken en benutten om hun doelen te bereiken. Dit wil echter niet zeggen dat oplossingsgericht werken het bestaan van problemen ontkent, in tegendeel. Oplossingsgericht werken onderkent het bestaan van problemen en maakt gebruik van hun potentieel. Probleemonderkenning helpt namelijk om voor onszelf te verhelderen hoe de situatie problematisch is waardoor we ons meer bewust worden van ons verlangen om te veranderen (Visser & Schlundt Bodien, 2005).

Ten slotte vraagt een professionele cultuur om *persoonlijk leiderschap*. Persoonlijk leiderschap houdt in dat je jouw mensen weet te inspireren en dat je stuurt op inhoud.

Het team weet waar het naar toe wil: er zijn helder geformuleerde doelen en ambities waar men zich samen aan verbindt. Maar persoonlijk leiderschap betekent ook dat je stuurt op gedrag. Tijdens professionele ontmoetingen wordt over het eigen professionele gedrag en de resultaten daarvan gesproken. Welke bijdrage levert de professional of het team aan het realiseren van de gezamenlijke ambitie? “Persoonlijk leiderschap geeft ruimte en stelt eisen, coacht en stimuleert, maar durft ook te confronteren en te corrigeren” (Both & De Bruijn: 24).

Opzet praktijkonderzoek

Om in beeld te krijgen welke informatie reeds op school aanwezig is en welke informatie nog ontbreekt, is eerst een algemeen overzicht gemaakt per kwaliteitsdomein van de gewenste informatie aan de ene kant en mogelijke informatiebronnen aan de andere kant. Op basis hiervan zijn de onderstaande keuzes gemaakt om zowel de uitgangssituatie als de gewenste situatie van het Colegio Alejandro Paula in kaart te brengen:

- a. Een studie van interne beleidsdocumenten met betrekking tot de visie, missie en de collectieve ambitie van het KAP (voorheen PSC) en van externe beleidsdocumenten met betrekking tot de waardering van de prestaties van het KAP (extern oordeel DOS en Inspectie);
- b. Een analyse van beschikbare interne en externe statistische gegevens met betrekking tot de leeropbrengsten (kwaliteitsdomein 1) zoals slagingspercentages, doorstroomgegevens en de Opbrengstenkaart Inspectie;
- c. Een schriftelijke enquête onder alle docenten en een selecte steekproef van leerlingen (kwaliteitsdomein 2 t/m 7);
- d. Gesprekken met de schoolleiding, het schoolbestuur (DOS) en de kerngroep kwaliteitszorg.

Beperkingen van het onderzoek

De beschikbare evaluatie-instrumenten en informatiebronnen dekken niet de hele organisatie (INK-model):

- Ouders zijn niet bij het onderzoek betrokken. Het is onbekend wat ouders vinden van bijvoorbeeld het pedagogisch-didactisch handelen op het KAP;
- De enquêtes in hun huidige opzet geven informatie over het onderwijsleerproces op het KAP in het algemeen; niet over het functioneren van individuele docenten;
- De kerngroep kwaliteitszorg bestaat uit 4 docenten, een lid van de schoolleiding en de zorgcoördinator. Het decanaat wordt niet vertegenwoordigd.

Omdat het niet mogelijk is om aan alle ontwikkelpunten tegelijkertijd te werken, is een keuze gemaakt. Zowel de resultaten uit het interne onderzoek als de aandachts-

punten die het schoolbestuur (DOS) en de inspectie voor Onderwijs aandragen (extern oordeel), zijn meegewogen in de uiteindelijke keuze voor vier aandachtspunten:

1. Interne kwaliteitszorg;
2. De opbrengsten (kwaliteitsdomein 1);
3. Het onderwijsleerproces (kwaliteitsdomein 3);
4. De leerlingenzorg (kwaliteitsdomein 5).

In gesprekken met de schoolleiding, het schoolbestuur (DOS) en de kerngroep kwaliteitszorg, is per gekozen aandachtspunt een uitgebreide analyse van zowel de huidige situatie als de gewenste situatie gemaakt: wat is wel aanwezig en wat niet? Aan de hand van zes factoren, strategie, structuur, cultuur, mensen, middelen en resultaten, is nagegaan wat de discrepantie tussen de gewenste en huidige situatie kleiner of juist groter maakt. Per domein zijn verbeterpunten geformuleerd en zijn prioriteiten gesteld. Ten slotte is per domein aangegeven waaraan je kunt zien of de gewenste situatie bereikt is of (nog) niet (prestatie-indicatoren).

Resultaten

De collectieve ambitie, zoals die een paar jaar geleden is geformuleerd op het KAP, leeft niet meer onder het team. Het bepalen van de manier van werken op een school begint daarentegen met het bepalen van een visie (INK-managementmodel). De visie en missie zoals omschreven in het Vademecum, bestaan uit algemeenheden die op vele andere scholen en organisaties van toepassing zijn en zijn daarom niet of nauwelijks richtinggevend te noemen. Een collectieve ambitie geeft richting en zorgt voor samenhang. Een team dat zich herkent in de collectieve ambitie van 'hun school', weet waar het naar toe wil en de teamleden weten waarom zij hun werk doen op de manier waarop zij dat doen. Zonder collectieve ambitie is het daarentegen ieder voor zich.

De uitgangssituatie en de gewenste situatie van het KAP zijn uitgebreid in kaart gebracht en geanalyseerd. Voor de analyse is het standaard analyseformulier voor DOS-scholen gebruikt. Dit formulier maakt deel uit van het format voor schoolontwikkelingsplannen voor DOS-scholen. Op basis van deze gegevens is een onderbouwde keuze gemaakt voor vier verbetertrajecten op de lange termijn 2016 - 2020. Voor de vier verbetertrajecten is de gewenste situatie als volgt beschreven:

1. Interne kwaliteitszorg:
 - Deze is systematisch en cyclisch van opzet. Het schoolontwikkelingsplan is een 'levend' document: verbeterplannen worden regelmatig geëvalueerd en zo nodig bijgesteld (PDCA-cyclus);

- Op school heerst een professionele schoolcultuur: binnen het team is feedback geven en ontvangen algemeen geaccepteerd en wordt in gestructureerde vorm over onderwijs gesproken;
 - Er is een goede communicatie(structuur) tussen de school, de DOS en de Inspectie van Onderwijs.
- 2 De opbrengsten (kwaliteitsdomein 1):
- Er is een systematiek voor analyse van de opbrengsten en een ‘norm’ voor de school;
 - Verslaglegging en verantwoording aan belanghebbenden zijn transparant;
 - De school heeft inzicht in de kenmerken van de leerlingenpopulatie (sociale kaart) en een goed functionerend en toegankelijk leerlingvolgsysteem (LVS);
 - De streefdoelen zijn realistisch.
- 3 Het onderwijsleerproces (kwaliteitsdomein 3):
- Er is een gezamenlijke visie op het pedagogisch-didactisch handelen van de docent. Deze visie is vertaald naar een aantal praktische afspraken die breed gedragen worden;
 - Werken aan professionalisering van de docent: reflectie op het eigen handelen, ontstaan voor feedback en meer samenwerken;
 - Ouders zijn betrokken bij de school en bij het leren van hun kind door de activiteiten die de school daartoe onderneemt.
- 4 De leerlingenzorg (kwaliteitsdomein 5):
- Er is een systematiek voor leerlingenzorg;
 - Verslaglegging en verantwoording aan belanghebbenden zijn transparant;
 - Leerlingenzorg als geïntegreerd onderdeel van de school zowel wat begeleiding van individuele leerlingen betreft als systeembegeleiding (preventie);
 - Binnen het team wordt in gestructureerde vorm over leerlingbegeleiding gesproken en procedures zijn bekend (zorgkaart);
 - Toegang tot zorg is laagdrempelig voor zowel ouders als leerlingen;
 - De school werkt structureel en constructief samen met ketenpartners waar noodzakelijke interventies op leerlingenniveau haar eigen taak overschrijden;
 - Er zijn voldoende uren voor de zorg beschikbaar.

Aanbevelingen

Op basis van de resultaten uit mijn literatuuronderzoek en de gekozen verbetertrajecten op de lange termijn heb ik ten slotte een aantal aanbevelingen gedaan voor concrete verbeterpunten voor schooljaar 2016-17.

Het verdient aanbeveling om een solide basis te leggen voor verdere ontwikkeling van de school tot in 2020 en mogelijk daarna. Woorden die in de beschrijving van de gewenste situatie bij alle vier de verbetertrajecten regelmatig terugkomen zijn: systematiek, analyse, structuur, professionalisering, visie en collectieve ambitie. Er is een duidelijke behoefte aan sturing van binnenuit.

Een nieuwe collectieve ambitie

In schooljaar 2016-17 wordt structureel tijd en ruimte vrijgemaakt om de collectieve ambitie nieuw leven in te blazen. Bij dit strategisch proces wordt het hele team actief betrokken: wie zelf meedenkt over de koers van de organisatie, raakt meer betrokken en gaat zich medeverantwoordelijk voelen voor het uiteindelijke resultaat.

Systematischer werken met meer aandacht voor analyse en evaluatie

Veel informatie is in de huidige situatie niet gedigitaliseerd of slechts beperkt toegankelijk. Er is behoefte aan een toegankelijk leerlingvolgsysteem (LVS). In de begroting voor 2016-17 moet ruimte gevonden worden voor de aanschaf van een leerlingvolgsysteem.

Een sociale kaart per leerjaar

Voor het maken van een zorgvuldige analyse, is inzicht in de kenmerken van de leerlingenpopulatie cruciaal. Goed inzicht in de leerlingenkenmerken is nodig om kwalitatief goed onderwijs te bieden, afgestemd op de leerlingenpopulatie.

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Actualiseren van de zorgkaart

Binnen het team wordt in gestructureerde vorm over leerlingbegeleiding gesproken en procedures zijn bekend (zorgkaart).

Vervolg

In de loop van het schooljaar 2016-17 zijn de gekozen verbetertrajecten door de schoolleiding en de commissie kwaliteitszorg verder uitgewerkt en voorzien van een begroting (beschikbare taakuren en overige faciliteiten). Ten slotte zijn per verbetertraject commissies samengesteld om de verbetertrajecten uit te werken in concrete actieplannen voor het schooljaar 2017-2018.

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**RECOVERING OTHERED LITERATURES IN
THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND**

EEN NIEUWE GENERATIE NEDERLANDSTALIGE SCHRIJVERS OP DE NEDERLANDS-CARIBISCHE BENEDENWINDSE EILANDEN ARUBA, BONAIRE EN CURAÇAO¹

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“The characters and settings of most novels by West Indian in England are drawn from the native islands they remember or imagine; the novels deal, moreover, with issues that are of immediate relevance to the West Indian people”

(Ramchand, 1970: 74)

Vanaf de jaren dertig tot de jaren zeventig van de 20^e eeuw werd de Caribische literatuur gekenmerkt door politiek nationalisme en literair sociaal-realisme. Tegen het einde van de eeuw zwakte deze stroming af om plaats te maken voor een meer persoonlijke op het individu gerichte thematiek. Maar het valt te verdedigen dat het sociaal-realisme na de laatste eeuwwisseling weer terug is in een aantal romans van de Nederlands-Caribische ABC-eilanden Aruba, Bonaire en Curaçao.

Caribische auteurs schreven en schrijven vooral over lokale onderwerpen en problemen van de onderklasse van de maatschappij. Aan het begin daarvan stonden de Jamaicaanse auteurs Tom Redcam met *Becka's Buckra baby* (1904) en *One brown girl and— : a Jamaica story* (1909) en Herbert G. de Lisser met *Jane's career* (1914). George Lamming voerde in *The pleasures of exile* (1960) de ‘peasant’ op die als personage aan het begin van de Caribische Engelstalige roman staat. De veelal uit de middenklasse afkomstige en in westerse zin geschoolde auteur zocht zijn stof en thematiek thuis: “The West Indian novelist did not look out across the sea to another source. He looked in and down at what traditionally had been ignored” (Downing Thompson Jr., 2001: 116).

Ook Ramchand (1970: 65) laat zich hierover uit: “In the literature of the yard, sex and an uninhibited approach by the writers are basic ingredients. So too are violence, and the uncertainty of earthly things.” Hij wijst erop dat de Engels-Caribische roman de

¹ Deze bijdrage is een lichte bewerking van een Franstalig artikel dat in 2017 in het tijdschrift *Septentrion* verschijnt.

‘dynamics of society’ thematiseert met daarbij de gebreken en de ‘social and economic deprivation of the majority’, de problemen van ras en kleur, het cynisme van de inheemse bourgeois die de macht heeft na de in de jaren zestig verworven onafhankelijkheid, het gebrek aan trots ten aanzien van de eigen geschiedenis en ten slotte de afwezigheid van traditionele gevestigde normen en waarden (Ramchand, geciteerd in Downing Thompson Jr.: 116). Genoeg thema’s om over te schrijven dus.

Bruce King (1979: 45-77) spreekt van een ‘twin dedication to art and society’ als gevolg van een gegroeid politiek en sociaal bewustzijn in de jaren veertig en vijftig van nog koloniale eilanden. Hena Maes-Jelinek benadrukt het sociaal-realisme dat – weliswaar uit Europa geïmporteerd – een eigen kleur en klank kreeg met thema’s als ‘exile, isolation and alienation, fragmentation, race, and the need of self-definition’ en het gebruik van Caribische taalvarianten (Maes-Jelinek: 127).

Personages zijn als ‘man of the people’ vertegenwoordigers van het ‘gewone’ volk en worden meer beschreven als deel van de gemeenschap dan als individu, meer als typen met bepaalde dominante eigenschappen dan als ronde karakters. Auteurs spreken in hun romans namens de gemeenschap en fungeren als profeet – vaak onheilsprofeet – die door middel van maatschappijkritiek de lezers de ogen wil openen voor misstanden en geloven dat de pen een machtig wapen is waarmee de wereld te verbeteren valt.

Deze thematiek is in de anderstalige Caribische roman nauwelijks anders: de sociale component domineert ook daar, zoals het naturalisme en sociaal-realisme met hun protest in de Spaanstalige literatuur. Ook de Frans-Caribische literatuur kent haar romans van sociaal-politiek protest en revolte met een vergelijkbare thematiek (Arnold, 2001).

In de Nederlands-Caribische literatuur treden Surinaamse auteurs als Anton de Kom en R. Dobru (Robin Raveles) als bekende exponenten naar voren. Ook de Papiamentstalige feuilletonisten van Curaçao in de jaren dertig van de 20^e eeuw uiten kritiek op sociaal-economische misstanden, evenals Engelstalige auteurs van de Bovenwindse eilanden. En de in de jaren zestig en zeventig gepubliceerde poëzie in tijdschrift- en boekvorm of op het podium is veelal die van fel protest, met als bekendste exponent Frank Martinus Arion en zijn kritiek op kolonialisme en Westers imperialisme.

Ook de nieuwe ‘generatie’ van auteurs tekent protest aan tegen tal van misstanden, maar richt de pijlen van kritiek nu eerder op de misstanden van binnenuit dan van buitenaf. Deze auteurs kritiseren niet alleen, maar bieden aan het einde van hun romans een lichtpunt naar de toekomst.

Zo kent de Caribische roman in alle talen een dubbelkarakteristiek: kunst die thuisblijft met haar realisme dat tegelijkertijd communaal en sociaal is – ook in de 21^e eeuw.

Moderne Nederlandstalige romans

Die maatschappelijke betrokkenheid van een nieuwe generatie Nederlands-Caribische auteurs, die zich meer richt op de gemeenschap waarin ze leeft en werkt dan in het

ontrafelen van persoonlijke psychische processen van individuele karakters, was natuurlijk al aanwezig in de jaren vijftig van de 20^e eeuw. Ook bij auteurs als Boeli van Leeuwen (1922-2007) en Tip Marugg (1923-2006) die in hun werk de sociaal-culturele positie van de blanke Curaçaoënaar als eilandelijk minderheidsmens thematiseerden. Frank Martinus Arion (1936-2015) richtte zijn pijlen in zijn Nederlandstalige proza en in zijn Papiamentstalige poëzie tegen Moederland Nederland en de Westerse Wereld in het algemeen.

Een paradoxaal dilemma

Na een periode van relatieve stilte rond Nederlandstalige auteurs en werken, kunnen we vanaf het einde van de 20^e eeuw en het begin van de 21^e eeuw spreken van een opleving in de Nederlandstalige romanproductie op de eilanden. Toch is dit bepaald niet een proces dat zonder problemen verloopt.

De taalkeuze is altijd heikel geweest. Wie besluit in het Papiaments te schrijven, publiceert veelal in eigen beheer, zonder enige professionele ondersteuning. Wie in het Nederlands schrijft en in Nederland publiceert, kan in beperkte mate via enkele welwillende uitgevers rekenen op de daar bestaande infrastructuur.

Een Nederlands-Caribische auteur staat daarom voor een paradoxale keuze. Hij kan zich in het lokale literaire centrum plaatsen met publicaties in het Papiaments, waarbij taal en cultuur samengaan, maar schrijft dan voor een gering potentieel publiek van lezers. Óf hij kan kiezen voor de periferie van de Nederlandstalige literatuur met romans waarvoor zowel de lokale eilandelijke lezer als de Nederlandse lezer over het algemeen maar weinig belangstelling heeft; laatstgenoemde vooral wegens de in die werken verwoorde lokale thematiek.

In de Nederlandstalige ABC-romans vallen taal en cultuur nooit samen. Voor de lokale lezer is de cultuur vertrouwd, maar de Nederlandse taal niet of minder. Voor de Europees-Nederlandse lezer is de Nederlandse taal vertrouwd, maar de cultuur vreemd of in elk geval minder vertrouwd. Een dilemma zonder uitkomst: in beide gevallen zal de weerklink gering zijn en moet de auteur zich met een bescheiden plaatsje in het literaire circuit tevreden stellen. Of de lokale auteurs nu in het Papiaments schrijven en publiceren óf in het Nederlands, voor ieder van hen ontbreekt een leespubliek van enige omvang.

Ook statistisch kunnen auteurs die zich uitsluitend op een lokaal publiek richten bepaald niet op een grote lezersschare rekenen. Waar in Europees-Nederland en Vlaanderen een Nederlandstalige roman in een oplage van enkele duizenden exemplaren gedrukt wordt bij meer dan 20 miljoen potentiële lezers, zou een lokaal op de eilanden gepubliceerde roman, bij een bevolking van slechts een paar honderdduizend inwoners, verhoudingsgewijs slechts een afzet van enkele tientallen exemplaren kunnen verwachten. Reden te meer voor lokale auteurs om te proberen Nederlandstalig werk in Nederland te laten uitgeven.

Er liggen enkele institutionele verklaringen voor de hand die het gebruik van het literaire Nederlands – weer – mogelijk maken en bevorderen. Bijvoorbeeld het streven naar een vermeend prestige om in Nederland gepubliceerd te worden. Ook teleurstelling in de lokale respons op het werk kan een reden zijn. Zo publiceerde de Arubaans-Nederlandse Denis Henriquez aanvankelijk in het Papiaments, maar besloot naar het Nederlands en een Nederlandse uitgever over te gaan bij gebrek aan weerklank bij een lokaal publiek. De op Curaçao woonachtige, maar op Bonaire geboren, auteur Joseph Hart publiceerde aanvankelijk in het Engels in de Verenigde Staten, maar besloot zijn werk in het Nederlands te vertalen en vervolgens in die taal te blijven schrijven voor een Nederlandse uitgeverij.

In de persoon van Franc Knipscheer ontmoeten nogal wat schrijvers een enthousiaste uitgever die bereid is risico's te nemen; uit ideële motieven geeft hij werk van auteurs die in Nederland volstrekt onbekend zijn een kans, zodat hij de meest actieve uitgever van Nederlands-Caribische literatuur in Nederland is geworden.

De democratisering van het voortgezet onderwijs en de grote aantallen jongeren die een vervolgopleiding in Nederland doen, zijn ook redenen dat de Nederlandse taal meer vertrouwd is dan ze wel eens was. Toenemende internationalisering en migratie versterken de contacten tussen de eilanden en Nederland. Van de Arubaanse auteurs die momenteel – ook – in het Nederlands schrijven woont nagenoeg iedereen in Nederland, van de Curaçaose auteurs echter maar enkelen: deze hebben besloten op hun eiland naar het Nederlands over te gaan. De uitbreiding van de lokale onderwijsmogelijkheden creëert een toenemend lezerspubliek, zodat een populaire boekhandelsketen als Bruna met een dominant Nederlands(talig) aanbod zich zelfs op Aruba en Curaçao vestigde.

Auteurs

Na de 'grote vier' plus één, Cola Debrot, Boeli van Leeuwen, Tip Marugg, Frank Martinus Arion en de te weinig bekende en onderschatte Jules de Palm, werd het stil rond de Nederlandstalige literatuur van de eilanden. Maar daar kwam rond de laatste eeuwwisseling verandering in met een generatie auteurs in het Nederlands. Een inventarisatie van auteurs die uitsluitend of overwegend het Nederlands gebruiken voor hun literaire publicaties levert momenteel een lijst op van meer dan twintig namen van alle drie ABC-eilanden; daar moet dan wel de relativerende kanttekening bij geplaatst worden dat deze schrijvers geboren werden in de jaren veertig en vijftig van de vorige eeuw en dat er – tot nu toe – geen substantiële aanwas is van jongere auteurs die in latere decennia geboren zijn. Het ligt in de lijn der verwachting dat de jongste generatie zich meer bij het Engels dan bij het Nederlands thuis voelt. Uit een ander optelsommetje, naar gender, blijkt dat de mannelijke auteurs – nog steeds – in de meerderheid zijn ten opzichte van de vrouwelijke, met een verhouding van ongeveer twee tot één.

Een inventariserend lijstje van gepubliceerde boeken toont aan dat alle drie eilanden vertegenwoordigd zijn. Bonaire uiteraard wat minder gezien de geringere bevolking op

het eiland, Aruba en Curaçao houden elkaar getalsmatig ongeveer in evenwicht. Voor de tijdsspanne van twee decennia waarin deze werken verschenen zijn kunnen we opmerken dat er elk jaar ‘wel wat’ verscheen in het Nederlands.

Uit zo’n lijstje blijkt ook dat proza sterker vertegenwoordigd is dan poëzie. Dat is het logische gevolg van de taalkeuze die elke auteur heeft, waarbij poëzie bij voorkeur in de moedertaal geschreven wordt en proza in de aangeleerde en door studie verworven schooltaal. Nederlands schrijf je als je de middelbare school hebt voltooid en in Nederland professioneel bent opgeleid.

Een minderheid van Nederlandstalig werk wordt lokaal in eigen beheer gepubliceerd, de meerderheid bij kleine Nederlandse uitgevers zoals In de Knipscheer, Conserve, de Bezige Bij en Atlas.

Een relatief recent verschijnsel zijn de tweetalige publicaties van In de Knipscheer met Papiamentstalige teksten van het origineel en vertalingen / hertalingen daarvan in het Nederlands. Zo verschenen Nydia Ecury: *Een droom die ik heb / Un sueño ku mi tin* (2013), Olga Orman: *Cas di biento / Doorwaaiwoning* (2014), Munye Oduber-Winklaar: *Ta asina y awor mi ta regla cuenta cu bo / Zo reken ik nu met je af*, en van de in Amsterdam gevestigde Antilliaanse schrijversvereniging Simia literario de uitgave *Wie ik ben / Ta ken mi ta* (2011).

Kunst die thuisblijft

In zijn prachtige in meeslepende stijl geschreven *Where I’m reading from* (2014) dat in 2015 in het Nederlands vertaald werd als *Waarom ik lees* houdt Tim Parks een warm pleidooi voor literatuur die sterk op de eigen omgeving betrokken is. In die literatuur vindt hij leven dat volgens hem ontbreekt in de boeken waarvan de auteurs vooral op een internationaal lezerspubliek mikken en die daarom bang zijn lokale elementen te benoemen uit angst om voor provinciaal en onvertaalbaar versleten te worden. Tim Parks schrijft in het hoofdstuk ‘Kunst die thuisblijft’ dat grondige kennis van het lokale zowel de schrijver als het publiek de mogelijkheid geeft “om connecties, complicaties en mysteries intenser te ervaren”. Boeken zijn universeel dank zij hun lokale karakter. Dat uitgangspunt geldt in hoge mate voor een aantal recente Nederlands-Caribische romans.

Ondanks de huidige mondialisering op allerlei terreinen, die zich in de literatuur van veel landen manifesteert uit angst om voor een tweederangs lokale auteur van streekromans te worden beschouwd, is de literatuur van de schrijvers van Aruba, Bonaire en Curaçao juist sterk op het lokale, op het eigen eiland, betrokken in setting, inhoud en thematiek.

Auteurs plaatsen hun werk in de ruimte van het eigen eiland met nu en dan uitstapjes naar buiten, zoals Nederland. Ze vertellen over het eiland, de relaties en bijzonderheden van de mensen die er wonen. Ze kaarten daarbij ook vaak lokale sociaal-politieke en

maatschappelijke problemen aan, waarmee ze zich als het ware opwerpen als het geweten van hun volk, een geweten dat de taak heeft tal van belangrijke eigentijdse misstanden in verhaalvorm te kritiseren en te elimineren. Zo wordt de pen weer een wapen zoals dat ook al in de jaren zestig en zeventig van de vorige eeuw het geval was.

Overigens is deze maatschappelijke betrokkenheid geen alleenrecht van de Nederlandstalige auteurs, want ook Curaçaose auteurs als Barche Baromeo: *E parto* 4 (1995) en Rudolf Crispulo: *Piká'i mi pueblo* (2014) schrijven vanuit eenzelfde grondhouding. Culturele eenheid heft taalverschil op.

Migratie

De moderne Nederlandstalige auteurs van Aruba, Bonaire en Curaçao positioneren zich op het snijvlak van tijd en ruimte, een positie tussen verleden, heden en toekomst én een positie tussen het eigen eiland van geboorte en – door migratie – het nieuwe land van inwoning met alle problemen van ‘bonding’, ‘bridging’ en ‘belonging’. Migreren deze auteurs niet ‘lichamelijk’, dan zijn ze door hun taalkeuze, de keuze van een Nederlandse uitgeverij en de dubbele doelgroep van lezers op de eigen eilanden én in Europa in elk geval mentale en institutionele migranten geworden, die als brugfiguren een beeld schetsen van thuis en elders. Met dien verstande dat ‘elders’ zowel Nederland als het geboorte-eiland kan aanduiden, waar de hoofdpersonages na jaren van afwezigheid vervreemd van blijken te zijn.

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Literaire verwerking

Migratie blijkt een belangrijk thema, dat literair verwerkt moet worden in een problematiek rond aanpassing en acceptatie. Beeldvorming omtrent het eigen eiland en Nederland wisselen af. Maar ook het verleden blijkt bron van zowel persoonlijke vervreemding als de verwerking van historische trauma's uit een vervlogen tijd van slavernij en kolonialisme. Het verleden valt in de zoektocht naar waarheid niet te achterhalen. Het blijft achtervolgen maar geeft zijn ultieme geheimen nooit prijs en de hoofdpersonages raken er nooit van los.

Identiteit en solidariteit zijn problematische dilemma's van individu en samenleving, waarbij het persoonlijke politiek is en het politieke persoonlijk, zowel thuis als elders. Personages raken in politieke intriges verstrikt en er wordt van hen verwacht dat ze een keuze zullen maken, waarbij in de romans goed en kwaad als scherpe tegenstellingen tegenover elkaar worden geplaatst. Wat is waarheid en wat leugen?

Veelzijdige thematiek

Dat het persoonlijke politiek is en het politieke persoonlijk uit zich in een aantal dominante thema's in de moderne Nederlands-Caribische literatuur. Socialiteit in het spanningsveld van individu en samenleving, vervreemding en saamhorigheid, egoïsme en altruïsme. Maar ook individu en gender in de vorm van machisme en marinisme, seks

en liefde, gezin en opvoeding, generaties en familie in relatie tot de samenleving, buurt en land, protest en aanvaarding. Daarnaast zijn kleur en klasse, etniciteit en gemengde afkomst, respect ontvangen en geven belangrijke thema's, evenals de sociaal-economische positionering van rijk en arm, onderwijs en ontwikkeling, traditie en moderniteit, de invloed van het verleden op zowel persoonlijk gebied als de tijd van slavernij, de Tweede Wereldoorlog, waarbij het verleden als lust maar vaak als last ervaren wordt. Individuen moeten in het reine komen met politiek, corruptie, macht, recht en plicht, materialisme en idealisme, maar ook met vormen van religie, syncretisme, voodoo, bruha, missie en magie. In het narco-realisme zien we hoe drugs corrumperen. Medische missers en kwakzalverij worden aan de kaak gesteld.

Maar bij dit alles en ondanks alle problemen en ellende die zo uitgebreid aan de kaak gesteld worden, blijkt de Nederlands-Caribische roman toch steeds een optimistische kijk op het leven te behouden. Aan het einde wordt er steeds een uitweg geboden waarbij het individu weliswaar 'sadder' maar ook 'wiser' een positieve toekomst tegemoet gaat.

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1989 Clyde Lo-A-Njoe: Echolood
1992 Denis Henriquez: Zuidstraat
1995 Denis Henriquez: Delft blues
1998 Jacques Thönissen: Tranen om de ara.
1999 Denis Henriquez: De zomer van Alejandro Bulos
2000 Jacques Thönissen: Eilandzigeuner
2002 Quito Nicolaas: Gerede twijfels
2004 Giselle Ecury: Terug die tijd
2004 Jacques Thönissen: De roep van de troepiaal
2005 Giselle Ecury: Terug die tijd (herziene en uitgebreide versie)
2006 Frida Domacassé: Dans
2006 Giselle Ecury: Erfdeel
2007 Joan Lesley: De bloeiende flamboyant
2007 Quito Nicolaas: Verborgen leegte
2008 Henry Habibe: Vulkanisch samenzijn
2009 Frida Domacassé: Fontein en andere verhalen
2009 Giselle Ecury: Glas in lood
2010 Giselle Ecury: Vogelvlucht
2010 Helena Engelbrecht-Fornara: Manchi
2010 Jacques Thönissen: Devah
2011 Joan Lesley: Compa Nanzi's capriolen
2013 Giselle Ecury: De rode appel
2013 Jacques Thönissen: Onder de watapana
2015 Clyde Lo-A-Njoe: Mijn lief mijn leed
2015 Jacques Thönissen: Sarah de zwarte madonna
2016 Clyde Lo-A-Njoe: Parelmoerpoeder

Bonaire:

1997 Henry Toré: Een tropische kruisiging
1999 Henry Toré: De ontspoorde Benjamin
2003 Henry Toré: Tranen over Matravagera
2004 Erich Zielinski: De Engelenbron
2008 Erich Zielinski: De prijs van de zee
2009 Erich Zielinski: Scott Zuyderling
2009 Aletta Beaujon: De schoonheid van blauw / The Beauty of Blue
2010 Henry Toré: Broos geluk
2013 Jopi Hart: Verkiezingsdans
2015 Joseph Hart: Kruispunt

Curaçao

- 1994 Carel de Haseth: Zolang er kusten zijn
1994 Diana Lebacks: De langste maand
2001 José M. Eustatia: Afscheidsgedichten voor Violette
2001 Ron Haseth: Leven op een rots
2001 Frank Martinus Arion: De eeuwige hond
2001 Hans Vaders: Tropische winters
2002 Walter Palm: Met lege handen ging ik slapen, met een gedicht werd ik wakker
2004 Hennie Harinck: Enkele reis Curaçao
2004 Michel Sanders: Señorita Permitimi
2005 Myra Römer: Verhalen van Fita
2006 Nilo E. Kleinmoedig: Zo'n man bestaat niet meer
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2007 Anton A. de Bijl (Ron Haseth): Verstrengeld
2007 Hans Vaders: Otrobanda. Berichten van de overkant
2008 Myra Römer: Het geheim van Gracia
2009 Eric de Brabander: Het hiernamaals van Doña Lisa
2009 Eva Breukink: Lieve Dòdò: dagboek van Emma
2009 Walter Palm: Sierlijke golven krullen van plezier
2010 Luutsen de Vries: Krokodillen op de Antillen
2011 Eric de Brabander: Hot Brazilian wax en het requiem van Arthur Booi
2011 Hans Vaders: Kate Moss in Mahaai
2012 Elodie Heloise: Woestijnzand
2012 Hans Vaders: Terug tot Tovar
2013 Eric de Brabander: De supermarkt van Vieira
2013 Els Langenfeld: Porto Marie
2013 Ronny Lobo: Bouwen op drijfzand
2013 Herman Piso: Kanaä, zal ik haar ooit terugzien?
2015 Bernadette Heiligers: Schutkleur
2015 Ronny Lobo: Tirami sú
2015 Henriette de Mezquita: De Lichtkamer
2016 Eric de Brabander: Het dilemma van Otto Warburg

DOWN WITH CLOSED SYSTEMS: THE APPROPRIATION OF THE CARIBBEAN AS A BORDERLESS ENCLAVE¹

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In the last quarter of the past century, and heralded earlier, internationally acclaimed creative writing from the Caribbean increasingly celebrated the appropriation of the Caribbean as a 'borderless enclave'. Essentially, this borderlessness encompasses the capacity to depart from one's own (ethnic) exclusivity and to look at oneself and one's own group with a critical eye, as well as the empathetic willingness to approach western modernity with less hostility than in the preceding decades, but nonetheless with an attitude of participant criticism. This principal tendency is illustrated in the present article by texts from the various linguistic areas in the region, while taking essays by the Surinamese author Anil Ramdas (1958-2012) as a starting point and leitmotiv.

In the Netherlands every trace of a self-evident geographical location was absent from the many reviews dedicated to the collection of essays, titled *De papegaai, de stier en de klimmende bougainvillea*, (The parrot, the bull and the climbing bougainvillea) by the Surinamese author Anil Ramdas, the first edition of which appeared in 1992 (see Ramdas, 1998, for an English translation of one of the essays). However exceptional the collection was in the eyes of the Dutch reviewers, Ramdas became from their point of view a spokesperson in the skirmishes on the frontier of a multilingual reorientation in Dutch language Caribbean (migrant) literature in the last decades of the twentieth century. For them, Ramdas was representative of this change of direction that was not limited to literature but also manifested itself in the realms of scholarly, political, and governmental thought and action.

An essay in praise of V.S. Naipaul and a demonstration of shortcomings directed toward Surinamese literature notwithstanding, Ramdas' book was certainly not meant in the first place as a guide to contemporary Caribbean literature as such. However, the light he sheds on the so-called migrant experience puts an important development in Caribbean literature into the limelight, a development which came more powerfully to the fore in the 1980s throughout the region, even though some remarkable earlier manifestations can easily be pinpointed.

¹ Based on Broek, 2000: 162-86 and Broek, 2002, with a touch of Broek, 2014; translated from the Dutch by Scott Rollins.

The guiding principle of Ramdas' body of thought is invariably the accentuated dichotomy in the approach to migrant identity, which can be characterized as follows. The first approach has to do with a form of 'identity' that is given beforehand and is, as it were, rediscovered and that seeks affirmation. The core of this approach would consist of the consolidation of resentments and in so doing the enforcement of a practically exclusive Afro-Caribbean unity. That unity is based on the common historical experience of slavery, colonialism, forced transportation and relocation, forced labor, indentured service and migration once again to the colonial mother country. Ramdas, himself of East Indian background, does not deny the necessity of being aware of your past and origins but reviles the attitude that so often follows to also make it part of one's future: "People do not make their own new fortune, but commemorate and praise their old misfortunes." (Ramdas, 1992: 21)

The second approach, and the one espoused by Ramdas, proceeds from the premise that migrant identity must constantly be reinvented. The historical experience of forced migration, colonialism, and the like, are not denied here but serve as a source for constant new ways of thinking that are increasingly variegated. In Ramdas' own words:

"The course of our cultural lives consists of ruptures, of a "spread experience": we carry something in ourselves from Africa, Asia, America, and Europe. We will not find out what is authentic, what "is really ours", but what does that matter? [...] The task, the life's work of a migrant consists of making a new construction out of all those bits and pieces and then at an arbitrary moment say: hey, that's me. [...] The identity of a person is nothing other than a collection of identifications in the present and the past, from which the image of a chameleon arises, the person who has no constancy and continually changes with his environment." (Ramdas, 1992: 215)

This task which is set for the migrant presupposes a well-developed capacity for empathy and/or identification with the unknown and foreign, a high degree of criticism – including in particular self-criticism – and the constant effort to doubt, to re-examine, to learn and to see new connections. But all this also presupposes exactly the capacity to accept those historical elements that in our contemporary society are regarded as less acceptable or plainly unacceptable. Ramdas is fully convinced that his migrant literary authors are pre-eminently equipped to put this approach into practice. This task is, as Ramdas himself frequently emphasizes, based on an explicitly Western mentality: the ability to consider things from different perspectives. (This of course does not necessarily mean that Western peoples have actually taken this to heart on a massive scale.)

Ramdas' essays are frequently brilliant examples of the second, creative approach to migrant identity, particularly due to his extremely critical stance towards the first approach. Ramdas takes particular issue with a political posture sometimes adopted by immigrants to the Western world: the mentality that focuses exclusively on antiracism. The necessity of antiracist discourse and action is not denied by Ramdas. "However,

the problem is that mutual solidarity only appears to thrive on hate.” (Ramdas, 1992: 103) It is precisely this hate that completely cuts off identification with members of and (potentially) good allies from other groups, in particular those seen as ‘Western’.

It goes without saying that Ramdas does not disavow the importance of pointing out the misdeeds that have been committed over the course of centuries, but “it should not lead to the callousness which politics demonstrates towards *all* whites [...] This callousness, which borders on sadism, oddly enough is coupled with oversensitivity in terms of the political handling of the migrant experience.” (Ramdas, 1992: 104) In this connection he refers to an incident that erupted around a Benetton poster in which a European descended girl with the hair of an angel is depicted together with an African descended girl with two braids standing straight up: the horns of the devil (?). The Benetton corporation was severely taken to task for promoting racism. Ramdas adopts another point of view towards this incident, namely, that adopted by “that very big fat black lady on the subway who after looking with great attention at the poster and thinking out loud says to her girlfriend: ‘What I don’t get is how they got those braids so straight.’” Many pages later, Ramdas asserts that the consequences of enforced unity and solidarity are lethal, “for self-criticism and self-examination, for internal emancipation and self-fulfillment. Individual identity is made subordinate to group identity [...]”. (Ramdas, 1992: 212) The task of literature, therefore, is to shake up and free any prefabricated (migrant) identity and to process and articulate a multiplicity of experiences and possibilities for identification. As such, this claim in favor of greater empathy is anything but remarkable. Ramdas in fact follows a centuries old tradition in Western literary practice: that of undermining the familiar and bringing the unfamiliar dangerously close to home. This trend in Western literature places question marks behind the conduct of its readers, and its own functioning in the bargain. Ramdas asks migrants and the writers among them to do the same in their own interest. For Ramdas, this is a necessary precondition to success in the struggle between “the Dutch way of life and one’s own culture, between the new found freedom and the traditional restraints, between Western outspokenness and hierarchical obedience.” (Ramdas, 1992: 171)

Ramdas asserts that this tension not only applies to Caribbean migrants in the Netherlands or elsewhere in the western world but just as well to those “who stayed behind”. For both groups, choices must be made between, on the one hand one’s own culture and the western lifestyle.

In Ramdas’ view (migrant) writers, as just mentioned, are pre-eminently suited to realize this task, referring in this regard to Toni Morrison, Carl van Vechten, Salmon Rushdie and V. S. Naipaul. Except for Naipaul, Ramdas does not refer to any other Caribbean authors. The Caribbean, however, has produced a significant number of authors who satisfy Ramdas’ criteria. More than that, these same authors constituted a vanguard of Caribbean literary life in the 1990s. The cherished capacity to enter into a discussion with oneself, to depart from one’s own exclusivity and to look at oneself and

one's own group with the necessary skepticism, as well as the willingness to approach western modernity with less hostility but with an attitude of *participant criticism* is certainly not to be attributed just to Naipaul. We find other such authors throughout the entire Caribbean, but they are especially numerous among those who have either left the islands temporarily or for good.

A number of novels, essays and works of poetry written in the 1980s and 1990s in the Netherlands Antilles ought to be mentioned as significant exemplars of Ramdas' preferred approach. Here we could refer to the novels *Schilden van leem* (1985; Shields of clay) and *Het teken van Jona* (1988; *The sign of Jonah*, 1995), and a collection of short essays *Geniale anarchie* (1990; Brilliant anarchy) by Boeli van Leeuwen, the novel *De morgen loeit weer aan* (1988; *The roar of morning*, 2016) by Tip Marugg, the poetry collection *Poesia venená* (1985; Venomous verse) and novella *Katibu di shon* (1988; *Slave and master*, 2011) both by Carel de Haseth and the four *Organisashon Planifikashon Independensia (OPI)* collections of poetry in Papiamentu (1979-1988) by Elis Juliana, which are very critical of the existing social and emotional preconditions for independence.

The work of Carel de Haseth and Elis Juliana was written in Papiamentu and therefore had a limited readership at first. Since then, some of Juliana's poetry has been translated into Dutch (Juliana, 2011) and in De Haseth's case not only into Dutch but also into English and German (De Haseth, 2007; 2008 [2002]; 2011). Clemencia's Dutch language study of Juliana's work, published in 1989, had made it accessible to a somewhat wider audience. It demonstrates Juliana's outspokenly critical attitude towards Curaçaoan society. Juliana also continues to ask, among other things and quite explicitly in interviews, for there to be more conscious openness to influences and to people of different origins on the island.

"There is a clear tendency to only label Curaçaoan blacks and that which belongs to Afro-Curaçaoans, such as Papiamentu, as that which constitutes the true Curaçao. Afro-Curaçaoans must not take possession of the island. In fact the inordinately harsh self-congratulatory behavior of Afro-Curaçaoans, this 'only I am the true Curaçaoan', is an expression of a strong inferiority complex. I have pointed out this misplaced pride in my *OPI* poems. But Curaçaoans are bad listeners." (quoted in Broek, 1992/1993)

Similar warnings were already voiced by Pierre A. Lauffer (Curaçao 1920-1981), poet and author of scores of short stories in Papiamentu, just after the May 1969 revolt in Willemstad. At the time, the majority of Lauffer's literary production was behind him. Lauffer criticized and clearly rejected the strong urge that arose at the time to limit oneself only to one's own backyard, particularly that of the socioeconomically most deprived community of Afro-Curaçaoans, and to consider this as the only legitimate source and reference point for literature. He emphasized the complexities of influences from outside the region and their persistent character. Denial of this fact and clinging to

a supposed immutable, authentic character, would be the very thing that would cause Caribbean identity to disappear.

“Damn it, we have so much to write about. Please, use it. We can shout about our identity all we want, but if there are no authors who can depict this multi-colored painting on paper then we have to accept that within the foreseeable future we will be left behind without our own identity, our own literature and our own language.” (Laufer, 1994 [1969]: 41)

Nonetheless, the majority of the authors writing in Papiamentu in the 1970s and 1980s did not contribute to the multi-colored portrait he had in mind, but instead concentrated on the Afro-Curaçaoan community (Broek, 2006: 189-289; 2007). Ramdas could have – had the literature been accessible to him – just as well put the Papiamentu literature in the desolate corner to which he relegated the Surinamese. Referring to the locally famous poem ‘Wan bon’ (One tree) written by Dobru (pseudonym of Robin E. Raveles) just after Surinamese independence from the Netherlands, Ramdas callously remarked:

“Instead of criticism and self-criticism, instead of doubt and investigation, we get patronizing propaganda and empty slogans about one tree, one country, one people [...] While other Surinamese writers present their readers with an image [of Suriname] in which one cannot see why so many once fled the country and why so many others are still trying to escape.” (Ramdas, 1992: 98-99)

Ramdas thus scoffed at fellow authors in the (former) Dutch Caribbean, yet in a wider regional sphere found quite some authoritative partisans.

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The Spanish speaking Caribbean stretches deep into the United States by virtue of millions of migrants and their descendants, mainly from Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Dominican Republic. From the Caribbean come such celebrated writers as Alejo Carpentier and José Lezama Lima, to whom one can undoubtedly ascribe Ramdas’ cherished attitude of critical and self-critical examination.

“We must beware of too much fine talk”, Esteban ended his plea, as he finished drinking his glass of wine, “of Better Worlds created by words. Our age is succumbing to a surfeit of words. The only Promised Land is that which a man can find within himself.” Esteban is a prominent character in Alejo Carpentier’s historical novel *El siglo de las luces* (1962; *Explosion in a cathedral*, 1979: 261). Esteban was speaking there of the turbulent decades around 1800 but Carpentier (Cuba 1904 – France 1980) undoubtedly was referring particularly to the second half of the twentieth century and the revolution Cuba experienced.

A search for the ‘Promised Land’ may primarily be an extremely personal affair, but this does not relieve one of one’s duty to improve human society. On the contrary, this task must be shouldered by everyone. Making mistakes in the pursuit of realizing this task is forgivable, but jettisoning principles and withdrawing from that task is absolutely

unforgivable. Carpentier impresses this conviction upon his readers in 1949 in another historical novel entitled *El reino de este mundo* (*The kingdom of this world*, 1957).

“[Man] suffers and hopes and toils for people he shall never know, and who, in turn, will suffer and hope and toil for others who will not be happy either, for man always seeks a happiness far beyond that which is meted out to him. Butman’s greatness consists in the very fact of wanting to be better than he is. In laying duties upon himself. In the Kingdom of Heaven there is no grandeur to be won, [...]. For this reason, bowed down by suffering and duties, beautiful in the midst of his misery, capable of loving in the face of afflictions and trials, man finds his greatness, his fullest measure, only in the Kingdom of This World.” (Carpentier, 1975 [1957]: 111-112)

The worst examples of terror in human existence have been the result of ideals being sacrificed in order to access power devoid of principles. Both *El siglo de las luces* and *El reino de este mundo* provide gripping historical examples of this from the Caribbean and as such are fine examples of self-criticism. In the latter novel Carpentier takes the reader to that part of an island which in 1804 was declared independent and ever since has been known as Haiti.

Carpentier depicts for us the decades before the revolution, the years of the French revolution, the Napoleonic Era, independence under the African descended general Henri Christophe, and finally the rise of a small group of mulattos as rulers: “a caste of quadroons, which was now taking over the old plantations, with their privileges and rank” (Carpentier, 1975 [1957]: 107). And after the declaration of independence, the slave Ti Noël – the main character through whose eyes we experience the atrocities – sees no other solution for his fellow sufferers who are once again plagued by the lashing of whips, than to pin his hopes on dedicating himself to the aforementioned task of working for a gradual improvement of society.

Christophe dreams of an enormous citadel that is supposed to rise 1,000 meters above sea level. During the construction Ti Noël concludes that independence yielded a slavery “that was just as abominable as that he had known on the plantation of [his former owner] monsieur Lenormand de Mézy” (p. 74). Indeed, the citadel would never be capable of defending anyone from any invasion whatsoever. Carpentier can certainly not be accused of having created a Better World solely through words.

Two novels fortunate to have won French literary awards, viz. *Hadriana dans tous mes rêves* (*Hadriana in all my dreams*; Prix Renaudot 1988) by René Depestre and *Texaco* (1992, *Texaco* [1998]; Prix Goncourt 1992) by Patrick Chamoiseau, vacillate between the two approaches to Caribbean identity we have been discussing. In his analysis of Haitian society, Depestre identifies a lack of critical participation in western modernity and thus places Haiti outside the misery of western intervention and consequently of both favorable and unfavorable influences.

In his long novels, Chamoiseau tends towards an affirmation of a predetermined identity. No matter how poetic and occasionally ironic his choice of words may be, he most certainly does not escape doing this in his novels *Chronique des sept misères* (1986; *Chronicle of seven miseries*) and *Solibo Magnifique* (1988; *Solibo magnificent* 1997). The Haitian Dany Leferrière was better able to refrain from this tendency in his trilogy *Comment faire l'amour avec un nègre sans se fatiguer* (1985; *How to make love to a negro without getting tired* 1991), *Éroshima* (1987; *Eroshima* 1992) and *Odeur du café* (1991; *An aroma of coffee* 1993). This was brought about by, among other things, an ironic approach towards the grossly stereotypical depictions of migrants as being 'work-shy', 'oversexed' and 'lacking in responsibility.'

It is Maryse Condé, however, who unlike anyone else in the French Caribbean, fulfills the requirements which Ramdas demands of Caribbean writers at the end of the twentieth century: the creation of characters with identifiable human actions, thoughts and feelings instead of the fabrication of stereotypical victims, martyrs, exploiters and/or heroes. Right from her first novel, *Hérémakhonon* (1976; *Heremakhonon*, 1990) Condé has systematically taken to task the oversimplified accentuation of revenge and the reinforcement of ethnically colored solidarity based on a past of misery and bitterness. The Caribbean bonds with Africa are questioned in this first novel as well as in *Une saison à Rihata* (1981; *A season in Rihata*, 1988), while in *Moi, Tituba sorcière* (1986; *I Tituba; black witch of Salem*, 1992) certain aspects of western – in particular Jewish – civilization are portrayed in a somewhat positive light, alongside justified criticism of other aspects. Condé's bestseller, the two volume novel, *Ségou* (1984/1985; *Segu* 1988, *The children of Segou*, 1989) subverts the stereotypical scholarly and literary depictions of slavery. This subversion is effected in detail through the depiction of Arabian expansionism and African collaboration in the rise of slavery. Condé alienates her readers from the familiar and makes them familiar with the alien.

Part of what she does in her novel *Traversée de la mangrove* (1989; *Crossing the mangrove* 1995), set in Guadeloupe, is to scrutinize sharply and explode the narrow minded nationalism to be found on some Caribbean islands, especially its lack of tolerance and empathy. This is evident, for example, in the English translation, when the local author Lucien Evarista finds himself obliged to explain his friendship with the outsider Francis Sancher, the main character of a virtually inextricable European, Latin American and Caribbean background:

"Listen, gentlemen! For a long time I thought like yourselves that you had to eat patriotically, drink patriotically and screw patriotically. I divided the world in two: us and the bastards. Now I realize it's a mistake. A mistake. There's more humanity and riches in that man [Sancher] than in all our lecturers in Creole." (Condé 1995 [1989]: 187)

The consequences of that mistake are quite far reaching, in the novel that is.

It can equally come as no surprise that in *Crossing the mangrove*, Condé also takes a swipe at the celebrated Patrick Chamoiseau. His reproach towards his fellow islander authors, including Condé, that they write in the language of the colonizer – *la langue autorisée* (authorized standard language) – and therefore ignore the most authentic part of their culture, their own *créole* is ironized by Condé. The consistent use of French Creole in literary texts may very well yield a novel that can be regarded as typically Guadeloupian, but this will also yield fewer readers.

Condé does not lose sight of the disastrous events of the past: the *middle passage*, slavery, indentured labor, torture at the hands of the colonial rulers, and so on and so forth. But she does not make the mistake of declaring guilty all European descended people of the past, present and future. And of equal, if not greater importance is that she does not make the mistake of turning all Afro-Caribbean people of the past, present and future into sinless martyrs or victims with no will of their own. With Condé intrigues, hatred, understanding, love, cowardice, prejudices, judgments, courage, envy and every other human attribute are not selectively apportioned along ethnic lines but are aspects of complex people and of complex social configurations and processes.

In her 1987 novel *La vie scélérate* (*Tree of life*, 1992) Condé was particularly at pains to depict that complexity of human interactions. This novel cherishes the region and its people through the acceptance of all sorts of peculiarities and capricious circumstances. *Tree of life* has impressive scope and depth through a portrayal of four generations, their social mobility, their geographic dispersion, their very different and frequently contradictory aspirations, their mutual relations and their ties with third parties, all displaying an endless and complex array of often quite unruly human characteristics.

In the novel, we are introduced to the Caribbean region and its people through a search by Coco to uncover her family's history. Coco, born in 1960, belongs to the youngest generation of the family. The search takes place with varying degrees of help from other family members and leads back to her great grandfather Albert Louis who died in 1948. At the age of twelve, Albert swore an oath that he would not die on a sugarcane plantation like his father before him. The oldest, most tangible sign of life that Coco discovers about Albert is a contract signed by him – on “Tuesday March 14, 1904” – to work for two years on the excavation of the Panama Canal. The novel is put on the rails with an account of Albert's hardships, survival strategies, ideals, disappointments and successful enterprises and then embarks on a compelling journey through the twentieth century and to all corners of the Caribbean, the New World and Europe.

It is particularly because of her grandfather Jacob – one of Albert's sons with a no less intriguing life story than his father's – who makes Coco decide in the end to write down that history.

“How far a distance had been traveled since that first meeting [with Jacob]. How many questions asked. Questions avoided. Questions unanswered. Shadows lifted. Clear obscurities. Indistinct clarities. Underbrush cleared. Bonfires burned. Pails

of water carted. Until the truth showed its scarred and wounded face. [...] Would I perhaps have to recount this story? [...] It would be a story of very ordinary people who in their very ordinary way had nonetheless made blood flow. [...] I would have to tell it and it would be a memorial, monument of my own. A book quite different from those ambitious ones my mother had dreamed of writing: *Revolutionary Movements of the Black World* and all the rest. A book with neither great torturers nor lavish martyrdoms. But one that would still be heavy with its weight of flesh and blood. The story of my people.” (Condé, 1992: 357)

In putting her family’s history on paper, Coco does not make any attempt at trying to find her ‘roots’ in a monolithic way. The history of Caribbean people bears a great resemblance to that of the intricate labyrinth of the roots of mangroves. Coco learns to accept this, including the capricious and less than elevating sides to those roots in the muddy past. It must therefore come as no surprise that the roles both Afro-Caribbean and European descended people play in the novel are considerably more nuanced than in this text than in others more in the mold of the *Négritude* movement that came before it.

Coco’s task consisted of, as the quote above illustrates, constructing a history out of all the bits and pieces of her family’s story in order to be able to say: ‘Hey, that’s me!’ In the *Tree of life* that emerges, Coco gives herself and her family – and in the process Caribbean people in general – a voice that expresses unambiguously and devoid of selective rejection what the past and the present amount to in terms of points of identification, both *inside* and *outside* the region. Coco especially tries to carry out her grandfather Jacob’s ‘assignment’ to write a “book quite different from those ambitious ones my mother had dreamed of writing: *Revolutionary movements of the black world* and all the rest”. Naturally though, *Tree of life* did not completely fulfill that task. “The entire field remains to be deciphered”, Jacob asserts, “with its weeds, its Guinea grass and its touch-me-nots clawing at the ankles.” Above all, the past does not allow itself to be simply recorded once and for all and interpreted in an unambiguous way. Such monodimensional simplicity should not be something to be obstinately sought, instead space should be allowed for less slavish adherence to petrified representations of the past and more creative interpretations of the future.

In the French Antilles, especially Martinique, the body of thought just discussed has come to be known by the term *Antillanité*, and Maryse Condé is a representative of this movement *par excellence*, certainly in light of her novels *Crossing the mangrove*, *Segu* and *Tree of life* – as well as other novels that she wrote in the 1990s. The *Antillanité* perspective is based on Edouard Glissant and his 1981 *Le discours antillais* (*Caribbean discourse*, 1989) and 1990 *Poétique de la relation* (*The poetics of relation*, 1997). In 1993, the *New West Indian Guide* published a valuable contribution by Richard Burton on the movements of *Négritude*, *Antillanité* and of *Créolité*. Unfortunately, Burton’s

article did not pay any attention to Condé's work although his characterization of the *Antillanité* movement is certainly germane to the work discussed.

"Where Antillanité differs most markedly from Négritude is in its conception of the constitution of 'le Divers.' (the Different). Whereas for Négritude, the Different was monolithic (because essentially 'African' or 'black' in character), 'le Divers' in the thinking of Glissant and his followers is itself diverse, complex, heterogeneous; it is made up not of a single substance or essence but of a multiplicity of relations, a constellation of forces held in place by a complex process of attraction and repulsion.[...] One of the major advances made by Antillanité is that [...] it is less a quest for origins than a project for the future. [...] [F]rench West Indian thought has undergone an epistemological shift of major importance: identity is no longer imagined as a single tree rooted in the landscape [...] but as a tangled, proliferating growth, without beginning or end, containing within its myriad recesses infinite possibilities of interactive transformation." (Burton, 1993: 15-16)

This characterization could have been written by Ramdas, even though he might have phrased it more attractively. However, Ramdas would have a more difficult time endorsing the *Créolité* movement. The body of thought in *Créolité*, just as in *Antillanité*, resists the notion of *Négritude* which attributed the essence and distinguishing features of Caribbean society exclusively to African civilizations. Glissant's essayistic work acts as the guiding principle for *Créolité* even more than for the poetics of *Antillanité*. Both movements hypothesize that Caribbean societies have been able to assimilate a multiplicity of influences into their own, *creolized* cultures. Adherents to *Créolité* consider the most tangible and significant benchmark to be the *creole languages* in the region, and, as an extension of that, the orally transmitted literature and the speakers of the creole language, who display the least interest in the western influences that continue to bombard the islands.

This is where the shoe pinches and here is where the *Antillanité* perspective diverges most strongly from that of *Créolité*.

"Being the product of a myriad of human-cultural/linguistic exchanges, creole (and, by implication, creole cultures more generally) are apparently to be 'frozen' at a particular stage of their development and denied the possibility of entering into further combinatory interaction with other cultures. [...] Prospective and progressive in theory, *Créolité* is in practice often retrospective, even regressive, in character, falling back, in a last desperate recourse against decreolization, into the real or imagined creole plenitude of *an tan lontan* (olden times), of Martinique and Guadeloupe as they were before the 'fall' of departmentalization or the massive [social] disruptions of the 1960s." (Burton, 1993: 23)

It could be stated with a slight degree of exaggeration, that the *Créolité* movement preferred to position itself over and against western modernity, while *Antillanité* endeavored to achieve a full-fledged place within a global modernity.

The most prominent adherents to *Créolité* were attacked from another quarter. James Arnold, also in the *New West Indian Guide* (1994), criticized the homophobic, macho, anti-female character of some of their works. This matter as such had already been called attention to by Daniel Maximin from Guadeloupe in his essayistic 1981 novel *L'isolé soleil* (Solitary sun).

“Concerning relations between the sexes, the *créolistes* reproduce in their fictions and their memoirs an aggressive heterosexual eroticism, envisaged from the perspective of a more or less predatory philandering male, whose activities can be justified - if need be - through the claim of verisimilitude.

[...] The vision of sexuality that emerges from the novels of Condé and Schwarz-Bart is a freer, more open one than we will find in the work of any of the male writers. Furthermore, in *Tituba* Condé has adumbrated the possibility of a lesbian relationship between Tituba and Hester Prynne. A similarly homoerotic desire is inconceivable among the *créolistes*, who seem more and more to be working within a closed system.” (Arnold, 1994: 17)

This tendency to work within a closed system places *Créolité* in opposition to *Antillanité* and against Ramdas’ approach.

In the English speaking Caribbean, there is also much work being done to complicate and problematize notions of Caribbean identity. Such writers as Neil Bissoondath (more particularly his *A casual brutality* [1988] and *The worlds within her* [1998]), Austin Clarke (in particular his 1986 novel *Nine men who laughed*), David Dabydeen (especially his 1991 novel *The intended*), Derek Walcott, Olive Senior, Caryl Phillips and Jamaica Kincaid. These writers cannot be reproached for creating an image of the respective lands of their birth (Trinidad, Barbados, Guyana, St. Lucia, Jamaica, St. Kitts and Antigua) “in which one cannot see why so many once fled the country and why so many others are still trying to escape” (Ramdas, 1992: 98-99). The work of Phillips (b. 1958) for example is a case in point.

In his novels from the closing decade of the twentieth century, Phillips entered into a refreshing confrontation with one of the greatest sticking points of the past: slavery. *Higher ground* (1989), *Cambridge* (1992) and *Crossing the river* (1993) are not only refined examples of literary identification but also practically textbook example of Ramdas’ preferred approach to the problematic issue of Caribbean identity. Phillips shows himself in his work to be a master at being so palpably able to conceive of the experiences of ‘people’, that is, characters who in fact are quite distant from him, and not just in time. In his books *Cambridge* and *Crossing the river* Phillips immersed himself in an extremely professional way in the texts and their authors with whom we are familiar from the days of slavery: the diaries and logbooks, letters and travelogues of European descended people and the life stories of freed slaves drenched in Christian rhetoric. Utilizing contemporary devices for writing novels, Phillips deployed changes

of perspective, tone and style to underscore the need for historical matters – if not everything from the present and past – to be approached from a variety of points of view. Phillips opted for a nuanced presentation of extremely heterogeneous participants in complex social structures.

The view that one finally gets of the past does not guarantee that the ‘truth’ has been put into words. Phillips demonstrates he is convinced of the fact, that, no matter how professionally we may approach a certain series of past events, historical matters are absolutely incapable of being evoked or recalled in words. Historiography – literary or otherwise – is *a priori* a skill that cannot *reconstruct* the past, however often literary artists, historians and their readers may be convinced they do. The past cannot be rendered once again. Literary authors and historiographers project a contemporary vision onto the past and construct a contemporary view of the past. The final result confirms the words of Ramdas already cited to the effect that we shall not come to know what is authentic, what is ‘really ours’, but what does that matter?

The lack of stable points of identification in the past and present may very well be laconically swept to one side as a negligible problem – what does it matter? – but for most people this remains an extremely difficult ‘fact’ or ‘supposition’ to deal with. This is precisely the central premise in Phillip’s *Crossing the river*. In the end something to hold onto is provided but the novel in no way feeds the illusion that this hold is readily available, i.e. interethnic acceptance is the precondition *sine qua non* for a more humane existence.

Phillips himself translated his words into deeds by putting his capacity to show literary empathy to the test and presenting highly unusual points of view as fully-fledged visions on historic and controversial phenomenon such as slavery. Attesting to this in *Crossing the river* are the diary kept by the British housewife during the Second World War, the letters of an Afro-American missionary in the West African country of Liberia at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the logbook of a British captain of a slave ship. The cherished mutual acceptance presupposes the ability to empathize with one another’s lives and worlds of experience. At the same time, Phillip’s novels are clear counterexamples to the notion that only African descended people can write about their own world and European descended people only about theirs. Thus Phillips’ criticism is not only targeted at the western metropolises but also and just as much at the Caribbean.

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Phillips turns out to have more enviable talents up his sleeve besides those already mentioned. A further example of his empathetic qualities can be found in his travel book *The European tribe* (1987). In this collection of essays he sharply points out the tendency in European societies to put energy into exacerbating conflicts with migrants from such regions as the Caribbean and explicitly asserts that instead, this 'energy should be harnessed and used in the cause of mutual understanding' (Phillips, 1987: 126). It is therefore no wonder that Phillips in a long interview in the American journal *Callaloo* expresses his admiration for Derek Walcott and his extremely creative handling of the migrant experience and Caribbean past: "I admire his struggle to reconcile being of the Caribbean but not submitting to the parochialism that the Caribbean can impose upon your work. [...] [Walcott] has never closed his eyes to other ways of viewing the Caribbean and using other experiences to feed back in" (Bell, 1991: 592-3). Walcott illustrates this in his long cycle of poems *Omeros* (1990) and reconfirmed this with his acceptance speech for the Nobel Prize for Literature (1993).

The undertaking of a two-pronged literary investigation – involving both the West and one's own 'grass roots' – is possibly even more present in the novels of those women in the English Caribbean who wield a literary pen. By pointing out a self-evident characteristic of their work, O'Callaghan (1993: 3) underscores this position:

"Most importantly, West Indian women's fiction foregrounds women: a truism, perhaps, but notable given the male-dominated nature of Caribbean literature in general, with female representations usually consisting of consolidation of stereotypes or relegation to the periphery of narrative."

These authors enter into a lively debate, albeit not exclusively, with male writers from the region around issues such as the male-female relationship, which exposes some of the main literary and extra-literary visions that have been censured in the past. In an anthology of women writers from the region, the compilers observe that this relationship "from the earliest work to the most recent, augurs ill... almost invariably the man regards the woman as an object, neglects, abuses, ill-treats and diminishes her [...]" (Mordecai & Wilson 1990, [1989]) With a rare exceptions, such as Roger Mais is (in *Black lightning*, 1955), all we can do is infer that male authors hardly ever consider these difficult issues. Such women writers as Joan Riley, Olive Senior, Beryl Gilroy, Grace Nicolas and Erna Brodber process the necessary socio-historical factors to provide a nuanced view of patriarchal hegemony in West Indian households. Nevertheless, a female identity has slowly emerged which has run the risk of

introducing new stereotypes, viz. women as victims of male dominance, yet firmly resistant and ultimately victorious.

When it comes to these developments the connections between the Caribbean and the West cannot be underestimated, due not only to developments in (western) feminist thought, literary writing and gender studies, but also to the sensibilities of readers. In an interview that Cudjoe conducted with Jamaica Kincaid with regard to her book of short stories *At the bottom of the river* (1984), the novel *Annie John* (1985) and autobiographical essay *A small place* (1988), these connections are mentioned in a favorable light in the course of their discussion:

Kincaid: [...] “Since I wrote for the *New Yorker*, I assumed that only white people in the suburbs would be reading [my stories].”

Cudjoe: “I don’t know how many black people read your work, but when you read your work at Boston University recently, most of your audience was white so I know that you do have a strong white following.”

Kincaid: “It’s a strange thing to get letters from white women saying, ‘Oh, that sounds just like my relationship with my mother.’ In a way, I’d like to think that I could write in the universal [...] [...] don’t really see myself in any school, I mean, there has turned out to be a rise in West Indian literature, but I wouldn’t know how I fit in it. I am very glad that there is such a thing, but on the other hand, belonging to a group of anything, an “army” of anything, is deeply disturbing to me.” (Cudjoe, 1990: 221)

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As highlighted in this article, over the final decades of the twentieth century a substantial number of Caribbean authors were endeavoring to do what Kincaid advocates, that is, to shift from having an audience with the West to entering into a continual dialogue – or, rather, dispute – between equal partners, irrespective of where they are from. Appalled by closed systems (‘an army of anything’ as Kincaid phrased it), slowly but surely Caribbean creative writing has moved from inhabiting selective identity based ethnic, nationalistic, religious, gender-defined, or sexuality referenced enclosures towards the appropriation of the ‘borderless enclave’ that the Caribbean has the potential to become.

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OVER DE BIOGRAFIE VAN EEN BELANGRIJKE NEDERLANDSTALIGE CARIBISCHE SCHRIJVER UIT DE TWINTIGSTE EEUW: ALBERT HELMAN (1903-1996)

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Inleiding

In *Kadans, Literatuurgeschiedenis*, het tweede deel van de methode over de literatuur van de voormalige Nederlandse Antillen, Aruba en Suriname, wordt in hoofdstuk 7 in de rubriek ‘Auteurs en teksten’ speciale aandacht besteed aan twee belangrijke Nederlandstalige Caribische schrijvers, Cola Debrot en Albert Helman (Severing et al., 2006: 138).

Cola Debrot (1902-1981) was afkomstig uit Bonaire. Dit eiland was gedurende het leven van de schrijver onderdeel van de voormalige Nederlandse Antillen. In 2010 verwierf het de status van bijzondere gemeente van Nederland.

Albert Helman, pseudoniem voor Lou Lichtveld (1903-1996) was afkomstig uit Suriname. Suriname was een kolonie van Nederland van 1667 tot 1954. Van 1954 tot het jaar van de onafhankelijkheid in 1975, had Suriname de status van autonoom land binnen het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden. Zowel Cola Debrot als Albert Helman legden naast hun schrijverschap een enorme veelzijdigheid aan de dag.

Zoals in het lemma over Debrot vermeld wordt, was hij ook jurist, medicus en staatsman (2006). Van zijn omvangrijke literaire oeuvre is de novelle *Mijn zuster de negerin* (1935) tot de canon van de (Caribisch) Nederlandse literatuur gaan behoren en heeft dit werk, met een vertaling in het Engels, de Caribische taalbarrière geslecht. In 1994 verscheen van Cola Debrot een uit twee delen bestaande biografie, *In het schuim van grauwe wolken: het leven van Cola Debrot tot 1948* (1994) en *Gemunt op wederkeer: het leven van Cola Debrot sinds 1948* (1994) van de hand van de bekende literatuurwetenschapper en kenner van Antilliaanse literatuur, professor J.J. Oversteegen (1926-1999).

In het lemma over Albert Helman (Severing et al., 2006) wordt naar voren gebracht dat hij in zijn jonge jaren muziek studeerde en werkte als onderwijzer en journalist. Ook wordt erop gewezen dat Helman de Spaanse burgeroorlog (1936-1939) mee maakte, dat hij gedurende de tweede wereldoorlog in het kunstenaarsverzet zat en dat hij na terugkeer in Suriname hoge overheidsposities bekleedde. Bovendien wordt ver-

meld dat Helman in Tobago, Nederland en Italië woonachtig is geweest. Michiel van Kempen¹, biograaf van Albert Helman, noemt ook andere landen waar deze zich tijdelijk gevestigd heeft, namelijk Spanje, Mexico en de Verenigde Staten (Van Kempen, 2001: 552).

Uit het omvangrijke literaire oeuvre van Helman zijn *Zuid-Zuid-West* (1926) en *De stille plantage* (1931) tot het collectieve geheugen van kenners van de Nederlandstalige Caribische literatuur gaan behoren.

Van Kempen (2013: 261) wijst erop dat beide schrijvers in de periode tussen de twee wereldoorlogen van zich lieten horen, en noemt daarbij als “hun vroegst gepubliceerde prozaboeken” de hiervoor genoemde roman van Helman *Zuid-Zuid-West* en de novelle *Mijn zuster de negerin* van Debrot. Van Kempen zet de schrijvers en de twee romans tegenover elkaar en bespeurt overeenkomsten. Niet alleen qua structuur, ook qua thematiek. In beide werken is er sprake van melancholie (bij Helman) en droefheid (bij Debrot). In zijn artikel wijst Van Kempen erop dat de jeugd van beide schrijvers in de Cariben een belangrijk thema is (p. 263). Ook geeft hij aan dat het opmerkelijk is dat zij beiden als schrijvers niet onverdienstelijk publiceerden in belangwekkende Nederlandstalige tijdschriften als *De Gemeenschap*, *Forum* en *Criterium*, en dat zij in de loop van de twintigste eeuw langzamerhand op dit terrein naar de achtergrond verdwenen (p. 263).

Maar van een naar de achtergrond verdwijnen is wat betreft Albert Helman geen sprake meer sinds het recent verschijnen van *Rusteloos en overal. Het leven van Albert Helman*, van de hand van Michiel van Kempen. Dit boek betreft een uitgebreid levensverhaal van Lou Lichtveld met de literaire schrijversnaam Albert Helman.

Biografie van Albert Helman en de Caribische context

In dit artikel zal nader ingegaan worden op dit lijvige werk van 18 hoofdstukken, die 638 pagina's beslaan. Deze hoofdstukken geven in chronologische volgorde een beeld van het leven van Helman, op de omslag getypeerd als “migrant-schrijver”.

Van Kempen stelt dat in het “biografische verhaal” rekening is gehouden met secundaire literatuur “(...) bijvoorbeeld daar waar kritieken over het leven van Helman aanleiding hebben gegeven voor publieke debatten.” (Van Kempen, 2016: 7)

Kan men uit de biografie, inclusief het notenapparaat van 75 pagina's, en de bijgevoegde primaire en secundaire bibliografie, afleiden of de niet-Nederlandstalige Caribische (literaire) wereld bekend was met de schrijver en zijn werk?

Dat Helman elementen uit de Caribische wereld via zijn werken (fictie en non-fictie) naar een Nederlandstalig lezerspubliek bracht staat buiten kijf. Maar zijn er in de bio-

¹ Van Kempen bekleedt aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam (Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen) de Bijzondere leerstoel Nederlands-Caraïbische Letteren vanwege de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde, met steun van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV) en de Stichting Framer Framed.

grafie ook aanwijzingen van het omgekeerde, dus dat zijn persoon en zijn overwegend Nederlandstalige publicaties doordrongen in dat deel van het Caribisch Gebied dat anderstalig was? Viel het Caribisch gebied ook onder het “overal” zoals genoemd in de titel van de biografie? Valt uit de biografie af te leiden of deze man, een kosmopoliet die zichzelf “Renaissance-mens” noemde (Van Kempen, 2006: 5), van invloed was op de ontwikkeling van de Caribische literatuur? Wim Rutgers (2016), een van de recensenten van de biografie van Van Kempen, merkt terecht op dat de biografie korte samenvattingen van de belangrijkste werken van Helman bevat, en dat er een beknopte weergave is van contextuele gegevens.

Van Kempen heeft zich als biograaf, omwille van de leesbaarheid van de biografie, moeten beperken. Het ruime oeuvre van de schrijver, onder verschillende pseudoniemen (Van Kempen, 2016:10-11), en het lange, rijke, leven van de veelzijdige Helman, leverden een schat aan gegevens op, die zich met moeite in een boek laten vatten. Het is dan ook een geruststellende gedachte dat Van Kempen werkt aan de totstandkoming van een “Albert Helman-website” (Van Kempen, 2016: 7), zodat nog meer materiaal over het leven en werk van Helman toegankelijk wordt voor een breed, en wellicht ook anderstalig, Caribisch publiek.

In een woord vooraf verantwoordt Van Kempen hoe hij te werk is gegaan bij het samenstellen van de biografie van Helman, die zich ook manifesteerde als “musicus, geschiedschrijver, journalist, linguïst, verzetsman, politicus en diplomaat” (p. 5). Van Kempen stelt aan het begin van de biografie, in zijn woord Vooraf: “Geen andere Nederlands-Caraïbische schrijver geeft in zijn leven en werk zo scherp de dilemma’s en paradoxen te zien van een denkend individu op de grens van de laat-koloniale en vroeg-onafhankelijke samenleving als Albert Helman” (Van Kempen, 2016: 5). Van Kempen merkt op: “Zijn lange reeks geschriften (...) zijn altijd even nadrukkelijk bepaald geweest door zijn complexe loyaliteit met de wereld van de voormalige koloniserende macht, als door zijn streven naar onafhankelijkheid, zijn vrijheidswil, zijn kritisch bevragen van eigen en andermans positie.” (Van Kempen, 2016: 5)

De eerste hoofdstukken

In hoofdstuk 1 is het focuspunt niet naar buiten (Caribisch) gericht, maar vooral op het koloniale Suriname tot aan 1922, dat het decor is voor de jeugdjaren van Helman. De lezer krijgt een inkijk in het gezin Lichtveld, behorend tot de “gekleurde middenklasse”, waar volgens de biograaf een Anansitori’s vertellende oudtante een spil in het gezin vormde. Een kenner van Caribische (orale) literatuur zal hierbij zeker een connectie leggen met omliggende landen waar de spin geen onbekend literair personage is. Van Kempen geeft een beeld van het Suriname van het begin van de 20^e eeuw, toen het land nog een overzees gebiedsdeel was: “Suriname was een land dat voortvegeteerde min of meer overeind gehouden door een ‘moederland’ dat zich nauwelijks iets

aan zijn kolonie gelegen liet liggen” (p. 19). Behalve aan de eerste levensjaren van Helman wordt aandacht besteed aan de gezondheidszorg in het Suriname van die tijd; “met de hygiëne was het veelal slecht gesteld, Paramaribo kende een grotendeels open riolering, en waterleiding kwam er pas in 1936” (p. 20); aan het onderwijs “(...) geheel op Nederlandse leest geschoeid” (p. 21) en aan de etnische samenstelling van de bevolking: “Suriname droeg nog een sterk Creools stempel” (p. 21).

Het culturele leven wordt belicht door onder andere te wijzen op het feit dat in het lokale theater Thalia “Europese stukken” werden opgevoerd naast “Gemengde Avonden” (p. 22). Voor de kenner van de literatuur van de voormalige Nederlandse Antillen, wordt onwillekeurig een relatie gelegd met de toneelvereniging met de naam Thalia, die op Curaçao in de tweede helft van de vorige eeuw haar bloeiperiode beleefde door het opvoeren van toneelstukken van wereldfaam (en adaptaties daarvan in het Papiaments).

Zoals bij veel Caribische families in de voormalige koloniën gaan de wortels van de familiegeschiedenis van de Lichtvelds terug naar Europa. Nog als Lou Lichtveld komt Helman al op jonge leeftijd met het toenmalige moederland Nederland in aanraking door een gebruikelijk “koloniaal verlof” (p. 40). Na een langer verblijf in een seminarie in Nederland wordt hij vervolgens in Suriname verder gevormd als onderwijzer en kenner van muziek.

In de hoofdstuk 2 is er van een Caribische invloedsfeer geen sprake en ligt de focus op het Europa van 1922 tot 1931, en op de vorming van Helman, eerst in de katholieke invloedssfeer. Hij debuteert met een dichtbundel, *De glorende dag*, en met *Zuid-Zuid-West*, een aanklacht tegen Nederland als koloniale macht. Hij toont zich ook als schrijver deskundige op vele terreinen zoals op het gebied van muziek en film. Helman verdient niet alleen de kost als broodschrijver, maar ook als organist. Hij maakt reizen door Europa. In dit hoofdstuk wordt uitgebreid ingegaan op de poëtica van Helman: “De auteur moet zo schrijven dat de lezer zich opgenomen voelt in een wijbesef. Hij heeft daarbij drie steunpunten: religieus, sociaal en ethisch (...)” (p. 116). Zodra Van Kempen verwijst naar personages als de Hugenote Agnes d’Esternay in *De laaiende stilte* (1952) en stelt dat het “ook in sterke mate om een maatschappelijk isolement, een afzondering van de gemeenschap” (p. 117) gaat en daarbij “Het ‘hart zonder land’ (...) tot zijn centrale thematiek maakte” (p. 117) schemert daar enigszins een Caribische literaire thematiek door.

In hoofdstuk 3 wordt de periode 1931-1932 beschreven met de totstandkoming van de roman *De stille plantage*, de populairste roman van Helman, die volgens Van Kempen inhoudelijke overeenkomsten vertoont met *Reinhart* (1791-1792) van Elisabeth Maria Post en met *Oronooko* (1688) van Aphra Behn. Terwijl Helman in 1983 dit laatste werk vertaalt in het Nederlands, wordt, zo geeft Van Kempen aan, *De stille plantage* niet in een andere taal vertaald. Deze roman bleef daardoor bestemd voor een Nederlandstalig (Caribisch) lezerspubliek (pp. 126-129).

In hoofdstuk 4 over de periode 1932-1937, wordt (na een interessante uitweiding over de relatie met tijdgenoten als bijvoorbeeld E. du Perron) onder andere ingegaan op het leven van Helman als journalist in Spanje, waar hij zich een periode met zijn gezin vestigt. Helman kiest, tijdens de Spaanse burgeroorlog (1936-1939), de kant van de Republikeinen. Vele groten op het gebied van de literatuur mengden zich in de strijd op het Iberisch Schiereiland. Er wordt in de biografie onder andere gewezen op een contact tussen Helman en de schrijver George Orwell. Helman ontvangt tijdens zijn verblijf in Spanje vele cultureel geëngageerde gasten vanuit Nederland.

In hoofdstuk 5 (de periode van 1937-1939) wordt ingegaan op het verblijf van Helman in Mexico, waar Van Kempen wijst op onderling contact met Diego Rivera en met de Joods-Duitse dichter en toneelschrijver Ernst Toller.

In hoofdstuk 6 bevindt Helman zich weer in Europa en wordt ingegaan op de periode van Duitse overheersing van 1939-1945, op het verzetswerk van Helman en op zijn in die tijd verschenen literaire publicaties. Een speciale verwijzing naar het Caribisch Gebied, behalve dat de literaire werken qua thematiek verbonden zijn met dit gebied, is niet te bespeuren.

In hoofdstuk 7, over de periode 1945-1946, wordt beschreven hoe Helman na de tweede wereldoorlog de draad weer oppakt, onder andere door het schrijven van een biografie over het leven van de verzetsstrijder Gerrit Jan van der Veen.

Tussenbalans

De eerste 7 hoofdstukken beschrijven, naast het leven van Helman, werken van Helman, waarvan er sommige qua thematiek Caribisch zijn. De eerste hoofdstukken geven geen specifieke informatie of die literaire werken aantoonbaar impact hebben op de ontwikkeling van de Caribische literatuur uit die tijd.

De hoofdstukken 8 tot en met 18

De biografie lijkt qua focuspunt te kantelen en een meer Caribische inslag te krijgen vanaf hoofdstuk 8. Daar valt te lezen dat Helman naar de west reist in het jaar 1946. Hij doet eerst Paramaribo aan, vervolgens reist hij vanuit Suriname naar de eilanden van de voormalige Nederlandse Antillen en Aruba. Van Kempen laat onder andere doorschemeren dat Helman moeite heeft met het doorvorsen van het eiland Curaçao, en dat hij niet echt openstaat voor de landstaal, het Papiaments. Een ontmoeting met de politicus Frumencio Da Costa Gomez maakt grote indruk op hem. In hetzelfde hoofdstuk wordt melding gemaakt van een ontmoeting in Trinidad (op doorreis naar Suriname) met de politiek leider “die later zou opklimmen tot de eerste *Chief Minister* van Trinidad & Tobago, Albert Maria Gomes” (p. 327). Van Kempen geeft aan dat deze persoon in 1931 het literair Caribische tijdschrift *The Beacon* opzette, waaraan C.L.R James, Alfred Mendes en Ralph de Boissière bijdragen leverden. Van Kempen weidt niet verder uit over dit belangrijke Caribische contact.

In hoofdstuk 9, over de periode 1947-1949, wordt door Van Kempen aangegeven dat Helman de Federatie van Verenigingen van Surinamers buiten Suriname kracht trachtte bij te zetten. Ook wordt er gewezen op de inbreng van Helman bij de eerste Rondetafelconferentie over de rol en positie van de overzeese gebiedsdelen. Daar werd de basis gelegd voor latere staatkundige Statuten.

Van Kempen beschrijft dat samen met Cola Debrot werd gewerkt aan de oprichting van de Stichting die Cultuur moest bevorderen: Sticusa. Ook komt naar voren dat Helman een revolutie in Bogotá meemaakt en dat hij naar Mexico, Cuba, New York en Parijs reist.

Hoofdstuk 10, de periode 1949-1951, geeft, zoals Van Kempen het verwoordt, het “tumultrueuze” ministerschap in Suriname weer. Een bijdrage van Helman in het tijdschrift *Vox Guyanae*, “Een proeve van Surinaams Nederlands”, wordt door Van Kempen naar voren gehaald en zijn

bijdragen in de *West-Indische Gids* over het Sranantongo. Vervolgens beschrijft de biograaf in hoofdstuk 11 het leven van Helman in Suriname met zijn complexe binnenlandse politiek. In hoofdstuk 12, over de periode van 1950-1960, wordt aandacht besteed aan Helman als theaterman. Het fenomeen adaptaties, zoals op de Antillen in die tijd gangbaar, blijkt ook in Suriname een bekend verschijnsel. In hoofdstuk 13 wordt ingegaan op het vertrek van Helman uit Suriname. In hoofdstuk 14 wordt de periode 1961-1965 beschreven, toen Helman als diplomaat in New York vooral politiek bezig was.

Hoofdstuk 15 beschrijft de periode 1965-1977. Helman heeft zich gevestigd op Tobago, waar hij bijvoorbeeld Earl Lovelace ontmoet, die toen aan het begin van zijn schrijverscarrière stond. Volgens Van Kempen biedt Helman hem de kans om verder te studeren. Ook wordt erop gewezen dat Helman op Tobago kennismakte met de latere Nobelprijs winnaar voor literatuur, Derek Walcott. De manier waarop in de biografie dit contact beschreven wordt, duidt niet op een eventuele beïnvloeding op elkaars werk. De hoofdstukken 16, 17 en 18, de auteur Helman is dan hoogbejaard, be-



In 1986 hield de schrijver Albert Helman een lezing over zijn Caribische collega Cola Debrot, tijdens een symposium gewijd aan Debrot in de aula van de Universiteit van de Nederlandse Antillen. Enige jaren daarvoor was Debrot reeds overleden. Hoewel Helman zelf toen al zeer op leeftijd was, bleek hij nog zeer actief, scherp en duidelijk aanwezig. (Foto: WCL, 2017).

schrijven de laatste perioden uit het leven van deze boeiende publieke persoon, die tot vlak voor zijn dood actief bleef op allerlei terreinen.

Eindbalans

De biografie levert voor belangstellenden uit Nederland, Suriname en de eilanden van de voormalige Nederlandse Antillen en Aruba, veel interessante informatie op. De biografie richt zich ook vooral op dat publiek. Het lijkt geen twijfel dat hoogleraar Van Kempen hiermee wederom een stevig gedocumenteerd standaardwerk heeft neergezet. Het proefschrift van Van Kempen, in 2003 in een handelseditie verschenen in twee banden, was al een standaardboek voor de Surinaamse literatuurgeschiedenis.

Om de positie van Helman in het Caribisch Gebied nader te achterhalen, zou additionele studie met deze biografie als degelijke basis mogelijk zijn. De biografie over Albert Helman van Van Kempen geeft de lezer beslist een helder beeld van een van de grootste Nederlandstalige Caribische schrijvers uit de vorige eeuw.

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DESAROLLO DE ESCRITURA FEMENINA DURANTE TIEMPO

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Introduccion

Escritura Femenina ta un estilo diferente di skirbi cerca e autornan muhe. Aki e escritor femenino ta skirbi tocante su mes, tocante hende muhe, y alabes e ta trece e muhe mas cerca di su escritura (curpa), unda e muhe ta wak y encontra su mes (Esquivel, 2008).

E origen

Prome cu Escritura Femenina a cuminsa existi e tempo ey, hende homber ta esun cu tabata domina e mundo di literatura, uzando su idioma simbolico pa pone literalmente su pensamentonan masculinisa riba papel. E ser femenino, limita y te hasta oprimi pa sigui desaroya den tur sentido di su bida y pa expresa personalmente su sentimiento, ta crea un estilo di skirbi pa obtene liberacion di su sentimentonan, pa haya derecho igual y pa laga su bos resona.. E ta un forma semiotico di skirbi. E forma aki ta encera e sentimiento materno di un hende muhe cu ta profundisa mas y mas door di interpreta e sentido di idioma simbolico (Peksen, 2005).

Origen di existencia di e estilo aki ta: bida di e muhe (Guardia, 2007). Pues, a base di su experiencia y sentimiento pa medio di poesia, diario intimo, epistola of novela autobiografico, varios escritor femenino ta demostra cu nan ta pretende di conquista nan propio identidad. E curpa femenino ta hunga un papel importante, fo'i djei infancia ta representa pa e muhe un momento di integridad (Matías, 2009).

Crusa ocean

E fenomeno nobo di skirbi aki ta haya su caminda. E ta recore e continente bieu, crusa ocean y yega continente Americano. Soeur Juana Inés de la Cruz ta haci e estilo di skirbi aki parti di su experiencia mistico religioso. E soeur ta integr'e tambe den mundo di dramatisacion revelando asina e curpa femenino. Herarkia di su iglesia y gobierno di Mexico den siglo XVII ta cuestiona esaki y ta prohibi e soeur di skirbi obra teatral (Guardia, 2007).

A pesar di e prohibicion aki, toch poco poco Escritura Femenina ta sigui desaroya y ta haya su forma y valor. Mas y mas hende muhe ta cuminsa skirbi den e estilo aki, causando asina revolucion den ciudad, pais y nacion. Escritura Femenina ta habri un era

nobo pa hende muhe. Transformacion di hende muhe su forma di pensa, papia y bisti, su aspecto fisico y hasta su actitud ta bira visualmente hopi cla (Guardia, 2007).

Muhe di Caribe

Den e ambiente di Caribe, e muhe Caribense ta adopta e mesun formanan di Escritura Femenino, pero e ta añadi otro elemento netamente di e comunidad di Caribe; esclavitud y racismo. Un problema dos biaha mas grandi pa e ser femenino, compara cu esun di e continente bieu y esun nobo, ya cu aki no solamente ta trata di ta ser un hende muhe so, pero tambe di ta un hende di color y, e tempo ey, un hende no liber. Den e condicionnan aki, e muhenan di Caribe ta surpasa y sobresali den e situacion, expresando y exigiendo nan libertad, igualdad y derecho, uzando Escritura Femenino. Awendia e autornan femenino Caribense, inculturalisando Escritura Femenino, ta ser caracteriza pa skirbi realisticamente den un estilo poetico ritmico tocante tema manera, tradicion, experiencia, e visionnan di muhe y homber, y mucho mas di loke ta biba den e region Caribense (Davis Kahina, 2011).

Muhe di Aruba

Segun e historiado Johan Hartog, Mosa Lampe ta e prome muher Arubiano cu a skirbi y publica un poema na Aruba y na Antias Hulandes. E poema of e rima a keda publica riba 24 di augustus 1824 den Curaçaosche Courant. E poema aki tabata na ocasion di bishita di gobernador R. Cantz'laar, pasobra na juli a haya oro na Aruba. A pesar di e informacion aki, no por papia cu siguridad tocante un posibel continuacion durante e temporada aki respecto skirbimento di poesia cerca hende muhe Arubiano.

Sin embargo, na año 1992 e publicacion *Ons eilandje Aruba* ta sali na luz. Ta trata aki di e poema- y storianan na idioma Hulandes di Laura Wernet-Paskel skirbi den año 1941. Na principio, e partinan di e manuscrito di *Ons eilandje Aruba* tabata den un revista publica pa e padernan den tempo di Di Dos Guera Mundial. E publicacion aki, mas tanto, ta basa riba historia, cultura, custumber, sociologia, clima y flora di Aruba. Tambe, e autor femenino ta subraya nificacion di refineria LAGO. Otro autor femenino cu tambe a skirbi den e temporada aki ta Maria Mathilda-Kock. E tabata skirbi bou seudonimo Tasair, cu ta un abreviacion di e prome dos letternan di su 3 yiunan. A pesar di a fayece caba, su prome publicacion *Sombra di mi mente* a sali na año 2003, y su di dos publicacion *E hadrei di inspiracion*, na año 2004. Tur dos publicacion ta consisti di un coleccion di poesia. Banda di e dos autornan aki di e epoca ey, no tin nada registra pa loke ta publicacion di e autornan femenino di Aruba.

Te na año 70, Nydia Ecury ta publica su prome obra *Tres rosea*. For di e momento ey, pocopoco mas hende muher ta cuminsa skirbi y publica, exponiendo asina e muher Arubiano mas na bista. E muhernan autor di decada 80, manera Philomena Wong, ta contribui na evolucion y desaroyo di Escritura Femenino, resaltando asina e explotacion i abuso cu hende muher tabata bibando e tempo ey. Despues a bini, entre otro, Olga

Buckley y Giolina Henriquez, cada un cu su propio estilo y tema cu ta pinta no solamente curpa, pero tambe interpersona di e muher Rubiano di decada 90. Transcendiendo e temporada di siglo 20 pa 21, hopi mucha muher hoben a cuminsa skirbi y publica. Aki Escritura Femenino a cuminsa haya un innovacion den su desaroyo di idioma y topico, manteniendo e tema central cu ta *hende muher*. Rosabelle Illis ta hiba e desaroyo aki na un extremo spiritual y mistica pa medio di su profundidad di contenido den su poesia.

Algo cu ta resalta den e area di literatura cerca e autornan muher Arubiano cu ta skirbi na Papiamentu ta cu nan ta skirbi mas tanto poesia.

Escritura Femenino versus Escritura Masculino

Segun diferente investigacion y analisis, loke ta haci Escritura Femenino diferente na esun masculino ta cu e escritornan femenino ta mas cerca di e mundo di sensacion y emocion. Den esaki, estilo di e escritor masculino ta mas directo, conciso y menos lirico. Ademas, e escritornan femenino ta posee un afinidad pa por percibi particularmente tempo y accion (Matías, 2009). Den e articulo “Gender, genre, and writing style in formal written texts (2003), e autornan Shlomo Argamon, Moshe Koppel, Jonathan Fine y Anat Rachel Shimoni, a base di nan investigacion, ta saca afo, entre otro, cu e escritornan masculino ta mas “informacional”. Nan escritura ta mas tanto indica of specifica e cosnan cu nan ta skirbi, por ehempel, uzo di cifra cardinal, nomber di luga of uzo di e preposicion “di”, manera hofi di cayena, sin laga afo e uzo frecuente di sustantivo cu cua e ta evita mas tanto pronombre personal; hopi biaha pa mantene obhetividad. En cambio, e escritornan femenino no ta specifica ni indica directamente e cosnan, pero nan ta mas “involucrativo” cu nan lesadonan den loke nan ta skirbi. Pues, su escritura ta contene interaccion entre nan y e lesadonan door di uza e prome pronombre personal “mi” y e di dos pronombre personal “bo”; esaki ta haci nan mas subhetivo.

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Mas característica

Ta defini Escritura Femenino como un literatura di scarsedad y alabes di exceso. Scarsedad di logica, di obhetividad, di imaginacion y na mes tempo tin exceso na palabra, frase, mucho sentimentalismo y narcismo door di uza “mi”. Pues, un literatura cu su “mi” ta limite y ta pendiente di sentimiento, impresion y sueño. E muhe ta pone su mes incomprendibel y inimaginabel den palabra. Escritura Femenino ta un escape pa e muhe (Matías, 2009).

E forma di uzo di idioma di Escritura Femenino cerca e autornan femenino ta mas tanto metáfora, contradiccion, alegoria, contradiccion, eufemismo, metáfora, (mensioná dos biaha) personificacion y repeticion. Tambe ta haci uzo di concepto sin nificacion y di desviacion di regla gramatical ilustra den e poemanan, caracterisando asina Escritura Femenino (Peksen, 2005).

Profundidad di Escritura Femenino pa medio di deconstruccion, desaroya pa Jacques Derrida (1930-2004), ta laga e muhe topa, descubri y reconece su mes y e realidad den cua e ta biba y ta desaroya e funcion emocional, su sentimiento (Guardia, 2007). Deconstruccion ta filosoficamente un parti di escritura cu no tin solamente un solo nificacion, pero semanticamente e tin mas nificacion su tras di cua ta keda na e lesadonan pa saca e nificacion afo (Matías, 2009). E muhe ta realisa e funcion moral di un balor agrega na desaroyo y complementacion di su ser muhe. E muhenan oprimi door di un of otro aspecto autoritario y dominante, den e funcion cognitivo, ta bira mas consciente di, entre otro, nan mes bida, culpa, derecho; y ta pensa mas critico respecto di e diversificacion situacional di globalisacion mundial pa busca y para pa nan derecho como hende muhe (Guardia, 2007).

E imagen propio cu Escritura Femenino ta proporciona hendemuhe ta, entre otro, mama, esposa, profesional, cu posicion halto, cu tin bon entrada, ta para pa su derecho y ta respeta pa su prohimo. Cu otro palabra, e muhe tradicional, e muhe autoritario, e muhe cu ta expresa sexualidad sin tabu, e muhe cu simplemente ta feliz of infeliz of e muhe cu ta sinti cu su propio imagen no ta suficiente bon, specialmente e parti fisico riba cua e ta traha constantemente.

Cambio di imagen di hende muhe ta transcuri durante periodo y desaroyo. Den e di dos ola feminista, e muhenan ta uza Escritura Femenino pa propaganda nan protesta. E autornan femenino ta describi topico netamente di hende muhe den nan idioma, estilo y ta uza metafora. Den añanan setenta ta bini cu e pronomber personal “mi” cu a introdusi e era di “mi”. Den caso di Aruba, for di 1986, literatura ta florece den tur su tres generonan. Literatura di Caribe a bira internacionalmente conoci como e literatura caminda hende muhe ta na cabes (Rutgers, 2016).

Final

Mester remarca cu no ta den e area di literatura so hende muhe ta dedica, sino tambe riba tereno di arte, manera baile, pintura y escultura (Harde, 2006). A pesar cu Escritura Femenino ta trece cambio tanto den literatura como den arte pa e muhe, y cu e ta haya acogida mundialmente pa su estilo controversial, toch e ta sigui enfrenta reto pa futuro. Mas aya di e continente bieu, e autornan femenino, di sanger nobo, di Indonesia ta cultivando un estilo nobo di skirbi cu ta carga e nomber di Literatura Perfuma. Un desaroyo, banda di Escritura Femenino, cu ta indica cu literatura femenino lo sigui evoluciona (Allen, 2007).

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**RECOVERING OTHERED CULTURES AND
SOCIETIES IN THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN
AND BEYOND**

QUESTIONING THE WISDOM OF DUMPING THE AGED IN THE RESIDENTIAL CARE HOMES: BERYL GILROY'S *FRANGIPANI HOUSE*.¹

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“Over yonder – Frangipani House! People dies-out dere! They pays plenty to die-out inside dere! Death comes to lodgers in Frangipani House!” (Gilroy, 1986: 1).

In 1999, Rawlins (p. 143) asserted that “Throughout the Caribbean, families, communities and governments are having to confront, on a daily basis, the challenges which arise as a consequence of the larger number of aged persons within their populations.” The paucity of studies on mental health among the relatively few residents in homes for the elderly in Caribbean nations is paralleled by the poverty of themes in contemporary Caribbean literary studies beyond the traditional frames of political nationalism, cultural identity, colonialism, migration, and postcolonialism, with the field only recently venturing into new areas of research such as trauma, ecocriticism, gender/sex issues to finally include “fringe themes” such as ageing.

Radović's (2014) in *Locating the destitute: space and identity in Caribbean fiction* devotes a chapter, “Heterotopia of old age in Beryl Gilroy's *Frangipani House*” (pp. 128-152) to examining the way Gilroy perceptively draws an alarming attention to the growing percentages of old people in Caribbean societies, and the health and social challenges this brings in its wake. In this article, we examine the psycho-emotional and social impacts on the elderly when they are sent off to nursing homes by their children. Our argument takes off from the novel's sarcastic evaluation of the children of these women who have prospered abroad, and who then, “After much heart-searching, ... bought what was considered superior care for their parents, when distance intervened between anguished concern and the day-to-day expression of that concern” (Gilroy, 1986: 2). In contrast the narrator and the children both consider the family-based care traditionally provided by grown children to their elders in the Caribbean as “constipated, [and] self-seeking ... which poor families invariably provide” (Gilroy, 1986: 2).

¹ This paper evolved from the Medical Humanities Course, English 4995: Comparative Narratives of Trauma, Madness and Healing, taught by Dr. D. Kuwabong from August to December of 2016.

But as the first quotation above boldly spells out, the nursing home is a place of death. The strange and horrible behavior of these people who are rich enough to pay to go to a place supposed to prolong their lives, only to die, is chilling, sad, and inexplicable to many people in the Caribbean. These comments by the ordinary people run counter to how Frangipani House is advertised as a: “place of professional comfort, care and heart’s ease” (p. 1), which adds more to the mysteriousness of the place.

Our contention then is that *Frangipani House* is a damning critique of the dereliction of duty by present-day Caribbean children, who according to Caribbean cultural practices should physically take care of their aged parents and not sub-contract this filial duty to professionals who may not have the proper training, empathy, and emotional attachment to their elderly parents as their own children would. *Frangipani House* is Gilroy’s critique of this new cultural alienation that distorts family relations and causes trauma among the elderly.

Echoing Foucault’s theories and warnings concerning prohibitive spaces which have as their common “goal of containing and policing human excess by means of corporeal control” (Radović: 128), *Frangipani House* critiques contemporary Caribbean society’s perception that “Bodies of the elderly are also the ultimate reminder of those aspects of human existence that cannot be brought in line with productivity, quantitative gain, accumulation, or any rational schedule” (p. 137). Gilroy, argues Radović, therefore, suggests that “a society that chooses to put its elderly away in homes marginalizes not only their bodies but also their experiences, memories, wisdoms, and cultural contributions” (Ferrante: 131). The notion that Frangipani House is designed as a maximum security prison for inmates on death row is forcefully articulated several times in the novel.

The incidents in Gilroy’s *Frangipani House* reflect the findings of clinical psychiatric studies on the causes of depression among institutionalized old people. We are by no means proposing that all incidents of depression among the elderly in such homes are caused by their institutionalization. Nonetheless, we stress that institutionalization, though mostly a catalyst, can also be the source of increased levels of anxiety, loneliness, abuse, feelings of abandonment, etc., that then open the portals of certain repressed memories of trauma, and consequently translate into bipolar states of being.

Studies confirm that depression seems to rise sharply among the elderly which the researchers trace to several factors, some of which are represented in *Frangipani House*. Murphy (1982: 135) found “an association ... between severe life events, major social difficulties, poor physical health and the onset of depression. Working class subjects within the general population had a higher incidence of depression and this appeared to be explained by their poorer health and greater social difficulties.” Blazer et al. (1991), found no conclusive evidence that links depression to old age, the same findings reached in earlier studies by Jarvik (1976) and Newmann (1989).

Thus, our reading does not pretend to uncritically take sides. The anecdotal evidence brought to life in the novel is reviewed here to lend further support to some of the quantitative data as part of a process whereby we make a contribution to the medical humanities by demonstrating how literary narratives are essential to a (w)holistic understanding of the issues faced by institutionalized elderly people. We find in *Frangipani House* that Gilroy's narrative verisimilitude validates and is in turn validated by the clinical studies, which support the general thrust of our arguments.

Frangipani House opens in a near-gothic setting, evoked by the description of the surrounding landscape, and of the home itself. The eeriness of this backdrop is further heightened by the description of the owner, and how people interpret the residents in the home. The reader cannot avoid feeling that such a setting is likely to initiate unease in the tenants and subsequently lead to compulsive anxiety and depression: "A strip of road, ... led to a large low house which had become a home for the old folk. Aged old folk – black women. [...] Forty-three of them paying for the privilege of confinement while waiting, waiting, waiting for the 'call from heaven'" (Gilroy, 1986: 1). The phrase "confinement while waiting, waiting, waiting for the call from heaven" foreshadows the pervasive mood of extreme sadness as we are made to see the place as a sort of death camp. The movement to the home is a movement toward death row. For these women, being locked behind the "finely wrought iron gate" (p. 1) protecting the "prisoners from the outside world, belies the "eloquent, compelling and smug" (p. 1) picture cut by the house. The irony is further heightened by the time the narrator reveals how people perceived the inhabitants behind the fence.

The women were never objects of derision. [...] Their incarceration was sometimes envied, and often pitied. Some of the women, too demented to care, set out each day on wordless wanderings. Others talked alone as they walked alone, or argued with some long-gone foe or friend, or gestured at those ghosts that somehow learnt to survive the light of day. A few suddenly turned from frenzied laughter to frenzied song. But there were days when a resinous silence seized the house and bound it fast and held it still. It was both a mysterious and assertive place. (p. 1)

Following these comments on the novel's opening remarks, we consider how ageing, as a biological function, can generate feelings of dis-ease. Ageing is defined as the functional alterations that lead to an ongoing process of irreversible organic destruction (Cire, 2016). Although many factors influence this process, such as lifestyle, genetics, and environmental factors, gerontologists have turned their attention from purely biological factors to a more holistic understanding of ageing and its social and economic impacts on nations with growing older populations. The world's older population is increasing at an astounding rate, and, excluding Africa, is expected to increase by 17% by 2050. Studies of the psychiatric illnesses that commonly affect the elderly have also

increased in number and importance, and the most common among these diseases is depression (Reddy, 2010: 1-2).

The World Health Organization's Global Burden of Disease Study claims that depression is one of the top five major causes of disability in the world. It causes more disability than many other chronic illnesses, such as diabetes mellitus and arthritis, for example. Even though the severity of depression varies among elderly individuals, symptoms of depression tend to be more highly prevalent among females. Depression among the elderly is exacerbated by insomnia, physical limitations and subsequent loss of independence, feelings of complete or partial abandonment by family (especially children), dissatisfaction with the institutions to which they are confined, a sense of uselessness, low self-worth, and the idea that one is a burden to their own family.

In *Frangipani House*, Mama King's story is a staged representation of many of these causes and symptoms of depression among elderly females. Her daughters, submerged in their everyday lives in America, paid to have Mama King admitted to Frangipani House, a home for the aged (p. 3). Mama King's happiness could have cost less than the high price her children pay for her to receive "white people care" as a resident in Frangipani House if they were willing to pay for a stay-home caretaker. Moreover, what she wants most is to be loved, appreciated for all the sacrifices she made to raise them, to continue to do things for herself, to receive regular visits from the children, to be in close association with her friends who still live outside Frangipani House, and to take control of her own life despite her age. She is denied all these things and hence she becomes incapacitated and lonely.

Obano (2012) writes that *Frangipani House* portrays many of the concerns present in much of Gilroy's writing: concern for the marginalized young and old, freedom, and the power of spirit. She asserts that Frangipani House aptly intertwines all of these themes because, in part, the story reflects Gilroy's real-life experiences, which include working as a health care professional in a home for the elderly in Britain. This experience gave her firsthand experience of how the elderly respond to their incarceration and treatment in these homes. Her novel gives voice to the silent pain of these voiceless elderly women, and the novel helps to unveil the darker aspects of these commercial healthcare facilities.

To address the relationship between depression (among other psychiatric illnesses) and elderly people in nursing homes, a study titled "Prevalence and factors associated with depression among institutionalized elderly individuals: Nursing care support" (Roesler e Silva et al., 2012) provides a good starting point. The researchers report on several findings that we can correlate to the events in the novel. Based on data collected from 102 participants, a correlation is found between dissatisfaction on the part of the elderly with their nursing homes and depressive symptoms. This dissatisfaction stems from the fact that these elders, such as Mama King for example, are forced to live with strangers, follow a strict routine, partially or completely lose their freedom, and feel anonymous.

Upon her admission to Frangipani House, Mama King loses her autonomy and is compelled to follow certain rules and restrictions, limited to fixed physical boundaries. Although not always the case, it is common for these drastic changes in an elderly person's life to trigger depressive symptoms, especially if accompanied by other factors: such as isolation, feelings of regret, or abandonment by close relatives and/or friends. Residents in these homes may initially feel some relief that they no longer need to work and to take care of their physical needs. Mama King is at first pleasantly excited by the cleanliness of the place, the orderliness of the routine, and the healing of her pleurisy. Nonetheless, shortly after she regains her health, "the urge for freedom reasserted itself as the days passed without variety or change" (p. 4).

Mama King, like the other inmates, sees this absence of a sense of freedom as a result of the physical restrictions, strict dietary regimes, lack of work, and lack of variety in daily routines, all of which dispel the initial illusion of peace as they decline into depression:

On admission, the women ... who still felt the pulse of life, however weakly, found soon enough that not only did the walls of the house recede to leave them exposed and vulnerable, but suddenly it compressed them enough to cause consternation before they adjusted to their new surroundings. ... [The sudden dimming of] the hopes and emotions the women shared grew hazy with the passing of time. Finally, they disintegrated leaving only faint smudges when they were finally blown away. (p. 2)

Though the narrator does not name the drastic decline in mood among the women, it is undoubtedly analogous to that caused by extreme anxiety resulting from disappointment, helplessness, and panic. Mama King realizes that "even her children have forgotten her as they do not write" (p. 7). This collective mood is articulated through Miss Tilley who screams and is joined by "several other old women ... their voices blending the guilt, remorse and resentment of old age" (p. 5). Feelings of guilt and resentment are often harbingers of depression, and the screams are the manifestation of a primal cry of helplessness that these women face in their confinement.

Noises made by the "youth at work deepened her [Mama King's] feelings of isolation" (p. 6), accentuating the "cutting sense of loss she felt for all the things she had once called her own" (p. 6) – youth, love, children, friends, strength, independence, etc. Such deep sorrow regarding the past also adds to the emotional and psychological dis-ease she feels. In her desperation, she also screams her despair: "Dis place is a hole. A deep dark hole. They killin' me in here!! I get better long, long time. I want to go home. I can look after meself. Murder!" (p. 8). She is mocked and silenced by those around her: "You daughters push you off. Don't grumble. Don't complain. Count your blessings" (p. 16). Because she is no longer useful to the family economy, she is sent off to the house of forgetting, even though one of the folk names given to the Frangipani flower is "forget me not".

Dow et al. (2011), in “Depression in older people living in residential homes”, state that 3.63% of Americans aged over 65 years were in nursing homes by the year 2004, similar to the figures for Australia and the United Kingdom. More importantly, they report that these percentages are expected to rise over the next decades, noting that in most Western countries, the prevalence of depression in residential homes is substantially higher than among community-dwelling older people, particularly in terms of cases of major depression. While Korea appears to be an exception to this trend due to cultural factors, depression seems to be a significant problem for elderly people living in residential homes.

The term “depression” has different definitions. In Dow et al., depression encompasses both depressive disorders and depressive symptoms (Dow et al., 2011; National Collaborating Centre for Mental Health UK, 2016). According to the International Classification of Diseases by the World Health Organization (2016), diagnosis of a depressive episode is appropriate when four or more out of a total of ten symptoms are present most days for at least two weeks. Among such symptoms experienced by Mama King are disturbed sleep, loss of confidence, low mood, loss of interest and enjoyment, decreased appetite, feelings of guilt and recurrent thoughts of death or suicide.

Frangipani House is a prison run by a megalomaniac mother-hating matron. The trauma of incarceration and extreme boredom generates mental instability. Like a caged animal, Mama King circulates around her small room: “She began once more to prowl round and round the room” (p. 19). She begins to believe that the whole world, her daughters, the matron all “conspired to deprive her of her faithful friends, work and hardship. She felt as though they had punched and kicked her and given her many terrible blows” (p. 19). Anger and hatred begin to build up in her heart, all major causes of depression. Considering that Mama King exhibits so many of the symptoms mentioned above, it is appropriate to conclude that Mama King suffers from major depression in *Frangipani House*.

The story seems to highlight the new culture in the Caribbean that no longer celebrates ageing, but has adopted a foreign cultural attitude toward the old that devalues them and makes them feel unwanted, rejected, and subsequently abandoned. They are made to feel as if old age is a crime, which further increases the residents’ feelings of uselessness and low self-esteem. This new global culture runs counter to the past in which old age was considered a blessing.

But it is not just this feeling of abandonment that makes the residents of Frangipani House feel depressed, the home fosters an environment of extreme loneliness, which triggers repressed memories of past traumas that generate manic-depressive moods in most of the residents, including the matron herself. The clinical literature underscores the crucial importance of proper management of care for the elderly. Rawlins (1999), one of the few studies done about nursing homes in the Caribbean, identifies a number of factors that can have an impact on depression in residential care homes, including: i)

type of institution; ii) training level of the staff; iii) personality and coping strategies of the elderly; iv) their health status; v) social support; and vi) length of stay.

In the case of Mama King, although we are not given major details about her lifestyle before admission to Frangipani House, it is suggested that she lived a very poor life of hard work, raising her children alone, suffering domestic abuse, and feeling guilty about the drowning of her grandson. In the nursing home, she finds herself alone in a place she hates, with nothing to keep her mind occupied, so that it wanders in the direction of negative thoughts and feeling that she harbors regarding her childhood, her daughters who seem to have forgotten her, her grandchildren, old age, and her husband Danny, who suddenly disappeared and never came back.

Abused and abandoned by Danny when she is pregnant with their second daughter, Mama King is forced to raise both children alone. But as soon as they are grown and married, they relocate to the United States of America. They forget about their mother, until they start having children and dump them on Mama King. These grandchildren whom she raised also abandon her, except Markey, who visits her once (pp. 46-48). When Markey visits and states that the family talks about her, prays for her, and keeps worrying about her constantly, Mama King replies with one of the most important statements in the entire novel: "it is easy to love from a distance, with the wide ocean in between" (p. 47). Mama King sinks deeper into depression and she begins to wish for death as the only way out. When she can take it no longer she devises a plan to escape Frangipani House, which executes successfully (pp. 55-58)

Dow et al. (2011) identify key loss factors that may generate depression: loss of a loved one, a pet, a home, social support, closest friends, etc. These losses can be both physical and psycho-emotional, an example of the latter being the loss of control over one's own destiny. Mama King's social support network in Frangipani House, Miss Mason, Mrs. Gomez and her lifelong friend Miss Ginchi, all die in the home, deepening Mama King's feelings of loneliness. In her research on the elderly, Aylaz et al. (2012) state: "loneliness leads to fear, grief, and anxiety which develop along with a sense of losing independence. [...] Lonely people tend to think negatively and focus their thoughts on themselves rather than on positive expectations" (p. 550).

Unfortunately, the nurses in Frangipani House fail to recognize Mama King's symptoms of depression, mistaking her behavior for obstinacy or outright madness, and medicate her into submission. Teresi et al. (2003) present statistical evidence to demonstrate that recognition of depression is often a problem in nursing homes for the elderly and conclude that "despite its prevalence, depression is often not properly recognized in most health care settings, including nursing homes." (614). They state that: "One of the major causes for this misdiagnosis could be the simultaneous presence of other disorders, such as dementia, and from misconceptions of the nursing staff regarding the signs and symptoms of depressive disorders." (2003: 615).

Teresi et al. identify the need for better staff training related to depression recognition, the assignment of staff dedicated to dealing with depression once a patient is diagnosed with it, regular evaluations of residents' physical and mental health by physicians (2001: 618-619). Mama King does not receive the proper attention and treatment that her daughters are paying for. She is routinely given pills to knock her out because she is considered a difficult resident (p. 9). She and the others are undertreated, which results in a quick succession of deaths.

Diefenbach et al. (2009):119) report that the differentiation between depression and anxiety (among other psychiatric illnesses) becomes more challenging as age advances, since disorders are misdiagnosed or concealed by the patients to avoid stigma (p. 122). They highlight the importance of understanding cultural difference among communities in the intervention, diagnosis and treatment of psychiatric illnesses in old age, claiming that there are no uniform criteria that apply to all social groups. De La Cancela and Guzman (1991: 50-64) re-affirm this point, by demonstrating that older minority adults in the United States tend to describe emotional problems somatically and use terms to define emotional experiences that differ from those used by mental health professionals. Latinos, for example, tend to report a variety of symptoms with greater emotional intensity and higher somatic distress signaling than non-Latinos. African-Americans, on the other hand, tend to display distrust towards mental health professionals, to believe that emotions should not be made public, to accept depression/anxiety as a natural part of ageing and life, thus making it more difficult for these illnesses to be detected by professionals. In other words, cultural context has a strong impact on the presentation and/or recognition of symptoms of depression in residential homes for the elderly.

While De La Cancela and Guzman (pp. 50-64) do not suggest that belonging to a certain ethnic/racial minority increases a patient's risk of developing depression, they find that urban and older minority adults in the United States are often more exposed to certain experiences and conditions that represent risk factors for developing psychiatric disorders, such as a low income, low levels of formal education, stress, and exposure to violence. Relating these findings to *Frangipani House*, it is evident from Mama King's memories that there is a clear link between her depression and repressed traumas from her younger years, such as Danny's physical and emotional abuse, his mother's psychological abuse of her daughter-in-law, Mama King's struggle to raise and provide for her daughters and herself, and her low social standing.

Beryl Gilroy's work as a nurse in homes for the elderly in Britain enabled her to craft a narrative set in the Caribbean that shows the devastating consequences of abandoning the cultural value attached to the aged in Caribbean societies, and how that is creating psychological and emotional trauma for them. The histories of the majority of the old women in Frangipani House are already histories of trauma and psychological dis-ease caused by the brutality of plantation slavery and indentureship, which together with

crippling poverty and abuse driven by patriarchy, make the wall between their sanity and depression very thin. To make matters worse, the new culture of nursing homes for the elderly in the Caribbean becomes yet another trauma for these women. In the case of Mama King, she regains her agency by rebelling and escaping to join an itinerant group of beggars.

Novels like *Frangipani House* provide critical tools and insights for the understanding of aspects of human wellness, illness and behavior in real life situations which are often insufficiently captured by hard scientific data. Our reading of *Frangipani House* through articles written by medical researchers illustrates how scientific studies and literature can complement each other. Training materials related to depression for psychiatrists and healthcare professionals in nursing homes should include such literary texts as part of their required readings. This novel in particular should also be required reading for anyone involved in the recognition, diagnosis and treatment of depression among the elderly in an Afro-Caribbean or African American community. Both Gilroy (1986) and Diefenbach et al. (2009) seem to agree that culturally-sensitive training programs and treatment approaches are desperately needed for ethnically diverse elderly patients. Gilroy's perceptive representation of how society cruelly discards the aged because they are no longer seen as "productive" to the economy makes a compelling argument that old age need not be so poorly managed and that the old still have their value.

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HUMANE ELDERLY-CARE ON ARUBA WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM

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The *fofoti* (mangrove blanco) is among the longest living trees in Aruba, often enduring for over a hundred years. The *fofoti* is shaped by the direction of the wind, the general course of nature; and the flora and fauna interacting with it. Since Aruba is a semi-desert-island, the *fofoti* makes optimal use of the scarce resources it has. One particular *fofoti* on our beach was infested by insects, and was designated to be cut down. In 1992, I participated in the community based demonstrations to save this tree. The tree still stands and is thriving and it is now one of our national symbols and has become a tourist attraction. For me, this tree has become both a symbol and inspiration for what I have been doing over the past 22 years to create things that are both enduring and socially needed. I see this tree as the metaphor for the elderly in Aruba in our future.

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Just as is the case in many other countries of the Caribbean and the rest of the world, in Aruba, we are facing a new challenge in the form of the general aging of the population. Aruba is a multi-ethnic society which experienced large waves of immigration over the course of the 20th century. In our community, when two people meet personally for the first time, the other's face and name may already be familiar. Questions such as: Who is your family? Where do they live? Where did you go to school? put us into a relational frame, involving reciprocal ties and accounting/score-keeping (Boszormenyi-Nagy, 2009). Sankatsing (2011) states that: "The people on Aruba seem to be living in two worlds: On the outside a modern individualistic life-style, and deep inside in the relational reciprocal community of their family" (p. 9).

Since 1965, the census department has warned that there is a rapidly growing number of people aged 60 years and older, which constitute at present no less than 19% of the population (CBS-Aruba census figures). It is presumed that this will lead to a greater need for Old Age Pensions (*OAP: Algemene Ouderdoms Voorziening = AOV*), elderly-care, nursing-homes, and extra-mural nursing care, all of which will make larger and larger demands on state resources. Instead of complementing our still existing and still functioning extended family networks, our centralized homecare and nursing-care systems have been inherited from the Dutch system, which is in the process of being

dismantled and degraded because of increasing individualism and the shrinking size of nuclear families.

Peter Senge (1990) writes of a need for 'vision' when dealing with social issues such as aging. How can we re-direct the vision of Arubans toward other concerns than those that have to do exclusively with medical care and finance? (Widdershoven, 2007; Westerhof & Bohlmeijer, 2010; Van Heijst, 2006; 2008). How can we work together to arrive at a common vision of humane elderly care on Aruba? (Gergen, 2009).

The Kensenaar report (CBS, 2003) calls for more research and the formulation of policies with regards to the OAP pension system, with an eye toward the "Big Wave" generation which will be swelling the ranks of pensioners from 2015 to 2020. These are the offspring of Arubans and immigrants during the heyday of Aruba's oil industry and the rise of the present day hotel industry. More recently, there have been several research projects carried out on this population. The present author has recorded the 'living-stories' of elderly recipients of care and clients of care-giving organizations. Sankatsing's (2011) primary quantitative study of 500 elders found that most would prefer to grow old and die at home and that 38% of their care was supplied by members of their extended families, often by the grandchildren whose parents are still actively employed. The data of CBS-Aruba (2010) found this percentage to be higher, at about 50%.

The newly developed Alpha-help branch of the mutual care association Wit-Gele Kruis [White-Yellow Cross] attempts to alleviate some of the burden of care for the smaller families of today, in which all parents normally have job responsibilities outside the home. (CBS-Aruba, 2007). There has recently been a push toward extending their care service to 24 hours per day. But there has also been a counter-push towards budget cuts in all government departments and subsidized organizations.

As a result of these cuts and as a response to the demographic trends, the eligible pension age is being raised by 5 years from 60 to 65, at a rate of 6 months per year between 2014 and 2024. After the pension age was originally set at 62 in 1960, it had to be reduced to 60, because too few people lived long enough to qualify. Baars (2006) shows how setting a retirement age locks one into a system where chronology determines when one should start or stop working, instead of one's capacity and willingness. CBS Aruba demonstrate that a large proportion of the population still works after age 60: 70% still feel competent to work at age 71, and some work even into their eighties. (Census 2010) Have older people themselves been consulted in regard to these issues? Aruba supports the U.N. proposal for the "Rights of the Elderly" (UN Declaration Madrid, 2002) and has declared so in the Policy-declaration of the Government of 2010 ('Regeringsverklaring' Kabinet "Mike" Eman-One).

The situation on Aruba is complicated and complex (Green, 1969; Phalen, 1977; Alofs & Merckies, 1990). This is in no small part the result of several economic shifts experienced by the people of the island in the 20th century. In 1925, the Lago Oil Company, a subsidiary of the American Standard Oil Company, was formed to exploit Venezuelan oil reserves. The company was obliged, for geopolitical reasons, to ship its oil out of Lake Maracaibo. A refinery was therefore built on Aruba, and 1930, when the refinery went operational, represents the advent of the age of industrialization on the island. Almost overnight, a very small community of less than 8,900 people living in extended families and engaged primarily in agriculture, with unemployed males migrating seasonally as farm workers to other countries, was transformed into an industrial society in need of attracting migrant labor from elsewhere. Because the refinery adopted English as its operational language, massive numbers of immigrant workers from English speaking Caribbean territories arrived in Aruba (Green, 1969).

The emergence of an industrial society led to the introduction of chronological time (Toffler, 1980) and the breaking up of the 'extended branch family' system (Green, 1969; Phalen, 1977) in which the majority of the population was linked through reciprocal relations of intermarriage. The booming economy in the 1930s and 1940s induced couples – immigrants and locals – to have many children, with the fertility rate jumping from about 4 children per couple to over 6 per couple (present rates are less than 2 children per couple) (CBS Aruba 2011). The boom also encouraged people to live nearer to the refinery and further away from extended family. By 1950, the population had swollen to about 58,000, of which more than half had not been born on the island, with 10,000 workers directly employed by the refinery. This brought political tensions related to acceptance of the 'newcomers' as citizens proper with voting rights.

In the 1950s, the refinery started the process of automation, resulting in lay-offs, and non-Dutch Antilleans were the first to be discharged. By 1955, about 5000 persons, mostly male immigrants, had left the island; leaving behind their families and children, these being naturalized Dutch citizens, and sending back money for their support (Green, 1969). Couples stopped having so many children, leading to much smaller families after about 1960. In a 1965 report, the Head of the Health department voiced his concerns about the threat of a dwindling and graying population. Through my research, I have come to realize that my age-group – those born between 1950 and 1965 more or less – are the last ones to have typically lived in a large family. Those born later tend to have grown up in much smaller families, with increased individuality, less sharing and much less experience of how to actually deal with diverse people. My age-group is the link between the communal extended-family and the reduced nuclear family. As such, what values and customs can we pass on to the coming generations?

In 1985, the refinery closed, causing another wave of emigration of now many Aruban-born persons to Costa Rica and the Netherlands. The effect was compared by

some as the aftermath of a major natural disaster. The government decided to further develop the hotel and tourism sector and gave generous concessions to whomsoever wanted to build hotels. Construction work, which started in 1986, led to immigration of many Spanish speaking construction workers, from Columbia, the Dominican Republic and Venezuela as well as French lexifier Creole speaking workers from Haiti. These workers stayed in Aruba becoming naturalized hotel personnel, with many of them eventually bringing their families from overseas to join them. Once again, tensions emerged within Aruban society about these ‘newcomers’ which resulted in cases of obstruction to and denial of their citizenship.

In 2010, about 35% of the population on the island was foreign born: most of these being from a Spanish speaking country of origin. Aruba is a multi-ethnic and multicultural community. The traditional language on the island is the Iberian lexifier Creole Papiamentu, but three other languages are spoken as well: Dutch, English and Spanish. Dutch is an official language, while English and Spanish are the home languages of immigrants and their descendants. Most people speak at least three of these languages, and more than 90 percent speak Papiamentu (Census 2010). There are strong reciprocal and marital ties between longer established extended-families. These reciprocal ties often determine marriages and even determine politics (Phalen, 1977; Alofs & Merkies, 1990; Boszormenyi-Nagy, 2009), resulting in very deep and multiple divisions within the society alongside very strong ties between some extended families.

Aruba is not unique in the Caribbean for having a very mixed population, indeed, it could be said that such pluri-ethnicity is the norm rather than the exception in the region. Aruba is also not unique in having a rapidly aging population, Barbados for example, being another case in point (Cloos et al., 2010; Rawlins, 2010). Aruba is advantaged compared with other countries in the Caribbean and Latin-America because it has a fairly generous and reliable pension system, care-homes and extra-mural care (Green, 1969). That said, there are many problems with how the pension system is socially constructed, and some form of dialogue is urgently needed to reduce some of the underlying stresses which threaten to impede any process of enduring positive change. My interactions in 2009 onward with boardmembers, the director and the staff of SABA (the elderly care-homes of Stichting Arubaanse Bejaardenzorg Aruba), as well as with the policy-coordinator of the then Department of Education, Social Affairs and Infrastructure (OSZI), indicated to me the pressing need for the development of vision, policy and legislation in this area.

Vision, policy and legislation must be informed by research. Besides Kensenaar (CBS, 2003) and Sankatsing (2011), there has been relatively little scientific research done on the matter of growing old on Aruba. Elsewhere in the Caribbean region, studies are being initiated under the auspices of the University of the West Indies (Rawlins, 2010) in cooperation with the University of Montreal (Cloos et al., 2010) and for Cuba, we

have the work of Garcia-Quiñones & Alfonso-de Armas (2010). I intend to help remedy this situation for Aruba through relational and conversational research designed to be used to organize, innovate and encourage ‘bottom-up’ society wide cooperation in the area of Elderly Care on Aruba, with the intention of replacing the professionally-driven ‘top-down’ approaches which have been tried with disappointing results in the past (Weick, 1995, Gastelaars, 2005).

I have come to the conclusion that how to go about the process of change is just as important as the proposed changes themselves (Hosking & McNamee, 2006; Hacking 1999). My social constructionist approach to research intends to bring all involved parties into a process of dialogue and reflection, in order to “offer a compelling construction of the world, an invitation, or a lens of understanding –all realized or embodied in relevant action” (Gergen, 2009) in order to create new realities and understandings (Bakhtin, 1981; 1986). This will involve challenging the prevailing subject-object relationship in research (McNamee & Hosking eds., 2006) by beginning a conversation with the goal of fostering a togetherness in creating new and more humane solutions for elderly care on Aruba (Cooperrider c.s., 1985; Trosten-Bloom, 2010). Instead of focusing only on financial aspects and medical needs, my research will be designed to support humane approaches to care as a relational responsibility of the people of Aruba as a community, in order to help the people of Aruba find a better way to implement community services for the elderly.

In order to achieve this goal, we do not need to start from scratch. Aruba has a long and very successful tradition of care for the elderly through the extended family. Perhaps the optimal solutions for elderly care in 21st century Aruba can use this tradition as a model and inspiration (Green, 1969; Phalen, 1977; Alofs & Merckies, 1990; Tronto, 1993). Examples of how the extended family network has functioned on the island abound in the accounts that I have gathered as part of my research, such as the following:

Speaker A:

After the death of my father, in 1962 when I was only 4, my mother returned from the Netherlands to Curaçao, where her sisters lived along with a brother of my mother, and bought from the inheritance a house for our large family. My grandmother from my mother’s side would walk regularly the estimated 5 kilometers to our home to help my mother out and then walk in the blistering midday sun back home. My eldest sister helped my mother as much as she could. My godfather (and uncle, really a cousin of my father) from Aruba was at the doorstep asking if my mother needed help, and if he and his wife, my godmother, might take care of me ... When I was 15, my mother also died. My elder sisters took care of us three the youngest ones, not much to my liking. Again my uncle/ godfather visited us, and took me into his ... home for a couple of months. We have never lost touch and many a vacation I have stayed in their home. I

... decided to study further in the Netherlands' with the mental support of my older brother, this at the age of 16. I took a room in Amsterdam.

In 1990, upon my return to Aruba where I was born; the family of my uncle still lived close-by to each other in 'Nort' [district]. Another branch of my family, is still living in Mahuma after the death of their parents, I observe a need for co-survival and mutual support here.

Speaker B:

I have been away from my island for extended periods. When I returned and needed to rent a house; my uncle was the person who did all the prolonged negotiations. It is only now, in hindsight that I realize that the owners agreed to rent their brand new/renovated house to me –a total stranger - based on their knowledge of my father's reputation, each other (my uncle), trust, far removed family-ties and reciprocal ties between the families of cooperating districts. Thus giving 'expression' of their valorization of these reciprocal ties; as well as and renewing and strengthening them and establishing a new relation of 'godfather'; my uncle having been a person with power. As a semi-indigenous person, at the time, I misunderstood the deeper meanings of the language being used in those conversations. I wonder now on reflection, would an outsider have missed these completely?"

Speaker C:

Extended family X keep diminishing livestock of goats and poultry, as the environment is turning urban and not available for grazing anymore. The grandfather died many years ago. The grandmother called *Do-Do* ('granny' of 80-plus years) lives together with the eldest and single daughter called *Chi-Chi* ('elder sister' of 55-plus years and belonging to the Big Generation) and an adolescent half-orphaned grandson (of 17-18 years) in their large house After the death of the grandfather *Chi-Chi* dedicated her life to the upbringing of her younger brothers and sisters, and later her nephews and nieces, in return they all support her, she is a full-time housewife. The houses and the land in the neighborhood all at one time belonged to the family, before selling/renting out some of them. A cousin (of 90-plus years) of the deceased grandfather, walks the estimated 20 minutes to the house each day along a dangerous and twisting asphalt road to have a conversation with *Do-Do*. Roads in former rural areas were transformed first from original '*hanchi di cabritu*' (goat-tracks) into paths, and then into paved roads without any sidewalks, as was this one, in about 2002. Dogs from yards along these roads are free-running, either there are no fences or the gates are permanently left open for ease of access by cars (average 2 cars per household, according to Census 2010), and bark and snap at any passerby, to defend their territory. The three married sisters live with their families elsewhere, as is custom. The four sons have together built their houses through *paga-lomba* (collective labor) next-door

in the neighborhood. Of these only two, the eldest one called *Buchi* ('elder brother') and another one actually live in their houses. The others with their wives live elsewhere in their second houses/homes. All the family members come around lunchtime to the elders' home to have their dinner prepared by their still active grandmother *Do-Do*. *Chi-Chi* does the housekeeping, laundry, gardening and childcare. The sons and grandson periodically do the weeding of the large yard, a major chore in the tropics, especially in the rainy season. Parents pick up their children after work, or just drop in for a conversation in the late afternoons or early evenings. *Do-Do* still engages in counseling her p middle-aged children on an almost daily basis. *Buchi*, who is divorced and lives across the street in a little house, is 60-plus and semi-retired (he is also a member of the 'Big Generation'). He had a bout with a very painful treatment for a health condition. After being dismissed from the hospital, he was taken care of over the first weeks in his parents' home, being cared for by mainly his elder sister and mother. His brother took him by car to all of the doctor's appointments. This brother and another brother take care of all of the family's external and formal relations. When *Buchi* could hobble about again, he went back to his house across the road, coming over for breakfast, dinner and supper, and *Chi-Chi* would come over to clean his bedding and house. When he had recuperated fully, *Buchi* found work again through a relative on a contract basis, because of his age. Before the family goes to bed, at least one member of the family visits *Do-Do* to check up on her.

When we speak of Humane Elderly Care, what do we mean by 'humane'? My interpretation of this term will be different from that of others, because it must always be contextualized in terms of different realities, different experiences, and different philosophies of life (Derkx, 2010: 44). When we consider elderly care, we must never lose sight of the fact that for most of Aruba's history, despite the fact that there were no elderly care-homes on the island, the elderly were successfully cared for by their extended families. Children could not conceive of any circumstance where they would not care for their parents or grandparents when they were too old to care for themselves, not just in terms of their medical and material needs, but also in terms of their social, emotional, and psychological needs. This consciousness of holistic responsibility to the elderly needs could be transferred from the traditional extended family to present-day society, and is an example of how we can inform and ground our efforts to address contemporary challenges of elderly care by anchoring them in the praxis of traditional Aruban lifeways.

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DIABETES AND CULTURE IN THE CARIBBEAN

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Manera un clabo (without fail) my grandmother would wake me up with the great smell of plantain and *arroz moro* on the weekends. For many Caribbean families it is usual to wake up in the morning to the smells of what many others would consider lunch or dinner. Some families are used to eating deep fried breakfasts every morning like *pastechi* and *kroket*. More and more people in the Caribbean are now eating fried chicken, hamburgers and pizza for lunch or dinner at the local fast food outlet. Because *pastechi* and *kroket* are part of a traditional culture and because fast food is part of a more recent, but just as entrenched culture, most see no harm in them. The challenge of such cultural patterns, however, is in identifying those that do not benefit our health. Habits are not per se negative or unhealthy. Tradition and culture are part of us, part of our norms, values, and identities and are the explanation for many aspects of our behavior. We often fail to identify those habits that are not the best for ourselves because they simply are part of us.

The life of a diabetic is also full of routines, choices and alternatives. Diabetes is a serious disease correlated with a sedentary lifestyle and the consumption of processed foods. This disease has increasingly become a medical challenge in the Caribbean and elsewhere, as fewer and fewer people do the traditional physical labor required to produce their own food in their own gardens and fewer and fewer people consume the traditional food that they themselves produce. One is diabetic when one's body cannot produce enough insulin or cannot effectively use insulin (insulin resistance). Insulin is a hormone that regulates blood sugar in the body. Hyperglycemia, better known as raised or high blood sugar is a common effect of uncontrolled or inappropriate treatment of diabetes. Inappropriate treatment or lack of treatment of diabetes may lead to kidney failure, heart failure, blindness, amputation of limbs or nerve damage (IDF, 2015).

Most diabetics could have prevented the onset of the condition through changes in diet and more physical activity. The disease does not only affect physical health but also mental health. Just as is the case with many other diseases, diabetes changes the personal and social lives both of the persons it afflicts as well as the lives of those who surround them. Treatment of diabetes calls for drastic and challenging changes to one's lifestyle, especially in the areas of diet and physical activity.

The International Diabetes Federation (IDF, 2015) estimates that people living with diabetes will surge from 382 million to 697 million people by 2035. According to their estimation, 44.3 million people between 29 and 79 years of age suffer from diabetes in the region of North America and Caribbean, the highest level of prevalence compared with the other regions. Around the world, one in six adults has diabetes. Diabetes mellitus is a chronic disease and it is a lifelong condition. This article outlines the link between culture and tradition and the lives of diabetes patients. It explains the barriers and challenges that individuals encounter and experience as a consequence of culture. Culture has an impact on the process of distinguishing good habits from bad habits. To what extent do culture and tradition interfere in the life of a diabetic? To what extent does culture make us blind to better alternatives for our own health?

There are two different approaches to identifying social problems in the social constructivist perspective in sociology: the objective approach and the subjective approach. The objective approach focuses on causal explanations and has generally failed as a theory to explain social behavior. The subjective approach focuses more on how people understand their own behavior and the actions of others, and examines how people cope with social problems and with changing roles in cultures and subcultures (Rubington & Weinberg, 2004). This approach focuses on the process of defining a given problem and the situation that has given rise to it, on what kind of definition is formulated, on how individuals respond to complaints about that problem as well as on how others respond (Rubington & Weinberg, 2004). In the social constructivist approach, a problem may exist or not depending on whether people show interest in it or completely ignore it. A problem is socially constructed when it has been socially defined, its causes have been socially analyzed and its consequences and possible solutions have been socially determined. A phenomenon becomes a social problem when it has been defined as culturally troublesome and as in need of change.

Sociological studies in the medical sector have shown that there are many religious and spiritual beliefs that see the cause of illness as a form of punishment for or the consequences of violating moral and religious taboos. Illness can also be considered to be the result of a failure to maintain inter- or intrapersonal harmony, or in terms of a failure to conform to cultural and traditional norms. In other words, culture and tradition have a lot of influence on the health and behavior of individuals (Adejumo et al., 2015). In the Caribbean, there are belief systems that may lead to unhealthy behavior, such as the idea that a heavier physique indicates that a person is healthy and prosperous. Those who strive to conform to this norm may eat more sugar-laced processed foods and do less exercise, thus increasing their risk of becoming diabetic (Tripp-Reimer et al., 2001). Faith, healing and prayer are also factors that influence the mindset of individuals in dealing with this disease. Certain individuals believe, based upon culture and tradition, that diabetes may be a serious condition but it can be treated and cured effectively by spiritual means and by the reduction of stress (Cooper Brathwaite & Lemonde, 2015).

Noakes (2010) explains that some people in the Caribbean do not believe in the use of insulin as a treatment for diabetes, but instead prefer to leave their destiny to nature's will. In many such cases, diabetes appears to be a taboo topic that cannot be discussed openly, so that affected individuals feel that they must suffer the disease in silence.

The way individuals deal with diabetes does not only depend purely on diet and exercise, but also depends crucially on religion, tradition, economic status, influence of family members and psychological and personal factors (Tripp-Reimer et al., 2001). Carr (2012) states on the basis of her research that certain ethnic groups in the Caribbean have cultural and economic constraints that make changes in dietary habits problematic. Therefore, medical experts should not disregard cultural factors when they give medical advice. The impact of beliefs, culture and tradition is not a phenomenon that can be denied and has to be taken into account in treatment and prevention. This problem is extremely complex and differs from culture to culture and from community to community. As such it cannot be viewed only as a health problem but it must instead be approached as a global challenge that requires an understanding of the diversity of culture and beliefs regarding health and illness in the Caribbean region.

How individuals react to complaints concerning a particular problem is a focus of study in the subjective approach to sociology (Rubington & Weinberg, 2004). The process by which a given problem is defined is often not linear. It requires time and research to understand a problem within its own context. Research conducted on diabetes in Aruba suggests that there is a lack of understanding of the prevalence and seriousness of the disease in the community. Research is required to gain better insights and a deeper understanding not only of the diagnosed diabetic community, but of the community in general, in order to comprehend behaviors related to the disease more profoundly, and to remove barriers to positive behavioral change.

Up until recently, diabetes was relatively rare in the Caribbean, so that traditional culture can only be partially held responsible for its spread. Besides, being related to already existing Caribbean habits, diabetes is very closely related to new cultural patterns that have swept the region through the influence of, for example, the United States. The lifestyle marketed by the U.S. media and advertising industries has for the most part been one of overindulgence in processed foods and under-indulgence in exercise, which has replaced traditionally healthy cultural practices with dangerously unhealthy ones. U.S. based fast food and supermarket supplier chains have been allowed to dominate many Caribbean markets, resulting in increased intake of processed sugars and starches and making unhealthy foods and meals much less expensive than healthier alternatives. At the same time, automobile manufacturers have aggressively enticed the peoples of the Caribbean to avoid walking in favor of driving whenever possible. Devices have now replaced physical activity as the preferred source of recreation and entertainment throughout the region. Needless to say, this new culture has given rise to engrained habits which are difficult to change.

In Aruba, there are many initiatives to educate, inform and motivate individuals to make a change in their lifestyle in order to prevent diabetes and other diseases. These programs are aimed at influencing the way individuals think about this illness and how to deal with it. It is often assumed that lifestyle changes are only for those who have already become ill, in order to improve their health. In other words, those who do not suffer from a condition do not change their habits because they don't feel the need to do so.

Culture has a development path of its own. It is part of the people and the people keep it alive as time goes on. What can change is the way people manage culture and tradition in balance with health. Tackling the problem by attempting to directly influence behavior is less effective than exerting a positive influence on mentality and beliefs. Much of the awareness raising being done around diabetes and health in general is not reaching those on whose lives it could potentially have the most impact: younger people. Young people can be said to have created their own culture around health, illness and healthy lifestyles. The way to capture their attention is to gain a deep understanding of their views on health and then to connect with them on their own turf, through social media, etc. It seems that in some ways, younger people have more the understanding of health than other groups in Aruba. According to research conducted by STEPS Aruba (2006), people are ingesting more fruits, vegetables and less unhealthy high fat and high carbohydrate meals. This means that there has been a shift in culture.

Diabetes has affected communities in many ways which has led to the understanding that the disease is not only an individual problem, but also a social problem, which calls for solutions that lie in the areas of culture and education. To deal with this problem, people must be engaged with on their own terms in relation to whether they see it as a problem or not, how they define it, how they analyze its causes, and how they might go about solving it. To do so, it is important to understand the community, their traditions, their beliefs and their cultures, old and new, local and imported. Change in behavior is a difficult process, especially when there is a U.S. fast food outlet on every street corner and you don't have enough money to afford healthy food. For all of these reasons, diabetes prevention requires a holistic non-clinical approach prepared to tackle issues at every level and in all aspects of social life.

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ADDRESSING THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF EUROCENTRISM AND FINDING WAYS TO CORRECT THEM

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During the month of September 2014 a seminar titled “Social Evolution of Humanity” was held at the University of Aruba as the first part of a PhD preparation program. The seminar consisted of four three hour meetings during which the expansionist practices of Western Civilization and Capitalism were revised and discussed through a series of texts articulated by non-Western authors. The aim was to become aware of the social, economic, political and human impacts of colonization, in particular the denial of a development trajectory based on local needs and context. The unavoidable question emerged as to whether Europe should be used as a model for us to continue mimicking, and the response to this question was a resolute “NO!”

The seminar touched on a broad array of my personal areas of interest, including a more humane economy, good governance and organizations as better places to work. For this reason, I analyzed the opinions of the authors in search of arguments and evidence to support one of the hypotheses that I have formulated as a result of all my research work done so far in the social fields. This hypothesis asserts that people’s actions can be positively modified through education. But our traditional colonial system of education is falling short in at least five important areas: consciousness, culture, worldview, values and Ego.

According to Giddens’s “Structuration theory” (Tucker, 1998) social life is produced and reproduced through a process of interaction between actors and the structural forces that surround them. Said in other words: cultures create people, but people also create cultures. This means that the emergence of more humane and decent people will depend crucially on the emergence of more humane and decent cultures. Cultures are propagated and modified through processes of education that ensure their transmission from one generation to the next. Therefore education can play a key role in transforming cultures and people.

The Spaniards and other colonial powers pointlessly killed and destroyed vast numbers of the Indigenous peoples during their conquest of the Americas. The reason why these ‘civilized’ people from Europe behaved worse than animals in the new world was due in no large part to their insatiable greed and ambition (cf. De las Casas, 1992 [1542]).

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) stresses that history, writing and theory are important intellectual activities that should be undertaken by Indigenous peoples in order for them to equip themselves with the consciousness that they need to succeed in their efforts at decolonization.

In Fanon (1959), culture is mentioned as the expression of a nation. Writing from the perspective of newly independent African societies, Fanon points out that colonial / metropolitan domination disrupts the cultural life of conquered / peripheral peoples. Resistance to this disruption can support the emergence of a national consciousness. This resistance can take the form of art, where imagination and creativity are utilized remake culture in the image and interests of the colonized, instead of in the image and interests of the colonizers.

Culture and art are based on knowledge. Susantha Goonatilake (1984) focuses on the creation and distribution of knowledge as part of the colonizing process, arguing that since 'modern science' emerged in Europe in the 17th century, it has spread by various forms of colonization to the rest of the world. European science has achieved a dominant and exclusive position in relation to the countless sciences that have emerged from other societies. Despite its claims to objectivity and its claim that its methodology (the scientific method) is the one and only way to determine the one and only truth, European science is saturated with Eurocentric dogma, which has as its goal the domination of women, nature and peoples of non-European descent. This process has led to the establishment of so-called transplanted universities in peripheral countries, where in many cases a real university tradition never has been created. The way we organize knowledge into separate, unconnected disciplines like mathematics, physics, biology, economy, law, sociology, psychology, religion, ethics and anthropology are also a product of the Eurocentric worldview. While there is no evidence that social and physical reality is compartmentalized according to the disciplinary structure of the Western knowledge system, there is overwhelming evidence to the contrary. For this reason, most non-Western sciences are trans-disciplinary and strive to account for phenomena in a holistic way.

Ziauddin Sardar (1999) takes on the subject of Eurocentrism, stating that the real power of the West is not located in its economic muscle and technological might, but instead in its hegemonic power to define, that is, to determine the truths that we think and live by. Crucial ideas, such as freedom, progress civil behavior, law, tradition, community; reason, mathematics, science, what is real, and what it means to be human are all defined by the academics, media experts, artists, religious authorities and other symbolic elites of the metropolises. Peripheral civilizations have simply to accept these definitions or be defined out of existence! Through this hegemonic *modus operandi* the West makes sure that everyone serves its interests. Eurocentrism thus holds the past, present and future of the non-West in its grip.

Serving Western interests prevents non-Western societies from serving their own needs. Sardar suggests that non-Western cultures and civilizations have to reconstruct themselves, almost brick by brick, in accordance with their own worldviews and according to their own norms and values. Amartya Sen (2008) warns against the tendency to classify individuals according to a set of rigid and allegedly universal social categories defined by the West. Such categorization overlooks diversity and border-crossing and often leads to the imposition of the norms that define one category on entire societies, with disastrous consequences. Western thought has transformed identity into a monolithic concept that denies and negates difference and plurality, resulting inevitably in discrimination and social strife. A break with Western thinking is desperately needed to promote the acknowledgement and valorization of difference and diversity on which social harmony and peace will ultimately depend.

Worldviews are the lenses through which people see and interpret the world around them. D.T. Suzuki (1960) contrasts the worldview of the Westerner who alienates himself from nature and Western science that works against nature and destroys the environment, with non-Westerners who feel more at one with nature and non-Western sciences that work with nature and nurture the environment. Claude Alvares (1992) also denounces the way in which the West exclusively defines and violently deploys concepts such as science and development. For instance, in the area of economy the so-called ‘developed’ societies of the North not only produce extravagant waste and demand enormous resources, but they also require the permanent exploitation of millions of people in other societies. Their development translates into increased material prosperity for themselves – particularly for those with increased access and control over the natural and human resources – and poverty for others. Alvares also advocates for the Indian (Sanskrit) concept of Ahimsa or non-violence, an idea embedded in all major Eastern philosophies and religions. According to the principle of Ahimsa everything is interconnected, and a politics based on Ahimsa ensures wider participation in decision making and a more equitable distribution of wealth.

Dirk J. Louw (1997) discusses the values of “ubuntu” (humanness) as a distinctive, but not totally unique, African social philosophy. Ubuntu (a Zulu word) stands for a unifying worldview preserved in the maxim: “Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu.” This means “a person is a person through other persons” (Shutte, 1993: 46). It describes and defines the concept ‘human being’ as “being-with-others”, articulating the need for basic values, such as respect and compassion for others with emphasis on community and consensus or group cohesion. Contrary to Western societies, where values such as individualism, reductionism, materialism and competitiveness rule, most traditional African societies are based on solidarity, collectivism, spirituality and cooperation. This holds true – according to Louw – despite the many forms of violence that have come to plague that continent, mostly as the result of colonization.

Ego determines whether a person is in balance or not with himself, others and nature. Glenn Sankatsing (2016) states that development is always from within. More specifically he defines development as “the mobilization of inherent assets and potentialities in interactive response to challenges posed by nature, habitat and history to realize a project of one’s own command”. Colonialism and neo-colonialism have deployed what he calls a strategy of “envelopment” on the colonized, thereby alienating them from their natural assets, contextual conditions, local social dynamism, landscapes and worldviews. More specifically Sankatsing defines Eurocentrism as a model of “domination” that has led to four agonies that now threaten the existence of humankind. The four agonies are: Eco Cataclysm, Global Homogeneity or Envelopment, Fundamentalism and Mental Slavery. Briefly explained: 1) eco cataclysm refers to natural disasters that will occur if the exploitation and exhaustion of raw materials continue at the current rate; 2) envelopment is the domination of the people of the periphery for the purpose of serving those living in the metropolises; 3) fundamentalism is the persecution of all who do not share one’s beliefs; and 4) mental slavery deprives all its victims of the right to create their reality in their own image and interests, convincing them instead to create reality in the image and interests of a ruling class.

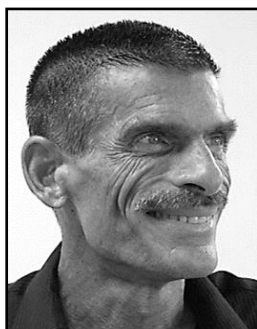
The question arises as to how to remedy this situation. For Enrique Dussel (1988) decolonization depends on a horizontal, liberating dialogue based on relations of equality between cultures and people. In other words, an intercultural educational process aimed at the transformation of colonial thinking and culture. In order to achieve this, the peoples of the ex-colonies need to re-acknowledge and re-value their traditional cultures and knowledges so that they can become an inspiration and model for truly post-colonial thinking, founded upon context bound knowledge which serves our needs, instead of the needs of the ruling classes. Based on these initiatives from the periphery, humanity as a whole needs to be educated and re-educated in the fields of consciousness, culture, worldview, human values and ego-management, which are generally neglected in traditional colonial and neo-colonial forms of education.

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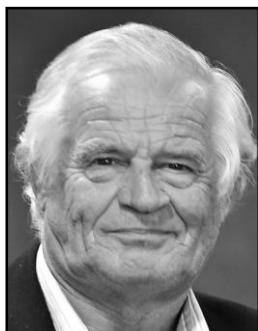


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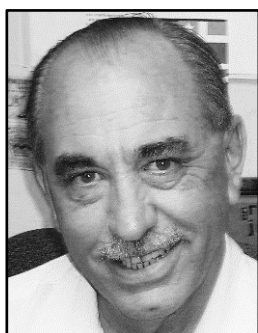


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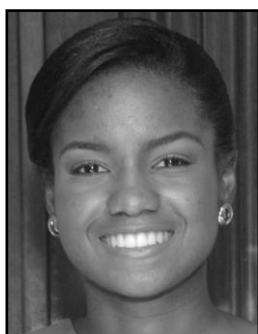


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