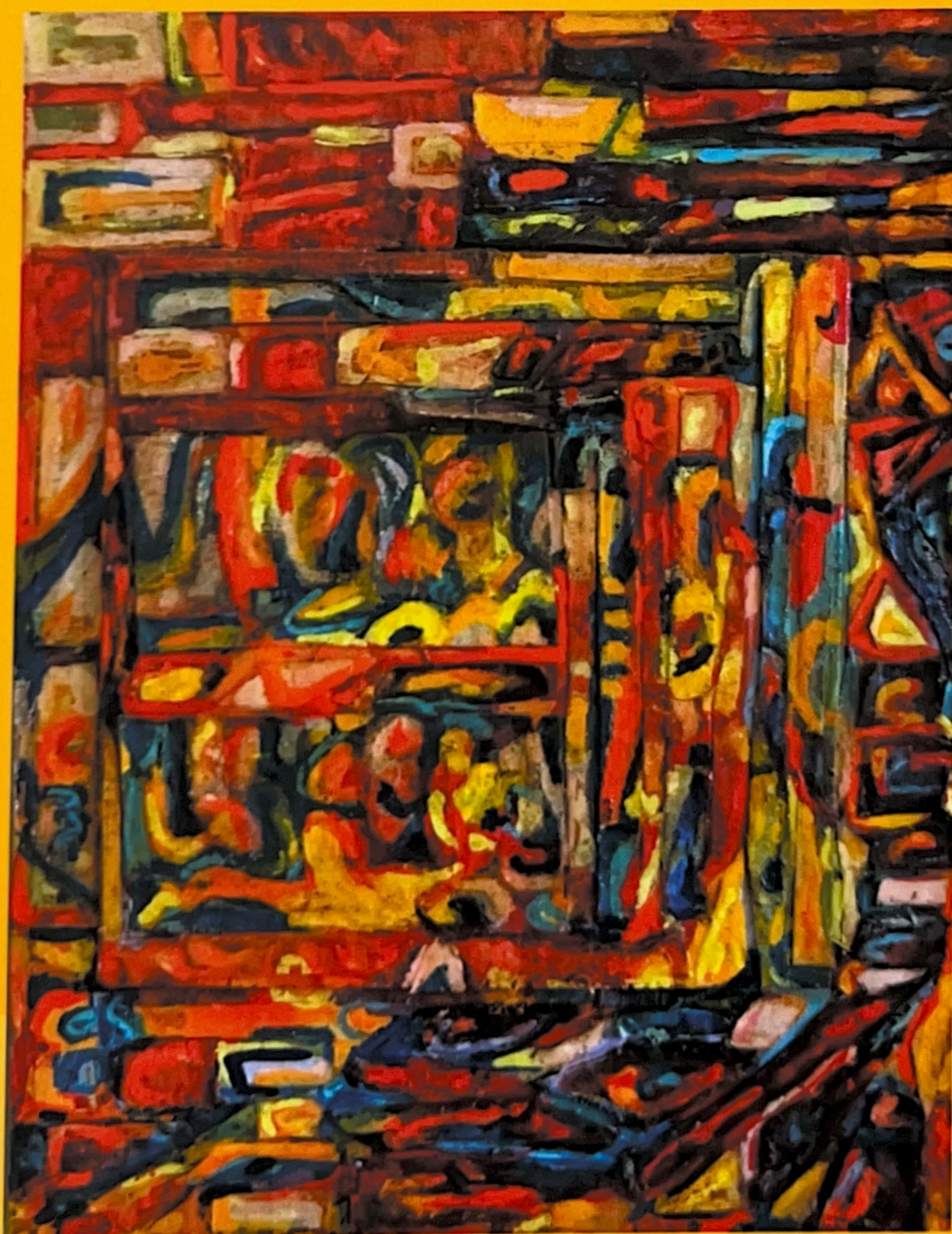


Masking as Quintessential Authenticity

Healing, Intersectionality and Interstices in
the Languages, Literatures and Cultures of
the Dutch Caribbean and Beyond

Edited by
Nicholas Faraclas
Ronald Severing
Elisabeth Echteld
Sally Delgado
Wim Rutgers



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Volume 1

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**UNIVERSITY
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Volume 1

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Introduction and acknowledgements

The two publications: *Masking as Quintessential Authenticity: Healing, Intersectionality and Interstices in the Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the Dutch Caribbean and Beyond* together with *Distancing as Infinite Entanglement: Healing, Intersectionality and Interstices in the Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the Greater Caribbean and Beyond*, contain a collection of articles that present a critical perspective on the languages, literatures, and cultures of the Greater Caribbean and the Caribbean diaspora. The contributing authors include a wide range of voices old and new from the Caribbean and beyond.

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, in particular, and the other volume focusing on the Greater Caribbean in general.

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.

The online versions of these volumes and the other 25 volumes in this series can be found on the Caribbean Languages and Culture Platform in the Partner Collections of the Dutch Caribbean Digital Platform of the Library of the University of Curaçao at <http://dcdp.uoc.cw/icarplat>.

This publication received generous support from the University of Curaçao.

The Editors

**MASKING, AUTHENTICITY
AND INTERSECTIONALITIES
IN THE STUDY OF PAPIAMENTU/O**

THE ROLE OF A CRITICAL PERIOD FOR LANGUAGE ACQUISITION IN L1 ATTRITION: THE CASE OF JAMAICAN CREOLE-PAPIAMENTU CONTACT

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Abstract

This article considers the impact that a critical period for L2 learning might have in first language attrition through a study of first language Jamaican Creole (JC) speakers who are L2 users of Papiamentu (Pp). Attrition data among pre-critical period and post critical period Jamaican subjects are examined to determine, what effects, if any, the critical period has in the JC-PP contact situation. Data used in the analysis were gathered from 9 Jamaican immigrants who were residing in Curaçao for periods between 1.5-5yrs and 8-9 years. Five data types incorporated in the research were: natural use, clinical elicitation, experimental elicitation, metalinguistic judgments and self-report data. The assumption was made that if younger learners attained higher proficiency in the L2, they would be equipped with more data to facilitate transfer to the L1, resulting in the likelihood of more substantial attrition. It was found that critical period effects may indeed be evidenced in L1 attrited speech of learners with a prepubescent age of onset of L2 learning, but the extent to which the critical period may impact L1 attrition might not be as extensive as one may have anticipated.

Key terms: Language attrition, language contact, critical period, Papiamentu, Jamaican Creole

Introduction

That there is a critical period for language acquisition has been one of the bases upon which the acquisition of language has been characterized as a genetically triggered behaviour (see Lenneberg, 1967). The perception is that there exists a window within which acquisition must occur for native speaker competence to be achieved. Outside of

this timeframe, though advanced proficiency in the language is attainable (at least, in L2 acquisition), the user's proficiency in the language will differ markedly from that of a native speaker.

In the study of second language acquisition in particular, it has long been established that age of onset of L2 learning is a determining factor in the level of success one will achieve in gaining L2 proficiency. The 'younger equals better hypothesis has found solid ground in research on L2 attainment among immigrants. Among these is the classic Patowski (1980) study, which found that immigrants to the US who were younger than 15 years outperformed older immigrants in their grammatical competence in English. The notion of a critical period has proved to be relevant to the study of language attrition as well, where Köpke (2007: 11), for example, posits age as one of the most predictive factors in Language Attrition. The idea here is that L2 users with an earlier age of onset of L2 learning are more likely to experience erosion of the L1 than are later bilinguals.

This article investigates the impact that a critical period for L2 learning might have in the attrition of the L1 of Jamaican Creole (JC) of speakers who are L2 users of Papiamentu (Pp) (Messam, 2017. Changes revealed in the L1 of participants in the pre-critical period and post-critical period categories are examined to determine the effects the age of onset of L2 learning may have in this creole contact situation. The assumption is that learners whose exposure to Pp began during the critical period would have greater proficiency in the L2 and more changes in the L1 than those whose exposure to Pp began later. Therefore, it is assumed that the older the learner was at the age of onset of L2 learning, the more likely it is that (s)he has retained proficiency in the L1. If this assumption is true, the JC attrition data considered in this article ought to confirm this.

State of the question

Patowski makes a distinction between a 'critical period' and a 'sensitive period', whereby the strict notion of a critical period places an absolute age limit on the acquisition of a first language. One who undertakes the acquisition of a first language after this period has passed will only have communicative strategies at their disposal, and native-like acquisition will not be possible. The "sensitive period", on the other hand, pertains to L2 acquisition and is less absolute. Once the sensitive period has passed, one may still learn a second language; however, such L2 users would not theoretically be able to pass for native speakers of the L2 in question (Patowski, 1980: 449). These terms have, however, been used interchangeably in the literature.

The onset of puberty has been taken to be the close of the critical period. Evidence from the maturation of the brain has often been presented in support of this, where, as the brain matures, it loses its plasticity and as a natural consequence, its ability to acquire native speaker competence in a new language (Singleton & Ryan, 2004: 130). The scientific explanation for this is provided in Pulvermüller and Schumann (1994: 683): PET

(Positron Emission Tomography) data illustrate that as the brain matures, synapses through which impulses are sent through the brain are strengthened and the formation of new synapses becomes difficult. Evident in the data is a high metabolic turnover of these synapses during the first decade of life. This declines and reaches relatively low levels around puberty that persist thereafter (see Chugani & Phelps, 1986; Chugani, Phelps & Mazziotta, 1987).

The degree of the maturation of the brain is indicated through myelination, a gradual process, whose ending coincides with the onset of puberty, thereby providing more evidence of this period being the end of the critical period for language acquisition (Pulvermüller & Schumann, 1994: 710). One may find great difficulty in achieving competence in the syntax of a language once the critical period has passed as the perisylvian language cortex, which is responsible for syntax, will like all language areas, have reached its full level of myelination at around puberty. Pulvermüller and Schumann (1994: 713-714) indicate that storing syntactic information such as the sequencing of syllables and words pose great difficulty with late acquisition. Since myelination is a gradual process, the ability to acquire syntax decreases with increasing age.

Johnson and Newport (1989) present further evidence of there being a critical period for language acquisition, and they contend that the age of 15 years marks the close of that period. Using grammaticality judgement tasks, their study contrastively investigated the grammatical ability of early and late learners of an L2. It was found that native speakers as well as early L2 learners performed almost perfectly. There was, however, a decline in performance with increasing age of onset leading up to puberty, and variation in scores among adult starters.

These discoveries within the fields of first and second language acquisition have significant implications for the study of language attrition, which may be defined as non-pathological language loss resulting from reduced input and use of the L1 as well as influence from an L2. As Köpcke's (2007: 11) states, age plays a critical role in predicting attrition effects. Numerous studies have revealed susceptibility in the loss of language skills among children within a short period of time and retention among their adult counterparts (e.g., Montrul, 2008; Schmid, 2002). It is within this group that the most severe cases of attrition have been uncovered. International adoptees who have been completely cut-off from their L1 during childhood, for instance, have manifested the most severe case of language attrition; attrition among them also transpires at great speed (Bylund, 2019: 278).

Of note is the fact that the advantage of youth in L2 learning is primarily evident among immigrants who have been residing in the L2 country for a period over five years, leading to the conclusion that the manifestation of the age advantage is realized after a certain period of time (Singleton, 2014: 21). This has led researchers to ask whether the L1 of these adoptees is completely erased from their memory. The answer to this question is revealed by studies that have incorporated Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging

(fMRI). Such studies have either found that there is often no trace of the L1 (e.g., Pallier et al., 2003) or that where traces are found, they are of linguistic features that are acquired earlier in life (e.g., Pierce et al., 2014). As Pallier et al. (2003) indicate, their “data tentatively suggest that the native language is, in large part, lost and replaced by the language of the new environment” (160).

It has also been posited that the ‘younger equals better’ hypothesis is not a strict law but rather a tendency, as there also exists the possibility of older immigrants attaining greater proficiency in the L2 than their younger counterparts (Singleton, 2014: 21-22). One study whose findings have presented a scenario that stands in stark contrast to that of other language attrition researchers whose focus has been on age, is that of Schmid (2012). In her investigation of German Kindertransport survivors who left Germany for the UK between age 11-15 years, it was found that after having no contact with German for over 50 years, their proficiency in German was still intact; their complexity, accuracy and fluency were of no significant difference from a group of L1 Germans who had migrated at the same age but who had maintained contact with the L1.

Hypothesis and methodology

Findings of L1 attrition studies that speak to a correlation between the age at which one undertakes second language learning and the susceptibility of the L1 to attrition under the influence of an L2, would lead us to expect that similar results are to be anticipated in a JC-PP contact situation. Given the universality and systematicity of language processes including that of language acquisition, there is no reason to believe that these traits are not applicable to the naturally occurring process of language attrition as well. Where there is a reduction in input from the L1 and contact with a now dominant L2, there exists the possibility of universal phenomena such as language transfer, an indicator of language attrition, being attested.

With the possibility of attrition effects on the basis of age of onset, one might anticipate that among L1 speakers of JC, similar disparities are likely to be found. In the present study, I compare the attrition effects among two groups of Jamaican L2 users of Papiamentu whose immersion in the L2 environment began at different stages of their lives: one group whose exposure to Pp began in their prepubescent years (under the age of 15 years), and another group whose exposure to Pp began in their postpubescent years (over the age of 15 years).

Therefore, our hypothesis is that L1 speakers of JC who acquire Pp in the L2 country (Curaçao) during the critical period are more likely to suffer language attrition in L1 (JC) than those who acquire Pp in the L2 country (Curaçao) during the post-critical period. As Bylund (2019) professes in his third principle governing age effects in language attrition “Age effects in attrition entail that children and adults, *ceteris paribus*, differ in the degree to which they attrite” (287). He suggests that all factors being equal, children should exhibit higher degrees of attrition than adults.

You cannot lose that which you have not acquired. It is generally agreed that for loss to occur, that which is claimed to have been lost had to have been there initially (Yağmur, 2004: 140). Research on L1 acquisition has revealed that the core aspects of language development are mastered by the age 5 years (see Foster-Cohen, 1999; Pulvermüller & Schumann, 1994: 716). According to Foster-Cohen (1999: 171), any further changes evident in the L1 after this period are attained primarily through schooling rather than natural development. It is therefore only after the age of 5 years that changes in the L1 grammar could be attributed to cross-linguistic influence and consequential loss. With this in mind, participants in the study had to have been born and resided in Jamaica, the L1 country for at least 5 years prior to migration, as by this time, in congruence with L1 acquisition studies, participants would have acquired the main structures of JC, the L1. With the participants included in the study having resided in Jamaica for at least the first 5 years of their lives, it could be safely assumed that the complete system of the L1 (JC) had been acquired and that attrition in L1 competence could be attributed to their acquisition of the L2 (Pp).

For the sub- study reported on in the present article, a total of 9 participants were divided into two groups:

- (a) 4 participants who started L2 (Pp) learning during the critical period (5-15 yrs.)
- (b) 5 participants who started L2 (Pp) learning after the critical period (16 and over)

This stratification facilitated the attempt to address the issue of whether acquiring an L2 during the critical period causes a greater degree of attrition in the L1, due to loss of input from the first language and early input from a second language.

The impact of years of residence on the effects of language attrition is not a factor explored at length in this part of the study; however, participants were further stratified in this regard to assure that results were comparable. The following stratification was made:

- (a) Participants who had resided in the L2 country (Curaçao) for 1.5-2 years
- (b) Participants who had resided in the L2 country (Curaçao) for 3-5 years
- (c) Participants who had resided in the L2 country (Curaçao) for 8-9 years

Participants were selected from a larger study of 20 participants. Their inclusion in the critical period analysis was determined by how their years of residence compared, with the aim of comparing only those participants whose length of residence in the L2 country was comparatively similar, resulting in three participants in each years of residence group.

Natural use, clinical elicitation, experimental elicitation, metalinguistic judgments and self-report data were the five types of data gathered for analysis from the 9 native Jamaican immigrants to Curaçao in the sample. The natural use method aimed at capturing their spontaneous use of language. With this type of data, it was hoped that errors occurring in their JC speech could be identified and tested later on in the research through

targeted elicitation methods. The clinical elicitation methods used included picture sequencing and picture description tasks. This method aims at eliciting data representative of unguided language use, but over which the researcher maintains some control. Participants told stories in JC based on pictures provided to them and described scenes. They were asked to further relate what was happening in the pictures to their daily lives. Experimental elicitation, the third data collection method, allowed for the testing of errors in JC that were identified in the speech of the participants in previous sessions. The tasks aimed at gathering this type of data were a translation task and a Scenario Consideration task. In the translation exercise, participants were given sentences in Pp and were asked to provide the JC equivalent. In the Scenario Consideration task, they were asked to provide hypothetical responses to scenarios that were presented to them. These tasks prompted the use of varied verb forms, construction of complex noun phrases and other features of grammar that are realized differently in Pp and JC.

Each data collection task informed the other and later tasks allowed for the elicitation of structures of interest produced in earlier tasks. This ensured that errors identified in earlier tasks were not the result of performance errors, such as slips of the tongue. Metalinguistic judgements are one such task that facilitated this. Participants were asked to judge the grammaticality of sentences in order to ascertain whether they would recognize the deviant forms they had earlier produced, and whether they would accept those that were directly targeted for research. This task allowed for a distinction to be made between what the participants knew as opposed to what they produced, indicating a distinction between loss at the level of competence and loss at the level of performance. Self-report data represented the culmination of the field research. Through this method, participants were able to reflect on how their use of language had changed since migrating to Curaçao. They were able to speak on their difficulties in this regard, allowing for a determination of as to whether they were conscious of evident changes.

The attrition data were gathered in 128 sessions over a three-month period and totaled 60 recorded hours. Pp influence on JC was checked through the use of secondary sources, such as Goilo (2000) and Howe (1993), which provided structural information on Pp grammar, and Patrick (2004, 2007), which provided structural information on JC grammar. In selecting features to target for elicitation, these sources were also consulted to identify areas in which the two languages differ. As a native speaker of JC, I also relied on my intuitive knowledge and that of other native speakers to assist in identifying possible instances of deviation from conventional JC forms. Thus, 4 native speakers of JC who had never traveled outside of Jamaica constituted a JC reference and verification group for the study. They completed a metalinguistic judgement task similar to that administered to the Jamaican immigrants to Curaçao. Natives of Curaçao were also consulted in verifying the acceptability of any Pp sentences that were included in the elicitation tasks and in verifying whether a deviant structure identified in the data was characteristic of Pp.

Findings

In this study, we focused on the JC determiner phrase. Eleven (11) unconventional JC feature types were identified in the speech of the participants, including the following:

- Absence of the definite article
- Plural marking on generic nouns
- Irregular plural marking with quantified nouns and partitives
- Double marking of plurality for definite nouns
- Absence of possessive pronouns
- Use of the possessed+PREP+possessor construction
- Disallowance of sequential nouns
- Absence of the locative particle in demonstrative constructions
- Substitution of the demonstrative determiner for the definite article in demonstrative constructions
- Preferential use of ‘more’ in marking the comparative
- Post-nominal adjectives

Unconventional feature types found in the JC determiner phrases of participants who had lived in Curaçao from 1.5 to 5 years. 3 participants were included in the 1.5 to 2 years length of residence group, and another 3 participants were included in the 3-5 years length of residence group. Of this total of 6 participants who had lived in the L2 country (Curaçao) for from 1.5 to 5 years, 3 participants fell within the critical period group and 3 fell within the post critical period group.

Table 1 allows for the comparison of unconventional JC determiner phrase feature types exhibited by the critical and post-critical L2 exposure groups with shorter length of residence spans, that is, those who had resided in the L2 country (Curaçao) for a period from 1.5 to 2 years and those who had resided there from 3 to 5 years.

Table 1 Number of unconventional JC determiner phrase feature types of participants who had lived in Curaçao from 1.5 years to 5 years

Informant	Age of Onset	Years in L2 Country	Deviations within DP (of 11)
SJ	9	1;8	5
FW	33	1;5	3
JS	23	1;6	4
JD	8	3	5
SS	5	5	5
WC	23	4	3

Table 1 shows that participants with a critical period age of onset to exposure to L2 (Pp) (ie. 5, 8 and 9 years of age) all displayed more unconventional JC determiner phrase feature types than those with a post-critical period age of onset to exposure to L2 (Pp) (ie. 23, 23 and 33 years of age), with an average of 5 of the 11 unconventional JC features being present in the speech of the critical period group and an average of some 3.3 unconventional JC features being present in the speech of the post-critical period group.

Unconventional feature types found in the JC determiner phrases of participants who had lived in Curaçao from 8 to 9 years. 3 participants were included in the 8 to 9 years length of residence group. Of this total of 3 participants who had lived in the L2 country (Curaçao) for from 8 to 9 years, 1 participant fell within the critical period group and 2 fell within the post critical period group.

Table 2 allows for the comparison of unconventional JC determiner phrase feature types exhibited by the critical and post-critical L2 exposure groups with longer length of residence spans, that is, those who had resided in the L2 country (Curaçao) for a period from 8 to 9 years.

Table 2 Number of unconventional JC determiner phrase feature types of participants who had lived in Curaçao from 8 years to 9 years

Informant	Age of Onset	Years in L2 Country	Deviations within DP (of 11)
8	18	8	3 (27%)
9J	13	9	6 (55%)
9K	30	9	4 (36%)

Table 2 shows that participant with a critical period age of onset to exposure to L2 (Pp) (ie. 13 years of age) displayed more unconventional JC determiner phrase feature types than those with a post-critical period age of onset to exposure to L2 (Pp) (ie. 18 and 30 years of age), with 6 of the 11 unconventional JC features being present in the speech of the critical period participant and an average of some 3.5 unconventional JC features being present in the speech of the post-critical period participants.

Conclusion

Our general conclusion regarding the unconventional feature types found in JC determiner phrases of the critical period group versus those found in JC determiner phrases of the post-critical period group is as follows. From the data, a fairly consistent pattern emerges, with participants whose exposure to L2 (Pp) began in the critical period (under the age of 15 years) exhibiting more unconventional feature types in their JC determiner phrases than participants whose exposure to the L2 (Pp) began in the post-critical period (over the age of 15 years), regardless of the number of years that they had spent in the

L2 country (Curaçao). Given that these patterns are based on a very limited data set, we can conclude that these preliminary findings support the hypothesis that L1 speakers of JC who acquire Pp in the L2 country (Curaçao) during the critical period are more likely to undergo language attrition in L1 (JC) than those who acquire Pp in the L2 country (Curaçao) during the post- critical period.

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KLASIFIKASHON DI DETERMINANTE (Det) DEN PAPIAMENTU, KU ATENSHON PA SU OMISHON (Ø Det)

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Abstract

This study focuses on the determiner (Det) in Papiamentu as a part of speech, including all of the subcategories of determiners in the language. Special attention will also be paid to the phenomenon of absence/ omission of the determiner (Ø Det). The concept of *indifferentialis* will be utilized as a framework for explaining the operation of determiners in relation to singular vs. plural number distinctions in Papiamentu.

Key terms: Papiamentu, determinants, quantifier, actualisant, indifferentialis, referent

Resúmen

Den e estudio akí, ta inventarisá e kategoria di palabra determinante (Det) den papiamentu, i ta presentá un klasifikashon ku supkategoria di e fenómeno akí. Lo dediká atenshon partikular tambe na e fenómeno di omishon di determinante (Ø Det). Introdukshon di e konsepto *indifferentialis* ta ofresé un mira diferente riba funshonamentu di singularis i pluralis relashoná ku determinante den papiamentu.

Palabra klave: papiamentu, determinante, kuantifikadó, aktualisadó, indifferentialis, referente

Introdukshon

Kodifikashon lingwístiko i standarisashon di papiamentu ta referí na e método mediante kua ta standarisá un lenga; esaki ta inkluí, entre otro, desaroyo di dikshonario, guia di uso i estilo, manual di gramátika tradishonal i mas. E proseso di standarisashon tin komo meta pa limitá òf evitá variabilidat den uso di lenga riba nivel lingwístiko, esta, pronunsiashon (fonologia), formashon di palabra (morfologia), konstrukshon di frase

(sintáksis), ekspreshon (konvenshon ekspresivo), konstrukshon di teksto (diskurso), uso di idioma (pragmátika), estudio di nifikashon (semántika, konotashon di palabra i konsepto uniforme) i ortografia (manera di skirbi idéntiko). E státus ofisial di papiamentu ta rekerí normalisashon pa asina uso den komunidad i skol por ta mas regulá pa di tal forma por promové rekonosementu i aseptashon di idioma papiamentu mas uniformá poulatinamente den tur área sosiolingwístiko.

Den kurso di e dos último siglonan, tabatin vários gramátika di papiamentu ku a keda publiká. Den órden diakrónico, susesivamente, por nota e siguiente edishonnan ku ta duna atenshon na gramátika di papiamentu den siglo 19 (Putman, 1849, 1853; Pijpers, 1898; Jesurun, 1897; 1898; Evertsz, 1898; Sintiago, 1898), den siglo 20 (Lenz, 1928; Van der Veen Zeppenfeldt, 1928; Goilo, 1953) i den siglo 21 (Dijkhoff, 2000, Muller, 2007; Lasten et al., 2010; Van Putte & De Windt, 2014; Luidens et al., 2015). Banda di esakinan, tabatin atenshon pa e aspektonan gramatikal di papiamentu, prinsipalmente den siglo 20, riba nivel di disertashon doktoral. Asina Muller ta skirbi tokante sintáksis di lenga papiamentu (Muller, 1989), Maurer (1988) ta elaborá tokante e sistema verbal di papiamentu, i Dijkhoff (1993) ta studia formashon di palabra. Martinus (1996) i Jacobs (2012) ta elaborá tokante orígen di papiamentu, miéntas Eckkramer (1996) i Parkins (2015) ta enfoká tradukshon den e proseso di standarisashon. Riba atkisishon di papiamentu den edukashon, tambe, tin algun disertashon skirbí (Kook, 1994; Narain, 1995; Severing 1997; Pereira 2018).

Pa estudio di papiamentu den un kuadro mas universal, por referí na Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures, APICS (Michaelis et al., 2013; APICS Online, 2021). E estudionan akí ta pone papiamentu den e konteksto mundial di otro idioma krioyo, pidgin i idioma miksto. Ta akumulá i traha lista di estudio detayá riba e aspektonan relevante di papiamentu ku ta duna oportunidat pa hasi klasifikashon komparativo internashonal i asina diseñá mapa klasifikativo.

Den kuadro di e presente análisis, a trata anteriormente, respektivamente, sufiho *-dor* i *-do* den papiamentu, *reduplikashon* komo fenómeno morfosintáktiko i *uso di artíkulo definí* (Brute & Severing, 2017, 2019, 2020).

Den e artíkulo akí, ta hasi un inventarisashon di e kategoria di palabra *determinante* (Det) den papiamentu, pa despues yega na un klasifikashon ku supkategoria di e komponente lingwístiko akí. Introdukshon di e konsepto *indiferentialis* tambe ta ofresé un mira diferente riba funshonamentu di singularis i pluralis relashoná ku determinante den papiamentu. Despues di un deskripshon di e término i uso di determinante, ta sigui un partishon den e artíkulo akí den e siguiente sekshonnan. Promé ta trata klasifikashon di determinante den papiamentu, despues ta amplia riba determinante aktualisadó, kuantifikadó i interrogativo-eksklamativo i determinante pluralisadó i finalmente ta konkluí ku un resúmen.

Deskripshon i uso di determinante

Ta definí komo determinante un kategoria di morfema liber ku, kombiná ku un sintagma nominal (SN), ta forma un sintagma determinante (SD) segun e análisis generativista. Un sintagma determinante tin e funshon sintáktiko di determiná un sintagma nominal, ku generalmente ta konsistí di un sustantivo òf un grupo di palabra sustantivá. E funshon di determinashon akí ta nifiká ku un SD ta spesialisá (spesifiká) un SN.

Ehèmpel: (1) *Unda mi bala ta?* (2) *Ta e outo ei ta esun nobo.*

Den ehèmpel (1), e palabra *mi* ta aktualisá i konkretisá e sustantivo *bala*. E determinante *mi* ta identifiká e *bala* i indiká asina ku no ta trata di kualke bala sino di un bala ku ta pertenesé na mi persona. Den ehèmpel (2), e determinante deskontinuo *e ... ei* tambe ta aktualisá e outo en kuestion. E ta identifiká esaki, spesifikando su lugá den e konteksto komunikativo.

Awor, pa ilustrá i splika un tiki mas e funshon di determinante, por bisa ku e funshon akí ta enserá e proseso di aktualisá sustantivo usá den frase, limitando asina nan nifikashon na un manera mas o ménos definí. Por ehèmpel, tur papiadó di papiamentu tin den nan lèksiko mental e palabra *stul*, ku su korespondiente imágen (opheto ku normalmente tin kuater pia, un lomba, riba kua hende por sinta, etc.). Ku e palabra *ei*, nos ta referí na tur *stul* ku ta eksistí, a eksistí òf ku por bini na eksistensia den futuro; pues, ku e palabra *ei*, nos no ta referí na un solo *stul*, sino na tur *stul* en general. Sinembargo, den un kòmbersashon, nos ta saka e palabra *ei* for di nos memoria, nos ta aktualisá (hasi aktual i konkreto) i hink'é den un frase. Nos ta bisa, por ehèmpel: (3) *E stul akí ta muchu chikí.* (4) *Mi tío a bai ku e stulnan.* (5) *Mi stul a bai fura ayera.* (6) *Bo stulnan ta den mi balkon.* (7) *Mi a trese un stul pa bo sinta ariba.* Pues, ku e término determinante ta referí na e funshon di *determinashon* ehersé pa e determinantenan, ku ta konsistí di aktualisashon di sustantivo den frase i determinashon di nan nifikashon na un manera mas o ménos definí.

Fundamentalmente, ta distinguí tres tipo di determinante:

- *aktualisadó* (determinante ku ta duna e sustantivo ku e ta determiná un balor real/konkreto, indikando sierto aspekto di dje)
- *kuantifikadó* (determinante ku ta indiká e aspekto di kantidat di e sustantivo ku e ta determiná)
- *interogativo-eksklamativo* (determinante ku ta pidi informashon relashoná ku un aspekto spesífiko di e sustantivo determiná òf ku kua e ta ekspresá emoshon relashoná ku e sustantivo determiná)

Referente

Ta usa determinante pa referí na òf indiká referente òf opheto di un SN i limitá nifikashon di esaki. Pues, ta definí determinante komo un unidat gramatikal ku ta limitá e referente potensial di un sintagma nominal (SN), òf tambe komo un unidat ku ta kuantifiká esaki.

Den papiamentu, ta inkluí den e kategoria di determinante e supkategoria di artíkulo, e supkategoria di demostrativo, e supkategoria di posesivo, e supkategoria di athetivo indefiní, e supkategoria di athetivo numeral i e supkategoria di interrogativo-eksklamativo, i tambe un seri di otro elemento léksiko ku ta referí na identidat òf kantidat di un sustantivo: *otro, semehante, diferente, vários*. Pues, e kategoria di determinante ta aparesé den e idiomanan den kua sustantivo, (nòmber komun: kas, papel, nubia, awa) riba nan mes, no ta sufisiente pa referí na un manera spesífiko na e entidatnan ku nan ta indiká den nos realidat; riba nan mes, nan no por kuantifiká tampoko e entidatnan akí. Sustantivo òf nòmber komun, riba nan mes, simplemente, ta denotá klase òf género di entidat. Nan ta término *indifferentialis*, indikando ademas ku nan ta anumérico. Pues, ora kombiná sustantivo ku un determinante, normalmente ta krea ekspreshon sintáktiko ku ta hasi referensia spesífiko òf ta ekspresá kuantifikashon. Di otro banda, nòmber propio sí por konkretisá e entidatnan na kua nan ta referí; pues, riba nan mes, nan sí tin un funshon referensial konkreto.

Distribushon di determinante ta generalmente pronominal; ke men, nan ta aparesé normalmente dilanti di sustantivo komun (nòmber komun). Nan sekuensia di aparishon, sinembargo, ta restringí; por ehèmpel, e siguiente kombinashonnan no ta posibel: **e sutas, *algun kuater persona*. Pues, no ta posibel kombiná artíkulo ku determinante posesivo òf determinante indefiní ku numeral. Sinembargo, tin algun kombinashon ku sí ta posibel den un sekuensia determiná: *e tres tasnan, tur e bukinan akí, mi dos kachónan di rasa*. I ku e (predeterminante) kuantifikadó *tur*, por hasi, ademas, e siguiente kombinashonnan: *tur+art+num; tur+demost+num; tur+pos+num*. Ehèmpel: (8) *Tur e tres* kosnan akí ta di mi kasá. (9) *Tur e kuater* muchanan ta na skol awe. (10) *Tur mi dos* yunan a lanta malu djaluna.

Klasifikashon di determinante den papiamentu

E kategoria di determinante ta un grupo di palabra morfológikamente invariabel (nan no ta aseptá flekshon di ningun tipo), ku ta kompañá i introdusí e sustantivo núkleo di un SN den frase. Den papiamentu tambe, ta distinguí tres tipo fundamental di determinante, manera a bini dilanti: determinante aktualisadó, determinante kuantifikadó i determinante interrogativo-eksklamativo.

Determinante aktualisadó

- E determinantenan aktualisadó ta presentá/introdusí núkleo di un sintagma nominal, e sustantivo, den frase, i nan ta situ'é den un espasio i un tempu konkreto. Na e funshon

akí, ta referí tambe ku e término identifikashon òf definishon. Di otro banda, e determinantenan kuantifikadó ta midi e sustantivo ku ta núkleo di un sintagma nominal. I e determinantenan interogativo-sklamativo ta hasi pregunta relashoná ku identidat òf kantidat di e núkleo di un sintagma nominal òf ta ekspresá emoshon relashoná ku e núkleo di un sintagma nominal.

Ta repartí e determinantenan aktualisadó normalmente den *kuater tipo di determinante*: predeterminante, determinante artíkulo, determinante posesivo i determinante demostrativo. Un predeterminante ta aparesé normalmente dilanti di un otro determinante, i e ta delimitá konhuntamente ku esaki integridat di e sustantivo ku ta núkleo di un SN. Generalmente, nan ta kumpli ku e mes funshon di e determinantenan, esta, determiná e sustantivo dilanti di kua nan ta aparesé. E úniko diferensia ta ku nan ta determiná e determinante di un SN (òf henter e SN). Ehèmpel: *tur e kasnan; henter e pueblo*.

Pues, sintáktikamente ta konsiderá ku e predeterminantenan ta okupá e posishon di spesifikadó di un sintagma determinante (SD), ku generalmente tin un artíkulo komo núkleo sintáktiko segun e análisis generativista.

Den papiamentu, ta konsiderá, entre otro, *tur* i *henter* komo ehèmpel di predeterminante. Komo predeterminante, nan ta aparesé semper dilanti di un di e determinantenan aktualisadó: *e, un; mi, bo, su, nos, boso, nan; e ... akí, e ... ei, e ... aya*. (*ku ta determiná núkleo di e sintagma nominal*). Ora e predeterminantenan akí aparesé mesora dilanti di e núkleo di un sintagma nominal, ta konsiderá ku nan ta determinante kuantifikadó (ekstensivo): *tur anochi; henter atardi*.

Algun ehèmpel mas di uso di predeterminante: (11) *Tur e muchanan di skol ta ku fakansi*. (12) *El a bende tur su kasnan*. (13) *Nos a lesa tur e bukinan ei kaba*. (14) *Henter e pueblo di Israel a bai den eksilio na Babilonia*. (15) *Henter nos trabou a resultá pòrnada*. (16) *Henter e siman ei, nos a traha riba e proyekto*. (17) *Mi a pèrdè henter un dia di trabou atendiendo su asuntunan*.

Ehèmpel di *tur* i *henter* komo determinante kuantifikadó: (18) *Tur siman, Mario ta bishitá su mama ku ta na un kas di ansiano*. (19) *Henter ora, e muchanan ta kore hunga den solo kayente*.

E determinante artíkulo ('e') ta presentá núkleo di un SN den un espasio i tempu konkreto/ definí: *e tayó riba mesa; e kasnan di aña 30*. E determinantenan posesivo (*mi, bo, su, nos, boso, nan*) ta indiká pertenensia di e sustantivo núkleo di un SN na un otro elemento den e situashon òf konteksto komunikativo (*su* tas di skol, *boso* punto di e prueba), i e determinantenan demostrativo ta situá núkleo di un SN na un lugá mas o ménos serka òf leu di e papiadó (*e ... akí, e ... ei, e ... ayá*) den e situashon komunikativo: *E kas riba e seru ayá. E sapatunan bou di e kama ei*.

Determinante kuantifikadó

- Generalmente, ta agrupá e determinantenan kuantifikadó den dos grupo grandi: e numeralnan i e indefinidonan (òf e ekstensivonan).

Ku e numeralnan, ta midí na un forma eksakto e sustantivo núkleo di un SN. Den papiamentu, e numeralnan ta inklui e numbernan kardinal, ordinal, multiplikativo, partitivo (divisor) òf distributivo. Ku e indefinidonan, ta midí òf evaluá e sustantivo núkleo di un SN na un manera ménos presis. Pues, nan ta determiná òf kuantifiká núkleo di e SN na un manera ineksakto: *algun, demasiado, sierto, otro, mucho, poco, bastante, etc.*

Ehèmpel: (20) *E muchanan a kome demasiado shimaruku.* (21) *El a bai ku bastante artikulo komestibel.*

Determinante interrogativo-eksklamativo

- Ta usa e interrogativo-eksklamativonan pa hasi pregunta relashoná ku núkleo di un sintagma nominal òf ekspresá emoshon relashoná ku e núkleo: *ki dia, kua buki, kuantu sèn. Esta ladron! Esta baina! Esta ko 'i chambòn! Ata baina! Ata palabra!*

Indifferentialis

Awor, promé ku nos sigui ku inventario i análisis di e kategoria di determinante (Det) den papiamentu, nos lo ker a konsiderá e kategoria di determinante i tambe esun di sustantivo den lus di e konsepto *indifferentialis*, ku e lingwista hulandes W.H.M Mattens (1970) a introdusí den su tésis doktoral tokante uso di sustantivo komponé anumérico den idioma hulandes.

W.H.M. Mattens a introdusí e konsepto *indifferentialis* pa por referí na e aspekto anumérico di sustantivo komun den nos léksiko mental. Segun e konsepto akí, tur sustantivo den nos léksiko (di papiamentu tambe) ta karesé di e aspekto numérico, pues, nan no ta ni *singularis*, ni *pluralis*, pero *indifferentialis*. Esei ta nifiká ku na momentu ku usa un sustantivo den frase, sin un determinante, no por bisa ku e ta singular òf plural. Por ehèmpel, si un persona bisa bo ku awe lo e kome *batata*, esei no ke men ku lo e kome un batata so òf mas ku un batata. E ta bisando simplemente ku lo e kome *batata* awe. Esaki ta nifiká ku, usando e sustantivo *batata* sin un determinante, e persona a usa un término *indifferentialis*, un término ku ta *indiferente* pa loke ta trata su aspekto numérico. Pues, por bisa ku e persona akí ta usa e palabra en kuestion simplemente komo un konsepto ku ta enfoká e echo ku awe lo e kome un bèrdura ku e karakteristikanan di un batata.

Awor, si e persona akí ke enfoká *kantidat di e batata* (aspekto numérico) ku e tin pensá di kome awe, lo e por bisa: Awe mi ta kome *un* batata; awe mi ta kome *kuater* batata; awe mi ta kome *hopi* batata òf awe mi ta kome *e* batatanan. Bisando ku awe e ta kome *un*, *kuater* òf *hopi* batata, e persona ta kuantifiká e sustantivo *batata*, usando e determinantenan kuantifikadó dilanti di e sustantivo. Ta konsiderá ku esaki ta un fenómeno sintáktiko ku ta keda realisá na e nivel di abla den un situashon komunikativo. I si e persona bisa ku awe e ta kome *e* batatanan, e ta pluralisá e sustantivo *batata* pa medio

di e sufiho di pluralisashon *-nan*, ku ta un fenómeno morfológiko, ku ta tuma lugá den nos léksiko mental.

Pues, por resumé teoria di Mattens, bisando ku na e nivel di abla (sintáktikamente) ta usa determinante aktualisadó i kuantifikadó indefiní (*un, kada, shete, vários, tur, diferente, demasiado, etc.*) pa kuantifiká (singularisá òf pluralisá) sustantivo indifferentials, ku ta forma parti di nos léksiko mental. Morfológikamente ta usa e sufiho di pluralisashon *-nan* tambe pa pluralisá término indifferentials den nos léksiko mental. I den kaso di omishon di un determinante (ØDet) den uso di sustantivo komun na e nivel sintáktiko, ta duna e sustantivo un interpretashon singular òf plural dependiente di e konteksto komunikativo.

Determinante aktualisadó, kuantifikadó i interogativo-eksklamativo

Den e sekshon akí, lo amplio awor un tiki mas riba e tres tiponan fundamental di determinante den papiamentu. E determinantenan aktualisadó ta esnan ku ta situá núkleo di un SN den espasio i tempu ku bastante presishon, dunando esaki un karakter konkreto/real i transformando esaki di algu deskonosí den algu konosí. Ta distinguí tres tipo di determinante aktualisadó: *artíkulo, demostrativo i posesivo*.

Artíkulo

E determinantenan akí semper ta kompañá un sustantivo (òf un elemento sustantivá) pa indiká ku ta trata di un entidat/oppheto konosí òf deskonosí pa e interlokutornan den un konteksto komunikativo. Di nan mes, nan no tin nifikashon, sino solamente e funshon di determiná (referí na/spesifiká) e sustantivo (núkleo di un SN) ku nan ta kompañá. Nan tin un posishon pronominal, esta, nan ta aparesé semper dilanti di un sustantivo òf un SN. E artíkulon an determinante den papiamentu ta ‘e’ i ‘un’, respektivamente, e artíkulo definí i e artíkulo indefiní.

Manera a keda tresé dilanti, e artíkulon an ta presentá òf introdusí núkleo di un sintagma nominal den frase; ke men, nan ta transform’é di algu deskonosí den algu konosí i pon’é den espasio i tempu di e konteksto komunikativo; ku otro palabra, nan ta saka e sustantivo for di un pensamentu apstrakto (nos léksiko mental) i pon’é den un situashon komunikativo konkreto. Si un opheto ta deskonosí, ta usa e artíkulo indefiní ‘un’ pa menshon’é pa promé biaha, pero si bolbe menshon’é den e konteksto komunikativo, lo por usa e artíkulo definí ‘e’ pa referí na dje atrobe. E artíkulo definí tin, pues, un balor referensial anafórik o tambe. Ehèmpel: (22) *Mi a mira un kashi bunita den e tienda; e kashi tabata di palu di mahòk.*

Ademas di nan funshon aktualisadó, ta usa artíkulo tambe pa sustantivá athetivo: *e grandi, un chikitu*. Ta usa e artíkulo indefiní tin biaha tambe ku nòmber propio di hende pa suprayá individualidat. Ehèmpel: (23) *Mi konosé un Rosa ku ta mas fuerte ku kualke hòmer*. Ku mas frekuensia, ta usa tambe e kombinashon *un tal* pa referí na un hende mas o ménos konosí: (24) *Ayera mi a sera konosí ku un tal Martinus di Bándariba*.

Demostrativo

E determinantenan akí ta kompañá sustantivo pa indiká nan proksimidat òf lehanía relashoná ku e persona na palabra den un konteksto komunikativo. Ta usa e siguiente forman den deskontinuo (un parti di e forma ta aparesé dilanti, i e otro parti ta aparesé tras di e sustantivo) den papiamentu: *e ... akí*, ora referente di e sustantivo en kuestion ta mas serka di e persona ku ta papia. Ora e referente ta ni serka ni leu di e papiadó, pero mas serka di e persona ku ken ta papia (e skuchadó), ta usa *e ... ei*, i ora e referente ta leu for di e papiadó i tur otro lokutor den e konteksto komunikativo, ta usa *e ... ayá*. Ehèmpel: *e buki akí; e tas ei; e outo ayá*.

Ku otro palabra, e determinantenan demostrativo ta aktualisá un sustantivo, limitá su nifikashon general, indikando situashon di su referente (opheto) relashoná ku e papiadó i e skuchadó. E referente por ta serka (*e kòmputa akí*), ni serka ni leu (*e kòmputa ei*) òf leu for di e papiadó i e skuchadó (*e kòmputa ayá*). Ademas di referí na algu ku ta visiblemente den presensia di e interlokutornan (funshon déiktiko), e determinantenan demostrativo por referí tambe:

- na algu òf un hende ku nos a kaba di menshoná (funshon anafórico):

(25) *-Mi a kaba di lesa e último novela di Jopi Hart; mi gusta e bukinan di e outor akí masha tantu mes.*

- na un época serkano òf lehano (funshon anafórico) :

(26) *-Na mucha, semper mi tabata pasa fakansi serka mi wela i tawela; mi no ta lubidá e fakansinan ei nunca mas.*

- na algu ku nos ta rekordá (funshon anafórico):

(27) *-Kasá di e señora ayá, esun ku a bishitá nos siman pasá, ta un gran violinista.*

- na algu ku ta bai ser menshoná (funshon katafórico):

(28) *-Mi a splik'é e strategia ku e palabranan akí: "Si nan ataká nos, nos ta dividí nos mes mesora."*

- pa indiká un relashon ku tempu pasado, presente òf e momentu ku ta papia:

(29) *-Na e momentu ei, no tabatin niun hende na kas.*

(30) *-Nos ta saliendo na e momentu akí.*

(31) *-E wenter ei sí tabata teribel.*

E determinantenan demostrativo por aparesé, entre otro, den kombinashon ku e determinantenan numeral i esunnan indefiní den un SN: (32) *El a duna mi solamente e tres kosnan akí pa bo.* (33) *Ta tur e kosnan ei, el a laga tras pa boso.* (34) *Tur e tempu ei, e tabata biba na Hulanda.* Pues, mediante e demostrativonan, nos por referí na algu presente den e situashon konkreto di un akto di komunikashon, aludí na algu ku ya a keda menshoná òf, inkluso, apuntá na algu ku no ta presente den e situashon komunikativo. Pues, e karakterístika mas sobresaliente di e tipo di determinante aktualisadó akí ta ku e ta pone núkleo di un SN den espasio i tempu na un manera mas presis ku e

determinantenan artíkulo. Pues, nan ta indiká lugá òf situashon di un núkleo sustantivo relashoná ku e papiadó den un situashon komunikativo.

Posesivo

E tipo di determinante akí ta kompañá e sustantivo di un SN, indikando poseshon òf pertenensia di e referente/opheto deskribí pa e sustantivo. Nan por referí na un solo persona komo poseedó òf na vários poseedó. Pues, e tipo di determinante aktualisadó akí ta presentá núkleo di un SN komo pertenensia di un solo poseedó (*mi, bo, su*) òf komo pertenensia di vários poseedó (*nos, boso, nan*). Ehèmpel: *mi propiedat, bo baiskel, su shimisnan, nos tata, boso kurá, nan outonan*. Por bisa, pues, ku e tipo di determinante akí, básikamente, ta enfoká un relashon di pertenensia òf poseshon, relashonando un referente/opheto ku un persona gramatikal. Ehèmpel: (35) *Nos pintura ta esun di mas bunita*. (36) *Bo brel ta masha kopioso*.

Determinante kuantifikadó

E tipo di determinante akí ta enserá tur esunnan ku ta midí núkleo di un SN. Ta distinguí dos suptipo: esnan ku ta midí òf evaluá na un forma presis, e numeralnan (*tres, kuarenta, terser, di diesdos*) i esnan ku ta midí òf evaluá na un forma ménos presis, e kuantifikadónan indefiní (òf ekstensivo): *algun, ningun, sierto, otro, mucho, bastante, mas, vários, hopi, tantu, diferente, etc.* Tradishonalmente tabata yama e suptipo akí athetivo indefiní òf numeral indefiní. (E.R. Goilo, 1953).

E determinantenan numeral ta kompañá núkleo di un SN, i nan ta indiká su kantidat òf lugá den un sekuensia (órden) na un manera presis/eksakto. Ta distinguí numeral kardinal (*tres apel, seis outo, dieskuater stul*) i numeral ordinal (*promé, segundo, di tres, di seis*). E numeral *sero* ta indiká un kuantifikashon apsoluto negativo: *sero grado, sero punto*.

Ta papia di numeral kardinal ora nan ta representá e numbernan natural/real (*un, dos, tres, kuater, sinku, dies, binti, shen, etc.*); i di numeral ordinal ora nan ta indiká herarkia, esta, un posishon anterior òf posterior di un opheto relashoná ku e otro miembronan/elementonan di un seri (*promé kasita, segundo kareda, di tres premio, di seis aniversario, di dies lustro, etc.*).

Ta ekspresá e numeralnan ordinal tantu pa medio di algun forma simpel: *promé, segundo, terser*, komo pa medio di algun forma komponé: *di dos, di tres, di diesdos, etc.*

Ta papia tambe di numeral multiplikadó ora esakinan ta multipliká kantidat di e núkleo di un SN (*dòbel, tripel, kuádrupel, etc.*); di numeral frakshonario (divisor òf partitivo) ora nan ta ekspresá un di e partinan den kua a dividí núkleo di un SN (*mei, mitar, di seis parti, di diesun parti, etc.*); i di numeral distributivo ora nan ta dividí núkleo di un SN (*ámbos, kada*).

Manera a keda bisá ariba, determinante kuantifikadó indefiní ta indiká kantidat òf sierto aspekto di e sustantivo ku nan ta kompañá na un manera ménos eksakto.. Ehèmpel: (37) *muchu aros, bastante awa, mas papel, vários pèn, demasiado problema, ménos tempu*.

Determinante interrogativo-eksklamativo

E determinantenan akí ta kompañá sustantivo di un SN den frase interrogativo òf eksklamativo. Ta usa nan pa hasi pregunta relashoná ku núkleo di un SN, òf ta konsiderá ku nan ta ekspresá atmirashon, sorpresa, indignashon relashoná ku e sustantivo. No ta posibel kombiná e tipo di determinante akí ku e determinantenan aktualisadó/identifikadó (artíkulo, posesivo, demostrativo) den frase. Den papiamentu, ta usa *ki*, *kua* i *kuantu* komo determinante interrogativo *esta* i *ata* komo determinante eksklamativo. Ehèmpel: (38) *kuantu dia, ki ora, kua pregunta, esta un palu grandi!, esta un flor bunita!, esta un doló!, ata palabra!*

Pluralisashon di elemento *differentialis* pa medio di determinante

Un karakterístika importante di determinante den papiamentu ta ku ta solamente esunnan aktualisadó/identifikadó tin e potensia pa pluralisá núkleo di un SN. Pues, kontrali na, por ehèmpel, e idiomanan spañó i ingles, den papiamentu, ta solamente ku determinante aktualisadó *artíkulo*, *posesivo* i *demostrativo* (kombiná ku e sufiho *-nan*) por pluralisá i konsekuwentemente kompañá núkleo plural di un SN. E otro supkategorianan, *esta*, determinante kuantifikadó, interrogativo-eksklamativo, tampoko no ta kompañá nunca un sustantivo pluralisá ku e sufiho *-nan* den frase.. E sustantivo di un SN semper ta un konsepto/elemento *indifferentialis* (sin e aspekto numérico) den nos léksiko di papiamentu, ku segun Mattens, por ser interpretá sea komo un elemento *singularis* òf *pluralis* den un konteksto komunikativo, den kaso di omishon di un determinante identifikadó (ØDet).

Aki ta sigui algun frase ilustrativo di determinante pluralisadó i no pluralisadó.

Ehèmpel: determinante pluralisadó

bo	(39) Mi a pone <i>bo bukinan</i> riba mesa den komedor.
su	(40) <i>Su ideanan</i> semper ta masha briante.
nos	(41) Nunca e no sa aseptá <i>nos invitashonnan</i> .
e ... akí	(42) Tur <i>e pinturanan akí</i> ta di mi tio pintor.
e ... ei	(43) Bo no por konvensé ningun hende ku <i>e argumentonan ei</i> .
e	(44) Por fin, gobièrnu a laga asfaltá <i>e kamindanan</i> di tera den nos bario.
e	(45) Mi no por haña <i>e karchinan di entrada</i> niun kaminda.

Ehèmpel: determinante no pluralisadó

ámbos	Mi bisiña a gana <i>ámbos premio</i> di e rifa.
bastante	Bo a kome <i>bastante karni</i> kaba e siman akí.
demasiado	Bo a pone <i>demasiado suku</i> den mi te.
diferente	El a bini ku <i>diferente sugerensia</i> práktiko.
dòbel	Polis ta investigando <i>un dòbel asesinato</i> .
henter	<i>Henter anochi</i> , e kachónan di mi bisiña a grita.

kada	<i>Kada dia</i> pasa, e ta bishitá su tata na e kas di ansiano.
kualke	<i>Kualke momentu</i> , nos por risibí notisia di dje.
kuantu	Mi no sa <i>kuantu pan</i> será el a bende awe mainta.
mas	Mi no tin <i>mas sèn largá</i> den mi pòtmòni.
mei	Mi a kumpra <i>mei liber</i> di karni di stoba na marshe.
mes	Segun tempu tabata pasa, el a sigui su <i>mes kaminda</i> .
mitar	Mama a drecha <i>mitar pan</i> pa bo.
muchu	Nos a kome <i>muchu pastechi</i> i <i>empaná</i> awe.
ningun	El a kuminsá zundra mi sin <i>ningun motibu</i> .
otro	Nos no tin <i>otro solushon</i> na e momentu akí pa e problema.
sierto	Eksperensia doloroso ta pone ku e no por papia di <i>sierto tópiko</i> .
tal	El a regla su asuntunan di <i>tal forma</i> ku e por a sigui traha riba e proyekto.
tur	<i>Tur dia</i> mi tata ta bai traha promé ku solo sali.
poko	Mi a kumpra <i>poko kos</i> di pasa boka serka dje.
tantu	A bini asina <i>tantu hende</i> , ku no tabatin mas lugá di sinta.
tiki	El a duna mi un <i>tiki awa</i> di lamunchi friu pa baha kalor.
hopi	<i>Hopi hende</i> a pèrdè trabou aña pasá.
seis	E kas akí tin solamente <i>seis bentana</i> chikí.
dos	El a duna mi solamente <i>dos ehersisio</i> pa traha na kas.

Si ta nesesario pa morfológikamente pluralisá núkleo di un SN, ku ta determiná pa un determinante kuantifikadó, generalmente ta inklui un determinante aktualisadó den e ekspreshon òf frase.

Ehèmpel:

dòbel	Polis ta investigando <i>e dòbel asesinatonan</i> .
tres	<i>Su tres kompatriotanan</i> no ke yud'é mas.
otro	Nos no por a usa <i>su otro sugerensianan</i> .
promé	Riba <i>e promé dianan</i> , nos no a bai ningun kaminda.
último	Den <i>e último añanan</i> , tabatin hopi desaster natural.
tur	<i>Tur e dianan ei</i> , nan a keda na un hotèl di 5 strea.
henter	Nos a dediká <i>henter e temporada</i> , na nos trabou di investigashon.

Den e ehèmpelnan akiriba, por mira ku ta usa un determinante aktualisadó sea dilanti di òf tras di un determinante kuantifikadó (indefíní) ora ta nesesario pa pluralisá núkleo di un SN. Den e promé kaso, ta papia di un sintagma determinante (SD) i den e di dos kaso, ta papia di un sintagma nominal (SN) determiná pa un kuantifikadó segun gramátika generativista. A base di tur loke a bini dilanti aki riba, nos ta yega na e siguiente skema (Skema 1) pa e kategoria di determinante den papiamentu.

Kategoria di determinante den papiamentu

Supkategoria	definishon
<i>Determinante</i>	<i>aktualisadó: identifikadó</i>
•Artíkulo	Morfema ku ta kompañá e sustantivo di un SN ku ta konosí pa esun ku ta papia (i esun ku ta skucha) den un konteksto komunikativo. Nan tin un funshon referensial i deíktivo. Ehèmpel: <i>e, un</i> .
•Demostrativo	Determinante ku ta indiká proksimidat òf lehanía di e sustantivo di un SN. Nan tambe tin un funshon referensial i deíkivo. •Serkania: <i>e ... akí</i> •Distansia entremedio: <i>e ... ei</i> •Lehanía: <i>e ... ayá</i>
•Posesivo	Determinante ku ta indiká na ken referente (opheto) di e sustantivo di un SN ta pertenesé. Nan tambe tin un funshon referensial i deíkivo. •Poseedó úniko: <i>mi, bo, su</i>. •Poseedó múltiple: <i>nos, boso, nan</i>.
<i>Determinante</i>	<i>kuantifikadó: no identifikadó</i>
•Numeral	Determinante ku ta indiká kantidat eksakto òf sekuensia di e ehemplarnan, unidatnan, ophetonan na kua e sustantivo di un SN ta referí. Ta distinguí: •Numeral kardinal: <i>sero, unu, dos tres, kuater, shen, mil, etc.</i> •Numeral ordinal: <i>promé, segundo, terser, di dos, di tres, di kuater, último, penúltimo, antepenúltimo, etc.</i> •Numeral frakshonario: <i>mitar, mei, dos i mei, etc.</i> •Numeral multiplikativo: <i>dòbel, tripel, kuádrupel, ...</i> •Numeral distributivo: <i>ámbos, kada</i>.
•Indefiní	Determinante ku ta limitá nifikashon general di un sustantivo, indikando na un manera ménos presis òf ménos eksakto, kantidat òf naturalesa di e opheto/referente indiká pa e sustantivo núkleo di un SN. Ehèmpel: <i>ámbos, algun, bastante, demasiado, diferente, dòbel, henter, hopi, kualke, mas, mei, mitar, ménos, mes, muchu, ningun, otro, poko, sierto, sufisiente, tal, tantu, tiki, tur, un, vários</i> .
•Interrogativo	Determinante interrogativo ta kompañá sustantivo i ta hasi pregunta tokante nan naturalesa òf kantidat: <i>ki, kua, kuantu</i> . Ehèmpel: <i>Ki dia bo ta pasa akibanda atrobe? Kua koló bo a skohé? Kuantu pan rondó bo a kumpra?</i>
•Eksklamativo	Determinante eksklamativo ta ekspresá atmirashon, sorpresa òf emoshon relashoná ku e sustantivo ku nan ta kompañá. Ta usa <i>esta</i> i <i>ata</i> komo determinante eksklamativo pa determiná SN den papiamentu. <i>Esta baina! Esta ladron! Esta un krueldat! Esta un lokura! Ata su tata! Ata palabra!</i>

SN=sintagma nominal

Skema 1 Kategoria di determinante den papiamentu

Resúmen

Manera a keda eksponé den e artíkulo akí, ta bini dilanti ku den papiamentu tambe e kategoria di determinante ta forma parti di nos léksiko, ku generalmente e mes funshon i karakterístikanan ku e kategoria gramatikal akí tin den, por ehèmpel, spañó, hulandes i ingles. A hasi un intento tambe den e artíkulo akí pa supkategorisá vários di e determinantenan ku ta ser usá den papiamentu (mira skema 1).

Pues, resumiendo, ta konsiderá ku e kategoria di determinante ta un kategoria será, ku ta konsistí di un grupo limitá di morfema liber ku normalmente ta aparesé dilanti di e sustantivo núkleo di un sintagma nominal (SN) òf dilanti di un sintagma nominal kompleto, formando asina un sintagma determinante (SD). Ta konsiderá ku tur determinante tin e mes funshon sintáktiko, esta, determiná sustantivo usá den frase.

Un sintagma nominal (SN) tin e siguiente struktura sintáktiko: determinante+sustantivo. Nos ta mira, pues, ku determinante tin e funshon di determinashon di e sustantivo núkleo di un SN òf di un sintagma nominal kompleto. Sea nan ta aktualisá, kuantifiká, hasi pregunta relashoná ku sierto aspekto òf kantidat di e referente/opheto, òf nan ta ekspresá emoshon (atmirashon òf sorpresa) relashoná ku e referente/opheto na kua un sustantivo ta referí den frase.

A bini dilanti, entre otro, ku e término aktualisashon ta referí na e operashon pa medio di kua un signo lingwístiko (palabra) ta bira un unidat di abla. Pues, mediante aktualisashon, un papiadó ta transformá konsepto genérico-virtual den un referente real i spesífiko; mediante aktualisashon, ta lokalisá konsepto den un espasio i un tempu konkreto. Ku otro palabra, pa medio di aktualisashon ta pasa di e plano konseptual/virtual di lenga pa e plano aktual/real, e nivel di abla. Pues, ta usa determinante aktualisadó pa aktualisá un sustantivo simpel òf komponé di kua por lokalisá su referente/opheto den un tempu i espasio konkreto promé ku usa esaki den frase.

Ehèmpel: Mi a pone e *kahanan di sapatu* bou di kama den kamber.

Den e ehèmpel aki riba, a aktualisá *kahanan di sapatu*, hasiendo uso di e determinante artíkulo ‘e’, pa referí na e referente spesífiko di e SN den nos mundu real. Ademas, a usa e kombinashon di e determinante ‘e’ i e sufiho di pluralisashon *-nan* pa determiná kantidat di e sustantivo komponé den e frase di ehèmpel aki riba. I manera nos a mira, segun e teoria di W.H.M. Mattens, pluralisashon di *palabra komponé* pa medio di *-nan* tambe ta un fenómeno morfológiko ku ta keda realisá den nos léksiko mental di papiamentu, kaminda tur sustantivo (simpel, derivá i komponé) ta término *indifferentials*, (esta, término sin spesifikashon numérico). Ta solamente den un konteksto komunikativo, na e nivel sintáktiko di abla, ta kuantifiká (singularisá/ pluralisá) sustantivo mediante determinante (identifikadó) òf ta duna sustantivo un interpretashon singular òf plural mediante determinante (kuantifikadó/no identifikadó). Pues, ta dependé di e konteksto sintáktiko i uso di determinante (inkluso sero determinante (ØDet)), i no di presensia òf ousensia di e sufiho *-nan*, si ta duna un sustantivo un

interpretashon singularis òf pluralis den frase. E siguiente ehèmpelnan ta akclará un ke otro:

Wendel: Mi ta bayendo *kas*.

Georg: Unda bo *kas* ta? (interpretashon singularis)

Marina: Mi a kumpra *komestibel* awe.

Elia: Unda bo a buta *nan*? (interpretashon pluralis)

Karla: Mi sa ku e gusta lesa *buki*.

Mario: Sí, e gusta lesa *buki* di Ellis Juliana i di Pierre Laufer. (interpretashon pluralis) Den e tres ehèmpelnan akí, ta bini masha kla dilanti ku *kas*, *komestibel* i *buki* ta *sustantivo indifferentials* den nos léksiko mental, ku den abla ta haña, respektivamente, un interpretashon singularis i pluralis. Pues, den e di dos frase di kada ehèmpel, ta bira kla ku a duna e respektivo sustantivonan di e promé frasenan un interpretashon *singularis*, relashonando nan ku un determinante posesivo (bo), un pronòmber personal (nan) i un sintagma preposishonal komo komplemento pluralisá (di Ellis Juliana i di Pierre Laufer). A base di e konteksto, ta determiná kantidat di e sustantivonan *kas*, *komestibel* i *buki* den e situashon komunikativo. Pues, asina akí, ta keda demostrá ku sustantivo no tin un aspekto numérico den nos léksiko mental; nan no ta *singularis* ni *pluralis*, sino simplemente *indifferentials*.

Den e kategoria di determinante, nos por a mira ku den papiamentu tambe ta inkluí e artíkulonon i e tradishonalmente yamá athetivonan determinativo, ku tabata inkluí e determinantenan demostrativo, posesivo, indefiní, numeral i interrogativo-eksklamativo. Pues, por konkluí ku na momento ku un sustantivo no ta kompañá pa un determinante (ØDet), e ta referí na algu apstrakto, konseptual òf genérico, por ehèmpel, na un idea/pensamentu òf konsepto. Na momentu ku un sustantivo ta kompañá pa un determinante aktualisadó, e ta referí na algu konkreto, serkano, lehano òf konosí, ku tin un eksistensia real òf imaginá. I ora un sustantivo ta kompañá pa un determinante kuantifikadó, papiadó òf skirbidó ta indiká/referí na un manera eksakto òf ménos eksakto na kantidat di e referente/opheto di e sustantivo, sin ku e ta aktualisá esaki.

Konkluyendo, nos por bisa ku e kategoria di determinante ta den papiamentu tambe un kategoria di palabra independiente, separá di tur otro kategoria di palabra, meskos ku den, entre otro, hulandes, spañó i ingles. Por ehèmpel, si kompará e kategoria akí ku esun di athetivo kalifikativo, nos ta mira ku generalmente nan no ta asumí un grado komparativo (*mas vários kas**, *ménos ningun tas**), ku nan uso sintáktiko nunca no ta opshonal (Mi tin *dies buki* di reseta. Mi a traha *henter dia* ayera. El a bebe *muchu* serbes.) i ku nan tin semper un antesedente na kua nan ta referí. I manera a keda tresé dilanti den e artíkulo akí, ta usa determinante pa indiká ku papiadó/skirbidó ta referí na algu spesífiko i konkreto òf na algu general, genérico, ku ademas por ser kuantifiká, den un konteksto komunikativo.

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LANGUAGE USE AND ATTITUDES TOWARD PAPIAMENTU AMONG LATINX IMMIGRANTS IN CURAÇAO

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Abstract

In this article we analyze the results of an electronic questionnaire that was administered to 105 Latinx participants living in Curaçao, who were born in Colombia, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic and on the ABC-islands, with the aim of determining both their attitudes toward Papiamentu, their proficiency in the language, as well as the extent to which they use Papiamentu and Spanish in different domains. We also investigate appreciable differences between the results of the different groups of participants involved in our study.

The results indicate that attitudes toward Papiamentu were generally positive, with most of the participants using Papiamentu and Spanish at home, and, alongside other languages, outside the family. A majority evaluated their proficiency in Papiamentu as ‘excellent’ or ‘very good’ and were motivated to learn the language at a professional level. There were only minor appreciable differences between the participants of different nationalities. The participants from Colombia showed slightly more negative attitudes toward Papiamentu, whereas participants from the Dominican Republic evaluated their proficiency more often as ‘excellent’ and considered the language more important for socializing. As expected, Latinxs who were born on the ABC-islands used Papiamentu more often, also in combination with Dutch.

Key terms: Curaçao, language attitudes, Papiamentu, Spanish, multilingualism

Introduction

In this article we present the results of a research project about language use and attitudes toward Papiamentu on the island of Curaçao. The major home language of the population is Papiamentu, but Dutch has been the only officially recognized language on the island for centuries, dominating the administrative and educational systems, as well as

other formal domains of the public sphere. English and Spanish play an important role on the island as well, due to migration, tourism, and the increasing influence of the media (television, the internet).

In the study upon which this article is based, we investigate the role of Papiamentu and Spanish in present-day Curaçaoan society by analyzing the results of an electronic questionnaire that was administered to 105 participants who were born in Colombia, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic and on the ABC-islands, with the aim of determining their attitudes toward Papiamentu, their proficiency in the language, as well as the extent to which they use Papiamentu and Spanish in different domains.

In order to contextualize our study of language use and attitudes among Latin American immigrants on Curaçao, it is important to briefly consider their position within the community, a topic that has not been investigated extensively so far. Van der Sloot (2010; 2011) carried out a research project on the identity constructions of Latin American immigrants in Curaçao by means of desk research, participant observation, focus group meetings and open interviews. She concluded from her findings that Latin American immigrants in Curaçao typically adopt multiple identities. They share strong feelings of a common set of Latinx identities, as they perceive themselves as culturally similar to other Latin American immigrants and different from the local population. Language seems to play a pivotal role in the perception of group identities (Lambert et al., 1960; Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977, and subsequent work) as Latinxs on Curaçao prefer to speak Spanish within their own group and are identified by the non-Latinx local population based on their use of Spanish and their accent when speaking Papiamentu. Some Latinx participants perceive Papiamentu as ‘badly spoken Spanish’ and therefore do not want to learn and speak the local language, because they fear that it will damage their Spanish (Van der Sloot, 2010: 53).

Latinxs also share strong feelings of national identity which is formed in their home country and revalued and renegotiated in the diaspora (Van der Sloot, 2011: 350).¹ Their national identity is expressed in multiple ways (food and drink, music, dance, sport, clothing and speech style) and maintained by their strong social networks on the island (cultural associations, folklore groups, radio stations) as well as by regular contact with their families and frequent visits to their home countries. Latinxs in Curaçao also adopt a set of local identities, as they come to feel integrated into Curaçaoan society. Some, however, are impacted by national stereotyping, both negatively (e.g., the prejudice

¹ Appendix 3 provides an overview of the number of Dominican, Colombian and Venezuelan immigrants to the island from 1995 until 2010 (from Van der Sloot, 2011: 358). A report by the Central Bureau of Statistics, Curaçao (2011) based on the Census held in 2011 reveals slightly different numbers (according to country of birth):

Dominican Republic:	5,405
Colombia:	4,537
Venezuela:	1,691

against Dominicans as belonging to lower socio-economic classes and against Colombians as being associated with drugs and criminality), and positively (the stereotypical idea that Colombians and Venezuelans are highly educated) (Van der Sloot, 2011: 353). In connection to language attitudes and national stereotyping in the diaspora, it is interesting to consider the results of a study by Zentella (2007) that was carried out among Colombians and Dominicans (as well as Cubans and Puerto Ricans) in New York City. The findings indicated that the different groups of Spanish speakers were characterized by different rates of language (in)security. Zentella (2007: 28) described language insecurity as the extent to which speakers consider their varieties inferior to others. She concluded from her findings that Colombians (and Cubans) showed the lowest rates of linguistic insecurity and Dominicans (and Puerto Ricans) the highest. According to Zentella, these patterns appeared to be related to the higher education levels of Colombians (and Cubans) and the lower education rates of Dominicans (and Puerto Ricans) (Zentella, 2007: 28).

Negative attitudes toward Dominican Spanish were evident from derogatory remarks about Dominican Spanish by 58% of the other participants (Zentella, 2007: 29). Also, 41% of the Colombians vehemently rejected the idea that they might consider it a compliment if they were told that they sounded like a Dominican, arguing that Dominicans “sound incorrect” and “it’s an offense” (29). Such negative attitudes seem to have been internalized by Dominicans, as 20% of them would not consider it a compliment to be identified as Dominican (29).

These differences may be relevant for the study presented in this article, as linguistic security among Colombians may trigger more negative attitudes toward Papiamentu and less motivation to learn and to use the language, whereas the linguistic insecurity of Dominicans toward their varieties of Spanish may enhance positive attitudes toward Papiamentu and encourage their motivation to learn and to use the language.

Language use and attitudes toward Papiamentu² among Latinx immigrants in Aruba

In order to contextualize our study of attitudes toward Papiamentu in Curaçao, it is also important to briefly consider the role of Papiamentu and Spanish on the neighboring island of Aruba, which is socio-historically and linguistically quite intimately related to Curaçao. Aruba has been experiencing a massive influx of Latin American immigrants since the 1980s due to the booming tourist industry on the island, which has created a strong demand for immigrant labor.³

² Notice that the name of the language is written as Papiamentu in Aruba and as Papiamentu in Curaçao and Bonaire. In this article we will use both spellings to refer to the varieties spoken on the respective islands.

³ A report by the Central Bureau of Statistics Aruba (2010) based on the Census held in 2010 reveals the following numbers for the major groups of Latin American immigrants (according to country of

Carroll (2009; 2015) explicitly addresses the question as to what extent the waves of Latin American immigration over the past century have given rise to negative attitudes and feelings of insecurity with regard to the viability of Papiamentu among non-Latinxs on Aruba. Based on interviews, he concludes that Papiamentu is not in danger of language shift, but instead is perceived as a strong marker of Aruban identity which clearly distinguishes the local population and integrated immigrants from newly arrived immigrants (Carroll, 2015:120-127).

These positive tendencies are also corroborated by Kelly's (2015) survey on language use and attitudes toward Papiamentu among 149 Latin American immigrants on Aruba. His findings point at a language shift from Spanish to Papiamentu, as the participants of his survey indicated that they used Papiamentu or a balanced combination of the two languages more frequently than Spanish only, even with family members, as illustrated in Table 1.

	PA	PA>SP	PA=SP	SP>PA	SP
Your mother	28.7	18.9	14.7	19.6	18.2
Your father	14.3	25.0	30.7	10.7	19.3
Your sisters	25.7	11.8	36.0	8.8	17.6
Your brothers	20.7	17.1	29.7	9.0	23.4
Your friends	39.7	15.3	32.8	9.2	3.1
Strangers	43.1	14.6	22.0	13.0	7.3

Table 1 Use of Spanish and Papiamentu with different interlocutors in percentages corresponding to five categories 'Papiamentu only' (PA), 'More Papiamentu than Spanish' (PA>SP), 'Papiamentu and Spanish equally' (PA=SP), 'More Spanish than Papiamentu' (PA<SP), 'Spanish only' (SP), based on Kelly (2015: 25-26)

Attitudes toward Papiamentu appeared to be very positive as well, as the participants evaluated the language as being (very) important for activities related to both instrumental purposes (education and the job market) as well as integrative purposes (socializing within the community). The results were measured on a four-point scale. For ease of exposition, the categories of 'very important' and 'important', as well as 'little (slightly) important' and 'not important' have been grouped together in Table 2.

birth) on Aruba and Curaçao (repeated from footnote 1). Obviously, the total sum of these groups is higher in Aruba, although the total population of the island is lower.

	Aruba (2010)	Curaçao (2011)
Colombia	9,273	4,537
Dominican Republic	4,109	5,405
Venezuela	3,229	1,691
Total population	101,484	150,563

	(very) important	little (slightly)/ not important
Instrumental		
Passing exams	73.5	26.5
Reading	74.1	25.9
Writing	84.2	15.8
Getting a job	76.8	23.1
Integrative		
Making friends	79.2	20.8
Living on Aruba	83.8	16.2
Raising children	76.4	23.6
Being accepted in the community	77.4	22.6

Table 2 Importance of the use of Papiamentu in carrying out certain activities related to instrumental and integrative purposes, based on Kelly (2015: 23-24)

Kelly's (2015: 28) findings also indicated that 78.4% of the participants were interested in taking Papiamentu courses to gain further proficiency in the language. Moreover, most of the participants (49%) were interested in developing their overall competence, instead of focusing on individual language skills such as speaking (6.2%), listening (9.0%), reading (11.7%) and writing (24.1%).

In the remainder of this article, we will investigate the patterns of language use and attitudes among the Latin American immigrants in Curaçao.

Research questions, hypotheses and methodology

For the present study, we formulated the following central research question: What are the patterns of language use and attitudes toward Papiamentu among Latinx immigrants on Curaçao? On the basis of this central question, we formulated the following sub-questions: 1) How can we characterize the language skills in Papiamentu among Latinx immigrants on Curaçao? 2) What are the patterns of language use (specifically the use of Papiamentu and Spanish) among the Latinx population on Curaçao? 3) What are the prevailing attitudes toward Papiamentu among the Latinx population on Curaçao? 4) What is the prevailing motivation for learning Papiamentu among the Latinx population on Curaçao? 5) Are there any appreciable differences between the results of Latinx participants from different countries of origin?

In connection to these questions, we formulated the following hypotheses:

- (1) Latinx immigrants have (some) knowledge of Papiamentu, but their language skills may vary due to differences in their social and professional networks.
- (2) Latinx immigrants use Spanish in their personal (family) networks, but they use Papiamentu in the education system and at work.
- (3) Latinx immigrants have positive attitudes toward Papiamentu and are aware of the local importance of the language.

(4) Latinx immigrants are motivated to learn Papiamentu, including for professional purposes, because they need Papiamentu not only to integrate into the community, but also at work.

(5) On the basis of Zentella (2007) we expect more negative attitudes toward Papiamentu and less use of the language among Colombian immigrants and more positive attitudes toward Papiamentu and more frequent use of the language by participants from the Dominican Republic.

To answer the research questions, a questionnaire was designed based on Baker (1992) and previous studies on language use, attitudes and identity in Curaçao (Garrett, 2008; Kester, 2011; Kester, 2020; Kester & Romero Ojeda, 2020). The questionnaire was formulated in Spanish and contained six sets of questions regarding: 1) the use of Papiamentu in activities involving the media; 2) the use of Papiamentu in interpersonal communication; 3) language attitudes toward Papiamentu; 4) attitudes toward learning Papiamentu; 5) levels of proficiency in Papiamentu corresponding to the four language skills; and 6) demographic information about the participants. The questionnaire was uploaded in May 2020 onto the internet platform ‘ThesisTools’, which is designed for carrying out online surveys. Participants were recruited through Facebook networks for Latinxs living in Curaçao and through a snowball process in which members of one of the author’s personal Facebook networks in Curaçao forwarded the survey to others on the island. The online survey contained an information letter and consent form approved by the Faculty Ethics Assessment Committee-Humanities, Linguistics Chamber at Utrecht University (see Appendix 1).⁴

Results

The questionnaire (see Appendix 2) was filled out by 108 participants in total. As most of the participants were born in Colombia, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic and on the ABC-islands, we decided to focus on these groups and to carry out a comparative analysis of their results. We excluded the questionnaires that were filled out by 3 participants who were born elsewhere. There were 80 female participants and 25 male participants of different age groups, as illustrated in Table 3. As the numbers of participants in every age group are rather low, we will only compare the results of the participants of different nationalities.

	18-30	30-50	50+	Total
Colombia	21	21	13	55
Venezuela	9	9	4	22
Dominican Republic	9	6	0	15

⁴ The Faculty Ethics Assessment Committee-Humanities, Linguistics Chamber provided permission for publication of the results in retrospect, stating that the study met the standards for approval of the committee.

ABC-islands	11	1	1	13
				105

Table 3 Number of participants according to country of origin and age group

Proficiency in Papiamentu

Tables 4-7 illustrate the results of the questionnaire regarding the self-evaluation of the participants with respect to their proficiency in Papiamentu. We decided to assess each of the four language skills individually: understanding, speaking, reading, and writing.

	Excellent	Very well	Well	Fair	Poor
Colombia	32.7	27.3	20.0	16.4	3.6
Venezuela	36.4	27.3	22.7	13.6	0.0
Dominican Republic	60.0	33.3	6.7	0.0	0.0
ABC-islands	23.1	30.8	38.5	7.7	0.0

Table 4 Ability to understand Papiamentu among participants of different origins (%)

	Excellent	Very well	Well	Fair	Poor
Colombia	23.6	27.3	14.5	23.6	10.9
Venezuela	22.7	27.3	13.6	36.4	0.0
Dominican Republic	53.3	20.0	20.0	6.7	0.0
ABC-islands	30.8	7.7	53.8	7.7	0.0

Table 5 Ability to speak Papiamentu among participants of different origins (%)

	Excellent	Very well	Well	Fair	Poor
Colombia	30.9	27.3	18.2	18.2	5.5
Venezuela	40.9	18.2	22.7	18.2	0.0
Dominican Republic	53.3	20.0	20.0	6.7	0.0
ABC-islands	30.8	7.7	53.8	7.7	0.0

Table 6 Ability to read Papiamentu among participants of different origins (%)

	Excellent	Very well	Well	Fair	Poor
Colombia	20.0	18.2	21.8	25.5	14.5
Venezuela	18.2	18.2	13.6	22.7	27.3
Dominican Republic	33.3	13.3	26.7	20.0	6.7
ABC-islands	15.4	7.7	38.5	30.8	7.7

Table 7 Ability to write Papiamentu among participants of different origins (%)

In general, we observe that the four groups evaluated their proficiency in Papiamentu in very positive terms, ranging from ‘well’ to ‘excellent’, only a minority thought that their command was ‘fair’ or ‘poor’. The self-evaluation of writing skills in Papiamentu was

less positive, presumably because this competence is typically developed in the education system. The time of residency and age at the time of arrival may play a role here, because some of the participants will have been educated in their home country. Also, the development of writing skills in Papiamentu is complicated by the education system on the island due to the dominant role of Dutch, especially in secondary education.

A closer look at the scores of the four groups reveals that the participants from the Dominican Republic evaluated their command of Papiamentu most positively, even more positively than the participants who were born on the ABC-islands, whereas the Colombian participants evaluated their skills more frequently as ‘fair’ to ‘poor’.

Use of Papiamentu

Media. Tables 8-11 illustrate the results of the questionnaire regarding the use of Papiamentu for activities related to social media, listening to the radio, reading newspapers, listening to music, and watching television. The frequency was measured on a four-point scale (‘often’, ‘regularly’, ‘seldom’, ‘never’), which was reduced to two categories to facilitate the discussion of the results.

Colombia	Often/Regularly	Seldom/Never
Social media	49.1	50.9
Radio	45.5	54.6
Newspaper	52.8	47.3
Music	18.2	81.8
Television	25.4	74.6

Table 8 Frequency of media use in Papiamentu among Colombian participants (%)

Venezuela	Often/Regularly	Seldom/Never
Social media	31.8	68.2
Radio	50.0	50.0
Newspaper	63.7	36.3
Music	18.2	81.8
Television	18.1	81.8

Table 9 Frequency of media use in Papiamentu among Venezuelan participants (%)

Dominican Republic	Often/Regularly	Seldom/Never
Social media	66.7	33.3
Radio	60.0	40.0
Newspaper	60.0	40.0
Music	40.0	60.0
Television	20.0	80.0

Table 10 Frequency of media use in Papiamentu among Dominican participants (%)

ABC-islands	Often/Regularly	Seldom/Never
Social media	92.3	7.7
Radio	61.6	38.5
Newspaper	69.3	30.8
Music	53.9	46.2
Television	0.0	100.0

Table 11 Frequency of media use in Papiamentu among participants born on the ABC-islands (%)

The results in Tables 8-11 indicate that a majority of the participants read newspapers in Papiamentu, but there was more diversity in their language use for other activities related to the media. Many of the participants from Venezuela also listened to the radio in Papiamentu, Dominicans also used Papiamentu for social media and participants born on the ABC-islands also listened to music in Papiamentu. Papiamentu was seldom or never used for watching television. Apparently, local television programs were not popular among the participants of our survey.

Interpersonal communication. Tables 12-20 illustrate the results of the questionnaire regarding language use with nine categories of interlocutors. The interlocutors corresponded to two major settings: within the family (mother, father, grandparents, siblings) and outside the family (friends, colleagues, bosses, teachers, strangers). The participants provided information about their language use in each situation, by selecting one of the four most important languages spoken on Curaçao (Papiamentu, Spanish, English, Dutch), a combination of the individual languages or the option ‘other language(s)’. The participants could also indicate that communication with a specific interlocutor was not applicable to their personal situation.

Language use within the family. As shown in Tables 12-14, Spanish was the language most widely spoken with mothers, fathers and grandparents among the participants born in Colombia, Venezuela, and the Dominican Republic. The participants who were born on the ABC-islands also used Papiamentu or Papiamentu and Spanish frequently with their parents and grandparents. This may be explained by the fact that the participants who were born on the ABC-islands probably belonged to the second and third generation of Latinx immigrants. Hence, more of their parents and grandparents make greater use Spanish.

The exclusive use of Papiamentu within the family was not very frequent, neither was the use of Papiamentu in combination with other languages. It is important to point out that the percentages of language use with fathers and grandparents are reduced by the fact that a substantial proportion of the participants indicated that these categories were not applicable to their personal situation.

	Mother	Colombia	Vene- zuela ⁵	Dominican Republic	ABC- islands
1	Spanish	78.2	68.2	66.7	30.8
2	Spanish & Papiamentu	18.2	9.1	26.7	46.2
3	Papiamentu	3.6	4.5	6.7	15.4
4	Papiamentu/English/Dutch	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.7
5	Not applicable	0.0	18.1	0.0	0.0

Table 12 Frequency of language use with their mother among participants of different origins (%)

	Father	Colombia	Venezuela	Dominican Republic	ABC- islands
1	Spanish	50.9	72.7	53.3	23.1
2	Spanish & Papiamentu	9.1	0.0	13.3	46.2
3	Spanish/Papiamentu/English/Dutch	0.0	0.0	6.7	0.0
4	Papiamentu	9.1	4.5	13.3	23.1
5	Dutch	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.7
6	Not applicable	30.9	22.7	13.3	0.0

Table 13 Frequency of language use with their father among participants of different origins (%)

	Grandparents	Colombia	Venezuela	Dominican Republic	ABC- islands
1	Spanish	60.0	54.5	60.0	46.2
2	Spanish & Papiamentu	5.5	4.5	6.7	23.1
3	Spanish/Papiamentu/English/Dutch	0.0	0.0	6.7	0.0
4	Papiamentu	0.0	4.5	0.0	30.8
5	Not applicable	32.7	36.3	26.7	0.0

Table 14 Frequency of language use with their grandparents among participants of different origins (%)

Table 15 shows that language use with siblings was more complex, as the participants selected many more options. The participants from Colombia, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic used Spanish more frequently than other languages with their siblings, also in combination with Papiamentu. Participants who were born on the ABC-islands

⁵ One of the Venezuelan participants selected both options ‘Spanish’ and ‘Not applicable’ for language use with their mother, father, grandparents, and siblings. We decided to include these answers in the category ‘Not applicable’ under the assumption that the participant may not be using Spanish with their family members anymore.

used Papiamentu most frequently with their siblings. The four categories of participants also selected combinations of different languages for communication with their siblings, especially the ones who were born in Colombia.

	Siblings	Colombia	Venezuela	Dominican Republic	ABC-islands
1	Spanish	50.9	72.7	53.3	23.1
2	Spanish & Papiamentu	23.6	13.6	33.3	23.1
3	Spanish/Papiamentu/English	3.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
4	Spanish/Papiamentu/English/Dutch	1.8	9.1	6.7	0.0
5	Spanish/Papiamentu/English/Dutch/Other	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
6	Spanish/Papiamentu/Dutch	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
7	Spanish & English	0.0	4.5	0.0	0.0
8	Papiamentu	9.1	4.5	6.7	61.5
9	Papiamentu/English/Dutch	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.7
10	English/Dutch/Other	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
11	Not applicable	5.5	18.1	6.7	0.0

Table 15 Frequency of language use with their siblings among participants of different origins (%)

Language use outside the family. Table 16 shows that the participants also selected many more options for language use with friends. The combination of Spanish and Papiamentu was most frequently selected among the four groups. Participants who were born on the ABC-islands often used these languages in combination with Dutch, with the other groups, to a lesser extent, adding both English and Dutch. Furthermore, Table 16 indicates that Papiamentu was also used by some participants as the only language in communication with friends. Again, we observe the use of many combinations of different languages among participants who were born in Colombia. It is interesting to note that there were certain differences in language use with friends in comparison to siblings, as the members of these categories tend to belong to the same age group.

	Friends	Colombia	Venezuela	Dominican Republic	ABC-islands
1	Spanish	23.6	9.1	13.3	0.0
2	Spanish & Papiamentu	30.9	40.9	53.3	30.8
3	Spanish/Papiamentu/English	14.5	13.6	6.7	0.0
4	Spanish/Papiamentu/English/Dutch	10.9	18.2	13.3	0.0
5	Spanish/Papiamentu/English/Dutch/Other	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
6	Spanish/Papiamentu/Dutch	3.6	0.0	0.0	30.8

7	Spanish/Papiamentu/Dutch/Other	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
8	Papiamentu	7.3	13.6	13.3	23.1
9	Papiamentu/ English/Dutch/Other	3.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
10	Papiamentu/Dutch	1.8	0.0	0.0	7.7
11	English	0.0	4.5	0.0	7.7

Table 16 Frequency of language use with their friends among participants of different origins (%)

Table 17 presents the results of language use with colleagues. Again, we observe that the four groups of participants used Papiamentu most frequently, especially in combination with Spanish. Participants who were born on the ABC-islands had the highest scores for the use of Papiamentu or Dutch only, which may be explained by the fact that they were educated in a school system that primarily makes use of these two languages and, hence, may be employed in sectors that share this pattern. Again, we see that many combinations of different languages were selected by participants who were born in Colombia.

	Colleagues	Colombia	Venezuela	Dominican Republic	ABC-islands
1	Spanish	14.5	9.1	6.7	0.0
2	Spanish & Papiamentu	32.7	36.4	40.0	15.4
3	Spanish/Papiamentu/English	9.1	18.2	6.7	7.7
4	Spanish/Papiamentu/English/Dutch	5.5	4.5	13.3	0.0
5	Spanish/Papiamentu/English/Dutch/Other	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.7
6	Spanish/Papiamentu/Dutch	1.8	4.5	6.7	0.0
7	Spanish/English	0.0	4.5	0.0	0.0
8	Spanish/Dutch	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
9	Papiamentu	9.1	9.1	26.7	38.5
10	Papiamentu/ English	3.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
11	Papiamentu/ English/Dutch	9.1	9.1	0.0	0.0
12	Papiamentu/Dutch	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.7
13	English	1.8	4.5	0.0	0.0
14	English/Dutch	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
15	English/Other languages	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
16	Dutch	1.8	0.0	0.0	15.4
17	Not applicable	5.5	0.0	0.0	7.7

Table 17 Frequency of language use with their colleagues among participants of different origins (%)

Table 18 presents the results for language use of the participants with their boss(es). Again, we observe that the highest scores were found in the categories that included Papiamentu, also in combination with Spanish and English. The participants who were born on the ABC-islands also used Papiamentu and Spanish in combination with English, or they used Dutch to communicate with their boss(es). Other combinations were selected as well by participants who were mainly born in Colombia and Venezuela.

	Boss(es)	Colombia	Venezuela	Dominican Republic	ABC-islands ⁶
1	Spanish	16.4	13.6	6.7	15.4
2	Spanish & Papiamentu	21.8	13.6	33.3	7.7
3	Spanish/Papiamentu/English	1.8	4.5	0.0	23.1
4	Spanish/Papiamentu/English/Dutch	0.0	4.5	6.7	0.0
5	Spanish/Papiamentu/Dutch	1.8	4.5	13.3	0.0
6	Spanish/English	0.0	4.5	0.0	0.0
7	Papiamentu	16.4	13.6	26.7	7.7
8	Papiamentu/ English	1.8	13.6	0.0	0.0
9	Papiamentu/ English/Dutch	3.6	4.5	13.3	0.0
10	Papiamentu/Dutch	1.8	4.5	13.3	0.0
11	English	3.6	13.6	0.0	0.0
12	English/Dutch	5.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
13	English/Other languages	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
14	Dutch	1.8	0.0	0.0	15.4
15	Not applicable	21.8	4.5	0.0	30.8

Table 18 Frequency of language use with their boss(es) among participants of different origins (%)

Table 19 provides the results of language use with teachers. Apparently, this question was not applicable to the situation of many participants who were born in Colombia and Venezuela. The scores of those who responded to the question showed great diversity. The participants who were born on the ABC-islands primarily used the two official languages of the school system, Papiamentu and Dutch, but also Spanish (their other home language).

	Teachers	Colombia	Venezuela	Dominican Republic	ABC-islands

⁶ One of the participants born in de ABC-islands selected both options “Papiamentu” and “Not applicable” for language use with their boss. We decided to include these answers in the category “Not applicable” under the assumption that the participant may not be using Papiamentu with their boss anymore.

1	Spanish	10.9	9.1	0.0	15.4
2	Spanish & Papiamentu	3.6	4.5	0.0	7.7
3	Spanish/Papiamentu/English/Dutch	7.3	4.5	20.0	7.7
4	Spanish/Papiamentu/Dutch	3.6	4.5	13.3	0.0
5	Spanish/Dutch	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.7
6	Papiamentu	7.3	4.5	13.3	30.8
7	Papiamentu/ English/Dutch	1.8	9.1	6.7	7.7
8	Papiamentu/Dutch	5.5	13.6	0.0	7.7
9	English	3.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
10	English/Dutch	3.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
11	Dutch	5.5	0.0	13.3	15.4
12	Not applicable	47.3	50.0	33.3	0.0

Table 19 Frequency of language use with their teachers among participants of different origins (%)

Table 20 provides the results of language use with strangers. The participants from Colombia, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic used Spanish in combination with Papiamentu most frequently to communicate with strangers. For all participants, the use of Papiamentu, also in combination with Spanish, English and Dutch was common as well. These results clearly illustrate the importance of Papiamentu on a societal level and indicate that the population, including Latinx immigrants, is multi-lingual.

	Strangers	Colom- bia	Vene- zuela	Domini- can Re- public	ABC- is- lands
1	Spanish	14.5	0.0	0.0	7.7
2	Spanish & Papiamentu	25.5	45.5	33.3	7.7
3	Spanish/Papiamentu/English	7.3	9.1	0.0	7.7
4	Spanish/Papiamentu/English/Dutch	16.4	18.2	26.7	23.1
5	Spanish/Papiamentu/Eng- lish/Dutch/Other	5.5	0.0	0.0	7.7
6	Spanish/Papiamentu/Dutch	1.8	0.0	6.7	7.7
7	Spanish/English/Dutch/Other	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
8	Papiamentu	21.8	13.6	26.7	23.1
9	Papiamentu/ English	1.8	9.1	0.0	0.0
10	Papiamentu/English/Dutch	1.8	0.0	6.7	0.0
11	Papiamentu/Dutch	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.7
12	English	1.8	4.5	0.0	0.0

Table 20 Frequency of language use with their teachers among participants of different origins (%)

Attitudes toward Papiamentu

In this section we will discuss the results of the questionnaire that are related to affective factors that determine attitudes toward Papiamentu. Some of the statements were based on negative stereotyping, as some speakers of Spanish consider Papiamentu to be a deficient variety of Spanish (as observed in Van der Sloot, 2010: 53) or feel intimidated when they try to speak the language. Other statements were formulated in a more positive way, evaluating attitudes toward hearing or speaking Papiamentu or toward language and identity. The attitudes were measured on a five-point scale (ranging from ‘totally agree’ to ‘totally disagree’) which was reduced to three categories to facilitate the discussion of the results.

Table 21 indicates that the participants of the four groups expressed neutral attitudes or (total) disagreement with respect to the statement that Papiamentu is poorly spoken Spanish. Interestingly, Colombians and Venezuelans tended to agree more often with this statement than Dominicans. Participants who were born on the ABC-islands expressed neutral opinions with respect to this statement, whereas the other groups tended to disagree, especially Venezuelans and Dominicans.

	(Total) Agree- ment	Neutral	(Total) Disa- greement
Colombia	25.5	30.9	43.6
Venezuela	18.2	18.2	63.7
Dominican Republic	6.7	20.0	73.3
ABC-islands	7.7	61.5	30.8

Table 21 Levels of agreement with the statement ‘Papiamentu has been derived from poorly spoken Spanish’ among the four groups of participants (%)

The results in Table 22 indicate that most of the participants evaluated the statement ‘I like it when people speak Papiamentu to me’ in positive or neutral terms. Very few participants tended to disagree, and this subset was limited to Colombians and Venezuelans.

	(Total) Agree- ment	Neutral	(Total) Disa- greement
Colombia	61.9	29.1	9.1
Venezuela	54.6	40.9	4.5
Dominican Republic	53.4	46.7	0.0
ABC-islands	53.9	46.2	0.0

Table 22 Levels of agreement with the statement ‘I like it when people speak Papiamentu to me’ among the four groups of participants (%)

The results in Table 23 reveal that most of the participants expressed positive or neutral opinions about the statement ‘I like to hear people speak Papiamentu’. Only some of the Colombian and Dominican participants expressed their disagreement.

	(Total) Agreement	Neutral	(Total) Disagreement
Colombia	60.0	32.7	7.2
Venezuela	59.1	40.9	0.0
Dominican Republic	46.7	46.7	6.7
ABC-islands	46.2	53.8	0.0

Table 23 Levels of agreement with the statement ‘I like to hear people speak Papiamentu’ among the four groups of participants (%)

Table 24 indicates that most of the participants of the four groups expressed (total) disagreement with respect to the statement that they feel discriminated against or made fun of when they speak Papiamentu. Interestingly, some participants from Colombia expressed agreement with or neutral evaluations of this statement, although the previous results of their proficiency in Papiamentu (Tables 4 and 5) did not reveal a clear contrast with the participants from Venezuela.

	(Total) Agreement	Neutral	(Total) Disagreement
Colombia	14.6	29.1	56.3
Venezuela	9.1	4.5	86.4
Dominican Republic	6.7	13.3	80.0
ABC-islands	7.7	0.0	92.3

Table 24 Levels of agreement with the statement ‘When I speak Papiamentu, I feel that people discriminate against me or make fun of me’ among the four groups of participants (%).

The results in Table 25 indicate that the participants of the four groups expressed evaluations of (total) agreement and neutrality with the statement that they liked to speak Papiamentu. It is remarkable that the participants who were born in the ABC-islands shared the highest scores, because the self-evaluation of their proficiency (Tables 4 and 5) was not as high as might be expected, and lower than the results of the Dominican participants. Some participants from Colombia expressed their disagreement, which may be related to the results shown in Table 24 and to their more limited proficiency (Tables 4-7).

	(Totally) Agreement	Neutral	(Total) Disa- greement
Colombia	60.0	25.5	14.6
Venezuela	50.0	45.5	4.5
Dominican Republic	66.6	26.7	6.7
ABC-islands	61.6	38.5	0.0

Table 25 Levels of agreement with the statement ‘I like to speak Papiamentu’ among the four groups of participants (%)

Table 26 presents the results concerning the importance of Papiamentu in relation to identity. The participants who were born in the ABC-islands considered Papiamentu to be very important in this respect, whereas the other groups considered the language rather or little important to their identities. Some participants from Colombia did not consider Papiamentu of any importance for their identities, which may be related to their lower levels of proficiency and use of the language as well as to their slightly more negative attitudes revealed by the results presented in this section.

	Very im- portant	Rather im- portant	Little (slightly) important	Not important
Colombia	14.5	38.2	27.3	20.0
Venezuela	18.2	36.4	36.4	9.1
Dominican Republic	20.0	46.7	26.7	6.7
ABC-islands	53.8	30.8	7.7	7.7

Table 26 Evaluation of the statement ‘I consider Papiamentu important for my identity’ among the four groups of participants (%)

Attitudes toward learning Papiamentu

In this section we will discuss the results of the questionnaire that were related to learning Papiamentu. Some of the statements were about the importance of the language for living in Curaçao, others were concerned with specific activities or (acquiring) certain levels of proficiency.

Table 27 presents the results regarding the importance of Papiamentu for daily life in Curaçao. All participants considered Papiamentu (very) important, but the participants from Colombia, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic even more so than those who were born on the ABC-islands. Presumably, immigrants are more aware of the importance of the language because of their personal experiences with integration into a new community.

	Very important	Important	Little (slightly) important	Not important
Colombia	49.1	32.7	14.5	3.6
Venezuela	54.5	31.8	13.6	0.0
Dominican Republic	53.3	33.3	13.3	0.0
ABC-islands	23.1	61.5	15.4	0.0

Table 27 Evaluation of the statement ‘I consider Papiamentu important for my daily life in Curaçao’ among the four groups of participants (%)

Table 28 shows that most participants considered knowledge of Papiamentu necessary for living on the island, but participants from Venezuela expressed more neutral and negative opinions in this respect.

	(Total) Agreement	Neutral	(Total) Disagreement
Colombia	70.9	9.1	20.0
Venezuela	45.4	22.7	31.8
Dominican Republic	86.7	0.0	13.3
ABC-islands	61.6	23.1	15.4

Table 28 Levels of agreement with the statement ‘I think it is necessary to know Papiamentu to live in Curaçao’ among the four groups of participants (%)

The results in Table 29 show the activities for which the participants considered Papiamentu to be important. The design of the questionnaire facilitated the selection of multiple options. Notice that the activities were either related to instrumental purposes, as such studying or finding a job, or to integrative purposes related to socializing within the community.

The results point out that Papiamentu was not considered important for studying, which may be explained by the fact that the education system is modelled after the system of the European Netherlands and uses Dutch as the main language of instruction. Papiamentu was regarded as important for finding a job, which is compatible with our findings concerning language use at work (Tables 17 and 18). Interestingly, participants born on the ABC-islands considered Papiamentu less important for finding a job as compared to the other participants, although they tended to use Papiamentu more frequently with their colleagues (Table 17).

Table 29 also indicates that Papiamentu was considered more important for activities related to integrative purposes such as feeling part of the community and making friends. Participants who were born on the ABC-islands and the Dominican Republic also regarded the language as important for expressing their emotions, which is consistent with their higher levels of proficiency, as illustrated previously in Tables 4-7.

	Colombia	Venezuela	Dominican Republic	ABC-islands
Instrumental purposes				
Studying	30.9	40.9	33.3	7.8
Finding a job	61.8	59.1	53.3	15.4
Integrative purposes				
Feeling part of the community	67.3	68.2	66.7	76.9
Creating a pleasant atmosphere with my neighbors	36.4	72.7	20.0	53.8
Making friends	56.4	63.6	60.0	69.2
Educating my children	32.7	40.9	53.3	23.1
Expressing my emotions	32.7	27.3	60.0	61.5
Enjoying myself	23.6	36.4	40.0	53.8
In no situation	1.8	0.0	0.0	7.8

Table 29 Evaluation of the statement ‘Papiamentu is important for me in the following situations’ among the four groups of participants (%)

As the results in Table 30 illustrate, Venezuelan and Dominican participants were interested in learning Papiamentu at a professional level, whereas Colombian participants expressed more neutral and negative opinions with respect to this statement. These results may be connected to the findings concerning language use at work, as Colombians used languages other than Papiamentu, and in diverse combinations (Tables 17 and 18). Participants who were born on the ABC-islands expressed more neutral opinions, although they used Papiamentu at work and the results of the self-evaluation of their language proficiency were not extremely positive.

	(Total) Agreement	Neutral	(Total) Disagreement
Colombia	52.8	27.3	20.0
Venezuela	77.3	18.2	4.5
Dominican Republic	80.0	13.3	6.7
ABC-islands	38.5	46.2	15.4

Table 30 Levels of agreement with the statement ‘I am interested in learning Papiamentu at a professional level’ among the four groups of participants (%)

The scores in Table 31 indicate that the motivation of the participants to learn Papiamentu at a professional level has not always led them to involve themselves in activities designed to enhance their competence. Interestingly, the participants who were born on

the ABC-islands tried to improve their language skills most frequently, although participants from Colombia, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic expressed more motivation to do so (Table 30). This contrast may be explained by the different professional sectors where the participants are employed, but certainly requires more research.

	No	Yes
Colombia	67.3	32.7
Venezuela	72.7	27.3
Dominican Republic	73.3	26.7
ABC-islands	61.5	38.5

Table 31 Levels of agreement with the statement ‘I try to learn Papiamentu at a professional level with courses or other activities’ among the four groups of participants (%)

Table 32 indicates that a substantial proportion of the participants expressed their agreement or neutral opinions regarding the statement that Papiamentu is a difficult language to learn. Dominican participants tended to disagree with this statement most frequently, which is compatible with their positive self-evaluation regarding their proficiency in the language, as we saw in Tables 4-7.

	(Total) Agreement	Neutral	(Total) Disa- greement
Colombia	43.6	30.9	25.5
Venezuela	50.0	18.2	31.8
Dominican Republic	40.0	6.7	53.3
ABC-islands	15.4	46.2	38.5

Table 32 Levels of agreement with the statement ‘I think Papiamentu is a difficult language’ among the four groups of participants (%)

Discussion

To facilitate the discussion of the results, we repeat the hypotheses that we formulated above:

(1) *Latinx immigrants will have (some) knowledge of Papiamentu, but their language skills may vary due to differences in their social and professional networks.* This hypothesis was corroborated to a certain extent. Overall, our participants indicated that their proficiency in Papiamentu was ‘very good’ to ‘excellent’. Only writing skills seemed to be less developed among the participants, presumably because many of them will not have been educated in the local school system and, crucially, the local education system uses Dutch as the main language of instruction. The participants born in the Dominican Republic and on the ABC-islands evaluated their proficiency more positively

than the participants born in Colombia and Venezuela. They also used Papiamentu more frequently within the family and with colleagues.

(2) *Latinx immigrants use Spanish in their personal (family) networks, but they will use Papiamentu in the education system and at work.* This hypothesis was only partially corroborated. Latinx immigrants used Spanish most frequently with family members. Those who were born on the ABC-islands frequently used Spanish in combination with Papiamentu within the family. Language use outside the family showed more diversity. Our participants most frequently used both Spanish and Papiamentu, but the use of only one of these languages, as well as combinations with Dutch and English were in evidence as well. The participants who were born on the ABC-islands also made use of Papiamentu or Dutch only. We observed most diversity in language combinations at the workplace. The results of language use in the education system were less clear, also because a substantial part of the participants indicated that this situation was “not applicable” to their personal situation. In language use with strangers, we observed that most participants used Papiamentu, or Papiamentu in combination with Spanish or the combination of all four languages. These results indicate that the Latinx immigrants are truly part of the multi-lingual community of Curaçao.

(3) *Latinx immigrants have positive attitudes toward Papiamentu and are aware of the local importance of the language.* This hypothesis was corroborated. The results indicated that the participants shared positive attitudes toward Papiamentu. Overall, they liked hearing and speaking the language and they agreed on the importance of Papiamentu for living on the island.

(4) *Latinx immigrants are motivated to learn Papiamentu, also for professional purposes, because they need Papiamentu not only to integrate into the community, but also at work.* This hypothesis was corroborated as well. Latinx immigrants were aware of the importance of Papiamentu for integrative purposes related to socializing in the community, but also for instrumental purposes such as finding a job. Although the participants born in Colombia, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic were interested in learning Papiamentu at a professional level, only a minority indicated that they were trying to do so with courses or other activities.

(5) *On the basis of Zentella (2007) we may expect more negative attitudes toward Papiamentu and less use of the language among Colombian immigrants and more positive attitudes toward Papiamentu and more frequent use of the language by participants from the Dominican Republic.* The findings of our survey corroborated this hypothesis as well. The Colombian participants expressed slightly more negative attitudes toward Papiamentu, because they tended to agree more frequently with the assumption that the

language is derived from poorly spoken Spanish, were less positive about speaking the language and felt more often discriminated against or made fun of when doing so. They were also less motivated to learn the language at a professional level and considered Papiamentu less important for socializing in the community, which may be connected to the diversity of their language use with friends, colleagues and bosses. The scores of Dominicans were clearly more positive in these respects and these differences seem to be related to higher proficiency in and more frequent use of Papiamentu.

Conclusion

In this article, we presented the results of an online questionnaire that was filled out by 105 participants who were born in Colombia, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic and on the ABC-islands. Although the results of the four groups of participants were not radically different from one another and revealed positive attitudes toward Papiamentu itself as well as learning Papiamentu, frequent use of the language, and high proficiency in general, these tendencies were more often observed among the participants born in the Dominican Republic and on the ABC-islands as compared to Colombians and Venezuelans.

The results of the participants born on the ABC-islands may be explained by their backgrounds as second or third generation Latinxs who were raised in Papiamentu-speaking communities and, presumably, in bilingual or multilingual homes. In the cases of the Colombian and Dominican participants, we found a potential connection with Zentella's (2007) findings about language attitudes and linguistic (in)security among speakers of Spanish in the diaspora. The low prestige of Dominican Spanish and linguistic insecurity among Dominicans may create more positive attitudes toward (learning) Papiamentu and enhance their use of and proficiency in the language, whereas high prestige of Colombian Spanish and corresponding feelings of linguistic security among Colombians might instead yield the opposite effect. Obviously, the potential correlations between language attitudes, use and proficiency among Latinx immigrants in Curaçao require more thorough research involving a more substantial number of participants.

The results of our survey are in line with Carroll's (2009, 2015) and Kelly's (2015) findings among speakers of Spanish on Aruba, who also shared positive attitudes toward Papiamentu and learning Papiamentu as well as frequently using the language at home, pointing at a potential language shift from Spanish to Papiamentu among Latinx families and their individual members.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Letter of consent

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Carta de información y formulario de permiso para el participante

¡Bienvenido al cuestionario en línea sobre el estudio "El uso lingüístico y las actitudes lingüísticas hacia el papiamentu entre los hispanohablantes en Curazao" [Keste104-02-01-2020].

Mi nombre es Bibian Carolina George, soy estudiante de maestría de 'Lengua y cultura hispánicas: comunicación y educación' en la Universidad de Utrecht. La presente encuesta, elaborada con la profesora Dra. Ellen-Petra Kester, forma parte de mi Trabajo de Fin de Grado, que tratará sobre el uso lingüístico y las actitudes lingüísticas hacia el papiamentu entre los hispanohablantes en Curazao.

El cuestionario consta de preguntas de elección múltiple y están divididas en cuatro categorías: el uso lingüístico, las actitudes lingüísticas, el conocimiento lingüístico y datos demográficos. La encuesta se rellena de forma anónima y los resultados se utilizarán solamente para mi Trabajo de Fin de Grado y futuras publicaciones con la profesora Dra. Ellen- Petra Kester.

El proceso de rellenar la encuesta será de aproximadamente 10 minutos y la participación es totalmente voluntaria. Las respuestas a las preguntas tratarán únicamente sobre su opinión personal, no hay respuesta correcta o incorrecta.

Si le surge interés en el tema que se trata en la encuesta o los resultados de la investigación puede libremente entrar en contacto con la profesora Dra. Ellen- Petra Kester a través de su correo electrónico: P.M.Kester@uu.nl (teléfono: +31 30253 6418).

La 'Faculty Ethics Assessment Committee- Humanities, Linguistics Chamber'⁷ (FETC-H) de la Universidad de Utrecht en los Países Bajos, ha aprobado este estudio. Si desea presentar una queja sobre el procedimiento relacionado con este estudio, comuníquese con la secretaria de la FETC-H, correo electrónico: fetc-gw@uu.nl, o al oficial de privacidad de la Universidad de Utrecht, correo electrónico: privacy@uu.nl

⁷ Facultaire Ethische Toetsingscommissie Geesteswetenschappen (FETC-gw), Kamer Lingüistiek

Los datos, completamente anónimos, se guardarán en uno de los servidores de la Universidad de Utrecht durante 10 años como mínimo. Solo la Dra. Kester y yo tendremos acceso a los datos y podemos compartir los datos y /o reutilizarlos con otros científicos para responder otras preguntas de investigación. Si usted está dispuesto/a a rellenar la encuesta y dar permiso para utilizar los resultados para investigaciones científicas, por favor indique esto rellenando la casilla a continuación.

☐ Sí, doy permiso para utilizar mis respuestas para investigaciones científicas.

Appendix 2 Questionnaire

1. Utilizo el papiamento para comunicarme por medios sociales

- ☐ Mucho
- ☐ Bastante
- ☐ Poco
- ☐ Nada.

2. Utilizo el papiamento para escuchar la radio

- ☐ Mucho
- ☐ Bastante
- ☐ Poco
- ☐ Nada.

3. Utilizo el papiamento para leer periódicos

- ☐ Mucho
- ☐ Bastante
- ☐ Poco
- ☐ Nada.

4. Utilizo el papiamento para escuchar música

- ☐ Mucho
- ☐ Bastante
- ☐ Poco
- ☐ Nada.

5. Utilizo el papiamento para ver la televisión

- ☐ Mucho
- ☐ Bastante
- ☐ Poco
- ☐ Nada.

6. La lengua que suelo hablar con mi madre es
(más de una respuesta posible)

- ☐ Español
- ☐ Papiamento
- ☐ Inglés
- ☐ Holandés

- Otro(s) idioma(s)
- No se aplica.

7. La lengua que suelo hablar con mi padre es
(más de una respuesta posible)

- Español
- Papiamento
- Inglés
- Holandés
- Otro(s) idioma(s)
- No se aplica.

8. La lengua que suelo hablar con mi(s) hermano/a(s) es
(más de una respuesta posible)

- Español
- Papiamento
- Inglés
- Holandés
- Otro(s) idioma(s)
- No se aplica.

9. La lengua que suelo hablar con mi(s) abuelo/a(s) es
(más de una respuesta posible)

- Español
- Papiamento
- Inglés
- Holandés
- Otro(s) idioma(s)
- No se aplica.

10. La lengua que suelo hablar con mis amigo/a(s) es
(más de una respuesta posible)

- Español
- Papiamento
- Inglés
- Holandés
- Otro(s) idioma(s)
- No se aplica.

11. La lengua que suelo hablar con mis colegas es
(más de una respuesta posible)

- Español
- Papiamento
- Inglés
- Holandés
- Otro(s) idioma(s)
- No se aplica.

12. La lengua que suelo hablar con mi(s) jefe(s) es
(más de una respuesta posible)

- ☐ Español
- ☐ Papiamento
- ☐ Inglés
- ☐ Holandés
- ☐ Otro(s) idioma(s)
- ☐ No se aplica.

13. La lengua que suelo hablar con mi(s) profesore/a(s) es
(más de una respuesta posible)

- ☐ Español
- ☐ Papiamento
- ☐ Inglés
- ☐ Holandés
- ☐ Otro(s) idioma(s)
- ☐ No se aplica.

14. La lengua que suelo hablar con desconocido/as es
(más de una respuesta posible)

- ☐ Español
- ☐ Papiamento
- ☐ Inglés
- ☐ Holandés
- ☐ Otro(s) idioma(s)
- ☐ No se aplica.

15. El papiamento me parece un idioma difícil

- ☐ Totalmente de acuerdo
- ☐ De acuerdo
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ En desacuerdo
- ☐ Totalmente en desacuerdo.

16. Considero el papiamento para mi vida diaria en Curazao como

- ☐ Muy importante
- ☐ Importante
- ☐ Un poco importante
- ☐ No importante.

17. El papiamento es importante para mí en las siguientes situaciones:
(más de una respuesta posible)

- ☐ Para hacer amigos
- ☐ Para encontrar un trabajo
- ☐ Para mis estudios
- ☐ Para salir a divertirme
- ☐ Para crear un ambiente agradable con los vecinos
- ☐ Para educar a mis hijos

- Para sentirme parte de la comunidad
- Para expresar mis emociones
- En ninguna situación.

18. El papiamento es una derivación del español mal hablado

- Totalmente de acuerdo
- De acuerdo
- Neutral
- En desacuerdo
- Totalmente en desacuerdo.

19. Saber papiamento me parece necesario para la vivir en Curazao

- Totalmente de acuerdo
- De acuerdo
- Neutral
- En desacuerdo
- Totalmente en desacuerdo.

20. Me gusta que me hablen en papiamento

- Totalmente de acuerdo
- De acuerdo
- Neutral
- En desacuerdo
- Totalmente en desacuerdo.

21. Me gusta escuchar a la gente hablar en papiamento

- Totalmente de acuerdo
- De acuerdo
- Neutral
- En desacuerdo
- Totalmente en desacuerdo.

22. Me gusta hablar papiamento

- Totalmente de acuerdo
- De acuerdo
- Neutral
- En desacuerdo
- Totalmente en desacuerdo.

23. Cuando hablo papiamento, me siento discriminado/a o ridiculizado/a por los curazoleños

- Totalmente de acuerdo
- De acuerdo
- Neutral
- En desacuerdo
- Totalmente en desacuerdo

24. Tengo interés en aprender el papiamento a nivel profesional

- Totalmente de acuerdo

- De acuerdo
- Neutral
- En desacuerdo
- Totalmente en desacuerdo.

25. Intento aprender el papiamento a nivel profesional por asistir a cursos u otras actividades

- Sí
- No

26. Considero el papiamento de importancia para mi identidad

- Mucho
- Bastante
- Poco
- Nada.

Por favor, evalúe su dominio del papiamento en cuanto a la habilidad de

27. Entender

- Excelente
- Muy bien
- Bien
- Regular
- Mal.

Por favor, evalúe su dominio del papiamento en cuanto a la habilidad de

28. Hablar

- Excelente
- Muy bien
- Bien
- Regular
- Mal.

Por favor, evalúe su dominio del papiamento en cuanto a la habilidad de

29. Leer

- Excelente
- Muy bien
- Bien
- Regular
- Mal.

Por favor, evalúe su dominio del papiamento en cuanto a la habilidad de

30. Escribir

- Excelente
- Muy bien
- Bien
- Regular
- Mal.

31. Mi edad es entre

- 18- 30
- 30-50
- 50+

32. Mi género es

- Masculino
- Femenino
- No contesta

33. Nací en

- República Dominicana
- Colombia
- Venezuela.
- Otro país latinoamericano
- Curazao/ Bonaire/ Aruba
- Otro país.

Appendix 3 Migration to Curaçao from major sending countries (data provided by the office of civic registration in Curaçao, as presented in Van der Sloot, 2011: 385).

Year	Colombia	Dominican Republic	Venezuela	Total
1995	86	138	42	266
1996	130	279	80	489
1997	151	342	73	566
1998	132	277	73	482
1999	139	276	68	483
2000	225	249	66	540
2001	340	263	113	716
2002	1179	693	166	2038
2003	878	475	204	1557
2004	288	156	141	585
2005	298	264	152	714
2006	292	393	134	819
2007	308	326	105	739
2008	276	231	100	607
2009	174	134	146	454
2010	483	424	78	985
Unknown	24	86	59	169
Total	6109	7369	2341	15819

**MASKING, AUTHENTICITY
AND INTERSECTIONALITIES IN THE
LITERATURES OF THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN**

LITERAIR ERFGOED DE DRIEVOUDIGE DREIGING VAN KLIMAAT, KAKKERLAK EN KOMEHEIN. NIEUWE KANSEN VOOR DE LITERATUURGESCHIEDSCHRIJVING¹

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‘Literary heritage’ investigates the value of local historic texts for future generations in the age of digitalization.

Abstract

A practical definition of cultural heritage as ‘World heritage is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to the future generations’ (Unesco, 2021) leads to a digital investigation of historical literature (artefacts) to new interpretations (texts). Concepts like ‘Gesunkenes Kulturgut’ and ‘emerging memory’ demonstrate that this investigation is always a dynamic process.

Key terms: cultural heritage; artefact and text; analysis and interpretation; ‘Gesunkenes Kulturgut’ and ‘emerging memory’

Samenvatting

Vanuit de definitie van cultureel erfgoed als ‘World heritage is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to the future generations’ (Unesco, 2021) onderzoekt deze bijdrage de lokale literatuurgeschiedenis met behulp van digitalisering die historische artefacten tot betekenisvolle teksten analyseert en interpreteert. Deze bijdrage leidt tot de conclusie dat literaire verwerking een dynamisch proces is vanuit concepten als ‘Gesunkenes Kulturgut en ’emerging memory’.

Kernbegrippen: cultureel erfgoed; artefact en tekst; analyse en interpretatie; ‘Gesunkenes Kulturgut’ en ‘emerging memory’

¹ Met dank aan drs. Peter Scholing, afdeling Arubiana van de Biblioteca Nacional Aruba, gids en toeverlaat voor mijn digitaliseringsuitdagingen.

De definities van cultureel erfgoed zijn talrijk. De Unesco geeft een korte en algemene omschrijving met ‘World Heritage is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations.’ (Unesco, 2021)

Een algemene definitie en meer uitgebreide omschrijving van het begrip is de volgende: “Cultural heritage is the legacy of physical artifacts and intangible attributes of a group or society that is inherited from past generations; heritage is a product of selection by society. Cultural heritage includes tangible culture (such as buildings, monuments, landscapes, books, works of art, and artifacts), intangible heritage such as folklore, traditions, language, and knowledge), and natural heritage (including culturally significant landscapes, and biodiversity.” (UNESCO, 2021)

Alex van Stipriaan voegde de term ‘mentaal erfgoed’ toe: “Mentaal erfgoed bestaat uit de bewust of onbewust geërfde wereldbeelden die sterk bepalend zijn voor de keuze die een groep maakt welke materiële en immateriële erfenissen als erfgoed moeten worden behouden en doorgegeven. (...) “erfgoed is een selectie uit het - soms denkbeeldige - verleden van een groep mensen, voor hedendaags gebruik en tevens beoordeeld als nuttig om door te geven aan de toekomst.” (OSO, november 2016: 16)

De verschillende omschrijvingen hebben gemeen dat ze inventariseren en onderzoeken hoe het verleden het heden beïnvloedt en wat we daarvan willen doorgeven aan de toekomstige generaties. Erfgoedstudie is daarom dynamisch in tijd en plaats, want zowel historisch als toekomstgericht én plaats- en cultuurgebonden.²

De schouders waarop wij staan

Men kan zeggen dat het begrip ‘erfgoed’ oftewel ‘cultureel erfgoed’ van relatief jonge datum is (1952; 1975), maar ook dat het al eeuwen oud is en tot de klassieken teruggaat (Grijzenhout, 2007: 2). De oorspronkelijke juridische betekenis van het begrip ‘erfgoed’ noemt erfgoed als ‘onvervreembare goederen die van geslacht op geslacht, vaak van vader op zoon, moeten worden doorgegeven’. Het woordenboek Van Dale omschrijft ‘erfgoed’ als ‘bezittingen die bij erfenis overgaan’ en als ‘oneigenlijk’ in de taal: het eigene tegenover het ontleende. Een volgende betekenis in Van Dale is die van ‘goed [bezit] dat in het vooruitzicht is gesteld’. Dit is ook de betekenis in de joods-christelijke traditie waar in de bijbel op tal van plaatsen ‘erfgoed’ of ‘erfdeel’ de gelovigen als hemels vooruitzicht wordt gesteld: Afhankelijk van de gebruikte vertaling vinden we de term erfgoed of erfdeel in uiteenlopende varianten vele malen terug in de Bijbel, vanaf het boek van de Schepping tot en met het Nieuwe Testament (Willem Frijhoff in Grijzenhout, 2007: 45). Ook in de Griekse Oudheid leven denkbeelden dat de voorgangers beschouwd moeten worden als hun geestelijke erfenis aan het nageslacht (Grijzenhout, 2007).

² Het keuzemoment dat met het erfgoedbegrip verbonden is, is ook van toepassing op de canondiscussie die de afgelopen tijd zoveel en zo betrokken gevoerd is. Ook daar zien we de laatste jaren juist het dynamische karakter benadrukt worden.

Uit de achttiende en negentiende eeuw kennen we de verzamelwoede waar de elite particuliere ‘rariteitenkabinetten’ aanlegde met bij voorkeur exotische voorwerpen, of overheden die een eeuw later musea volpropten met koloniale roof. Vooral de negentiende eeuw had een nostalgische hang naar het verleden, met het gevolg dat het historisch besef naar ver voorbijge tijden en de bestudering daarvan een bloeitijd doormaakten, ook de literatuurgeschiedenis kwam in die eeuw tot grote ontwikkeling.

In de loop van de tijd, met de Franse Revolutie in Europa als breekpunt, veranderde de betekenis en het gebruik van het begrip ‘erfgoed’, waarbij geestelijk erfgoed als inspiratiebron voor navolging overging op de beelden en voorwerpen zelf, die tot fysiek museum object werden of als persoonlijk gewaardeerd voorwerp gekoesterd werden.

Erfgoed ontwikkelde zich zo van familie-overerving – de oude betekenis – naar een ruimer en algemeen beeld. Niet meer: ‘het gaat om nagelaten goederen of gedachten van iemand die ons tijdens diens leven dierbaar was’, maar als erfenis die we als samenleving graag willen aanvaarden en bewaren, ook voor volgende generaties. We willen dat erfgoed op de een of andere manier ook levend houden, door het te gebruiken, te benoemen, te bestuderen, steeds opnieuw te interpreteren, te bewonderen. (Grijzenhout, 2007: 4) Erfgoed kreeg het ruimere karakter van iets als waardevol te bewaren voor latere geslachten, niet alleen door personen maar vooral ook door instituties als musea en archieven en op literair gebied bibliotheken.

Was ‘erfgoed’ tot het einde van de achttiende eeuw een juridisch concept met als functie het beschermen van het familiebezit, in de zin van ‘via erfrecht verkregen goed’, tijdens de Franse Revolutie is de weg vrijgemaakt voor de opkomst van het metaforisch gebruik ervan. (Grijzenhout, 2007: 34; 42)

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Inmiddels is het begrip in zijn populariteit tot een kapstokbegrip geworden waarvan de betekenis en het onderzoeksveld zich imperialistisch uitbreidden – een kwaal van veel modieuze en populair geworden onderzoeksvelden, dat ze zo worden opgerekt dat ze alles omvatten en dus niets meer betekenen.³

Zo ongeveer alles wordt tegenwoordig als ‘erfgoed’ beschouwd, met een diversiteit van terminologie die in grote lijnen in betekenis overeenkomen: (cultural) heritage, patrimoine (artistique), patrimonium, Welterbe of herencia cultural. In 1972 werd er tijdens de World Heritage Convention in Unesco-verband gewerkt aan een lijst met ‘werelderfgoed’ (world of universal heritage, patrimoine universel, Welterbe) vanuit de overtuiging dat er wereldwijd gemeenschappelijke culturele waarden zijn die tot uiting komen in bepaalde cultuurgoederen, die ‘represent or symbolise a set of ideas or values

³ Het OSO-nummer over Erfgoed (november 2016) bevat studies over slavernij, begraafplaatsen, Jodensavanne, volktheater, oorlogserfgoed van de WO II, de hindoestaanse bevolkingsgroep en cultuur, de rijsttafel en slavernijregisters. De conclusie moet wel haast zijn dat met de uitbreiding van het begrip alles onder erfgoed kan vallen.

which are universally recognized as important, or as having influenced the evolution of mankind as a whole at one time or another'. (Grijzenhout, 2007: 14) Het erfgoedbegrip is dynamisch geworden en staat constant ter discussie op het kruispunt van culturele wegen die leiden naar uitersten als behoud of verlies, bewaring of vervreemding, herinnering of vergetelheid. In de meest extreme gevallen kan het begrip verbonden worden aan termen als eigen en vreemd, canon en index, vriend en vijand. Het begrip staat ook lijnrecht tegenover vandalisme dat de oude cultuurgoederen zoekt om te vernielen. (Grijzenhout, 2007: 19)

Literair erfgoed: artefact en tekst

Op literair gebied betekende het erfgoedbegrip historische aandacht voor de literatuur die geconcretiseerd werd in de vorm van het bestuderen van oude (middeleeuwse) teksten en het publiceren van literatuurgeschiedenissen: "Een van de belangrijkste wapenfeiten waarop de voorvechters van het letterkundig erfgoed konden bogen, was het onderdeel 'literatuurgeschiedenis' op de scholen, want ook het literatuuronderwijs is een negentiende-eeuwse vinding." (Lisa Kuitert in Grijzenhout, 2007: 219) Intussen heeft de historische aandacht zich aanzienlijk verbreed en zijn niet alleen oude – en moderne – teksten in hun context onderwerp van onderzoek, maar rond deze teksten ook allerlei voorbeelden van gedenksteden, standbeelden of andersoortige monumenten: literair erfgoed in de publieke ruimte.

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Het hiernavolgende beperkt zich tot 'literair erfgoed' als 'artefact' en literair erfgoed als 'tekst', waarbij artefact wordt gebruikt als opstapje naar het tweede deel, tekst.

Ik leg hierbij voor deze gelegenheid de nadruk op literair erfgoed in die zin dat ik literair-historische artefacten als voorbeelden gebruik.

Dat leidt direct tot de vragen naar doel, nut en waarde daarvan. Welke literair-historische artefacten verdienen het vanuit de gegeven definitie van erfgoed bewaard te blijven als waardevol voor heden en toekomst en welke kunnen overgelaten worden aan klimaat, kakkerlak en komeheine?⁴

Tot literair artefact wordt gerekend wat in de hiervoor gegeven omschrijving 'tangible heritage' genoemd wordt, zoals boeken en andere tastbare geschreven en gedrukte voorwerpen, inclusief de digitalisering daarvan. 'Tekst' staat dan voor wat er met deze artefacten gedaan wordt: gelezen, bestudeerd, geanalyseerd en geïnterpreteerd. Kortom door middel van tekst worden artefacten geactualiseerd en toekomstbestendig gemaakt. Artefacten zijn dus de stoffelijke en concrete voorwerpen die verdienen uit het stof

⁴ Antonio Benítez- Rojo (1996, 2001: 23) onderscheidt de tekst van de auteur, die hij de pre-tekst noemt en die we hier het artefact noemen, en de tekst van de lezer, welke laatste wordt geboren als de auteurstekst gelezen wordt door de Ander, de lezer.

tevoorschijn te worden gehaald voor onderzoek en eventuele herwaardering wegens waarde en zeggingskracht voor de actualiteit en de toekomst.

Belangrijke instituties waarin literaire artefacten bewaard worden zijn bibliotheek en archief, waarbij als nationaal gekarakteriseerde bibliotheken en archieven, deze een belangrijke taak inzake literair erfgoed hebben. De literaire taak van nationale bibliotheken en archieven is het verzamelen, beschrijven en toegankelijk maken van de hele literaire productie van een land. Daartoe hoort ook het beheer van speciale en kostbare collecties boeken en documenten.

Een – voorlopige - inventarisatie behelst in elk geval literaire uitingen in informatiedragers zoals historische nieuwsbladen, (literaire) tijdschriften en literaire werken in alle drie genres van lyriek, epiek en dramatiek, publicaties van primaire en secundaire literatuur, in de vorm van het oorspronkelijke papier of in gedigitaliseerde vorm; speciale collecties, catalogi, beeldmateriaal en exposities, en – buiten de muren van bibliotheek en archief – voorbeelden van literatuur in de publieke ruimte. In feite betreft het onderzoek naar literair erfgoed het complete communicatieve literaire landschap van auteur tot lezer; van tekstdragers tot de context ervan.

Vraagstelling

Artefacten ontlenen hun belang eraan dat de verzamelingen de basis vormen van onderzoek. Als zodanig valt de hier gegeven summiere inventarisatie te beschouwen. Artefacten zijn bronnen voor teksten. Maar niet alles uit het verleden *kán* bewaard worden en niet alles *is* van belang om te bewaren. Het gaat dus om oude tastbare ‘voorwerpen’ zoals nieuwsbladen en boeken die verzameld worden en die – nu meest in gedigitaliseerde vorm – waardevolle bronnen zijn voor literair-historisch onderzoek in onze hedendaagse samenleving. Wat is er in dergelijke artefacten te vinden wat inhoudelijk ook voor nu nog de moeite waard is en het daarom verdient hernieuwde aandacht te krijgen voor analyse en interpretatie? Hoe is het mogelijk en werkbaar om uit de complete en heel uitgebreide bronnen dat te verzamelen, te schiften, te ordenen en te openbaren, dat waarde heeft voor het heden? Dat is de centrale vraag op dit moment. Deze vraagstelling stuurt de inventaris van historische artefacten vanuit de veronderstelling óf en dát er wat waardevols in te ontdekken zal zijn. Met andere woorden houd ik hier en nu een pleidooi voor herontdekking van waardevol literair historisch materiaal in onze vergeelde bibliotheken en archieven of van recentere datum.⁵

⁵ Ik beperk me voor deze gelegenheid tot artefacten van papier; beeld en geluid blijven hier buiten beschouwing, wat natuurlijk niet betekent dat er op die twee laatste gebieden niet heel veel waardevol materiaal te vinden en te bestuderen valt. Ook aspecten van oraliteit vallen buiten mijn aandachtsveld, helaas.

Nieuwsbladen

De meest volledige inventarisatie van de lokale nieuwsbladen uit het verleden is die van historicus Johan Hartog: *Journalistiek leven in Curaçao* (1944). Zelfs bij een oppervlakkige kennisname blijkt uit zo'n overzicht dat veel ervan verloren is gegaan. Dat leidt tot de conclusie van enerzijds verregaande verwaarlozing in het verleden bij gebrek aan goede instituties als bibliotheek en archief, anderzijds tot bewustwording van de drievoudige dreiging van klimaat, kakkerlak en komehein. Voor literair-historisch onderzoek komen voor onderzoek naar de lokale literatuur met name *De Curaçaosche Courant*; *Civilisadó*, *Notas y Letras*, *Amigoe*, *La Cruz* en *La Union* in aanmerking. Via digitalisering door Google; de Library of Congress, de Digitale Bibliotheek van de Nederlandse Letteren (DBNL); de zoekmachine Delpher; en lokale digitaliseringsactiviteiten behoren klimaat, kakkerlakken en komehein nu tot het verleden.

Digitalisering

De laatste jaren heeft de digitalisering van oude bronnen een grote vlucht genomen, wereldwijd, regionaal maar ook steeds meer lokaal op de verschillende eilanden. Daarbij ontstaat vanuit de grenzen van financiële middelen en werkkraft steeds vaker de vraag naar de prioriteit: wat wél en wat níet en wat éérs en wat láter? Welke (oude) bronnen zouden (opnieuw) gepubliceerd of gedigitaliseerd moeten worden en waarom?⁶

Hier raken erfgoedstudies en de literatuurgeschiedenis en literatuurgeschiedschrijving elkaar. Erfgoedstudie en literatuurgeschiedenis inventariseren het artefact, de literatuurgeschiedschrijving maakt deze tot tekst. Elke generatie schrijft haar eigen literatuurgeschiedenis en geeft haar visie op haar literaire erfgoed in het brede totaalbeeld van het literaire landschap in de context van auteur naar lezer, van tekst naar context. In deze zin reikt de erfgoedstudie het materiaal aan dat in de brede literatuurgeschiedschrijving zijn samenhang en voortgang beschreven vindt.⁷

De Curaçaosche Courant

Lokale nieuwsbladen bergen een schat aan verborgen bronnen voor nader literair onderzoek, zoals bijvoorbeeld in het eerste lokale nieuwsblad, de *Curaçao Gazette* / *De*

⁶ Wat wordt er gedaan met literaire legaten die aan archief en bibliotheek geschonken worden? Is onderzoek daarnaar wel de moeite waard of kan wat jarenlang verwaarloosd en daarom vergeten was maar beter verborgen blijven vanuit de vraag of iets als waardevol de moeite en kosten van het bewaren voor latere geslachten waard is?

⁷ In het verleden heb ik in vorige bundels al drie voorbeelden besproken, *Slavery and early texts in Papiamentu*. (Rutgers, 2009).; *The newsmagazine Civilisadó and the post-emancipatory cultural standard; the first documentary serial novel in Papiamentu*. (Rutgers, 2010); *Literary texts on slavery in the past and future. Tula: from rebel to national hero*. (Rutgers, 2012)

Curaçaosche Courant (vanaf 1812, respectievelijk 1816) met daarin de 19^{de} eeuwse kolonistenliteratuur, met name de lokale poëzie, de vroegste toneelgeschiedenis, activiteiten van leesgezelschappen in de vorm van literair-cultureel gezelschapsleven dat zich organiseerde in een dichtgenootschap en in lees- en toneelverenigingen, in particuliere en openbare bibliotheken.

Mengelingen

De rubriek 'mengelingen' in *De Curaçaosche Courant*, onder meer geschreven door de onderwijzer Philip Phoel tussen 1824 en 1835, is wellicht het vroegste voorbeeld van Antilliaans columnisme, de voorloper van een genre dat vanaf het einde van de negentiende eeuw een bloeitijd zal gaan beleven.⁸

De uit de lage landen afkomstige schrijver Philip Phoel (1790 - 1869) was van 1816 - 1847 op Curaçao werkzaam als onderwijzer in Otrobanda. Er komen in deze 'mengelingen' uitgebreide door hem verzorgde bijdragen voor over de geschiedenis van Curaçao, waarschijnlijk de oudste lokale geschiedschrijving van de eilanden.

Ongeveer vijftig jaar heeft de *De Curaçaosche Courant* als koloniale voor de witte elite bestemd nieuwsblad het alleenrecht gehad voor de lokale nieuwsgaring en verspreiding. Maar als zodanig is het een niet te onderschatten bron van gegevens over het reilen en zeilen van de kolonie vanaf het begin van de negentiende eeuw. Pas met de opheffing van de censuur in 1865 verschenen er meer bladen, die ook meer dan nieuwsbladen als echte opiniebladen beschouwd kunnen worden.

Emerging memory

Literair erfgoed is een dynamisch begrip inzake waardering en verandering met de opeenvolgende generaties en andere contexten. Literaire verwerking leidt ons tot het concept van 'emerging memory' – de herinnering is niet statisch maar dynamisch, want belangstelling en aandacht verschijnen en verdwijnen en komen opnieuw aan de oppervlakte. Maar het karakter van de herinnering verandert ook.

Op 9 en 16 april gaf Phoel in zijn 'mengelingen' een verslag en persoonlijke visie op Tula en de opstand in 1795. Dit verslag wordt een kleine halve eeuw later, na de emancipatie van 1863, door 'P' vertaald in het Papiaments en van 3 augustus tot en met

⁸ De eerste vermelding van het woord 'mengelingen' vond ik in het nummer van 16 augustus 1817, met het volgende berichtje: "... zyn dus verplicht geweest onze kolommen van deeze dag met uittrekzelen van mengelingen, welke wy hopen door onze lezers aangenaam in het afwezen van belangryker stof, zullen bevonden worden, te vullen," waarna het gedicht 'Het goede werk in schyn' werd opgenomen, een fel protest tegen het manumitteren van oude tot slaaf gemaakten om geld uit te sparen waardoor deze oude en behoeftige mensen een ellendig leven van armoede tegemoet gingen. Hoewel de redactie de mengelingen als minder belangrijk achtte, werd de serie vervolgens tot ver in de eeuw, met ongeveer tweehonderd afleveringen, tot eind jaren vijftig, voortgezet, weliswaar met een bloeitijd in de jaren twintig en dertig.

31 augustus 1872 gepubliceerd in de *Civilisadó*, waarna hij in hetzelfde blad op 14 september en 19 oktober 1872 zijn vertaling verdedigt en daar daarbij de visie van Phoel op het gebeuren resoluut afkeurt. Dit is een helder voorbeeld hoe dezelfde historische gebeurtenissen door *emerging memory* nieuwe aandacht krijgen maar tot andere interpretaties leiden. (Rutgers 2012)

Literair-historische bronnen

In de 19^{de} eeuw waren de bronnen nog schaars, maar naarmate de jaren vorderen verschijnen er steeds meer, waardoor de noodzakelijke keuzes urgenter worden. Wát zou bijvoorbeeld bewaard moeten worden en opnieuw beschikbaar gesteld moeten worden van al die feuilletons, dialogen, reisbeschrijvingen, conta cuenta, combersashon, etc. die wekelijks verschenen in de *Amigoe*, in *La Cruz* en *La Union*? En waarom?⁹

Moeten dergelijke artefacten integraal opnieuw beschikbaar gesteld worden en bestudeerd worden of laten we ze verstoffen in onze archieven of onzichtbaar in de cloud?

Digitalisering biedt momenteel veel mogelijkheden om op een relatief eenvoudige en financieel haalbare manier oud materiaal beschikbaar te maken voor onderzoek dat vervolgens zal uitwijzen wat beklijft. Niet alles wat ooit bewaard werd, kan als erfgoed beschouwd worden. Erfgoed is immers dynamisch en de waardering ervan is gebonden aan tijd en plaats.

Hierbij tot slot nog een voorbeeld, uit *El Observador*, een Arubaans nieuwsblad dat verscheen vanaf 3 februari 1934 en waar door de afdeling Arubiana van de Biblioteca Nacional Aruba (BNA) de nummers van 3 februari 1934 tot en met 26 januari 1935 gedigitaliseerd zijn. Daarin staan soms enkele ‘gedichten’ die voor de moderne lezers geen waarde meer hebben. Sommige ervan waren aardig voor de gelegenheid, meer niet. Maar in die gedigitaliseerde nummers werd van 10 maart tot en met 22 december 1934 een Papiamentse vertaling van de beroemde roman van de Colombiaanse auteur Jorge Isaacs, *Maria* (Isaacs, 1867) opgenomen. *Maria* is een romantisch idyllisch Colombiaans verhaal van tragische liefde die door omstandigheden belemmerd wordt.

⁹ Aart G. Broek heeft in 1990 een Amsterdamse dissertatie gewijd vanuit deze bronnen naar de romanfeuilletons: *The Rise of a Caribbean Island's Literature; the Case of Curaçao and its writing in Papiamentu*. Maar wat valt er daar verder nog te vinden? Enkele concrete voorbeelden zijn Ipi en Cobi (de gebroeders Jansen) aan het einde van de 19^{de} eeuw, J.H.B. Gravenhorst die begin 20^e eeuw zijn uitvoerige verhaal *Van Curaçao Naar New-Orleans; Langs een omweg* (*De Vrijmoedige*, 13 VI - 24 XII 14) en het relaas van het in 1825 mysterieus verdwenen goudschip ‘De Zeemeeuw’ publiceerde (*De Vrijmoedige*, 6 II 08), en enkele decennia later Jan Paul Delgeur met zijn talrijke ‘Ditjes en Datjes’ in de *Amigoe*. Wat te doen met Pater P.J. Poiesz reisbeschrijvingen ‘Di Corsouw pa Amsterdam’ (*La Cruz* 1 VII/26 VIII 1914) en ‘Di Amsterdam pa Corsouw’ (*La Cruz* 26 V / 25 VIII 1915) en pater R.C.J. Wahlen’s ‘Bovenwindsche Stemmen’ (*Amigoe* 22 I / 18 XI 1916); Tuyuchi (pseudoniem van A.E.Leito) en zijn novelas verschenen in *La Cruz*; bovendien Oscar van Kampen, (pseudoniem van Azijn Banana) met bijdragen in zijn humoristische weekblad *Lorito Real* (.1948-1958).

Zo'n Papiamentse vertaling maakt dit vergeten nieuwsblad tot literair-historisch erfgoed van grote waarde.

“MARIA”

Novela scirbi pa JORGE ISAACS

CAPITULO I.

Mi tabata apenas un mucha tempo nan a sacami for di mi cas paterna pa mi duna principio na mi estudio den e colegio di ... establecí na Bogotá desde poco año y famoso den toer e República den e tempo ei. E víspera anochi di mi viaje, después di e velada, un di mi rumannan muhé a drenta mi cuarto y sin bisami un palabra cariñosa, pasobra e yoramento tabata paga su stem, e a corta algún di mi cabeí: ora e a salí algún lágrima di djé a corre ariba su garganta. Mi a drumi yorando y a experimenta como un sentimiento ligó di mucho pesar cu lo mi mester a sufrí despues. E cabeí nan ei quita di un cabez infantil, e precaución eh di amor contra di morto dilanti di tanto vida, a haci cu durante mi sueño mi alma a recoré toer e lugánan cu mi a pasa, sin comprende e horanan mas feliz di mi vida. E mainta siguiente mi tata a quita di mi cabez, e brázanan di mi mama, humedecí di tantos lágrimas. Mi rumanan a colmami cu sunchi ora nan tabata bisami adios. Maria a spera su turno humildemente y tadranda su despedida e a pega su cara sonrosá na di mi cu tabata frioe di e promer sensación di dolor. Poco rato despues mi a sigui mi tata kende tabata sconde su cara ora mi tabata mírele. E pasonan di nos cabaynan den e patio tabata hoga mi último suspiro. E sonido di Zabaletas cuyo orillanan tabata queda na nos derecho, tabata bira menos pa algún instante. Ya nos tabata dal vuelta rond di un di e ceronan banda di e camino di unda nos tabata divisá desde cas e viajeros deseados; mi a bira mi cara atrás, buscando uno di tantos seres queridos. Maria tabata pará bao i e enredadera cu tabata dorna e bentananan di e cuarto di mi mama.

Conclusie

Literaire erfgoedstudie volgens de definitie van Alex van Stipriaan dat erfgoed “een selectie is uit het verleden van een groep mensen, voor hedendaags gebruik en tevens beoordeeld als nuttig om door te geven aan de toekomst.” (Stripiaan, 2016: 16) betekent weliswaar een avontuurlijke ontdekkingsstocht naar het onbekende, maar leidt ook tot het dilemma van de individuele onderzoeker en de samenleving naar actuele tekstkwaliteit en historisch belang, het dilemma van historie en herinnering en het concept *emerging memory*, want herinnering is immers niet statisch maar dynamisch, belangstelling en aandacht verschijnen en verdwijnen en komen vervolgens onvoorspelbaar opnieuw aan de oppervlakte. De populariteit van het moderne erfgoedonderzoek opent de ogen voor waardevolle teksten uit het verleden die jarenlang vergeten bleven in stoffige bronnen die met de digitalisering nieuwe aandacht

genereren, maar leidt ook tot de vraag naar nut en waarde van deze oude teksten, of we ze wel tot ons erfgoed rekenen – teksten die bewaard dienen te worden omdat ze ook vandaag de dag ons nog wat te zeggen hebben en ons naar de toekomst kunnen gidsen? Hier ontmoet het erfgoedbegrip het canonbegrip als van Even-Zohar: als een verzameling teksten én als 'model' van, 'those literary norms and works (i.e., both models and texts) which are accepted as legitimate by the dominant circles within a culture and whose conspicuous products are preserved by the community to become part of its historical heritage.' (Even-Zohar, 1990:15,19)

Literaire erfgoedstudie is evenals de canon gebaseerd op beargumenteerde keuze tussen perifeer en centraal, subaltern en dominant in het complexe communicatieve literaire landschap van auteur tot lezer; van tekst tot context. Naast inhoudelijke tekstkwaliteit zijn voor de lezer/onderzoeker dus ook de auteurspositie en contextueel belang dominante criteria voor zowel canon als erfgoed. Naarmate de positie van de auteur als invloedrijker en belangrijker wordt gezien en de impact van cruciale historische gebeurtenissen groter is, stijgt de kans om opgenomen te worden in de canon van de erfgoedstudie, wat tenslotte de dynamiek in tijd en plaats van de literaire erfgoedstudie nogmaals benadrukt.

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‘UPFUL *ITATIONS*’ FOR LIFE: LASANA M SEKOU’S *BOOK OF THE DEAD*

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Abstract

In *Book of the dead* (2016), Lasana M. Sekou proclaims that is the time for St. Martiners to choose either independence or continued foreign domination and assimilation. The deceptive offer by the forces of neo-colonialism of ‘progressive and benign colonization’ (Nimako & Willemsen 2011: 97-122), is no longer tenable. In this work Sekou proposes a monumental and transformational change to facilitate the unfinished business of abolition with emancipation, not ‘apprenticeship’ neo-enslavement and ‘progressive control’ neo-colonialism.

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Key terms: Lasana M. Sekou, St. Martin, neo-colonialism, enslavement, trauma

and if we
are to commence a new building
in which to deliver this in-labor age
let it not be in deceptive hands
let it not be raised
on wages of terror
committed against our own
("purges" Sekou, 2013, [1983]: 31)

the spirit of the brave
live in this world unto eternity
are the guardians of creation
their strength
flows in the blood of the righteous
their names are written gold

in upful *itation* for i&i living

(“For Michael ‘Mickey’ Smith,” Sekou, 2013, [1983]: 29)

The excerpts above foreground my reading of Lasana M. Sekou’s *Book of the dead* (2016) as an extension of Sekou’s transcendent global concerns about oppression. In an interview with Sara Florian (2010), Sekou asserts:

The political issues I tend to prefer to work with or work out in the poetry tend toward liberation politics, national and human liberation processes in the Caribbean: from slavery, racism, colonialism, neocolonialism and as a continuing process in the region’s countries to realize full sovereignty and in the still colonized territories like St. Martin to become independent.

Badejo (2013) likewise, asserts that Sekou’s work is predominantly a “creative struggle to carve out and maintain a distinct identity” (60). Thus, the two excerpts are symptomatic of Sekou’s untiring activism, which often is his muse, to create a poetry that awakens St. Martiners to the colonial reality of their existence (Badejo, 2013: 57). However, in my reading of *Book of the dead* (2016), I argue that Sekou’s use of translingual aesthetics enables him see St. Martin’s colonial status, often euphemized as progressive co-equal partnerships between Holland and France in Europe, and the divided island of Sint Maarten/St. Martin as part of historical global dominatory politics.

In the previously cited interview (Florian, 2010), Sekou argues that translingualism enables him articulate and represent language that is:

symbolic of ideals, practices, and manifestation of Caribbean unity – and as literary devices and elements of exploration of a St. Martin aesthetics. Politics, language, history, religion, and the geographic landscape are just a few of the elements I work with to construct a poetry that would hopefully have meaning in the lives of people.

Through several of his works including *Book of the dead* (2016), *Maroon lives* (2013, [1983]), *Nativity* (2010), *Pelican heart* (2010), *The salt reaper poems from the flats* (2008, [2005]), and *37 Poems* (2005), Sekou often transcends the rhetorical commemoration of ancestral freedom fighters against slavery, colonization, racism, and neo-capitalist imperialism. *Book of the dead* (2016) consolidates Sekou’s insurrectionist poetics, prophetic sufferations, and imploding lamentations. He uses the colonial status of St. Martin as backdrop to testify against global systems of domination.

In *Book of the dead* (2016), Sekou laments the prevalence of historical amnesia that provides the fertile mindset for the growth of social, political, cultural, economic, and historical dis-eases in St. Martin. Sekou cites the sanitization of the historical genocide and trauma endured by Africans in the Middle Passage, on the slave plantations in the Americas, and perpetual colonial domination. Hence, *Book of the dead* (2016) challenges St. Martiners to rise and claim their heritage, history, and land. Only in this can they establish a dignified future for their descendants.

are you proud enough now
to stay put, to . . . be like, like we like it?
are you proud enough now
to be of these
“rude . . . and ungrateful” runaways
weglopers?
 (“who you far?” Sekou, 2016: 8)

Sekou the writer-activist carries no shame or regret about claiming marronage as his African ancestral strategy for liberationist warfare. Marronage is empowering ideology to rally all independentistas engaged in anticolonial struggles in St. Martin and globally. He appropriates the spirit and ideology of freedom of the maroons to initiate a revisionary history and re-memory to claim political and cultural liberation. Such historical re-visioning rejects the untenable idea of compassionate colonization under which Holland and France macro and micro-control and manage the economy of divided St. Martin. Compassionate colonialism, like *Watheyism* derives from the accommodationist/assimilationist politics of Claude Wathey. Descended from the plantation and slave-owning Irish ancestors, Wathey became St. Martin’s most renowned, powerful, and influential politician of the 20th century. Badejo (1989) in *Claude: a portrait of power* shows how Wathey took a strong anti-independence stance during his leadership’s early and most important years. He argued that St. Martin’s ultimate destiny lay with an assimilationist and dependent relationship with Holland. Nimako and Willemsen (2011) make a similar argument in their study of the politics of slavery, abolition and emancipation in the Dutch colonies. They argue that Watheyism is simply abolition without emancipation, or what Dutch politicians theorized as abolition with progressive control, in contrast to abolition with transformative change (emancipation) (87-122), which Sekou through his poetry depicts.

For Sekou, the French and Dutch policy of progressive control over Sint Maarten/St. Martin is rooted in psychophysiological, religious, and cultural racism. The policy makes the spurious argument that St. Martiners are unprepared for complete emancipation/independence. Consequently, they advocate a system that encourages foreigners to invest in the post-abolition economy of tourism to continue control over the economy of St. Martin (Badejo, 2013: 59-99; Kuwabong, 2014: 225-231). Progressive control ensures a gradual transmogrification of the plantation monocrop slave economy into an obscenely unequal monopolistic neo-liberal economy based on tourism with an operational apparatus similar to the abolished plantation slave system. Only this time, the former slaves are paid a miserly wage for their labor. Perez Jr. (1975) has drawn attention to this spurious argument that presents tourism as the best economic gateway to Caribbean prosperity:

Growing economic dependence on tourism necessarily required a radical reorientation of Caribbean societies. In the past several decades, the reordering of the West Indies around tourist economies has been no less profound and far-reaching than the seventeenth-century reorganization around sugar. Monoculture, white-black superordinate-subordinate relations, and the organization of society around the gratification of metropolitan needs—all essential characteristics of plantation culture—find immediate counterparts in the tourist culture. (138)

Concomitantly, the St. Martin promoted as a tourist paradise is only so for tourists and the foreign owners of the industry. Its sustainability, therefore, depends on the political leaders of Saint Maarten/St. Martin. They act as lackeys of foreign interests. They provide tourists and investors a stable political atmosphere and guaranteed profit repatriation. Perez writes (1975) that “the tourist industry requires political stability and internal order. National systems organized around tourist economies assign political priority to the safety and wellbeing of foreign travelers,” whose spending power ensures “the fortune of the foreign investor and the future of West Indian politicians” (138). In such a climate of economic imperialism and dependency, any thought of independence is dangerous.

Sekou rejects this neo-colonial arrangement designed to forestall the push toward independence. He uses shock poetics as narrative therapy to remind St. Martiners to recall the historical enslavement of their ancestors by the ancestors of the same investors that local political and cultural colluders now cuddle up to for scraps. The struggle for freedom, Sekou (2016) asserts is therefore, non-negotiable. It is:

to be
of the blood *maron*, of the cast ones:
dredged from the captors' godblessed holds
to exchange for thirty silver pieces of gold
fo'peso, or more; of the auction purchase
at the *slavenstreeg*, the unveiling greasy grip
head headstone of the new west, rise on basted
naked he, at *slavensteeg*, on the block&elsewhere
. . . to be of she stripped bared&leered at
. . . her godblessed
legacy stolen

(“who you far?” Sekou, 2016: 8)

Sekou asks unapologetically the following questions: where does each of them stand in this call for true liberation? There is no answer as the people are still trapped in what Nimako and Willemsen (2011: 87-122) label as “Abolition without Emancipation” designed in the 19th-century to withhold full emancipation of the enslaved Africans based on race, class, religion, and gender. This was manifested in the post-slavery apprentice

system that kept the former slaves in servitude. But undespairingly, Sekou presents narrative memories to demonstrate that though all resistance against oppression is done as an act of love, it is still hard labor. But such acts eventually lead to freedom. In “if not for love . . .” (Sekou, 2016), he contemplates:

for history, thank you all, “rebellious slaves,” spitfires,
“rude . . . and ungrateful” *wegloppers*, maroons, rastafari,
“race men” and union women, militants and marchers,
revolutionaries and *independentistas* . . . thank you all. (17)

As Fergus (2007) asserts, “Revolts and revolutions as recorded in history are important because they reveal resistance and a culture of rejection of tame submission to oppression The universal quest for freedom is reemphasized in the histories of resistance movements” (84). Likewise, in “Maroons,” those “brave freedom-loving Africans . . . [are] the most militant and independent manifestation of the fight for freedom” (Sekou, 2017: 29), Sekou shows his connection to and love for the liberationist spirit of maroons. Only through a maroon spirit of resistance can St. Martin claim true emancipation from colonial domination.

Book of the dead (2016) presents Sekou’s pan-African and globalized view of history. He unmaskes the lingering effects of slavery, colonization, racism and cultural deracination which generates mental nepantilism and post traumatic slave syndrome among African diaspora populations. To cure this, one needs the Cuban type of revolution expressed in “brother cane” (Sekou, 2016: 9). He admires the mid-20th-century Cuban socialist revolutionary praxis as an example of a successful renovation of maroon rebellions in plantation slavery days. In several slave rebellions that took place in Cuba the slaves burnt cane fields to deprive not only the slave masters of their source of wealth, but to also destroy the landscapes of their enslavement. Sekou resurrects the ghosts of these rebels to understand both the past humiliations of slavery, and use the past struggles to inspire St. Martin’s sluggish revolutionary spirit. Though the word “cienfuegos” Sekou alludes both to the province of Cuba that he visited, as well as to its literal meaning in Spanish [place of a hundred fires] (all translations are by the author unless otherwise specified). Thus, the tactic of burning cane plantations by the enslaved as acts of rebellion reasserts Sekou’s stance that sometimes violent revolutions are necessary to achieve liberation. Sekou may also be alluding to Camilo Cienfuegos, a leading revolutionary figure at the beginning of the Cuban revolution who was murdered. Or, more distantly, the word denotes links between the rebellions of the indigenous peoples of the Caribbean and enslaved Africans against European conquistadores in the early years of occupation. The cane fields are museums of the historical horrors of slavery. He writes that from: “the unrelenting sorrow of the bleeding” (“brother cane,” Sekou, 2016: 9), a new hope, “flor rebelde / flower of the revolution” (9), is born and transfigures the “blood memory” into victory (9). Blood memory as a re-memory is a

re-membering and re-calling of rebellions by enslaved Africans globally. Sekou hopes this re-membering may yet birth a new and radical faith for others in the Caribbean, especially in St. Martin.

Sekou's revolutionary poetics for political and economic emancipation are tied to the destruction of religious bigotry, part of the colonial legacy of racism. In "Trajectories of Emancipation: Religion, Class, Gender and Race," Nimako and Willemsen (2011: 123-148) demonstrate how the Christian denominations often sided with arguments against abolition in both Holland and the colonies, using racist, classist, and sexist views disguised as benign spiritual protection of the enslaved. Thus, Sekou raises the alarm at the recent rise in Arabophobia and Islamophobia in Western countries that single out Arab and African Muslim refugees entering Europe or North America as dangerous, and therefore, unwanted. Franz Fanon had argued this phobia by European descended peoples as Negro-phobogenesis (2002, [1967]). Negro-phobogenesis, he explains, is the person who is raced as Black's ability to instigate inordinate fear in off-black people, an ability projected unto the body of the Black person by the dis-eased mind of the non-black. This unchristian behavior, Sekou laments, dates to slavery days. He expounds on Christianity's collaboration with the European enslavers of Africans in St. Martin. Fergus (2007) concurs: "Religious collusion with slavery in which the Bible was another whip held partly accountable for the attendant cruelty to the enslaved." (76)

Concurrently, the absence of love for others among Christians and Muslims, reveals a lack of love and concern for the world's dispossessed children. Lamentably, Christians who claim to be serving the true God, yet refuse to show compassion or love to the marginalized and impoverished children of the world, still publicly perform annual rituals of 'peace on earth to all' at Yuletide. Thus, in "Citizen," Sekou (2016: 12-13) expands his portraiture of child misery, and calls for a moral revolution among believers to be charitable toward refugees, as victims of war, of religious persecution, and of economic despair. He extends his call to a labor of love through advocacy against Islamophobia, Negrophobia, and now, 'refugeephobia.' These phobias stem from corrupt and empty human hearts bereft of both sympathy and empathy. Sekou refuses to limit his criticism only to far-right white supremacist Christians, but also includes intolerant fundamentalist Islamists. To him, both justify their lack of love for the neighbor, and religious intolerance by appealing to their Bibles and Qurans. In "Citizen" (2016: 12-13), he writes:

You just can't sit
and be

.....

if you are a suited muslim man
seated on a plane
without people escorting you

off an air trans flight
In the states
refusing you [& your family. in jesus' name]
to fly on your merry way.
you can't just sit
in peace
(Sekou, 2016: 12)

However, if this reads like Sekou's distress is caused by recent Islamophobia, he is quick to correct this with a newsreel of the racist treatment of Southern Sudanese Muslim women refugees fleeing the racially driven civil war in Sudan. Sekou informs us that we cannot separate religious intolerance from racism:

if you are a deep south Soudan black
a woman alone
seated on a train
without people you don't even know
laughing at you
in the Cairo of Egypt.
& *veel vrouwen* too, all veiled & *inshallah*,
surrounding you from flight
trying to squeeze your nose.
(Sekou, 2016: 12-13)

Religious bigotry and racism accentuate the prevalence of trauma and misery caused by poverty, war, persecution, natural disasters, and perpetual nomadic existence. These corrupt and undermine the earthly realization of the dignity of these globally displaced people. The peace that the Christmas story promises to all people of the earth is denied to them. So, while this continues, the song and season of goodwill to all are meaningless annual commemorations antithetical to the message of Christmas. In skillfully linking present-day human suffering, despite the coming of Christ, to the unfulfilled promises of that advent for others, Sekou reminds Christians of how Jesus and his parents were also refugees. He reminds Christians about Jesus' humble beginnings, which should awaken the moribund consciences of the rich to give a bit to the poor. Compared to even animals, modern-day child refugees, Southern Sudanese women refugees, Muslim refugees have nowhere to go. So, he cites Jesus' words to a man who asked him for his home address, to which Jesus replied: "foxes have dens and birds have nests" (Sekou, 2016: 15), but the son of man has nowhere to lay his head. These homeless refugees represent Christ and to give them help is to show love for Jesus.

Deductively, Sekou questions the validity of a Christian faith that has no place for good works, no charity, no compassion, in contrast to the parable of the Good Samaritan (*The Catholic study Bible*, 1990, Lk. 10: 25-37). To Sekou, to follow Jesus is to engage in

the praxes of liberation theology underscored in the following: “The Spirit of the Lord GOD is upon me; because the LORD hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound” (*The Catholic study Bible*, 1990, Lk. 4: 18; Is 61: 1). Christians are therefore challenged to care for the wretched rootless children and other refugees whose lives are a constant “wishing&working.../ pressing past an abound of boundaries / and all along the way boundaries abound” (Sekou, 2016: 15). Their forced nomadic existence generates in them a permanent condition of anxiety and despair. Without country, and prevented from entering or settling in any other place, these child refugees of global injustice become vulnerable to modern day slavery, *restaveks*. *Restavek*, a Haitian term to describe the children of the very poor who are given to rich homes as domestic child slaves, whom Sekou defines as, “unshedded lambs, destitute foundlings” (2016: 15).

Sekou challenges Christians specifically to see these, “legion ah legion as small little ones” (2016: 15), as representations or manifestations of baby Jesus himself, for Jesus once said: “Whoever welcomes this little child in my name welcomes me; and whoever welcomes me welcomes the one who sent me. For it is the one who is least among you all who is the greatest” (*The Catholic study Bible*, 1990, Lk. 9: 48). Yet, “from season to season” (Sekou, 2016: 15), the rich refuse to welcome Jesus even if they sing Christmas carols. Sekou draws details of the absence of love for needy children worldwide, starting with his native island, St. Martin. Here and elsewhere, the

hungry in St. Martin; hated in the Dominican Republic; hunted in Kurdistan; homeless in the Congo; hostage in Gaza; hell holes in India; in harried West Papua; back to the UK wid dem child rape ranking . . . t’is affront / to elsewhere. (Sekou, 2016: 15-16)

He advocates examining the collective global conscience to deal with the global abdication of adult responsibilities to these children. They must recognize that, like Jesus, these children too are the ‘children of man,’ yet they die from hunger and diseases.

Fergus (2007) labels Sekou's compassion for the world's dispossessed as an “unquenchable revolutionary fervor” (74). It enables Sekou to give voice and substance to the skeletons and ghosts silenced in history about Afrisporic struggles against religious bigotry and racism. In “kingstown, tortola,” Sekou (2016: 10-11) laments the gradual erasure of the historical struggles of enslaved Africans in Tortola for freedom and for expression in the church built by the enslaved, which now lies in ruins. The history of resistance to the church's construction is forgotten and erased from the consciousness of Tortolans. Their lack of interest in restoring this ancestral African Tortolan church, whose presence should become monumentalized and celebrated to remember a broken past, is lamentable. As Derek Walcott (1999) would argue, these ruins of the church should be their muse of history to activate an interest in re-membering the fragments of

their memory (68-71). Sekou expresses dismay at how these ruins get advertised to promote dark tourism with no sense of history. He writes: “the african church this’n the african church that / and no crown to grant any repairs [to this day] / becausin at first what the free build&bind” (Sekou, 2016: 11) is how the ruins are glibly celebrated, with no reflection on the church as a symbol of victory over oppression.

As Walcott (1999) asserts, “The sigh of History rises over ruins, not over landscapes, and in the Antilles, there are few ruins to sigh over” (68), and Sekou insists that the ruins of this church represent one of those few ruins that provide a glimpse of such history. Sekou's anguish about the ruins of the church in Tortola echoes Walcott's as he laments the gradual disappearance of the ruins of a church in Soufrière, hinting that with its disappearance, St. Lucians would arrive at complete amnesia, “that impenetrable place, green secrets at the end dog bad roads” (Walcott, 1999, 68-69). Sekou's anguish goes beyond the reluctance of the British crown to grant funds to restore the building. It rises more from the unwillingness of the local African Tortolan politicians and business people, together with windy armchair revolutionaries, to do anything to preserve the histories and cultures of the few architecturally surviving achievements of their African ancestors in Tortola. Worse still, Sekou observes, these so-called community and political leaders do not even remember their island's history or languages (Sekou, 2016: 12), and by extension, care less about preserving their natural and cultural environments and records, as Walcott contends (1999: 69).

Consequently, like an Ezekiel (*The Catholic study Bible*, 1990, Ez. 37: 1-14) in the valley of dry bones, Sekou animates the stones of the ruins of an AfroTortolan church with resurrection language, with memory, with voices of those that had built it and worshipped there a long time ago. The church ruins are monuments and symbols to historical resistance by enslaved Africans to European racist Christianity. The church ruins echo Tortolan cultural and racial memory. The ruins depict their Africanized ritual space of worship, with their own takes on the scriptures. Here they developed an Afrocentric liberation theology. These ruins are the “landscape of pride,” not necessarily hallowed grounds anymore, but they call out loudly for a “re-membering / [through] the rebuilding” (Sekou, 2016: 11). Like Walcott, whose anger is expressed against the fools parading in suits and signing away St. Lucia to foreigners (1999: 69-70), Sekou exposes the mimic men and women of St. Martin, whose mimicry of Eurocentricity exacerbates their complex of racial inferiority. Mimicry bifurcates their ability to recognize and travel their genetic routes to their cultural roots with pride. And, if they cannot remember their ancestors, they also cannot value ancestral monuments.

But, Sekou is a poet of hope, not despair. Thus, not all is lost. The discoveries of these 155 year-old ruins have reenergized visionaries, poets and pragmatic revolutionaries who lunch and appeal to right this oversight, “to fulfill the petition / to even read the priestess seal inna she book / Then denied, now re-membered” (Sekou, 2016: 11).

Nonetheless, the itinerant activist poet believes that even if nothing is done to restore this church, “a garden of kinnip trees [are] waiting to enshrine / the monument, the remembrance / to the liberated ones, free in their own free town;” (Sekou, 2016: 10), with a boundary marked by tamarind trees brought to the Caribbean by enslaved Africans. Moreover, the abandoned, “procession pile of graves / of the liberated ones, free in their own freedom” (Sekou, 2016: 10), like Ezekiel's valley of dry bones (*The Catholic study Bible*, 1990, Ez. 37: 1-14), continue to proclaim a history of freedom in the “walking mosaics of talking stones” (Sekou, 2016: 10). As a prophetic call-to-action poem, “kingstown, tortola” is a symbolic lamentation against the gradual and deliberate erasure of African Caribbean people's history of struggle and achievements.

Mimicry of Eurocentric notions of beauty creates psychological dis-eases among Afri-descendentes in St. Martin. The dis-ease shows through skin bleaching, hair straightening, and facial deformations. Concomitantly, with words such as: “canela moreno preto guinea negrita preto ...” (Sekou, 2016: 14), Sekou mocks these mimic people who live in total dread of being exposed as frauds after their, “... blackest name” (14) is mentioned. Fanon (2002, [1967]) discusses this desire for whiteness as a psychological dis-ease among Afriantilleans in *Black skin white masks* (41-88). Afroantilleans, he theorizes, constantly confront what Fanon defines as Negro-phobogenesis that says that the mere spectacle of the black person triggers inordinate fears in white people, which creates a desire for the black person to interpret their skin tones as illegitimate and ugly. However, this is just one of Sekou's revolutionary consciousness-raising ideas.

Sekou's revolutionary consciousness is also related to his constant urging for St. Martiners to guide children in ways of responsible manhood and womanhood. However, he sees a generation of boys and girls embracing a philosophy of violent masculinity and undignified femininity. They ought to embrace the love, labor, and liberation of the motherland. But what he sees is a futureless St. Martin populated by lost generations of youth, seeking to prove their manhood or womanhood in self-destructive behaviors and violence. Such violent masculinity or destructive femininity ends in irredeemable bloodshed, irresponsible sex, drug addiction, and crime. Hence, Sekou's rhetoric of liberation includes interventionist policies to reform and transform the energies of the youth into productive ventures to advance national revolution. He is burdened and distressed at the tepid way society reacts to how guns and street violence snuff out the lives of the youth and criticize those who look the other way until it hits them directly. In “Crime Scene” (Sekou, 2016: 23), he details how society turns a blind eye to these indiscriminate “killers” until it hits home, “when they slump to the ground / . . . / [that's when and only when] we can see now / they are our children” (23). As a moral imperative, every adult must act to stay the rising tide of gun violence, not only when it affects them directly, but also as an act of assuming collective social responsibility to the youth to minimize and prevent the killings.

For Sekou, street violence is just a symptom of the real cause of the violence: the collapse of St. Martin's moral and cultural fabric in degenerate sexual practices presented as love. Sekou deals with this issue repeatedly in his short fictional works; *Love songs make you cry* (2014, [1989]) and *Brotherhood of the spurs* (2007, [1997]). However, this is not what he envisaged when he wrote two euphoric promise poems of love to the children of St. Martin in *37 Poems*, "st martin children I" (Sekou, 2005: 7), and "st. martin children II" (9-10). Degenerate sexuality based on warped notions of masculinity and femininity performances, Sekou writes, results in an epidemic of teenage pregnancies and teenage parenthood. Children perpetuate this cycle of teen-parenting. Thus, as a poetic witness, as a recorder and interpreter of these times, Sekou puns on the theology of 'End times' peddled by apocalyptic Evangelical and Pentecostal Christians to proclaim the approaching apocalypse. In "sagging times," he writes: "It may be telling of the in-times" (Sekou, 2016: 26), which puns on 'end-times' prophecies, preached to prepare Christians for Jesus' projected second coming.

The youth no longer see sex as a sacred gift to be respected but treat it like an excremental inconvenience to be deposited into toilets. Sekou rallies against the misguided use of digital technology by young people to post nude pictures of themselves and have casual unprotected sex. The bathrooms have become places where "my girls pose, strip-poling dress up they quarters / my boys, gun up pants down dey ass / toddle meanly the streets" (Sekou, 2016: 6). The picture of boys displaying their erect phalluses does not mask their undeveloped sensibilities. They still have not learned how to walk correctly, stand on their own feet, and act more as grown men are supposed to act. Instead, they are equated to toddlers mimicking adult behavior without understanding or being responsible for the consequences of their actions.

Rather than merely decry the self-destructive behaviors of these children, the poet interrogates and critiques the absence of personal adult interest in the lives of these kids: "Who am i / to these children? / what am i to do w/ these children?" (Sekou, 2016: 26). The interrogative self-analyses generate answers that clearly state what the adult world of the poet must do to prevent the apocalypse of culture and society. He prescribes a determination, "to have none behind on the babylonfields" (26) (children confused and abandoned in the world). They are confused because they are hurting and, in turn, hurt others and themselves: "hurtful&hurting. self-haters and hating the blackest / self in each of the other" (26). These self-hating, self-hurting children see irresponsible and unregulated sex as a drug to ease their sense of hopelessness, only to become "baby mommas / to baby daddies dem having dem / babies again . . ." (26). The double entendre implied by baby mommies and baby daddies does not fall on deaf ears. The parents of these babies are themselves, babies.

Several poems, like "sagging times" (Sekou, 2016: 26) and "Stripped" (27), deal with prostitution, strip joints, and digital sex, and their appeal to tourists. Tourism is a

destructive “tug and weave” (28) of “today,” engaged cruelly to revisit the woes of abandoned youth whose futures are terminated too soon through prostitution, drug addiction, violence. The series of laments rise in every place and end in the homeland. In “today” (Sekou, 2016: 29), the poet's eccentric style breaks down into a simple cry about the “vice / of badly bruised / and bleeding children” from “the village of my father” (29). Sekou addresses the adverse effects of absent father figures in the lives of sons. Fathers, he laments, lack the commitment to purposefully raise their children to be high achievers and good citizens. Children become orphans yearning for paternal love and guidance--the remedies against the “masking pain,” to prevent,” “. . . the lonely / boys, [from] they falling through; / the crack vials of burials” (Sekou, 2016: 28), and convert the colonial servility that generates self-hatred and lead to gun violence.

Sekou's “of heritage and fruit” (2016: 30-31) is perhaps, the most heart-rending, soul searching, socially revealing dirge. It engages statement questions, indictments and linguistic simplicity to weave a lamentation not often seen in his poetry. His mature, reflective, calm, yet explosive voice, echoes that of William Blake in *Songs of innocence and songs of experience* (1977, [1794]), lambasting society for its utter and callous neglect of abandoned children. The rhetorical questions are left unanswered, unlike in previous poems such as “Crime Scene” (Sekou, 2016: 23):

who claims this outline of weeping blood
 in the the name of the father?
 who claims this slaughtered lamb
 in the name of the son?
 where her child is the unending song of her soul
 who claims this sinewed splinter of heart
 in the name of the mother?
 (Sekou, 2016: 30)

What emotional callousness blinds people from seeing the “ghostly madness / raging into the village far night?” asks the poet (30).

The calloused madness is evidenced in social disorder, youth violence, teenage pregnancies, drug addictions, parental irresponsibility, and lack of empathy, turning this child's misery (St. Martin) into that of a homeless famished orphan stranded in the intersection of three global powers France, Holland, the United States of America, and the neo-colonial institutions that represent their interests, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Trapped and impoverished in the crevices of colonial claims, St. Martin blindly purchases illusions of prosperity promised by tourism and its ‘monoculture of the mind’ (Shiva, 2001) as a replacement for the collapsed plantation system and its mono-cropping of sugar. Thus, the original St. Martin, personified by this orphaned child, is now a place, “people come to see . . . / in the middle region / in the middle of the road” (Sekou, 2016: 30-31). Likewise, Kincaid's description of the

tourist in *A small place* (2000, [1988]: 6-8) underscores Sekou's (2016) representation of the tourists who “drive by, to sight the scene / crossing themselves as if there is for grace / but do not tarry here” (“of heritage and fruit,” Sekou, 2016: 31). The poor neighborhoods of St. Martin are rearranged as showcases for dark tourism, that involves predominantly white wealthy tourists who delight in visiting poor communities, ruins, graveyards, holocaust museums, etc. The lives of the poor reflect their imagined bohemian and superior lifestyle (Kincaid, 2000, [1988]: 1-18). Afro-Caribbean people's poverty attracts white Euro-American tourists. Perez (1975) made this observation:

National dependency on tourism ultimately reaches local departments. Local districts offer a piece of history, a place of worship, perhaps a place of burial, to profanation by tourists. Often the very poverty of a district labeled euphemistically “bohemian” or “primitive”-serves as an adequate tourist attraction. Tourists descend to see the “native” and observe the “quaint” customs and habits. The local population is encouraged to be “interesting” and always friendly-and to continue traditional customs and ceremonies that, whatever other relevance to the community they may have at one time had, are now assets of the travel industry. Where no such ceremonies exist, they are improvised and proclaimed “authentic.” (139-140)

Stephanie Black's documentary, *Life & debt* (2001), also reflects this new colonialism through tourism. The movie documents how the mono-industry of tourism destroys Caribbean islands' struggles for true economic emancipation from their former colonial and new neo-colonial masters. Tourism is foreign owned. It creates unsustainable dependency economics even as it promotes the commodification of culture and history and in the process accelerates the erasures of Caribbean historical and cultural memory: “The collective historical consciousness-the vital basis of national consciousness-has been defined by the requirements of tourism.” The remains of the colonial past serve as the props of the neocolonial present. “The colonial regime reappears as an exalted tourist attraction” (Perez, 1975: 139). Perez further asserts that “Colonial buildings, missions, forts and fortresses, colonial residences, and the remains of defunct plantations pass, appropriately polished, into travel brochures” help erase the horrors of slavery. Tourism is the new plantation economy employing the natives, descendants of former slaves, to work in this new industry (139). Thus: “poverty is the property / of the interest that is in /vested” and “. . . dressed down / to kill” (Sekou, 2016: 38).

Sekou interprets this commodification of the painful history of enslaved African ancestors that shields the tourist's memory from the impoverished child at the crossroads: “his very bones pestled / in the mortar of our memory” (“of heritage and fruit,” Sekou, 2016: 31). He laments: “Our son, he done done gone gone / washed from this road; don't waylay here” (31), these self-ingratiating sight-seekers are told, for “he not here” (31). The old African-derived St. Martin culture is not an artificial invention on display for

tourists gazes and purchases. It is work, journey, self, and solidarity in labor and love. Sekou expounds this philosophy of culture in *Nativity* (2010), which Kuwabong (2015: 237-254) explores in “Eco-Dreaming as embodied socioenvironmental and nationalist landscaping: Toward a ‘topistic’ reading of Lasana Sekou's *Nativity*.” Sekou (2016) does not mourn in despair but signals a hope of resurrection should the mourners genuinely repentant for their roles, conscious or unconscious, in the child’s abandonment to die in the middle of the road:

his last breath is risen
 as blood stain rinsed by rain
 running down the middle
 of middle region
 in the middle
 of the middle region road
 (31)

Tabish Khair (2005) accurately describes Sekou as a poet whose work “brims with radical hope, even political hope. They say there are reasons to live in St. Martin, and elsewhere” (xii). However, this hope is blind and persists despite the uncertainty as to the path to take to repair the damage that divides his island among two foreign colonial dominions. These dominating nations believe that giving monetary grants or loans is enough reparation for the damage done over the centuries. Thus, the nation's cradle becomes a “fillin’ in filth” (Sekou, 2016: 32). Sekou, in “plans” (2016, 33), however, perceives and interprets the so-called development plans advocated by the former colonial masters for St. Martin as analogous to Sauron's (Tolkien, 1954) plot to rule the world with his secret super ring: But death shall have no dominion over St. Martin, as Sekou asserts. For, even as the past dignity of St. Martiners is slipping away under the illusion of economic prosperity in tourism, yet the blood of the ancestors will provide new energy and resurrect and revitalize St. Martiners toward a more purposeful direction to sustainable freedom and dignity.

“Poem for the dead” (Sekou, 2016: 40) is dedicated to Edward Kamau Brathwaite, whose poetics of recovery and retention of the African presence in the Caribbean has dramatically influenced Sekou and helped formulate Sekou’s vision and poetic style. Subsequently, “forensics” (41-43) embodies the enormous labor of love Sekou undertakes to sift through the debris of memory to find gems of cultural re-memberings for his project. Echoing other Caribbean poets, Sekou mourns those ancestors who were “cast over thread over dumped over / all surely dead set along the Middle / Passage pathway through this concert of bones” (41). In his nightmare vision, he sees these, “sunking bodies buried, below in wait of the wake / to come, there's a forest of heads up, / . . . / each in a steeped stare up, a steep-staired stare” (41), with corals as their funeral wreaths. Sekou's poem gives voice to these ancestors. He draws a comparison

between their silences and the lamentations of the sirens when Ulysses has stolen their vision and Sycorax's curses when Prospero has stolen her island, enslaved her children, and imprisoned her. We hear the wailing of the dead in the sound of the waves. Saltwater of the sea has preserved their memories in the terra cotta figurines of Africans deep under the sea, off Bahia's coast in Brazil, standing sentry in a protective circle of power (*Maroon lives*, Sekou, 2013: 42).

Sekou's poem creates a link between him and other poets: Derek Walcott in *Omeros* (1992), David Dabydeen in *Turner* (2003, [1994]), and Marlene Nourbese Philip in *Zong!* (2011, [2001]). Sekou's forensic poetics enables him, like a good detective, to reconstruct his people's history and culture, envisioned as a collective struggle to establish a regime of 'dignitarianism' (Nimako & Willemsen, 2011: 150). Forensic recoveries of the skeletons of the African holocaust during the Middle Passage become revisionary history that gives utterance to African voices silenced in the depths of the oceans. To Sekou, as well as to Walcott, the sea is the historical archives of diasporic Africans. Sekou echoes Glissant's (1997, [1990]) articulation of the terror of translocation, nomadism, alienation, and death in the opening chapter of *Poetics of Relation*: "set. sail. sorrow / below the coffee / falls out to sea, fear nothing" (Sekou, 2016: 4).

In "forensics," Sekou (2016: 41-43) reiterates Glissant's philosophy defined in three images: the boat, the water, and the bottom of the sea. He refashions the unknowable horizons, the abyss and voids out of new relations. Undoubtedly, therefore, "forensics" is the re-opening of cold-case files about the horrors committed against Africans in the Trans-Atlantic Slave trade, not to lay blame, but to set up a catafalque to raise the dead to historical relevance for the living. The forensic evidence enables the descendants of these un-mourned and unburied to perform proper funeral rites that will lead to remembrance and healing. The macabre representation of bloated bodies rising from the depths of the ocean to claim a hearing is sobering. The fragments of history codified in pieces of body parts must be re-membered to build an "obelisk of remembrance" (Kuwabong, 2013: 83) for them.

Sekou's altar of re-membering against further "dis member ment" (2016: 42) of Afro-Atlantic history is the poem itself. Indeed, Sekou's poem is another wail that joins the ceremony of 'exauration' of these dumped Africans aboard slave ships to enable descendants of the undead to heal from their fugues of amnesia. Nourbese Philip describes how the process involved in her writing of *Zong!* elucidates Sekou's funereal call to mourn these dead African ancestors preserved by saltwater. The poem, like *Zong!* is "hauntological" (Philip, 2011, [2001]: 201). "forensics," like *Zong!* (Philip, 2011, [2001]) and *Turner* (Dabydeen, 2003, [1994]) "is a work of haunting, a wake of sorts, where the specters of the undead make themselves present. And only in not telling can the story be told; only in the place where the story is not told" (Philip, 2011, [2001]:

201). The ghosts of drowned Africans finally break from the sea-depths, demand mourning, that their stories be told, and funeral wakes be organized for them. These acts will facilitate their entry as spirits into the human world.

As I have maintained, Sekou's itemization of the relics of the dead is like a detective gathering evidence "year in year out" from sources such as Bahia, the predominantly African city/province of Brazil, also the location of the last *quilombo*. Sekou seeks to re-open and remember by re-membering the silenced memories/histories of atrocities by gathering relics from forgotten archives. In the re-membering, the "dis member ment" of Africans, Sekou also offers these relics and tears as an appeal to the sea to reveal the rest of the histories of the middle passage as yet un-dredged below sea beds. The desire is:

to see what is cast up
up from what is still neath and unraveling
washing behind us from even way under
the wreathing coral of heads, way way down
under the reef deck leagues of see to see
a hull of a way down, so the deeper you dredge
(Sekou, 2016: 43)

This work of dredging the sea of memory is the poet's task. His imagination becomes the tool for that dredging. As the griot of his people, he must tell their story. He must interpret their history as healing "remember meant" (Sekou, 2016: 43). The pun on ment/meant is a brilliant touch in which Sekou collapses two different words to give a single reading. Challenged by and engaging Walcott's Nobel acceptance speech (1999: 69), Sekou's labor of love is to glue back the fragmented memories denoted by the fragmented relics and enact a new meaning to Africaribbean existence. Thus, he asks: "*ogbele* o! / for whom is this charged to? / for whom is this charge to re member meant?" (Sekou, 2016: 43). Like, Philips (2011, [2001]: 200-203), who asserts that even before she came to write *Zong!*, it had possessed her through the resurfacing of the dead from the bottom of the ocean after so many decades, Sekou felt compelled to write the poem, to mourn these dead unmourned. Mourning leads to healing from the loss, a dawn of new hope because a fragmented memory has been re-membered.

Subsequently, in "days of the return" (Sekou, 2016: 44), Sekou sees hope for the project of re-member-meant with re-member-ment. He rejoices at the thought of a new beginning in global returns of the sacred ancestral skeletons to their native homelands for proper burials and healing. For Sekou, "any time that ends a haaaad long day from home / is as good a day as any to return" (2016: 44). It does not matter which relic is recovered and returned. I can be "a head to ashanti a skull to maori / . . . / perhaps one day we'll find ota beng's filed teeth / scalped&fetalbones from indian boarding schools" (44). Sekou strikes a positive and conciliatory tone in this poem, as he witnesses the signs of

change among the former colonial empires in their willingness to return these relics to their people. In this, he asserts that “any old day is anew and newly made / when the days of the return / bring to home . . . a wholeness” (2016, 44).

However, the invasion and breakup of Libya in “LYBIA UNFIISHED” (Sekou, 2016: 56-57) by the West; the trauma suffered by Palestinian children at the hands of Israeli soldiers (“The Angel of Death,” Sekou, 2016: 52); The Dominican Republic’s recent racist citizenship law targeting Haitian-Dominicans (“RECONOCIDO_en_QUISQUEYA,” (Sekou, 2016: 64-66), all serve to undermine these positive moves. The poet foresees a coming genocide against these racialized groups, just as what happened in Germany against the Roma people and the Jews in the mid- 20th century, and what is happening to Palestinian children in occupied Palestinian lands (Sekou, 2016: 52). Even in tiny St. Martin, techno-cameras are mounted to monitor the imaginary frontiers that divide St. Martiners, and curtail their freedom of movement and association: “*a’bi roads bin a closing on us*” (Sekou, 2016: 61). The people become aware of who owns and controls their island. They reinforce the reality of St. Martin as a colony, not a territory, not a partner. Yet, Sekou, the ever-hopeful prophet, the crusader for remembrance, refuses to despair. Somewhere in his vision, he envisions his advocate, his love, his deliverer, will in due season come, and set things right, and claim a place for St. Martin in the league of free nations. Thus as Xi (Sekou, 2016: x) asserts, *Book of the dead* is a “wake up call to those . . . not yet dead.” It testifies against all brutalities in human history: slavery, war, genocide, ethnic cleansing, etc., that create death and mountains of mass graves.

This new dawn of awareness, Sekou proclaims, is the time for St. Martiners to choose either independence or continued foreign domination and assimilation. The deceptive offer by the forces of neo-colonialism of ‘progressive and benign colonization’ (Nimako & Willemsen 2011: 97-122), is no longer tenable (“daylight come, *oui*,” Sekou 2016: 7). St. Martiners must not choose Watheyism, for even Claude Wathey himself, in his later years, rejected his earlier assimilationist and ‘progressive control’ politics and stated to advocate for independence (Badejo, 2013). *Book of the dead* (2016) proposes a monumental and transformational change to facilitate the unfinished business of abolition with emancipation, not ‘apprenticeship’ neo-enslavement and ‘progressive control’ neo-colonialism. *Book of the dead* (2016) is a call to life.

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SILENCE KILLS MEMORY: EDGAR CAÏRO'S *DE SMAAK VAN SRANAN LIBRE*

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Abstract

The late Edgar Caïro was one of the few Surinamese authors to tackle unconventional aspects of society, and has thus set an important example for other Caribbean authors. As a writer and performer, his virtuosity was dazzling, whether describing warm human ties or criticizing the dictatorship. Born and raised in Suriname, he completed his studies in the Netherlands and regularly wrote newspaper columns in both countries. On December 8, 1982, the slaughter which became known as the December Murders occurred in Paramaribo, the capitol of Suriname. In the same month, his book *De smaak van Sranan Libre* was published in the Netherlands.

Key terms: Suriname, Edgar Caïro, December Murders, silencing, memory

For some time, Edgar Caïro's literary works of the 1990's seemed completely indecipherable to me, but that's probably because I didn't take the time to dig deep enough. *De smaak van Sranan libre* [*The taste of free Sranan (Suriname)*] (1982) first came to us in Suriname as a radio play, and later in book form. When I received a copy, I took the book out of the envelope it came in, gave the first page a stab and couldn't put it down. The voice of the virtuoso, as we knew him from his literary debut *Temekoe* (1969) was back. I was still as fascinated as always by the way he mixed written and spoken word, and the way he juggled Surinamese and Dutch. I enjoyed reading his work again, especially the first part of the book which relates the tragic events of December 8, 1982, when the Surinamese military regime detained, tortured and murdered 15 opponents, including trade unionists, journalists and lawyers. In the second

part of the book, the voice of the narrator gives way to the angry voice of the author. It feels as though one has just enjoyed a stroll through a friendly garden of words only to land in a jungle where the phrases and paragraphs whip around your head like enraged climber plants. *The taste of free Sranan* fearlessly names the men in power and their opponents. Edgar Caïro wrote a novel, but the book delivers a story that rings emotionally true for the generation of Surinamese that had reached adulthood at the time of the murders. In it he tells one of the 20th century's terrible tales:

ABC, Ampie's (André Kamperveen) free radio station, is destroyed by a lone missile and collapses; BOOOMMM! The fires also engulf RADIKA, the Hindu station; BOOOMMM! Radio Apinti, Rahni – everything that was still free blows up and burns. The same for one of the newspaper buildings. Four fires, four big fires, as though this might be a veiled reference to national politics. But still, it's like the dream Youssou described in his letter ... my Lord! The blood-red flood! This is not happening! It isn't Surinamese, it's impossible, unbearable, unimaginable, not true!

People are detained, moved, interrogated, tortured, gunned down. A much-decorated ferret informs us that they were shot dead by mistake after the customary warning shots were fired while they were trying to flee. That's a disgusting bald-faced lie! And this Upper Amazonian polecat explaining this catastrophe to us on his pathetic TV program! There's not a dog or rat or cat or cockroach who will believe him! Didibri, the devil himself, is the only one who falls for these sickening tall tales. It's an insult to the intelligence of the people! (Caïro, 1982: 110)

Intertwined with the story of the events is the story of a family caught up in the fray when son and brother Youssou is among those assassinated. *Pe dèdè dè, lafu dè* is a Surinamese proverb meaning 'Where death is found, there's laughter,' (all translations by the translator, unless otherwise specified) and Caïro uses humor, even gallows humor as a natural ingredient in his style:

In one of his letters to us Joseph wrote about a serious falling out with one of his guard-dog cousins. The name of this featherless bird of God is Carlos. I imagine this happening in the late afternoon heat along these lines: dusk has just fallen, hopefully not as a symbol of what's happening to the country itself, but only now, on this one day. They are sitting near the corner, the part that's paved, where Ma Kobi, the old leper lady, once lived. Carlos appears and says hello.

- Hey, cousin Youssou! You? He addresses Joseph. And what he means to say is: how are you?

- Don't talk to me, man, I don't talk to your kind! (Their personality clash was always flaring up, but 'your kind' made things even worse).

- What's up with that, 'your kind'? What have I done to annoy you? Mi pur' meid a j'anu no? Did I steal one of your chicks? Carlos cries out.
- No, it's the way you're fucking things up.
- Now wait just a minute! Don't tell me that you're really upset, Joseph!
- Yes, Carlos! And I should be! Because of this fucked up mess that you soldiers are putting us in! I was walking down the street, only this afternoon. And just like that, in town, one of you guys came over to me and started shouting at me: Hey, stop right now! Don't move or I'll shoot! I hadn't done anything, hadn't stolen anything, I didn't try to get away, I didn't start running, I hadn't done anything to anybody, not a mosquito or a fly or a cockroach. (Caïro, 1982: 69)

Should this text be categorized as commemorative literature? I don't think so, because that's a genre generally reserved for the historically, politically or sociologically-minded, who make do with passing on historical facts. Caïro was a creator. December 8, 1982 became known as the day of the 'December Murders,' (*decembermoorden* in Dutch) as the catastrophic events came to be called in Dutch. We are dealing here with a creative spirit who wrote this text right after those murders, undoubtedly, to ease his pain, to lift his spirit.

Spirit is another important concept that underpins the work of Edgar Caïro. The Kra, Kromanti, and the whole pantheon of Winti spiritual powers have descended into his texts:

And suddenly I knew it for sure; something had happened. Something which was only the Kromanti in me speaking. No one else would understand it or see it. It might be a really important secret. But within it - I know it, I can conceive of it, I feel it, from now on. I have become the voice that was inside me. Me. My Kromanti, my Angel and Guardian which speaks the language of blacks. I will see and I will say things. I will also live and understand them. And nobody will know just how close this is to reality. Just how true my visions are. The great Kromanti has come to me without any ritual or baptism. There is a Force of all Forces in the force of the storm that passes through the human soul and unleashes its fury in the secret life of the soul. There is a living creature which can transport itself with the power of the spirit. Let's call this the Flight of Kromanti. It crosses the entire sky like lightning. Nothing can hide from this force of life. No moment in time which this force could not bring back, to show us all that has been done. Kromanti is reality hiding just behind the mask of the entire soul.

I am the true Kromanti and witness of all things for my people. Look at how the truth can flourish in obscurity and in places kept secret. There is a being which makes the body spread its wings.' (Caïro, 1982: 34)

Speaking, articulating, expressing – Caïro's voice is unique. In my opinion, no other voice in Surinamese literature has shown such courage and acuity in denouncing the December Murders. But we should be patient. It will probably take some time before more texts appear with such enervating and dazzling content as we encounter in Caïro's work.

This has already happened in the creative work recounting catastrophic events of the past elsewhere in the Caribbean. In 2007, the young New York-Dominican author Junot Diaz published a fantastic novel, titled *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao*, in which he tells the story of his compatriots, the collaborators and the resisters, during the appalling Trujillo dictatorship, which tore through the Dominican Republic like a cyclone from 1930 to 1961. To the horror of the international community, Trujillo authorised and organized a genocide of Haitians and Haitian-Dominicans. Many decades had to pass before Diaz produced this novel. Decades after that murderous December in Suriname, Caïro's text on the subject should most certainly be followed by creative work penned by a new generation of writers. We ask ourselves: Who is up to the job? Which author in Suriname or the diaspora dares to tackle the theme of the December Murders?

Many great Caribbean authors, such as Aimée Césaire from Martinique, have demonstrated this type of courage to face difficult issues head-on in their creative writing. This fearlessness guarantees that Césaire's words will remain in our memory long after other, less courageous and less creative work on the same difficult themes fades into oblivion. And we must ask ourselves why more fictional renderings of past events, rather than more academic accounts, have this lasting impact.

It takes courage to challenge the pervasive dominant discourses of official histories with mere novels and poems. Caïro knew that, as the philosopher Aristotle said, courage is the primordial virtue, and he articulated this in *The taste of free Sranan*:

A few days after the murders. A huge demonstration by the women of Suriname - Courage! Courage! Courage! These are average citizens who dare to denounce abuse in society and who condemn cautious behaviour. These female characters might well have shouted Shanti! Shanti! Shanti! Peace! Peace! Peace!" (Caïro, 1982: 107)

There are many different ways to commemorate past events: by organizing marches, making documentaries, erecting monuments or, letting one's secret thoughts wander in the silence of one's own home. Literature is a powerful way to make commemoration possible, with the added value of providing not only memory, but also a source of entertainment and inspiration for future generations. We would have greatly appreciated reading creative texts relating the memoirs of our ancestors, but unfortunately, most such accounts weren't written down. Our era is one of great beauty, with many

books being written which will, we hope, be there to read in the future. Many Surinamese parents' despair of the fact that their children show little or no interest in the events of December 8, 1982. I say this is the futile whining of the older generations who have been silenced into submission. If atrocities and abuse are denied in both the written and spoken word, if people only speak about such catastrophes in whispers, how will the information ever reach the youth of Suriname or elsewhere in the Caribbean? If you know the answer, please tell me.

Silence kills memory.

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THE GHOST OF A COLONY'S PAST: A DUTCH REVENANT AS PLANTATION HISTORY

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Abstract

This article explores the representation of the Caribbean's violent colonial past as a ghost that metonymically evokes the abuses of the plantation in the novel *My bones and my flute* by Guyanese author Edgar Mittelholzer (2015, [1955]). The analysis is based on a close reading that explores spectral revenants in relation to their human forms while they still lived, the threat that these ghosts pose to the characters in the text who represent their community as a whole, and the characters' need to actively work together in cooperation and solidarity in order to combat and neutralize the ghosts' malevolent hold on them. In the process, an attempt will be made to use David Punter's concept of history as a revenant to explain the metaphorical significance of the ghost in intra-textual Caribbean historical spaces.

Key terms: colonial past, plantation, history, ghost and specter, solidarity, cooperation

Introduction and background

Despite being conquered and colonized by different European powers, all Caribbean nations share one significant experience: the direct and indirect traumas inflicted by the colonial plantation system and the imposition of chattel enslavement on the people whose labor made that system possible. Due to its colonial and neo-/post-colonial histories, the Caribbean remains a locus still haunted by violent, brutalizing, and exploitative practices and behaviors that can be traced back in many ways to its plantation past. In this article, I will analyze the novel *My bones and my flute* (2015, [1955]) by Guyanese novelist Edgar Mittelholzer. It unfolds in a post-plantation chronotope that incorporates a metonymic ghost that symbolizes the plantation system in Guyana

when it was a Dutch colony. Within the diegesis of this novel, the colonial plantation past irrupts into the story as an actual ghost.

According to David Punter (1992), there is a “recurrent sense [...] that the past can never be left behind, that it will reappear and exact a necessary price” (193) within Gothic narratives and ghost stories. He explains that in such texts, history is re-written according to the “logic of the phantom, the revenant, [...] [and the] haunting.” This is because “the implacability of trauma” suffered during the colonial era refuses to see “the past as something [...] over and done with” (Punter, 1992: 193). Thus, the persistent revenant inserts itself –as a ghost– and the history it embodies into the midst of the intra-textual narrative present. This is precisely what occurs in Mittelholzer’s text; the plantation past returns, in the form of a Dutch planter’s ghost, to continue haunting and traumatizing the hybrid and syncretic Caribbean communities descended from exploiting enslavers as well as the exploited and enslaved. Therefore, this article will explore the types of interactions between historical revenants and the people to whom they reveal themselves.

Columbus sighted the region that became known as ‘Guiana’ on his third voyage. Having set out in May 1498 for Hispaniola with six ships from port Sanlúcar, forty-four kilometers north of Cadiz, the Atlantic currents and weather diverted his fleet to the northern coast of the South American continent. While on this coast, which would later be named the ‘Wild Coast’ for the fierce resistance of its indigenous peoples to colonization, they explored the island that he re-named ‘Trinidad’ and some of the continental shoreline before sailing towards Hispaniola. This third trip lasted almost two years. It ended in October 1500, with the arrest of Columbus and his brothers, Diego and Bartolomeo. They were accused of torturing and mutilating the indigenous peoples of Hispaniola—cutting off hands, severing ears, noses, and tongues—for not delivering *enough* gold to the settlers and the Spanish Crown. Columbus also had five dissenting, non-compliant Spaniards executed.

Once back in Spain, he, his brothers, and several of his men served six weeks in jail, after which King Fernando ordered their release. Columbus had an audience with the Catholic monarchs in late December 1500, where they stripped him of the governorship of Hispaniola due to his cruel actions. However, his expertise as a navigator ensured that the Crown would release him and fund his fourth voyage.

For over a hundred years, Guiana belonged to Spain only perfunctorily, and they patrolled it periodically. The Spanish conquistadores deemed the coastal region of Guiana undesirable because the indigenous peoples who lived there—mostly Caribs and some Arawaks—successfully kept the Spanish at bay. In the end, the Spaniards abandoned their colonizing project along the ‘Wild Coast’ and focused their energies elsewhere.

Armed with a more efficient, focused, and deadlier naval and military machine, along with a more efficient, focused and exploitative plantation/economic complex than the

Spanish, the Dutch gained a foothold in the region early in the 17th century. By 1616 they had established a trading post twenty-five kilometers upstream from the Essequibo River delta, where the Essequibo and the Mazaruvi rivers meet. At first, the Dutch activity there was limited to trade with the local indigenous peoples. As other European powers joined the scramble for colonies in the Caribbean, the Dutch reorganized their Guiana enterprise. They shifted gears from trading along the river to seizing and occupying indigenous lands and established a new proto-capitalistic type of tobacco, coffee, and sugar plantation regime along the river. The Dutch West India Company was formed in 1621, and the government in the Netherlands granted it complete control over the Essequibo River trading posts and plantations. Thus Essequibo, the first Dutch colony in the Guiana region of South America, was established. The exact date for the arrival of enslaved Africans as the labor force to be exploited on Guiana's plantations is unknown, but it is believed to have been between 1620 and 1650. Dutch rule over the region lasted until the final decades of the 1700s; and the British consolidated their hold on the area in the early 1800s.

My bones and my flute

Edgar Mittelholzer's novel *My bones and my flute* was originally published in 1955, over a decade after he had written the first draft in 1944. Mittelholzer's text is post-plantation, but not post-colonial, for British Guyana did not become an independent nation until 1970. This was after 354 years as a colony, first Dutch, then British. In this article, I will use an original indigenous name for Guyana, which is Guiana [gi.'a.na]; it means "land of many waters." The novel's intratextual chronotope is 1933 New Amsterdam, British Guiana. The specter that haunts the characters in Mittelholzer's novel is Jan Pieter Voorman, a Dutch plantation and slave owner who died during the 1763-4 Berbice slave rebellion (Bismillah, 2021). Voorman's wife and children had been unable to abandon the plantation before the uprising and were killed by the rebelling slaves. Voorman committed suicide shortly thereafter somewhere on his plantation.

In the textual present, the land that had been Voorman's –the Goed de Vries sugar plantation– belongs to the Berbice Timber and Balata [rubber] Company. It is overrun by the Guianese jungle, and trees are harvested for lumber and latex instead of sugar or coffee. Within this space that is now a tree plantation with a sawmill, instead of sugarcane fields with a sugar mill, several of the workers have seen the ghost of a Dutchman haunting the grounds. Seeing the ghost of a Dutchman or a decapitated slave is not strange for the locals, for the haunting horrors of the colonial past are contained within the soil, and manifest themselves every so often.

History plays a vital role in this narrative, and it is represented in several ways. One way is in Mr. Nevinson's interest in Guiana's colonial past. Mr. Nevinson, the Berbice Timber and Balata Company director, collects Amerindian and Dutch colonial arti-

facts related to the early history of the colony, "which mak[e] up [his] private museum of relics" (Mittelholzer, 2015, [1955]: 52). He keeps these in a "glass case containing Dutch and [Amer-]Indian relics" (54) such as: "old Dutch jars [...] [Amer-]Indian goblets and pots [...] chunks of masonry from ruined Dutch forts, daggers, [...] an eighteenth-century horse-pistol" and a silver flagon that had been the "property of [...] the Directeur-General of Demerary and Essequibo" (55) in the mid-18th century. Milton, the twenty-three-year old narrator, and protagonist, is fascinated by Mr. Nevinson's collection. Despite Guiana being a British colony, both men enjoy getting together and discussing its earlier Dutch history.

Another way the novel represents history is through Milton Woodsley's ability to visualize the 1760 sugar plantation's past superimposed upon the 1930s landscape. Milton, a struggling artist, has been commissioned by Mr. Nevinson to paint "a few good pictures" of the Guianese rain-forested interior. The paintings are meant "to decorate the walls" of the lumber company's Queenstown "head office [which] was in need of repairs and [...] renovations" (Mittelholzer, 2015, [1955]: 55). Milton, a city boy, is delighted to receive the commission, but must accompany Mr. Nevinson and his family on a two-week trip to the lumber company's cottage in the interior. The voyage towards Goed de Vries, which now lies in the heart of the jungle, is via steamer along the river. When the steamer arrives at their pier, the cottage servants are there to receive the travelers, and accompany them through the remaining overland segment of the journey. Rayburn, the house servant, is a "slim alert-looking negro of about forty," (55) and Timothy, an Amerindian, is the cook.

Once at the cottage, Milton soaks in the Guianese landscape. His knowledge of colonial history and his artistic sensibility allow his mind's eye to see the past as if it were woven into the present. He "imagine[s] what [it] must have looked like two centuries ago," in the 1700s when it would have been "a flourishing [Dutch] sugar or coffee plantation." Milton knows that what is now a rainforest exploited by the logging company "must have been cultivated terrain." He visualizes "the large plantation house," the "rows of logies for the accommodation of the slaves," a "sugar mill or a coffee-lodge, [and] [...] cottages for the [...] overseer [...] his assistant, the carpenter and a surgeon" (Mittelholzer, 2015, [1955]: 83-84). Milton also imagines possible scenes in the lives of the enslaved plantation workers, such as their evening meal after a long day at work; or their "naked black bod[ies] secured in the stocks" awaiting the "day's punishments which the overseer or his assistant" would supervise (84). He also envisions brutalized black bodies covered in blood "turn[ing] a richer red than" (84) the hues of the setting sun.

Since Nevinson considers himself an antiquarian, his predilection for early Dutch-colonial collectibles is what causes him, his family, and Milton to become haunted by the ghost of plantation owner, Jan Pieter Voorman. Nevinson inherits an old colonial,

metal canister containing an ancient manuscript and a journal from an Amerindian friend who knew that Nevinson loves historical antiques. Unbeknown to Nevinson, the canister had belonged to Voorman, and he had cursed the manuscript just before committing suicide. When Mr. Nevinson translates the manuscript from Dutch to English, he discovers that it states that whoever touches it becomes cursed and enslaved by Voorman's needs and desires. By touching the manuscript, Nevinson unwittingly opens a portal that ushers the past into the present, accidentally releasing the revenant. Voorman's supernatural agenda was designed to ensnare someone in the future, forcing them to find his remains on the plantation and give him the Christian burial he could not give himself due to his suicide and the rebellion in the land. Should the unfortunate individual not bend to his will, his ghost would lure him with a bewitching flute tune to his death.

It is not until after Nevinson translates Voorman's manuscript and existing bits and pieces of his journal, and Milton purposefully touches it, that the haunted characters learn what type of man Voorman had been. He was bothered by his wife's fears, needs, and requests, and although he had been a plantation owner, the overseer's need to report to him also upset him. He also curses those who would help him in the future. It seems that before relocating from the Netherlands to the Guiana plantation, Voorman had been either a flutist or an instrument maker, and his biggest "ambition" in life was to be the "inventor of a flute of wide range" (Mittelholzer, 2015, [1955]: 228). In order to achieve this personal goal, he sold his "soul to Beelzebub [to] succeed" (228). The journal explains that his wife and children could not abandon the plantation and flee to St. Eustatius, so the family had no recourse but to hide in the barn. However, they were discovered and killed. Voorman had not been with them, and after their deaths, he carefully planned and executed his suicide. His main concern was that the rebel slaves should never find his flute and lifeless body after his death. He, therefore, wrote detailed instructions so that someone, in the future, could find him and the flute and give them both a Christian burial.

As a plantation owner in life, Voorman always came first; in the afterlife, he is just as self-centered. His self-serving nature and desire for fame consumed him and transformed him into an individual without compassion. His monomaniacal obsession with inventing a new instrument turned him into a malevolent and irrational man. By the time of his suicide, he had already transmogrified into something quasi-demonic. Therefore, his evilness prevents his foreseeing how onerous the future task of finding bones and a flute in the immensity of the Guianese rainforest will be. Neither does he see his heartlessness in cursing the unfortunate souls that would encounter his manuscript after his death. His ghost is a bully that attaches itself to the living with one intention only, to grant Voorman's dying wish, his Christian interment.

The revenant enslaver and purging internalized colonialism

Voorman's cruelty towards the individuals who, in the future, will be saddled with the task of carrying out his interment echoes the cruelty that he and his fellow plantation owners imposed on the enslaved Amerindian and African populations of the colony. His specter's relationship with the Nevinsons and Milton is one of total "lack of equality and opportunity" (Rivera, 2015: 130). The ghost has complete control over the lives of all who touch his manuscript, and he allows them no choice; they must simply heed his orders and carry them out, for, just as was the case on the plantation, the penalty for noncompliance is death. Voorman's ghost goes as far as branding the people he curses with the outline of his flute, just as the enslaved would have been branded on the plantations. In the period leading up to the 1763 Berbice slave revolt, there was a food shortage. However, the enslaved community was required to perform their duties, despite the lack of sustenance. Coffy, the leader of the rebellion, and the other rebel slaves had explicitly complained of the harsh, inhumane, and inhuman treatment imposed on them on the plantations. What Voorman asks of his future victims is as impossible to endure and survive as the hardships imposed on the enslaved.

The individuals who handle the manuscript are genetically related to the enslaved Amerindians and Africans who participated in the ten-month Berbice revolt. One of the first to touch the accursed manuscript is Matilda, an Amerindian, and the Nevinsons themselves have the blood of enslaved Africans in their genetic makeup, despite being light-skinned. Milton, the protagonist, also has African heritage. Matilda opens the metal canister after her Amerindian husband Patoir's death, searching for money. She pulls out the manuscript, cannot read it for it is in Dutch, and returns it to the canister. She is Voorman's first victim. He haunts her, causes her to go insane, and then drives her to her death in the depths of the Guianese jungle. The cruel, bully ghost never considers the fact that Matilda cannot read his instructions concerning how to find his body and flute.

Despite having died one hundred and seventy years earlier, what Voorman embodies, as a male European plantation owner, continues to torture and traumatize the 1930s Guyanese community depicted in the text. In the narrative present, the colonial ideology he metonymically represents continues in the character of Nell Nevinson, Nevinson's wife. Despite being racially mixed, Nell espouses racist beliefs. Milton explains that his family, the Woodsleys and Nevinson's family, descend from "old coloured famil[ies] [that] can trace [their] ancestors back to the late eighteenth century at which time [they] . . . had not yet acquired the strain of negro slave blood that runs in them" (Mittelholzer, 2015, [1955]: 52). Nevinson's European ancestors are of English stock. Nell's maiden name is Groode; she comes from "another well-known coloured family of Berbice" whose European ancestors were Dutch. Milton identifies himself and Nell Nevinson as having an olive skin tone. While "Mr. Nevinson is almost as fair in complexion as pure white" (52).

When Nevinson realizes that he can barely resist the overpowering desire to follow Voorman's specter into the jungle, he tells his wife Nell that they will need to enlist help to prevent him from leaving with the ghost. At this point, Jessie, the Nevinson's daughter, is also haunted by the sound of Voorman's flute, and her father knows that soon, she, too, will want to leave with the specter. Nevinson shares Matilda's story with the group, and states that he "had no doubt that [...] Matilda, had met her death because she had yielded to the impulse and followed the apparition when it beckoned" (Mittelholzer, 2015, [1955]: 123). He wants Milton to stand guard over Jessie, and he wants Rayburn –the family's afro-Guianese housekeeper– to be his personal guard.

Nell rejects her husband's proposal immediately:

I don't like it at all [...] the situation isn't so desperate that we must have that black man hanging around us in the house every moment of the day [...]. She had never hobnobbed with niggers, and [...] saw no reason now why she should do so. (Mittelholzer, 2015, [1955]: 123-4)

The fact that her husband and only child are in imminent danger is less troubling to her than allowing her African descended employee to be in the cottage with them at the same time. Nell ends up touching the manuscript in an attempt to burn it, hoping that burning it would put an end to the curse. Instead, Voorman's specter immediately starts to haunt her also.

Therefore, Jessie tells her mother:

you'll have to agree now to let Rayburn sleep upstairs here with us. We never can tell what might happen when we hear that flute again – and you're in the soup yourself now. You won't be of any help to us in an emergency. (Mittelholzer, 2015, [1955]: 132).

However, Nell continues refusing "to tolerate Rayburn's presence in the cottage," for in her colonized mind, it means sacrificing her family's "dignity to the extent of having a black man rubbing shoulders with [them] as though he were an equal" (132). Adhering to colonial-based racialized social morés is more important to Nell than her family's safety!

Thus, the author uses the revenant, and his character's reactions to it, in order to articulate how the glaring racialized inequalities and attitudes that prevailed on the plantation during Voorman's life in the 1700s have persisted. These continued to define, haunt and traumatize the peoples of Guiana/Guyana through its transition from Dutch rule to British rule in the 1800s, through the storyline's 1933 diegetic present, and through to the WWII period when the novel was written. Sadly, Nell's connection with her African ancestors has been so damaged and disrupted by time, social class, and pigmentocratic privilege that she cannot identify with Rayburn. To her, he is an "other" who is unworthy of being admitted into their home. It does not cross her mind

that she, too, has actual relatives who are also victims of the kind of discrimination and exclusion that she is inflicting on Rayburn.

It is not until Voorman's ghost brands Nell on the ankle, invades her sleep with horrid nightmares, and summons her daughter and husband, and summons her daughter and husband, so they almost take leave of her to accompany the ghost so they almost take leave of her to join the ghost that Nell finally gives in to the idea of allowing the ever-helpful Rayburn to assist her family. When Mr. Nevinson finally informs Rayburn that a specter is haunting his family, Rayburn finds the story hard to believe. Since he considers himself a Christian man, he is skeptical of what he considers to be the superstitious beliefs of the Amerindians in the community. However, since it is *his* Mr. Nevinson who is requesting his assistance, Rayburn trusts that Mr. Nevinson is telling the truth. Once Rayburn is admitted into the house as an ally, Nell's attitude towards him changes. She becomes a gracious hostess and ensures his comfort while he stays with them. Together, Rayburn, Milton, and Nell strategize and create a Rayburn "danger-call" for when the hauntings require his help. In partnership, Rayburn watches over Mr. Nevinson, while Milton watches over Jessie.

As Nell and Jessie dream of the path to Voorman's bones, violent supernatural manifestations begin to attack them. Although Voorman himself brands Jessie on the chest, forces other than him possess Jessie and assault Nell. The new attacking forces are the demons Voorman had conjured in the past to enable him to become a famous inventor. Now, as the possibility of Voorman's Christian internment increases, these evil forces emerge to prevent it. Thus, unexpectedly, this group of upper-middle-class, light-skinned biracial Guianese become doubly haunted; first by the specter of an 18th-century member of the plantocracy, desiring at least superficial deliverance from his wicked past, then by the very same demons that Voorman had conjured for self-aggrandizement, who intend to keep his spiritual essence. In this way, the narration shifts so that Voorman is no longer only source of trauma and haunting; but instead the demons are depicted as being even more evil and harmful than Voorman himself, for they can also haunt and possess humans, ensnare disembodied specters and alter the human perception of the physical world.

Regardless of this supernatural shift, the small group works together to end the curse and the demonic haunting by embarking on a "phantasmal journey" (Mittelholzer, 2015, [1955]: 225). They travel upriver by barge, then tread through the dangerously haunted rainforest following the sound of Voorman's flute. They traverse a time travel portal into an epoch of myths, where time slows down, sound disappears, and their perception of the physical world is distorted. They finally arrive at the "large round granite stone (often used as an instrument of punishment for [...] slaves who stole or committed crimes of a serious nature)" (224). There they find a "solid Dutch earthenware [jar] clogged with [...] soil of two centuries" (225), with a metal flute and a scroll of papers inside it. Eight feet from the Dutch jar, the group finds Voorman's "frag-

ments of bones and a rusted musket" (225). Mr. Nevinson reads the burial service from Rayburn's "battered-looking Anglican prayer book," and they bury "everything save the roll of papers" (225).

Thus, the supernatural's hold on the entire group ends; they return to the cottage through a typical, benign forest full of nothing but trees. However, by concretely burying the physical metonymic symbol of the historical plantation, they metaphorically rid themselves of the plantation past's social and interpersonal haunting: cruelty, evilness, and violence – particularly towards the women. Without their painfully and reluctantly developed solidarity, the group that had most benefitted from the colonial legacy, people like the Nevinsons and Woodsleys, would have all perished. The text offers a solution for the Voorman haunting, as well as for the readers. It is to turn away from the dysfunctional and damaging attitudes and legacies of colonial and neo-colonial domination, despite the hold that they still have on individuals and society. The ghost is our Caribbean *past*. The painful elitist and racist plantation legacy – embodied by Voorman, his specter, and his demons– needs to be put to rest, literally buried, like the bones and the flute.

Conclusion

Alternatives to colonial domination are attainable, but only through cooperation and solidarity. Mittelholzer's message is clear; the Caribbean community must turn its back on the colonial revenant's legacy of trauma and violence. It must triumphantly march away, just as in the novel's last scene, where the victorious group effortlessly moves away from Voorman's grave and treks back to the cottage through a path they have collectively made. Therefore, we –the Caribbean– must search together for new and different ways of being, thinking, speaking and acting. Our collective call is to be kind to one another, help carry each other's burdens, old and new, and to forever move forward –never backward– as a cohesive whole, regardless of how the colonial/ neo-colonial gaze has traumatized and haunted our people when it classed, raced and gendered us.

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EEN BEKNOPT ANALYSE VAN DE ADAPTATIE *NOS BALUARTENAN* (2016) DOOR PAUL COMENENCIA NAAR EEN TONEELSTUK VAN HENRIK IBSEN

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Abstract

As part of the Curaçaoan theatrical tradition successful plays from the international canon are translated into Papiamentu and the content is adapted to the local context, before publishing and/or performing these plays in local theaters. This article includes a brief analysis of a recent translation and adaptation into Papiamentu of *Samfunnets stötter* (1875-1877) by Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906), titled *Nos Baluartenan* (2016) by Paul Comenencia with *The Pillars of Society* (1963) by Michael Meyer as source text in English. *Nos Baluartenan* proves to be a relatively faithful literary translation of this source text, with suitable atmospheric adjustments aimed at evoking the *couleur locale*.

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Key terms: Papiamentu, Curaçao, theater, translation, adaptation

Samenvatting

De toneeltraditie van Curaçao kent het verschijnsel dat succesvolle toneelwerken behorend tot de internationale literaire canon, alvorens zij gepubliceerd worden en/of in lokale theaters worden opgevoerd, vertaald worden in het Papiamentu met een aanpassing van de inhoud aan de lokale context. Dit artikel bevat een beknopte analyse van een recente adaptatie in het Papiamentu, *Nos Baluartenan* (2016) door Paul Comenencia van *Samfunnets stötter* (1875-1877) door Henrik Ibsen, met de door Michael Meyer in het Engels vertaalde *The Pillars of Society* (1963) als brontekst. *Nos Baluartenan* blijkt een tamelijk getrouwe literaire vertaling te zijn van deze brontekst, met geschikte sfeeraanpassingen ten behoeve van de *couleur locale*.

Kernbegrippen: Papiamentu, Curaçao, toneel, vertaling, adaptatie

Inleiding

Het vertalen en adapteren van toneelwerken van wereldfaam naar het Papiamentu past in een lange lokale traditie met een bloeiperiode in de tweede helft van de vorige eeuw (Debrot, 1977; Römer, 1989; De Rooy, 1990; Rutgers, 1994, 2016, 2018; Broek, et al.,

1998, 2006; Eckkrammer, 1999; Garrett, 2004; Echteld 2009, 2013, 2021). De beweegredenen voor het in stand houden van deze traditie waren afhankelijk van de heersende tijdsgeest van dat moment. Vanaf de tweede helft van de twintigste eeuw, met een piek in de zeventiger en tachtiger jaren, was het verstevigen van de status van het Papiamentu door een aanzienlijk aantal toneelvertalingen en toneeladaptaties en de daadwerkelijke opvoering daarvan, een belangrijk motief. In 2016 werden van de hand van Paul Comenencia (geb. 1960) twee adaptaties naar het Papiamentu van werken van Henrik Ibsen (1828 -1906), *Nora su Kas di Pòpchi*, naar het toneelstuk *Et Dukkehjem* (1879) en *Nos Baluartenan*, naar het toneelstuk *Samfunnets støtter* (1875-1877), in eigen beheer uitgegeven en gepubliceerd. Deze twee werken worden hiermee, ruim vijftig jaar na het hoogtepunt van deze bloeiperiode, aan deze literaire toneeltraditie in het Papiamentu toegevoegd.

In een eerder artikel van mijn hand staat *Nora su Kas di Pòpchi* centraal, waarbij deze adaptatie gezien wordt vanuit de ruimere lokale toneeltraditie en bovendien wordt vergeleken met de door Comenencia gebruikte Engelse brontekst, een vertaling uit het Noors door Michael Meyer. (Echteld, 2021, pp.115-131) Voor die tekstvergelijking waren de 1) rollen; 2) structuur en verhaallijn; 3) toneelaanwijzingen en dialogen (gebezigde taal); 4) ruimte en tijd, leidraad.

Dit artikel bevat een eerste vergelijkende tekstanalyse van *Nos Baluartenan* met de Engelse brontekst *The Pillars of Society* (tevens een vertaling uit het Noors door Michael Meyer) langs de meetlat van dezelfde vier aspecten. Deze studies zouden beschouwd kunnen worden als deelanalyses die mogelijk een bijdrage betekenen aan omvangrijkere studies ten behoeve van de toneelgeschiedenis van Curaçao. Voor het zustereiland schreef de Arubaanse hoogleraar van de University of Curaçao met regelmaat bijdragen over het Arubaanse toneelleven, die later gebundeld, als boek verschenen met de titel *Honderd jaar Arubaans toneel* (Rutgers, 2021)¹.

1. Rollen

De keuze om in *Nos Baluartenan* de (oorspronkelijke Noorse) namen uit de Engelse brontekst te vervangen voor meer aansprekende ‘verpapiamentiseerde’ namen, zal zeker in de hand werken dat de Curaçaose lezer of toeschouwer zich sterker met de toneelpersonages kan identificeren. Een weergave in tabel 1 van de rollen in respectievelijk *The Pillars of Society* en *Nos Baluartenan* levert een interessant beeld

¹ Tussen 2020 en 2021 schreef Wim Rutgers op de blog van Werkgroep Caraïbische Letteren, van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde, met de naam ‘Caraïbisch uitzicht’ een serie van 23 afleveringen over de geschiedenis van het Arubaanse toneel in de twintigste eeuw. Deze bijdragen over de meertalige theaterhistorie van Aruba, in een serie van chronologische, incrementele en soms thematische beschrijvingen verschenen ook in het Antilliaans Dagblad. Deze artikelen vormden de basis voor het boek *Honderd jaar Arubaans toneel* (Rutgers 2021) met 20 hoofdstukken inclusief een inleiding. Dit boek is de meest omvangrijke publicatie over toneelgeschiedenis van de Nederlands-Caribische eilanden.

op, waaruit valt af te leiden dat er vooral wat betreft naamgeving van de personages nuanceverschillen zijn tussen de beide toneelteksten.

Tabel 1 Vergelijking rollenlijst *Pillars of Society* en *Nos Baluartenan*

PILLARS OF SOCIETY (1963)	NOS BALUARTENAN (2016)
KARSTEN BERNICK ship owner and consul [reder en consul]	KARSTEN “KACHI” BARCASSE, empresario, doño di astiero” [ondernemer, eigenaar van de werf]
BETTY his wife	BETTY BARCASSE, su kasá [zijn echtgenote]
OLAF their son, aged thirteen [hun zoon van 13 jaar]	OLAF, nan yu hòmbler di 13 año [hun zoon van 13 jaar]
MARTHA Karsten’s sister [zus van Karsten]	MARTHA BARCASSE, ruman muhé di BARSTEN [zus van Karsten]
JOHAN TOENNESEN Betty’s younger brother [Betty’s jongere broer]	JOHAN “JOHNNY” MARTINA, ruman chikí di BETTY [jongere broer van Betty]
LONA HESSEL her elder half-sister [haar oudere halfzus]	LONA HESSEL, ruman parti tata di BETTY i JOHNNY [zus van de kant van de vader van Betty en Johnny]
HILMAR TOENNESEN Betty’s cousin [Betty’s neef]	HILMAR “SHON MA” MARTINA, primu di BETTY i JOHNNY’ [neef van Betty en Johnny]
DR. ROERLUND a schoolmaster [een schoolmeester]	DR. NICCOLO, kabes di skol [schoolhoofd]
MR. RUMMEL a wholesale dealer [een groothandelaar]	SR. ROMMEL, invershonista, sosio di KARSTEN [investeerder, maat van Karsten]
MR. VIGELAND a merchant [een handelsman]	SR. ASENSION, invershonista sosio di KARSTEN [investeerder, maat van Karsten]
MR. SANDSTAD a merchant [een handelsman]	SR. SANCHEZ, invershonista sosio di KARSTEN [investeerder, maat van Karsten]
DINA DORF a young girl living with the Bernicks [een jong meisje, wonende bij de Bernicks]	DINA INOSENSIA, yu di kriansa di famia BARCASSE [stiefkind van de familie Barcasse]
KRAP a chief clerk [een hoofdklerk]	BULBAI, empleado di konfiansa di [vertrouwenspersoon van] KARSTEN BARCASSE
AUNE a shipyard foreman [een voorman van de werf]	LUIS, kapatas di Astiero Barcasse [voorman van de Werf Barcasse]
MRS. RUMMEL	SRA. ROMMEL
MISS. RUMMEL	

MRS. HOLT the postmaster's wife [echtgenote van de postchef]	HILDA ROMMEL, yu muhé di [dochter van] SR. I SRA. ROMMEL
MISS. HOLT	SRA. HART, kasá di hefe di Pòst [echtgenote van de postchef]
MRS. LYNGE wife of the local doctor [echtgenote van de lokale dokter]	NETTA HART, yu muhé di [dochter van] SRA. HART
Townspeople and other residents, foreign seamen, steamship passengers, etc. [Stadsmensen en andere inwoners, buitenlandse zeelui, stoombootpassagiers, etc.]	SRA. LISA, kasá di dòkter [echtgenote van de dokter]
---	Vários HABITANTE i BISHITANTE di e pueblo [Verschillende inwoners en bezoekers van het dorp]
	MARINERO i PASAHERO di barku [zeelui en bootpassagiers]
	KRIÁ DI KAS [hulp in de huishouding]

Waarom in de adaptatie de familienaam Bernick gewijzigd wordt in Barcasse, laat zich niet makkelijk verklaren. Een uitleg voor het in de adaptatie wel handhaven van de voornaam 'Karsten' van het hoofdpersonage, zou gelegen kunnen zijn in het feit dat 'Karsten' naar lokaal gebruik, de mogelijkheid van creolisering tot 'Kachi'² geeft ("LUIS. Shon *Kachi* a manda yama mi." p.10 [Meneer *Kachi* heeft mij laten roepen]; "AUNE: Mr. Bernick sent for me." p.22 [Mr. Bernick heeft mij opgeroepen]).

De echtgenote en de zus van Karsten, hebben in beide werken dezelfde voornaam, respectievelijk Betty en Martha. Dat geldt ook voor Johan, echter naar een lokale gewoonte, in de rollenlijst wel "verkleind" tot 'Johnny'. Voor zijn achternaam wordt in de adaptatie gekozen voor de op Curaçao gangbare familienaam Martina in plaats van de Noorse achternaam Toennesen (=Tønnesen. De neef van Betty en Johnny, Hilmar, heeft in beide stukken dezelfde voornaam, maar heeft, door de onderlinge familierelatie ook de achternaam Martina, met als toevoeging in de rollenlijst van de adaptatie de op Curaçao gangbare aanspreekvorm "Shon Ma". Vader Holt, zijn echtgenote en zijn dochter, krijgen in de adaptatie de achternaam Hart, een familienaam die op Curaçao niet onbekend is. Dina Dorf heeft in de Papiamentstalige versie de achternaam Inosensia, met een verwijzing naar de onschuld van dit personage. De naam Niccolo, voor het hoofd van de school, is in de adaptatie van Comenencia de aanpassing voor 'schoolmaster Roerlund (=Rørlund)', waarbij het zich laat raden of hij bij deze naamswijziging de gangbare lokale familienaam 'Nicolaas' in gedachte had. Bulbai, getypeerd als vertrouwenspersoon van Karsten Barcasse, komt in de rollenlijst van de Engelse brontekst voor als Krap, hoofdklerk. Sr. Rommel (met een verwijzing naar het Nederlandse woord voor afval 'rommel'), in de Engelse brontekst Mr. Rummel, is

² In het Papiamentu is het suffix -chi afgeleid van de Nederlandse verkleiningsuitgang -tje: Karchi < kaartje, papachi < papaatje. Deze oorspronkelijke verkleiningsuitgang (-chi) is in het Papiamentu vaak terug te vinden bij koosnamen: Ramon > Mochi, Bernard > Benchi, zo wordt de voornaam Karsten Kachi; ook bij achternamen komt dit voor Garcia > Gachi, Berbous > Buchi.

getrouwd met ‘mrs.’ Rummel, en heeft een dochter ‘miss Rummel’, in de rollenlijst van de adaptatie vermeld als respectievelijk Mrs. Rommel en Hilda. Mr. Vigeland en Mr. Sandstad, beiden handelaar, komen in de rollenlijst van de adaptatie voor als Sr. Asension en Sr. Sanchez, waarbij door de keuze van deze namen, een Latijns-Amerikaanse achtergrond wordt gesuggereerd voor deze twee personages. Luis, vakman op de werf, wordt gepresenteerd in de Engelse brontekst als Mr. Aune, een voorman van een scheepswerf en Sra. Lisa, de vrouw van de dokter staat in de rollenlijst van de Engelse brontekst als Miss Lynge vermeld. Er zijn ook personages die in beide werken geen naamswijziging ondergaan, zoals Lona Hessel.

De Engelse brontekst verwijst aan het eind van de rollenlijst ook naar “Townspeople and other residents, foreign seamen, *steamship* passengers, etc.” p.20 [Stadsmensen en bewoners van de stad, buitenlandse zeelui en stoombootpassagiers, etc]. Op de rollenlijst van de Papiamentstalige adaptatie is er ook sprake van een “kriá di kas” p.8 [hulp in de huishouding].

Niet alleen de namen van de personages zelf zijn, met een kleine uitzondering na, niet letterlijk overgenomen uit de brontekst. De titel *The Pillars of Society* (1963) [De Steunpilaren van de Maatschappij³], is vertaald met *Nos Baluartenan* [Onze Wegbereiders]. Het gebruik van het bezittelijk voornaamwoord “Nos” [Onze] in de titel brengt het toneelstuk dicht bij de lezer of toeschouwer. Een dialoog in de derde akte tussen Lona en Karsten, zoals hieronder weergegeven in tabel 2 met een weergave van hetzelfde fragment in het Engels en in het Papiamentu, was voor Comenencia mogelijkwerwijs inspiratie voor zijn keuze van de titel voor de adaptatie.⁴

Tabel 2 Mogelijke verklaring voor de titel van het toneelstuk

PILLARS OF SOCIETY (1963)	NOS BALUARTENAN (2016)
MISS HESSEL: And everyone got their money? [En kreeg iedereen zijn geld?]	LONA: I nan tur a haña nan sèn despues? [En hebben ze allen hun geld later teruggekregen?]
BERNICK: Yes, Lona. This rumour saved our house, and made me the man I am now. [Ja, Lona, dit gerucht heeft ons huis gered, en heeft mij tot de man gemaakt die ik nu ben.]	KARSTEN Tur, tur hende. Nos a logra fortifiká i ekspandé Kompania. I esei a yuda mi bira loke mi ta awe. [Iedereen. We zijn erin geslaagd om ons bedrijf sterker te maken en uit te breiden. En dat heeft bijgedragen tot de persoon die ik nu ben.]

³ Een Nederlands vertaling uit 1906 heeft als titel, *De steunpilaren der Maatschappij*. Een vertaling in het Engels uit 2016 heeft als titel, *The Pillars of the Community*, en blijft met deze vertaling ook dicht bij de originele Noorse titel *Samfunnets støtter*.

⁴ In de Engelse brontekst wordt verschillende malen naar de “Pillars of Society” verwezen, bijv. op p.35, in de adaptatie letterlijk vertaald als “pilánan di komunidat”, p.29. In de vierde akte wordt “Pillars of Society”, in navolging van het voorbeeld in tabel 2, vertaald als “Baluarte di nos komunidat, p.129 of als “baluarte”, p.133).

MISS HESSEL: In other words, a lie made you the man you are now. [Met andere woorden, een leugen heeft je tot de man gemaakt die je nu bent]	LONA Ku otro palabra: ku ta mentira b'a krese bira grandi. [Met andere woorden: je bent groot geworden door leugens]
BERNICK Who suffered by it-then? Johan had sworn he'd never come back. [Wie heeft hier dan onder geleden? Johan had zelf gezworen dat hij nooit terug zou komen.]	KARSTEN Ma mi no a hasi niun hende daño. Johnny mes a primintí ku e no ta bin bèk.[Maar ik heb niemand schade berokkend. Johnny zelf had mij beloofd dat hij niet terug zou komen.]
MISS HESSEL: You ask who suffered by it. Look at yourself, Karsten, and tell me honestly; don't you think you've suffered? [Vraag je je af, wie er onder geleden heeft? Kijk naar jezelf, Karsten, en zeg mij eerlijk; denk je niet dat jij geleden hebt?]	LONA: Bo n'hasi niun hende daño? Wak bo mes den spil, Kachi ... Shon Kachi. Bo n'ta kere ku bo mes tambe a sufri? Bo konsenshi? [Heb je niemand schade berokkend? Kijk zelf in de spiegel, Kachi ... Meneer Kachi. Denk je niet dat je ook geleden hebt? Jouw geweten?]
BERNICK: Look at any man you choose to name; you'll find every one of them has at least one skeleton hidden in his cupboard. [Noem elke willekeurig man; je zal ontdekken dat ieder van hen op zijn minst een skelet in zijn kast verstopt heeft.]	KARSTEN: Tur hende tin kos riba nan konsenshi, Lona. Tur hende. [Ieder mens heeft iets op zijn geweten, Lona. Ieder mens.] (NB. Het valt op dat hier het beeld van een "skelet in de kast" ontbreekt.)
MISS HESSEL: And you call yourselves pillars of society? [En noemen jullie jezelf pilaren van deze maatschappij?]	LONA: Anto boso ta karga título di baluarte dje komunidat akí [Dus dragen jullie de titel van wegbereiders van deze samenleving?]
BERNICK: Society has none better. [De maatschappij heeft geen betere.] (1963, p.78)	KARSTEN: Pasobra e komunidat akí no tin mihó. [Omdat deze samenleving geen betere kon vinden.] (2016, pp.89-90)

2. Structuur en verhaallijn

Bij het bestuderen van de opbouw van de adaptatie en de Engelse brontekst, blijkt dat de structuur van beide werken niet noemenswaardig van elkaar verschilt. Er is in beide werken sprake van vier akten, waarbij niet wordt afgeweken van de verhaallijn. Comenencia vat de inhoud van *Nos Baluartenan*, als volgt kort samen: "E ta trata historia di un empresario poderoso den un komunidat chikitu ku riba un bon dia ta hañ'é konfrontá ku su pasado." (2016, p.6) [Het gaat over een invloedrijke ondernemer in een kleine gemeenschap die op een goede dag geconfronteerd wordt met zijn verleden.] Als centrale thema's van het toneelwerk, noemt Comenencia, opportunisme, verraad, hypocrisie en de complexiteit van onderlinge relaties ('relashon sosial') in kleine, traditionele samenlevingen. (2016, p.6)

De verhaallijn

In akte 1 wordt ons de ondernemer Karsten Barcasse, getrouwd met Betty en vader van een zoon van 13, Olaf, gepresenteerd. Hij is als zakenman succesvol en geniet maatschappelijk aanzien. Het feit dat hij, uit winstbejag zijn jeugdvriendin Lona Hessel inruilt voor haar halfzus Betty en hij vijftien jaar geleden, gedurende zijn verloving betrappt werd in de kamer van een minnares, is aan degenen bij wie hij in aanzien staat, de inwoners van het havenstadje, niet bekend. Ook weten deze niet dat hij zijn zwager, Betty's broer Johan, die op dat moment juist naar Amerika zou vertrekken, overhaalt om de schuld van zijn amoureuze escapade op zich te nemen, daarbij bovendien het gerucht verspreidend dat Johan zich schuldig zou hebben gemaakt aan diefstal. Karsten blijkt dit laatste in gang te hebben gezet om de ware reden te maskeren voor zijn op dat moment in financiële problemen verkerende bedrijf. Bij aanvang van het stuk, in de eerste akte, blijkt Karsten grootse projecten (het uitbreiden van de haven in de adaptatie; het opzetten van een spoorbaan in de Engelse brontekst) te willen uitvoeren.

In akte 2 wordt Johan, onverwacht teruggekeerd uit Amerika, ten tonele gevoerd. Johan geeft Karsten aan dat hij van blaam gezuiverd wenst te worden. Dit zou voor Karsten, die als ondernemer van smetten vrij wenst te zijn voor het uitvoeren van zijn commerciële activiteiten en dit ook uitstraalt, een deuk in zijn reputatie opleveren en het uitvoeren van nieuwe projecten onzeker maken. Met alle gevolgen van dien voor de samenleving. Ook deelt Johan aan Karsten mee, dat Lona Hessel, die in het verleden samen met Johan naar Amerika was vertrokken, door hem op de hoogte is gesteld van Karstens leugens.

Tegen de achtergrond van deze verhaallijn speelt ook de sociale onrust in de haven en de twijfelachtige zeewaardigheid van La India (*Indian Girl* in de Engelse brontekst), een schip dat, samen met La Palmera (*The Palm Tree* in de Engelse brontekst) onder de vlag van Karsten vaart, en waarvan aan Karsten bekend is dat het zich in zeer slechte staat bevindt.

In akte 3 besluiten Johan en Dina Inosensia, de dochter van zijn vroegere minnares, samen terug te keren naar Amerika met de zeewaardige La Palmera en niet met de onzeewaardige La India, zoals zij eerst van plan waren. Ondertussen vat ook Olaf, door een verlangen naar avontuur, heimelijk het plan op om naar Amerika te vertrekken.

In akte 4 gaat Olaf als verstekeling aan boord van de onzeewaardige La India, waarvoor Karsten eerder uit commerciële overwegingen heeft bepaald, dat het kan uitvaren, ondanks het feit dat er slecht weer op komst is. Onderwijl organiseert de stad voor Karsten in verband met zijn zakelijke successen, een eerbetoon, dat in de Engelse brontekst met een uitgebreid samenspel tussen hoogwaardigheidsbekleders en het volk ("Many voices"; "Crowd") meer aandacht krijgt dan in de adaptatie. De zoon van

Karsten blijkt voor die gelegenheid onvindbaar en het bange vermoeden dat Olaf zich mogelijkwerwijs op La India bevindt, wordt bewaarheid. Maar uiteindelijk blijkt La India toch niet te zijn uitgevaren, en Olaf is buiten levensgevaar.

Hevig geëmotioneerd roept Karsten uit, dat hij aan zijn naasten, en de hele stad, zijn leugens zal opbiechten. Op die manier wordt het voor hem, als een van de steunpilaren van de samenleving, mogelijk zich te zuiveren en om met een schoon blazoën verder te leven, zonder de leugens en hypocrisie die zo kenmerkend zijn voor kleine gemeenschappen.

Toneelaanwijzingen, dialogen en gebezigde taal

Het is interessant om aspecten als toneelaanwijzingen, dialogen en de gebezigde taal bij de vergelijkende tekstanalyse te betrekken. De in de dialogen gebezigde taal kan meer inzicht geven in de literaire bedoelingen van de auteur. De toneelaanwijzingen bevatten additionele informatie die de interpretatie van het werk vollediger maakt. De aanwijzingen bij het begin van iedere akte, levert vergelijkenderwijs het volgende beeld op.

Toneelaanwijzingen

Eerste akte

Een vergelijking van de toneelaanwijzingen aan het begin van de eerste akte toont enkele opmerkelijke onderlinge verschillen.

ACT ONE

A spacious garden room in KARSTEN BERNICK'S house. Downstage left, a door leading to BERNICK'S room; upstage in the same wall is a similar door. In the centre of the opposite wall is a large entrance door. The rear wall is composed almost entirely of fine and clear glass, with an open door giving on to a broad verandah over which an awning is stretched. Steps lead down from the verandah into the garden, part of which can be seen, enclosed by a fence with a small gate. Beyond the fence is a street, the far side of which is lined with small wooden houses painted in bright colours. It is summer and the sun is shining warmly. Now and then people wander along the street; they stop and speak to each other, buy things from a little corner shop, etc. (p.21)[Een ruime tuinkamer in het huis van Karsten Bernick. Beneden het podium links, is een deur die naar Bernicks ruimte leidt; op het podium in dezelfde muur, is er een gelijksoortige deur. In het midden van de muur er tegenover, is er een grote toegangsdeur. De achtermuur bestaat bijna geheel uit fijn en helder glas, met een open deur, die uitkijkt op een brede veranda met een overkapping. Een trap leidt vanaf de veranda naar de tuin, waarvan een deel te zien is, omheind door een hek met een kleine poort. Voorbij het hek is een straat waarvan de andere kant is omzoomd met kleine houten huisjes die in felle kleuren zijn geverfd. Het is zomer en de zon schijnt warm. Af en toe dwalen

mensen over straat; ze stoppen en praten met elkaar, kopen dingen in een winkeltje op de hoek, enz.]

Akto I

Un sala elegante, espasioso i habrí na kas di KARSTEN BARCASSE. Na man robes parti dilanti di esenario tin porta di KARSTEN su ofisina. Na e mesun muraya parti patras di esenario tin otro porta. Meimei di e muraya na man drechi di esenario tin un porta di entrada grandi. Fondo di esenario ta habri riba veranda ku vista pa kurá. Pafó di e kurá por mira kaya ku vários kas di palu kolorido. Tin hopi solo i un temperatura agradabel. De bes en kuando por mira hende kana pasa; algùn ta para kòmbersá, otro-nan ta drenta, sali un tienda na skina. (p.9) [Een chic ingerichte open ruimte in het huis van Karsten Barcasse. Aan de linkerkant, aan de voorkant van het podium, is er een deur van het kantoor van Karsten. Er is in dezelfde muur, op de achtergrond van het podium, een deur van de hoofdingang. De achtergrond van het podium komt vanuit de veranda uit op de tuin. Buiten de tuin, is de straat te zien, met verschillende kleurrijke houten huizen. Er is veel zon en de temperatuur is aangenaam. Af en toe zijn er mensen te zien die voorbij lopen; een enkele stopt om een praatje te maken, anderen gaan een winkel op de hoek, in en uit]

Terwijl de Engelse tekst refereert aan een “spacious garden room”, is er in de Papiamentstalige tekst sprake van een “sala elegante i espasioso”. In de Engelse brontekst wordt verwezen naar de kamer van Bernick, terwijl in de Papiamentsalige tekst melding wordt gemaakt van “un ofisina”[een kantoor]. In de Engelse tekst is sprake van een uitgeschoven luifel (stretched awning) en een omheining (fence). Deze twee objecten komen niet voor in de Papiamentstalige adaptatie. In de Engelse tekst wordt melding gemaakt van een warme, zonnige zomerdag. In de Papiamentstalige tekst wordt wel verwezen naar de (aangename) temperatuur (“un temperatura agradabel”), maar wordt er geen koppeling gemaakt naar de zomer zoals in de brontekst (“It is summer”), bij afwezigheid van de vier jaargetijden op Curaçao.

Tweede akte

Een vergelijking van de toneelaanwijzingen aan het begin van de tweede akte toont weinig onderlinge verschillen.

ACT TWO

The garden room in Bernick's house. MRS Bernick is seated alone at the work-table with her sewing. After a few moments, BERNICK enters right with his hat on, carrying gloves and a stick. (p. 44) [De tuinkamer in het huis van Bernick. Mevrouw Bernick zit alleen aan de werktafel met haar naaiwerk. Even later komt BERNICK van de rechterkant binnen met zijn hoed op, met handschoenen en een stok.(p.44)]

Akto II

E mesun sala espasioso i habrí na kas di KARSTEN BARCASSE. BETTY ta sintá na e mesa grandi ku su trabou di kosementu. Despues di un ratu, KARSTEN ta drenta di e porta na man drechi, na flus ku su sombré riba kabes i un garoti na man.(p.43)

[Dezelfde ruime en open zaal in het huis van Karsten Barcasse. Betty zit aan tafel met haar naaiwerk. Na een poosje komt Karsten binnen, door de rechterdeur, gekleed in pak met hoed op het hoofd en een wandelstok in zijn hand.]

Het is opvallend dat de adaptatie de toneelaanwijzing inzake de kleding van Karsten in de Engelse brontekst niet helemaal volgt. Karsten draagt geen handschoenen, hetgeen in de lokale, tropische setting, inderdaad niet gebruikelijk is.

Derde akte

Terwijl Bernick in de adaptatie vanuit de linkerdeur op het toneel verschijnt, wordt in de Engels versie daar aan toegevoegd, dat hij daarbij de deur op een kier open laat. Dit kleine nuanceverschil is in de adaptatie niet terug te vinden.

ACT THREE

The same. BERNICK enters angrily through the door upstage left with a cane in his hand, leaving the door ajar behind him. (p.72) [Dezelfde (kamer). BERNICK komt boos binnen door de deur linksboven het podium met een wandelstok in zijn hand, de deur achter zich, op een kier open latend.]

Akto III

E mesun sala. KARSTEN ta kana drenta, garoti na man, di e porta na man robes parti patras di esenario. E ta musta rabiá i ta papia ku BETTY ku a keda paden.(p. 81)

[Dezelfde kamer. Karsten komt vanuit de linker deur binnen, wandelstok in de linker hand; vanuit het achterdeel van het decor. Hij is kwaad en praat met Betty die binnen is gebleven.]

Vierde akte

In de vierde akte is vooral het verschil in benaming voor de bedienden opvallend.

ACT FOUR

The same. The work-table has been moved out. It is a stormy afternoon, already twilight; during the scene it grows gradually darker. A FOOTMAN lights the chandelier. Two MAIDS bring in pots of flowers, lamps and candles, and place them on the tables and in brackets on the walls. RUMMEL, in tails, with gloves and a white cravat, is standing in the room giving orders. (p.93) [Dezelfde kamer. De werktafel is weg. Het is een stormachtige middag, het schemert al; tijdens de scène wordt het geleidelijk donkerder. Een lakei steekt de kroonluchter aan. Twee MEISJES brengen potten met

bloemen, lampen en kaarsen, en plaatsen ze op de tafels en tussen haakjes aan de muren. RUMMEL, in jacquet, met handschoenen en een witte das, staat in de kamer bevelen te geven.]

AKTO IV

E mesun sala. E mesa grandi no t'ei mas. Ta atardi i tempu pafó ta malu, ku basta bientu. Por mira ku poko poko ta birando skur. Un waiter ta drehta sende lus i dos otro waiter ta drehta ku un vas di flor fresku pa pone aki aya. Un di nan tin un teblachi ku kèlki i bòter di shampaña, ROMMEL, bistí na flus ku flor pegá riba su bachi, ta kana duna instrukshon.(p.111) [Dezelfde huiskamer. De grote tafel is er niet meer. Het is middag en het weer buiten is slecht, met veel wind. Je kan zien dat het langzamerhand donkerder wordt. Een bediende komt binnen en steekt het licht aan, en twee andere bedienden komen binnen met een vaas met verse bloemen om ergens neer te zetten. Een van hen heeft een dienblad met champagneglazen en champagne. Rommel, gekleed in pak met op zijn jas een bloem, loopt instructies te geven.]

In de toneelaanwijzingen in de Engels brontekst, wordt gerefereerd aan een Footman [lakei], die het licht aandoet. In de adaptatie wordt gekozen voor het neutralere waiter, een leenwoord in het Papiamentu dat zowel naar een man als naar een vrouw kan verwijzen. Twee andere 'waiters' brengen vazen met bloemen en een dienblad met champagne en champagneglazen binnen. In de Engels brontekst zijn het twee "maids" die potten met bloemen, lampen en kaarsen binnen brengen, die zij op tafels en planken aan de muur zetten. Ook hier is het opvallend dat Rummel handschoenen draagt, maar Rommel niet.

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Dialogen, gebezigde taal

Bij het vergelijken van de dialogen zijn er soms lichte verschillen aan te wijzen, mede ingegeven door een streven naar het effect van de 'couleur locale'. Hieronder enkele voorbeelden, met steeds na een korte toelichting, eerst het fragment uit de Papiamentstalige adaptatie en daarna het desbetreffende fragment uit de Engelse brontekst.

Bulbai, de vertrouwenspersoon van Karsten, ontvangt Luis, een havenarbeider, die aan hem een boodschap voor Karsten wil geven van alle havenarbeiders. Op de opmerking van Luis, dat hij liever met Karsten zelf praat, reageert Bulbai: "Mi sa. Ma e mes no tin tempu. El a pidi mi bisa bo."(p.10) [Ik weet het, maar hij heeft geen tijd. Hij heeft mij gevraagd het jou te zeggen]; "I know: but he can't see you himself. He's deputed me to tell you" (p.22) [Ik weet het, maar hij zelf kan jou niet zien. Hij heeft mij opgedragen om het jou te vertellen.]. In de adaptatie wordt niet het plechtige 'deputed' [opgedragen], gebruikt maar het veel minder beladen 'bisa' (zeggen). Bulbai vervolgt "El a pidi mi bisa bo esaki: mira pa bo stòp e charlanan di djasabra anochi pa personal

die kompania” [Hij heeft mij verzocht dit aan jou te zeggen; zie er op toe dat je de praatjes van zaterdagavond voor het personeel van de maatschappij stop zet]; Krap: “He’s deputed me to tell you this. You’re to stop giving these talks to the men on Saturday evenings.” [Hij heeft mij opgedragen jou dit te vertellen. Je moet de praatjes aan de mannen op de zaterdagavonden stopzetten] Luis roept verbolgen uit: “Mi n’por hasi loke mi ke den mi tempu liber anto! [Kan ik in mijn vrije tijd niet doen wat ik wil!]; Aune: Oh? I thought my free time was my own” [Oh? Ik dacht dat mijn vrije tijd van mij was]. Bulbai laat zich niet onbetuigd en reageert als volgt. “Bo tempu liber no ta pa bo bruha kabes di nos empleadonan. Djasabra ku a pasa ei b’a bisa nan ku nan pan ta na peliger ku e mashin nan nobo ku nos ta introdusiendo. Pakiko bo tin ku hasi e kos ei?” (p.10) [Jouw vrije tijd is er niet voor om onze werknemers in de war te brengen. Afgelopen zaterdag heb je hen gezegd, dat hun brood gevaar loopt, met de nieuwe machines die we aan het introduceren zijn. Waarom moet je dat doen?]; Krap: “You don’t get free time in order for you to stop the men working. Last Saturday you told them their interests were threatened by the new machines and these new methods we’ve introduced at the yard. Why do you do it?” (p.22) [Je krijgt geen vrij om de mannen te laten stoppen met werken. Afgelopen zaterdag heb je hen gezegd dat hun belangen bedreigd worden door de nieuwe machines en deze nieuwe methodes die wij introduceren op de werf. Waarom doe je het?]. Luis reageert op de vraag van Bulbai met de woorden: “Pa bienestar general di nos komunidat” (p.10) [Voor het algemene welzijn van onze gemeenschap]; Aune: “For the good of the community.” p.22 [Voor het welzijn van de gemeenschap]. Op zijn beurt reageert Bulbai: “Straño. Shon Kachi ta bisa nèt kontrali. Sigun e, loke bo ta hasiendo ta kousa division den komunidat,” (p.10) [Vreemd, Shon Kachi zegt net het tegenovergestelde. Volgens hem, veroorzaakt dat wat jij aan het doen bent, tweedracht in de samenleving.]; Krap: “That’s odd. Mr. Bernick says this kind of thing will disintegrate the community.” (p.22) [Dat is raar. Mr. Bernick zegt dat dit soort dingen de samenleving zal desintegreren]. Het Papiamentse “straño” raakt de betekenis van het Engelse “odd”, maar het populaire en minder afstandelijke ‘Shon Kachi’, in vergelijking met ‘Mr Bernick’ van de Engels brontekst, is opvallend. Luis reageert vervolgens: “Mi definishon di komunidat no ta meskos ku esun di Shon Kachi, sr. Bulbai. Komo defensor di kousa sindikal, mi ta.” [Mijn definitie van de maatschappij is niet dezelfde als die van de heer “Kachi”, meneer Bulbai]; Aune: “I don’t mean by community what Mr. Bernick does, Mr. Krap. As foreman of the Workers’ Association I -.” [Ik bedoel met de gemeenschap niet wat Mr. Bernick ermee bedoelt, Mr. Krap. Als voorman van de arbeidersbeweging, ben ik] Bulbai reageert: “E úniko kousa ku abo tin ku defendé ta e kousa di Astiero Barcasse NV! T’ei nos tur ta gana nos pan. Ya bo sa tambe ta kiko Shon Kachi lo tabatin bisa bo.” (p.10) [De enige zaak die je dient te verdedigen is de zaak van de Werf Barcasse NV. Daar verdienen we allen ons brood. Je weet ook al wat Shon Kachi je zou zeggen.]; Krap: “You’re Bernick’s foreman. And the only community to which you owe allegiance is the Bernick

Shipbuilding Company. That's where we all get our living. Well, now you know what Mr. Bernick had to say to you. (p.22) [Jij bent de voorman van Bernick. En de enige gemeenschap waaraan je trouw verschuldigd bent, is de Bernick Shipbuilding Company. Daar is het waar we ons allemaal in levensonderhoud voorzien. Nu weet je wat meneer Bernick tegen je te zeggen had.] Luis:"Shon Kachi lo no a papia asina ku mi, sr. Bulbai. Ma mi sa kaba ta ken ta tras di e asunto akí. Kasi sigur ta doño di e barku venezolano ku kièr sa ku aki trabou tin ku kana meskos ku serka nan aya banda. Wèl aki sí."(p.10). [Shon Kachi zou met mij niet zo praten, meneer Bulbai. Maar ik weet al wie achter deze zaak zit. Het is haast zeker de eigenaar van het Venezolaanse schip, die zou moeten weten dat hier het werk net zo moet lopen als bij hen daar] [Aune:"Mr. Bernick wouldn't have said it like that, Mr. Krap. But I know whom I've to thank for this. It's that damned American ship that's put in for repairs. Those people expect us to work like they do over there, and it isn't – (p.22) [Aune: Zo zou de heer Bernick het niet hebben gezegd, meneer Krap. Maar ik weet wie ik hiervoor moet bedanken. Het is dat verdomde Amerikaanse schip dat is binnengebracht voor reparaties. Die mensen verwachten van ons dat we werken zoals ze daar doen, en dat is niet het geval.]

Een snelle blik toont dat de tekst van de adaptatie directer is en lichter van toon dan de Engelse brontekst. Het algemene beeld is dat de dialogen in het Papiamentu qua woordkeuze vaak directer zijn en van een snelheid die in de Engels brontekst doorgaans afwezig is. Het valt op dat in de dialogen van de adaptatie lokale elementen worden ingevoegd. Er is sprake van lokale contextualisering. Zo is uit de hierboven weergegeven dialogen af te leiden dat in de adaptatie een verband gelegd wordt met de Venezolaanse scheepvaart door 'American Ship' te vervangen door 'barku venezolano'. De bedrijfsnaam 'Astiero Barcasse NV' zal de lokale lezer of toeschouwer meer aanspreken dan 'Bernick Shipbuilding Company'. Door contextgebonden aanpassingen worden de karakteristieke Curaçaos-Caribische sfeer- en stemmingselementen ingebouwd.

Het is opvallend dat in de adaptatie beeldspraken versterkt worden. Een voorbeeld: Dr. Niccolo:"(...) Komunidatnan di awendia no ta nada mas ku graf putrí tapá ku fèrf blanku (p.11). [De samenleving van heden is niet meer dan verrotte graven bedekt met witte verf]; Roerlund:"(...) These so-called great modern communities are nothing but whited sepulcres" (p.23) [Deze zogenaamde grote moderne gemeenschappen zijn niets anders dan gewitte graven]. Terwijl in de Engelse brontekst voor minder krachtige bewoordingen gekozen wordt voor de vergelijking, wordt in de adaptatie de gemeenschap vergeleken met *rotte* graven met daarover heen, een laag met witte verf.

3. Ruimte en tijd

In de adaptatie van Comenencia en in de Engelse brontekst, staat aan het eind van de rollenlijst aan het begin van de adaptatie (p.8) dat het huis van het hoofdpersonage uit het toneelstuk, de plaats van handeling is: "E obra ta tuma lugá na kas di KARSTEN

BARCASSE den un haf chikitu” [Het werk speelt zich af in het huis van Karsten Barcasse in een kleine haven.] In de Engelse vertaling wordt de ligging van het huis nader gespecificeerd door een verwijzing naar een Noors kuststadje. Het feit dat in de adaptatie geen topografische verwijzing gemaakt wordt, is een eerste aanwijzing in de toneeltekst zelf, dat *Nos Baluartenan* losgekoppeld wordt van de plaats van handeling van het oorspronkelijke Noorse toneelstuk. In de inleiding van zijn adaptatie merkt Comenencia hier over op: ”Adaptashon di e obra na idioma i konteksto Papiamentu – entre otro – a inklui kambio di nòmber i algun detaye i situashon topográfiko. Por ehèmpel: mi a kambia e tema di trein pa esun di haf i barku” (p. 6) [De adaptatie van het werk naar een Papiamentstalige context, omvat naamswijzigingen en wijzigingen van enkele details en topografische situaties. Bijvoorbeeld: ik heb het onderwerp trein veranderd in dat van de haven].

Dat Comenencia de plaats van handeling enigszins aanpast, is begrijpelijk. Het eiland Curaçao heeft een (natuurlijke) haven met een werf en traditiegetrouw aanzienlijk scheepvaartverkeer. De lokale situatie, in tegenstelling tot de Noorse (en Engelse), biedt voor de lezer (of toeschouwer) van de adaptatie evenwel geen referentiepunt wat betreft treinen en spoorwegen, bij afwezigheid hiervan op het eiland. Door de adaptatie naar de wereld van de toeschouwer of lezer toe te buigen, zal deze de aandacht bij het lezen of bekijken van de adaptatie beter vasthouden. Andere voorbeelden van contextualisering zijn het vervangen van “bow (and arrow)” (p.21, p.26) [boog (en pijl)] voor “chinchá” (p.9, p.16) [kattepult]. Bovendien wordt de verwijzing naar een “walrus” p.26 in de Engelse brontekst, vervangen door een eerder in de lokale wateren voorkomende “bayena” p.16 [walvis]. Een verwijzing naar de jacht op beren, “bears” p.26 [beren] wordt aangepast naar het afschieten van “kachó di mondi” p.16 [zwerfhonden]. De bestemming Parijs als studiestad in de Engelse brontekst (p.30), maakt plaats voor “Tera Friu” p.21 [letterlijk: koude aarde], een gangbare lokale aanduiding voor Nederland, een voor studiedoeleinden vaak gekozen bestemming.

Er zijn geen nadrukkelijke aanwijzingen dat er wat betreft de tijd waarin het toneelstuk gesitueerd is, een verschil is tussen de adaptatie en de Engelse brontekst. De vertaling van *musical society* (p.28) in *diskotèk* (p.18) [discotheek] is evenwel een indicatie dat de adaptatie zich meer in het heden afspeelt dan de Engelse brontekst.

Tot slot

Uit het voorgaande kan worden geconcludeerd dat de adaptatie naar het Papiamentu, redelijk dicht is gebleven bij de Engelse brontekst. Evenwel ademt ook deze adaptatie, net als *Nora su Kas di Pòpchi* een eigen lokaal karakter en sfeer uit, hetgeen als een belangrijke verdienste van Comenencia kan worden beschouwd. Het is zeer aannemelijk dat, mede hierdoor, *Nos Baluartenan* niet alleen aftrek vindt bij een grote groep lezers, maar dat het stuk als het zou worden opgevoerd volle zalen trekt. Dat zou

in lijn zijn met de literaire traditie van voorstellingen van adaptaties in de vorige eeuw en mogelijksterwijs als voorbode kunnen worden gezien voor een herleving van deze traditie, met impliciet een groeiende waardering voor het Papiamentu en het maatschappelijk nog verder verankeren van de status van deze taal.

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**MASKING, AUTHENTICITY AND
INTERSECTIONALITIES IN THE CULTURES
OF THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND**

A MULTI-VOICED PERSPECTIVE ON CURAÇAO'S COLONIAL HISTORY THROUGH TRADITIONAL SONGS

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to explore how important historical events are remembered through oral traditions, specifically songs that have been transmitted from generation to generation. By using different variants of the same song about particular historical events, and through textual analysis, I seek to discover how those whose voices are not heard in written documents, do remain part of the oral tradition and can become an important element of the shared memory that lives on across generations. I will address how oral narratives can help to expand the knowledge of history and contribute to its decolonization.

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Key Terms: Oral tradition, oral history, memory, narratives, colonial history, songs

Introduction

Oral traditions have been analyzed by literary scholars as oral literature (Finnegan, 2012) and by ethnographers as representing the traditional and functional cultural values and norms of a community.¹ For many years, the historical validity of oral traditions was questioned, and their use as historical sources was viewed with skepticism. Peoples whose history was based on oral traditions were believed to have no history until historians began to value these sources as valid historical evidence, particularly for preliterate societies. In the Caribbean, oral historical data are now commonly used together with written sources that in most cases are part of the colonial archives, which were long considered to be the sole repositories of historical knowledge and sources (Allen, 2007: 33; González Echevarría, 1998: 32).

¹ See for example: <https://science.jrank.org/pages/10528/Oral-Traditions-Telling-Sharing-Modern-Study-Oral-Traditions.html>

There is now a growing awareness, however, that these archives have tended to silence the voices of marginalized peoples and moments of historical importance (Trouillot, 1995). As Brown (2010) states in his paper titled “History attends to the dead”, in colonial situations the archives have been more than just a space for preservation and memory, as written historical sources have tended to function as important ‘artifacts of power’ (1231). In line with the concept of “reparative histories” aimed at deconstructing colonial historiography, I have over the years conducted oral history interviews with people in communities beyond the scope of the dominant records so as to expand on the colonial narratives about them, obtain an insider’s view of their histories, and document their historical agency (Allen 2007; Allen, 2014). In this endeavor, my focus has been principally the histories of communities in the Dutch Caribbean whose ancestors were enslaved people and who appear, in the written sources, as powerless objects whose experiences are trivialized, ignored, or even silenced.

In my research I have sought to make a distinction between oral history and oral tradition. Both consist of oral material, in the sense that they are transmitted orally and, in many cases, are obtained through fieldwork. However, oral history refers both to a method of recording and preserving oral testimonies and personal recollections articulated by people who have experienced certain events first-hand or who were sufficiently close to those events to recall them and feel the impact of those events on their lives. Oral tradition comprises information, memories and knowledge held in common by a group of people over many generations. It refers to the recollection and transmission of a specific, preserved textual and cultural knowledge by oral means. It persists mostly through songs, proverbs, myths and stories through which people convey information and meaning to their relatives and/or other members of their community. The scenarios depicted in these oral texts are usually drawn from events, problems and successes experienced by the community, which have been passed on by word of mouth from the older generations to the younger ones, and used as a tool for organizing, teaching and raising consciousness.

While this distinction can be made in theory, in a field situation, the line is harder to draw. According to Vansina (1985: 21-23), one should not overlook the fact that: 1) over time oral history will incorporate folk elements; and 2) folkloric material such as stories, proverbs, myths and songs can also shed light on the past. The domain of oral traditions and expressions encompasses an enormous variety of spoken forms, including proverbs, riddles, tales, legends, myths, epic songs and poems, charms, prayers, chants, nursery rhymes, songs, and dramatic verbal performances. As vehicles for the transmission of knowledge, cultural and social values, and collective memory, oral traditions play a crucial part in keeping cultures alive. Lawrence Levine (2007, [1977]) has explored and contextualized this phenomenon in the case of enslaved African Americans in his seminal work *Black culture and black consciousness*, which covers the rich world

of folk expression through songs, stories and myths transmitted between the years just before the American Civil War up until World War II.

In this article, I focus on songs that have been transmitted across various generations which contain references to, and therefore constitute records of, two historic events on the Dutch Caribbean island of Curaçao. Songs, especially, are important exponents of communal values and norms, and are one of the oldest and most effective forms of communication through which people tell and retell their stories in Curaçao and the rest of the Caribbean (Allen, 2001). In the case of Curaçao, oral traditions are transmitted by word of mouth, principally in Papiamentu, the local Afro-Caribbean Iberian lexifier creole language. In the historical analysis and interpretation of songs, language patterns, wording, and depictions of cultural and historical context often provide important insights.

Song about the 1795 slave rebellion of Curaçao

During an oral history session in 1986, a consultant of mine named Nicolaas Petrona recalled a song which he claimed used to be sung after the slave uprising in Curaçao which took place in 1795. On August 17 of that year, plantation rule on the western part of the island was overturned by enslaved people under the leadership of Tula, Bastian Karpata, Louis Mercier and Pedro Wacao, with assistance from women and freed people. The August 1795 uprising was the largest in Curaçao's history in terms of the number of participants, its geographical spread, and the number of days that it lasted. It is also the best documented of the many uprisings that took place on the island, and the voices of the revolt's protagonists are present in the judicial documents, which are included in the compilation of all the government documents pertaining to the revolt which was published by the National Archives in 1974 (Paula, 1974).

The song recalled by Petrona goes as follows:

Papa Sewe,
Ata Negru tribí
k'a lanta ku Blanku
Papa Sewe,
Ata Negru tribí
k'a lanta ku Blanku
Hork'é
Mat'é.²

Papa Sewe,
Look at that insolent Negro
who stood up against the Whites
Papa Sewe,
Look at that insolent Negro
who stood up against the Whites
Hang him
Kill him.

Nicolaas Petrona was born in 1898, i.e. 103 years after the uprising. One may conclude that this song belongs to the historical memory about the slave rebellion and is part of a long historicity. Petrona's mother, who taught him the song, told him that house slaves

² Interview with Nicolaas Petrona (born 1898 in Kent U Zelf, eastern part of Curaçao), by Rose Mary Allen, 1986 and stored at the National Archives Curaçao (NatAr).

had created and sung it upon the instruction of their master after Tula, the leader of the slave revolt, had been executed by hanging in October 1795.

Petrona categorized the song as a *kantika di tambú* (song of the local tambú musical genre), which is typically accompanied by an African drum, and which nowadays is performed and danced to during tambú celebrations held mostly in the months around the end of the year.³ The lyrics of tambú songs are often wisely chosen to trigger a desired response from the drummers, singers, dancers, and onlookers. The lyrics usually comment upon controversial events that occurred over the past year. They also often refer to individuals, within or outside the community, who did not conform to social norms. The performance of tambú, one of Curaçao's persisting traditional, African-derived customs, was prohibited during slavery by the slave-owners, as Rosalia (1997) has documented. This prohibition persisted even after the abolition of slavery in 1863 and well into the 20th century (Rosalia, 1997).

Nicolaas Petrona's testimony raises a number of interesting issues. First, the fact the slave-owners instructed their enslaved workers to sing this tambú song shows that they were well aware of the role of music in the lives of the enslaved, in particular of tambú as both an on-the-spot artistic commentary upon events and a vehicle for transmitting messages. However, as the following analysis of the song shows, the slave-owners did not have control over the coded lyrics of the song. The text of the song in question identifies two social groups and their racial assignment by the colonial authorities, namely the *Negru* (Black) and the *Blanku* (White). At first sight, the text suggests a negative value judgement of Tula as someone who did not abide by the prevailing rules of submission, but instead revolted against them. This is certainly clear from the final two lines: *Hork'é; Mat'é* (Hang him; Kill him), which indicate the manner in which Tula and the other leaders were punished, i.e., by hanging. These lines could have been a way to indulge the owners. The negative valuation associated with the rebellion also seems to be expressed through the verb *lanta ku*, 'to stand up against', which is used mostly in the sense of a person standing up against someone in a higher or more powerful social position—for example a laborer against an employer, a child against its parents, or a woman against a man. In the song, Tula, an enslaved person of African descent who resisted his people's subjugation to slave-holding people, primarily of European descent, is called *tribí* or insolent. Petrona explained to me that the song shows the extent to which enslaved people lived both physically and mentally under the rule of their masters. However, it is noteworthy that the adjective '*tribí*' has multiple connotations: not just insolent, but also unabashed and bold, which have a more positive slant. The same holds for the verb '*lanta ku*', which can also be used more positively in

³ 'Tambú' refers to the celebration, to the music performed during this event and to the corresponding dance. If no drum was available, people would improvise using a box, for example, to beat the rhythm. See NatAr (National Archives), Archief van het Gouvernement, Rol van Strafbazen 1878, Procesverbaal no. 24 for a description of how people sang while someone beat the rhythm on a box.

the sense of rising up against an oppressive power. Finally, the object of the verbs ‘to hang’ and ‘to kill’ in the final lines of the song *Hork’é; Mat’é* (Hang him; Kill him) could also be understood as being the slave-owner, rather than the enslaved.

It is quite possible that, as the enslaved sang the song upon the instruction of their master as a song denouncing Tula, they reinterpreted it for themselves and secretively gave it a more uplifting meaning, in favor of Tula. This would be in line with the well-known practice by oppressed people of applying inflections, double entendres, innuendos and metaphors to camouflage (cover up) what they really mean. This example shows how using oral tradition as a historical source adds another dimension to the written sources and underscores the complex subjectivity of those who were enslaved.

In 1959, Paul Brenneker and Elis Juliana recorded a variant of this song about Tula (see Brenneker, 1985: 7). Both Brenneker and Juliana stand out in the Dutch Caribbean as the first researchers to systematically record Curaçaoan oral narratives on audiotape. They started at the end of the 1950s, when Curaçao’s traditional society was undergoing significant change. Their recordings include songs, stories, tales, myths, legends, epic songs and poems, nursery rhymes, proverbs, riddles, charms, prayers, chants, dramatic verbal performances, and more. Their body of work has become a key source for the reconstruction of the history of the African descended working classes in particular. Brenneker and Juliana are best known for their recordings that have been archived—and now also digitized—in what is known as the Zikinzá-collection, which was declared part of UNESCO’s memory of the world in 2017.

Brenneker and Juliana’s variant of the song is similar in text and value judgement to the one which I collected in 1986 but provides a little more detail about the rebellion of the enslaved person referred to in the lyrics. It mentions the name Tula, which in Petrona’s variant does not appear, although he mentioned the name to me. Perhaps the explanation of another of my consultants, named Adres (Didi) Sluis, who was born in 1904 and who lived in a community near the location where the uprising started, can shed some light on this issue.⁴ Sluis stated that merely mentioning the name Tula would be condemned at the time when he was growing up, often out of fear.

Another interesting line of the Brenneker and Juliana version of the song says “*Tula tribí ku a traha papa,*” which can be translated as: “The insolent Tula who made porridge out of mud”. Brenneker explains that, according to their consultant, the rebellious enslaved people threw hot mud in the faces of those who tried to recapture them. Even though I have not been able to trace this information back to the written sources about the 1795 revolt, the use of mud was not something unknown for the African enslaved people. They used mud as material for building houses, and it also appears in expressions such as *tira hende ku lodo* [throw mud at someone], meaning figuratively: insulting someone.

⁴ Interview with Adres (Didi) Sluis, born in 1904,, by Rose Mary Allen, 1984 and stored at the National Archives Curaçao (NatAr).

Zino papapa zinowé	<i>Zino papapa zinowé</i> [untranslated]
Negru tribi k'a lanta ku Blanku	The insolent Negro who stood up against the Whites
Zino papapa zinowé	<i>Zino papapa zinowé</i>
Tula tribí ku traha papa	The insolent Tula who made porridge out of mud
Zino papapa zinowé	<i>Zino papapa zinowé</i>
Tula tribí ta hala lechi	The insolent Tula who churns milk.
	(Brenneker, 1985: 7) ⁵

The fact that I was able to record this song in the 1980s while Brenneker and Juliana had collected it 30 years earlier from consultants who were older than mine shows that this song must have been quite commonly sung, was passed on from generation to generation, and apparently remained meaningful to successive singers and audiences. In addition, the fact that Brenneker and Juliana's consultant was from Banda 'Bou (the western part of the island where the revolt occurred), whereas my informant lived in Banda 'Riba (the eastern part of the island), shows that the song had become geographically dispersed. One explanation for the slight differences between the two versions of the song might be the fact that geography (location, dispersal and distance) informs the meaning of events and influences the manner in which events are remembered and transmitted with more or fewer details. Given the magnitude and intensity of the 1795 slave revolt and the fear of new rebellions that remained long afterwards in Curaçao's slavery-based society, it is not difficult to understand that this event remained in the memories of people and was transmitted across many generations through their oral traditions. It underscores the conclusion by Alan Lomax and John Halifax in the article "Folk songs texts as culture indicators" (1971) that for songs to be able to become part of oral tradition, the lyrics must deal with significant issues, attitudes, concerns and feelings of the community.

Songs about July 1 (Abolition of Slavery Day)

Another historic event of which oral traditions are able to provide an insider's view is the abolition of slavery in the Dutch Caribbean on July 1, 1863. Several songs attest to the significance of this event. Written documents have shown that the enslaved people anticipated freedom well before 1863 and gradually grew more anxious and impatient as the colonial administration dragged its heels. This anxiety is embodied in several traditional songs which I have been able to gather from oral tradition. It appears that the enslaved workers sang the following songs because of their discontent about having to wait for so long for abolition to finally be declared in the Dutch Caribbean.

⁵ See also: Zikinzá-collection, no. 123.

My consultant, a woman born in 1916, whose father's mother sang the following song while doing her daily chores, explained that the enslaved felt betrayed by King William III, the monarch of the Netherlands at that time, who presumably had promised them freedom, which time and time again failed to materialize. In this song, the role of William III in the abolition of slavery is not taken for granted. It expresses feelings of anxiety and anger as freedom was being withheld. The song, which forms part of the Curaçaoan oral tradition, shows that abolition was a matter of concern long before it became a reality on 1 July 1863.

Biba biba biba biba Wilmu Dèrdu	Long live, long live William the Third
Biba biba biba biba Wilmu Dèrdu	Long live, long live William the Third
Ma parse Wilmu Dèrdu	But it seems, William the Third
Bo tin idea di frega nos	You are thinking of screwing us
Ma pa bo frega nos	But instead of screwing us
Bo bai frega bo mama. ⁶	Go screw your mother

Juliana and Brenneker collected the following similar song from their consultant, Virginia (Ma Djini) Meulens, in the 1960s. Ma Djini, who lived in Otrabanda, was born in 1869, six years after the abolition of slavery in the Dutch Caribbean.

Ta ki ora Rei ta bini	When is the King coming
Ki ora Rei ta manda libertat	When is the King sending freedom
Rei ta pompa	The King is jerking around
Rei ta pompa	The King is jerking around
Rei bai pompa rei su mama. ⁷	Let the King go jerk around his mother

The following song, sung by Mervelita Comenencia, who was born in 1903, expresses similar feelings but is formulated more as a demand.

Libertat, galité	Freedom, equality
Lareina Viktoria	Queen Victoria
Manda e kos pa nos!	Send the thing to us!
Libertat, galité	Freedom, equality
Lareina Viktoria	Queen Victoria
Manda e kos pa nos!	Send the thing to us!
Libertat, galité	Freedom, equality

⁶ Interview with a woman born in 1916 (she did not want her name stated), Rose Mary Allen, March 2001 (private collection)

⁷ Interview Virginia Meulens (born 1869 in Otrabanda), Brenneker/Juliana, 1959 (Zikinzá-collection, T 440, NatAr).

Willem de Derde
Manda e kos pa nos!⁸

William the Third
Send the thing to us!

In this song, the name of Queen Victoria of England appears. Slavery had been abolished in the British colonies in 1833, and the formerly enslaved people there considered Queen Victoria to be the person responsible for their freedom. In Jamaica, she was therefore called ‘Queen Free’ (Lewin, 1984: 18). Queen Victoria is also mentioned in the following variant of this song. Martina Felipe, whom I interviewed in 1983, was born in 1893 and remembered her grandmother singing it.⁹ According to Felipe, freedom was given to the Curaçaoan enslaved workers after people had denounced the atrocities of slavery to the authorities in the Netherlands. This shows recognition of a ruling power higher than the local colonial government. For some reason, Felipe assumed that Queen Victoria was the wife of King William III.¹⁰ Naming Queen Victoria in songs related to freedom in Curaçao may be an indication that the local enslaved knew that their counterparts in the British colonies had already gained freedom under the reign of Queen Victoria. It could be interpreted as a request to this Queen to set the enslaved in the Dutch colonies free in the same manner. A demanding tone is once again manifested:

Libertat, galité	Freedom, equality
La reina Viktoria	Queen Victoria
A manda e kos	Sent the thing
La reina Viktoria	Queen Victoria
A manda e ko’	Sent
Libertat, galité. ¹¹	the thing
	Freedom, equality.

The words ‘*libertat*’ and ‘*galité*’ (the latter derived from the French ‘*égalité*’), both a legacy of the French Revolution, were rekindled by the formerly enslaved people after abolition of slavery to express joy about their newly found freedom. In a sense, it reflects their understanding that freedom is an important condition for equality (Brenneker, 1970: 1770).

Brenneker and Juliana collected at least 5 variants of the following song:¹²

⁸ Interview Mervelita Comenencia (born 1903), Brenneker/Juliana, 1959 (Zikinzá-collection, T 611, NatAr).

⁹ Interview Martina Felipe (born 1893), Allen, 13-1-1983 (NatAr).

¹⁰ See also interview Henriqueta Garcia (born 1898), Brenneker/Juliana, June 1980 (Zikinzá-collection, T 75, NatAr), in which the woman relates how Emancipation in the Dutch Caribbean was due to the intervention of Queen Victoria, the mother of Wilhelmina.

¹¹ Interview Martina Felipa (born 1893, Rose Mary Allen 13 January 1983

¹² Interview with Lucia Hato (born 1886), 1959 (T 881); Cai Maduro (date of birth not registered), 1958 (T 705); Herman Peloso (born 1882), 1959 (Brenneker/Juliana, T 721, Zikinzá-collection, NatAr).

Awo' n'tin shon Henri,	Now there is no Master Henry anymore
N'tin shon de Palm	No Master De Palm either
N'tin nada mas	There is nothing more
Awo' nos tur ta un	We are all one now
Awo' nos tur ta un	We are all one now
Awo' djaka lo laba tayó	Now rats will do the dishes
Awo' djaka lo frega kuchu	Now rats will clean the knives
Awo' djaka lo bari fogon	Now rats will sweep the oven
Kaiman djuku, djuku kaiman	No more submission, submission no more.
	(in Martinus, 1997: 258)

The first two lines call out the names of former slave-owners to emphasize that everyone is equal now. This is reconfirmed in the sentence *Awo' nos tur ta un*. (We are all one now). The embodiment of equality is also clearly expressed in the final sentence, *Kaiman djuku, djuku kaiman*, which is actually not in Papiamentu but in the related, but now extinct Curaçaoan secret language called Guene. Martinus (1997: 258), who analyzed Guene in juxtaposition to Capeverdian Creole, posits that the last sentence of the song is equivalent to the Portuguese '*Não mais jugo, jugo não mais*', meaning: no more subjugation.¹³

A similar song exists on the neighboring Dutch Caribbean island of Bonaire. W. de Barbanson, the priest of the Rincon parish, collected and documented it in 1934 in the article '*Simadan*' that appeared in the Catholic magazine *Dominicus Penning*. In the past, Bonaire was used as a settlement for the enslaved who had been convicted of crimes and had close ties to the island of Curaçao. De Barbanson categorized this song variant as a children's song, as he mistakenly understood *kaiman* to mean alligator, and according to him, Bonaire did not have alligators. This song variant mentions work performed by enslaved people and asks who will continue to do this work when subjugation (*djuku*) comes to an end. The variant documented by de Barbanson goes as follows:

Kaiman djuku, djuku kaiman	<i>Kaiman djuku, djuku kaiman</i> [untranslated]
Ta ken lo laba tayó	Who will wash the dishes
Kaiman djuku, djuku kaiman	<i>Kaiman djuku, djuku kaiman</i>
Ta pushi lo laba tayó	The cat will wash the dishes
Kaiman djuku, djuku kaiman	<i>Kaiman djuku, djuku kaiman</i>
Ta ken lo peña kabei	Who will comb hair
Kaiman djuku, djuku kaiman	<i>Kaiman djuku djuku kaiman</i>
Ta pushi ta peña kabei	The cat will comb hair

¹³ 'Ka' in Capeverdian Creole signifies a negation, while 'mais' means 'more'. 'djuku', comparable to 'jugo' in Portuguese, means subjugation. '*Kaiman djuku, djuku kaiman*' then translates as "no more subjugation, subjugation no more" (Martinus 1997: 258).

In one of the other songs about freedom collected by Brenneker and Juliana from Ma Djini, this idea is again stressed.¹⁴ It also contains some humor or sarcasm, saying that rats will do the dishes from now on.

Awor ku katibu a kaba, n'tin kat-
ibu mas. Awor ku libertat a bini,
awor mi no ta laba tayó. Awor ta
djaka ta laba tayó [laughter].

Now that slavery has ended, there are
no slaves anymore. Now that freedom
has come, I don't wash dishes any-
more. Rats will do the dishes now
[laughter].

'No more punishment/subservience' is a recurrent theme in traditional songs about freedom, as the following example sung by Ma Djini demonstrates, which specifically juxtaposes freedom with enslavement.

Kaiman djuku

Djuku kaiman

Mi n'ta laba tayó

Mi n' ta laba kònchi mas

Mi n' ta bari kas mas

Mi no ta katibu di shon mas.¹⁵

No more subjugation

Subjugation no more

I am not doing the dishes

I am not washing any bowls anymore

I am not sweeping the house anymore

I am not the master's slave anymore.

Several variants of this song have been collected over the years. The above variant is the oldest recorded version of the song and was also sung to Brenneker in 1958 by a woman called Ma Chichi who was 106 years old at the time.¹⁶ She was 10 when the enslaved people in the Dutch Caribbean gained their freedom.

This song is of the *tambú* genre, and the choice for *tambú* represents a manifestation of autonomy, as the singers could now express themselves freely in a musical genre that was previously prohibited by both state and church. These songs express joy regarding the end of physical punishments for the slightest transgression, and the fact that freedom embodied the hope of being able to choose the work, and indeed the life, that the formerly enslaved workers desired. Below can be found another variant:

¹⁴ On the day of freedom, Virginia Meulens' (Ma Djini's) mother was not enslaved and was living in town. Ma Djini strongly emphasized the free status of her mother during the interview, thus showing that she wanted to disassociate herself from enslavement. The fact, however, that her mother could remember two of these songs may indicate some ties with recently freed people. Interview: Virginia Meulens (born 1869 in Otrobanda), Brenneker/Juliana 1959 (Zikinzá-collection, T 440, NatAr).

¹⁵ Interview Virginia (Ma Djini) Meulens (born 1869 in Otrobanda), Brenneker/Juliana 1959 (Zikinzá-collection, T 440, NatAr).

¹⁶ Interview Ma Chichi (born 1853), Brenneker/Juliana, 1958 (Zikinzá-collection, T 607, NatAr).

Libertat galité	Freedom, equality
Mi shon n' por bistimi heru mas	My master won't put iron bars on me any-more
Libertat galité	Freedom, equality
Mi shon n' por bistimi heru mas	My master won't put iron bars on me any-more
Libertat galité	Freedom, equality
Shon n'por suta katibu mas	The master cannot beat slaves anymore
Libertat galité	Freedom, equality
Shon n'por suta katibu mas	The master cannot beat slaves anymore
Libertat galité	Freedom, equality
Shon muhé mes lo laba tayó	The mistress herself will do the dishes
Libertat galité	Freedom, equality
Shon hòmbèr mes lo laba koprà. ¹⁷	The master himself will wash his chamber pot.

The following is yet another variant:

Libertat galité	Freedom, equality
Shon muhé mes lo laba tayó	The mistress herself will do the dishes
Libertat galité	Freedom, equality
Pushi mes lo laba tayó	Even the cat will wash the dishes now
Libertat galité	Freedom, equality
Shon hòmbèr mes lo laba koprà. ¹⁸	The master himself will wash his chamber pot.

In general, this song vents anger at what occurred during slavery and articulates aspirations regarding a new life in freedom. It reveals the trauma of the enslaved, including the physical reality of being chained in irons and being beaten. Dependence during slavery is contrasted with independence after slavery. The last verse of most of the variants ends with the conviction that, with freedom, one of the most humiliating tasks of the enslaved, i.e., washing the master's chamber pot, would come to an end.

As in the case of the song about the 1795 slave revolt, the existence of several variants of songs about abolition, gathered from consultants of different ages who were

¹⁷ Interviews: Pa Allee (born 1899), Brenneker/Juliana, 1958 (T 606); Marvelita Comenencia (born 1903), Brenneker/Juliana, 1959 (Zikinzá-collection, T 611, NatAr). See also Robertico (Lai) Felicia (born 1900), Brenneker/Juliana, 6-11-1986 (T 120, Fundashon Biblioteka Públiko Kòrsou) and Rosalia, 1997: 101.

¹⁸ Interview Cola Susana (born 1915), project Etnomusicologie/Allen and Gansemans, 15-5-1983, Natar.

geographically dispersed across the island, can be an indication of how intensely a large segment of the Curaçaoan population experienced this second landmark event. In both cases—the 1795 slave revolt and emancipation—the songs add depth to our understanding of the impact that those events had on peoples’ ideas, feelings and lives.

Final remarks

In the previous paragraphs I have given two sets of examples of how oral traditions provide a framework for better understanding historical events. The songs (and their variants) which are related to two important historic events in Curaçao—the slave revolt of 1795 and the abolition of slavery in 1863—demonstrate that orality has played a central and continuous role in retaining memory on the island. Traditional songs and other oral traditions allow us to see history from a non-hegemonic perspective—a history which includes feelings, emotions, attitudes and values. They show us how people perceived the world, understood the relationships amongst themselves, and envisioned goals to be pursued and actions to be carried out.

Such oral data can be viewed as community repositories or archives that provide a window toward examining the ways in which people define and value themselves as subjects, agents, owners of their own identities, shapers of historical events and creators of their own historical records. Oral data literally and figuratively give voice to those who have been excluded from dominant historiography. They help create a ‘community of records’: a type of ‘mirror’ in which past events and performance reflect one another in constituting the collective memory of the community.

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NÉGRITUDE, BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE FRENCH AND DUTCH CARIBBEAN

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Abstract

Aimé Césaire, Léon Damas, and Léopold Senghor are widely accepted as founding fathers of the artistic and philosophical movement of the 1930s known as *Négritude*. They were not alone in establishing this black consciousness ideology. Three women, Suzanne Rossi-Césaire, Jane Nardal and her sister Paulette Nardal also participated in founding the *Négritude* Movement. Their works had been largely overlooked until T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting's critical study in 2002. Contributions of black Francophone intellectuals developed alongside, influenced, and were impacted by the New Negro Movement. These movements marked an awakening of black consciousness on a wide scale. This article examines how and in what ways the women of *Négritude* affected black consciousness in the ABC islands.

Key terms: Suzanne Roussy-Césaire, Jane Nardal, Paulette Nardal, *Négritude*, black consciousness, Dutch Caribbean literature

Sylvia Wynter (2003: 283) contends that the artistic and philosophical movement of the 1930s known as *Négritude* was plagued by the “overrepresentation of man” (i.e. those gendered as male) as the epitome of humanity. Widely acknowledged as the founders of *Négritude*, Aimé Césaire, Léon Damas and Léopold Senghor cannot be said to be the sole progenitors of the movement. As with most parturition, women were involved. This article examines the contributions of three women, Paulette Nardal, her sister Jeanne (“Jane”) Nardal and Suzanne Roussy-Césaire, whose works had been largely overlooked until T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting's first critical study was published in 2002. It is my contention that these women introduced and nurtured the concept of black/Afro identity, pride, and gender consciousness before the moniker identifying

their ideas was established. They laid the foundation that later generations used, rejected, modified, or ignored.

Négritude was cultural because it was a literary movement and political because the adoption of black identities for those in the African Diaspora was neither politic nor politically expedient. The contributions to the *Négritude* movement by black Francophone intellectuals developed alongside, influenced, and were influenced by the work of the Anglophone writers and artists of the New Negro Movement, and the resulting cross fertilization is well documented in the works of both groups. These movements marked an awakening of black consciousness, at least on a large scale. What is less well known is how and in what ways the ideas of the women of *Négritude* affect the ABC Islands. Considering today's conceptualization of gender and identity, women's contributions from the last century are especially relevant.

From Martinique to Paris

Clearly the Nardal sisters were privileged members of the Antillean upper classes, receiving a higher education at French Universities when the average person in Martinique might only have completed secondary school. Paulette Nardal, the oldest of the sisters, was one of the first two black students from Martinique to enroll at the Sorbonne in 1920. Her sister Jane was the other. The idea of *Négritude* or black consciousness emerged in the thought and words of these Martinican women before it was articulated by the three men credited for it. How that came about is ironic, but also emblematic of a situation that black women still confront today. In Paris, the women found themselves isolated and lonely, whereas their male counterparts were busy forming relationships with white French women. Relationships with white men were not possible for these upper-class women of color because such men were rarely well intentioned, and liaisons that did not lead to marriage and respectability were taboo. These women observed how the Antillean men occupied themselves with white women of much lower socioeconomic class in Paris, which would not have been acceptable on Martinique (Sharpley-Whiting, 2002: 77).

Thus, while men were busy fraternizing in the metropole the women focused internally. They began to recognize and to celebrate who they were as black women, and to acknowledge the greatness of their heritage, claiming pride in African civilizations. Paulette Nardal chronicles the evolution of this consciousness among black women in an interview with Eslanda Goode Robeson in the 1936 essay "Black Paris" (see West, 1907-1998). While the term was not yet coined, Nardal describes the intersectionality of race, sex, and class for black women. Even up until the present, her racially gendered consciousness has yet to find full expression in the islands. Robert P. Smith, Jr. in "Black Like That: Paulette Nardal and the *Négritude* Salon" (2001), declares "Paulette Nardal was indeed the incontestable Godmother of *Négritude*" (68), and Joseph Zobel,

colleague of Amié Césaire and author of *La Rue Cases-Nègres*, claimed the Nardal sisters were *Négritude* in action (Smith, 2001: 53).

Partly because of class differences that produced a distinct elitism in Paulette Nardal's philosophy, it was not embraced by the masses. Her ideas concerning race were also at odds with many in her own class. Except for the men recognized as the fathers of *Négritude*, many Antillean writers avoided the subject of race. They seemed more concerned with becoming French. Sharpley-Whiting (2002) summarizes the situation when she writes:

The idea that there was a future in blackness, a 'future of the race,' and that there was a particular lived experience of blackness that could somehow inspire feelings of transracial solidarity and a race literature was beyond the comprehension of Antillean writers. Race might exist, blackness might exist, but it was not accorded a crucial role in the formation of an Antillean identity or a grand place in the scheme of Antillean letters. (75)

Calmart, the Nardal sisters' literary salon, later referred to as 'the *Négritude* Salon,' was hosted by Paulette and her sister Jane, and included women, men, blacks and whites, Africans, and Americans (Smith, 2001: 53). Thus, there was a cross pollination of ideas. This group was all-inclusive whereas other groups established by whites excluded black women (Sharpley-Whiting, 2002: 53). This salon, along with the journal *La Revue du monde noir* edited by Paulette Nardal (1931-1932), voiced the concerns of Antillean women students in Paris. While *L'Étudiant noir* (1935) a pan-African journal voicing the concerns of students of African descent in Paris also appeared around the same time, it only published the writings of one woman, Paulette Nardal. Women were promoting the need for racial solidarity.

These women's desire for community and their feelings of uprootedness was according to Paulette Nardal, "the starting point of their evolution" (Sharpley-Whiting, 2002: 78). Paulette Nardal called on Antilleans to embrace their blackness. Three students heeded her call. They were Amié Césaire, who began to write about southern African American literature, Léon Damas, who turned his attention to African survivals in the Antilles, and Leopold Senghor, who shifted his focus from the poetry of Baudelaire to research in African ethnography and linguistics (Vaillant, 1990: 98). Paulette Nardal's 1932 essays, "*L'Éveil de la conscience de race chez les étudiants noir*," and "*Légitime défense*," accused West Indian literature of being imitative and inauthentic. Inspired by Alain Locke's "New Negro" (1925), she considered the African American focus on black folk and folklore to be much more authentic in comparison.

Jane Nardal was one of the founding members of *La Dépêche Africaine* (1928-1932), the bimonthly newspaper of the Committee for the Defense of the Interest of the Black Race. It was one of the most widely read black newspapers of the time (Boittin, 2005: 122). A philosopher, who focused more on politics than her sister, who focused on the

literary, Jane is credited with introducing the term *Internationalisme noir* (Black internationalism), the title of one of two groundbreaking essays that she published in the newspaper. This 1928 essay discussed the awakening of race consciousness among blacks in the diaspora. Her idea was captured by Aimé Césaire when he coined the term *Négritude* in 1939. In 1928 Jane also published the essay “*Pantins exotiques*” (Exotic puppets). In this essay she attacked French objectification and fetishizing of Black women’s bodies, a tradition with a sordid history, including the 1814 display at Palais Royal of Saartjie Baartman. She introduced the idea of a global Black community and embraced all the various aspects of her own ethnic heritage.

From Paris back to Martinique

Jane Nardal left Paris in 1929. Returning to Martinique she held a conference on black music, including the Blues of blacks in the United States. She taught Classics in Martinique as well as in Chad, and in 1931 she married but continued her interest in politics. As a result of her political activities, someone firebombed her home in 1956, which destroyed much of her writing and letters from Paulette. She eventually withdrew from politics as she lost her eyesight. Jane Nardal died in 1993.

With WWII on the horizon, in 1937 those Antilleans still in Paris returned to Martinique. Two years later Aimé Césaire’s *Cahier d’un retour au pays natal* (1939) appeared. This work articulated the race-conscious discontentment of the black intelligentsia returning to an island in dire poverty resulting from colonialism. Suzanne Roussi and Aimé Césaire had married before returning home. Together with René Ménil they founded *Tropiques* (1941-1945) a cultural review intended to revitalize the literature of Martinique. Embracing both race consciousness and surrealism, Suzanne Césaire critiqued West Indian writers, saying their writing was literary tourism and that it lacked “the Negro soul” (“*Misère d’une poésie: John Antoine-Nau*” quoted in Sharpley-Whiting, 2002: 82). In her last essay, “*Le grand camouflage*” (1945) she denounced the West Indian “who cannot accept his Négritude” (Sharpley-Whiting, 2002: 86). Not only was the general population of African descended people unwilling to accept the black pride of *Négritude*, but whites objected as well. In 1943, their response to *Tropiques* condemned the editors’ black pride calling them “Racist, sectarians, revolutionaries, ingrates and traitors to the fatherland, poisoners of minds” (Sharpley-Whiting, 2002: 128). Such paternalistic racism on the part of whites in France was not surprising. The editors’ response to this criticism were *mots justes*, which robustly defended their position and amply demonstrated why it was appropriate.

Nevertheless, their forthright response led to the journal’s demise.

Suzanne Césaire, wife of a famous poet and mother of six children, was a politically astute feminist who managed to write seven essays before going silent. These writings of dissent date from 1941 to 1945. It is not clear why she stopped writing. Her essays, however, reveal what Keith Walker, her translator, calls a “dissident consciousness”

(2012: 39). He also says that “The Great Camouflage” articulates her own pedagogy of the oppressed (39). She urges self-awareness, self-knowledge, and clear vision regarding touristic descriptions of her island and the wider Caribbean. She warns that unless Antilleans see themselves and others clearly “the great game of hide-and-seek has succeeded” (Walker, 2012: 46), her final written words in *Tropiques*. In 1963, Suzanne divorced her husband of twenty-five years and returned to France where she died at age 50 of a brain tumor.

Négritude did not become a populist movement in the Caribbean as the Black Power Movement came to be. Instead, it remained the purview of university educated intellectuals. Possibly recognizing the gap between theory and practice, once Nardal returned to Martinique her focus shifted to feminism. In her essays from *La Femme dans la Cité*, the journal that she published from 1945-1951, which were later published in English in *Beyond Negritude: Essays from woman in the city* (2009 [1946-1951]), Paulette Nardal urged the women of her class to take up social issues. She focused on the elite and urged the educated to uplift the masses much in the way that W.E.B. Du Bois conceived of the Talented Tenth. It was not until 1944 that women in Martinique could vote and too many women were apathetic regarding the execution of their rights. Nardal established the Women’s Assembly and declared that abstention from voting was a crime. She accused women and girl students of being intellectually lazy. Her organization pushed for the kind of education that would make young women see themselves as citizens of the world, beyond the island and beyond France. She never wavered in her advocacy for black solidarity and race pride.

Of the three women, Paulette Nardal was the only one who never married. In 1966 at the First World Festival of Black Arts, Léopold Sédar Senghor conferred the *Commandeur de l’Ordre National du Sénégal*, his nation’s highest honor, upon Paulette Nardal, finally recognizing her contribution to *Négritude* and her embrace of Africa. She received other honors for her work on Martinique with women, young people, and through the Catholic church. Paulette Nardal died in 1985, leaving a legacy both for feminists and for those with black consciousness to emulate.

The Dutch Caribbean

Négritude, although a literary movement, laid the foundation for more popular movements of black consciousness and identity. In the context of colonialism and oppression, black consciousness and black identity were political and revolutionary. In the African diaspora there have been many inconsistencies and contradictions. At first glance, one might assume that the Francophone proponents of *Négritude* were more revolutionary than their counterparts on the neighboring Dutch Caribbean ABC islands. However, education and class disrupted the full embrace of blackness by those in Martinique, including some of its staunch proponents. A glaring example is the use of language. The insistence by the proponents of *Négritude* on speaking Standard French

as opposed to Afro-Caribbean French lexifier Creole is ironic, when Creole is the first language and daily means of communication of the overwhelming majority of the people of the French Antilles. On the ABC islands, especially in Curaçao, the use of Papiamentu instead of Dutch by activists speaks volumes about affirmation of identity and cultural consciousness. Here again, however, we encounter a contradiction, since cultural consciousness is not exactly the same as racial consciousness. In contrast to the French islands, on the ABC islands ethnicity and national identity appear to be of utmost importance, perhaps because they have more diversity, fluidity, and mobility than do the French islands. This might account for a relative lack of racialized identities on the ABC islands when compared to an island like Martinique.

However, the concept of *Yu di Kòrsou* ('daughter/son/child of Curaçao') reflects some of the same sentiments as those expressed in black consciousness movements elsewhere, including those of the proponents of *Négritude*. According to A.F. Paula only the descendants of Africa are *Yu di Kòrsou* (in Allen, 2012: 37). Paula's idea is complicated by what he identifies as *makamba pretu* [black Dutchmen/women]. These people prefer to speak Dutch, as the members of the *Négritude* movement preferred to speak Standard French. In the U.S. a *makamba pretu* would be called an 'oreo,' someone black outside and white inside. René Rosalia's statement that Curaçao's national identity is essentially rooted in Afro-Curaçaoan culture suggests that black consciousness is indeed an important element in identificational repertoires on the island (in Allen, 2012: 37). Language is an adhesive for culture and identity. On islands where the local creole language is embraced, it seems that the people have done as Langston Hughes suggested in the poem, "To You," (1994: 48): they have "made their world anew."

In the end, globalization may account for more fluid and flexible cultural identities. However, it is doubtful that globalization will do much for racial identities, despite overwhelming evidence that race is itself is an artificially constructed system that has a devastating impact on peoples' lives in the Caribbean and throughout the African diaspora.

The issues that confronted the women of *Négritude* a century ago are still very much present today. Rose Mary Allen's (2012) reflections echo those of the Nardal sisters when she observes that in the wake of transnational migration:

Race and ethnicity also determine attitude towards women, who increasingly participate in intra-Caribbean migration movements. The relationship between male islanders and female immigrants from Latin America, who tend to be seen as more attractive because of their lighter skin color and physical features, have always been a subject of discussion. (Allen, 2012; 39-40)

This very same problem prompted the women who gave birth to the *Négritude* movement, abandoned by male Antilleans, objectified by white Frenchmen and

stigmatized by French society in Paris in the early 1920s, to call for racial solidarity, thus not only laying the foundation for *Négritude* but also for women's liberation.

In the ABC islands the issue of *Négritude* is complicated, perhaps more than it was in Martinique. Issues of identity are many, and include identity deficit, political identities, cultural identities, ethnic identities, and racial identities. Racial identities promoted in the philosophy of *Négritude* encompasses cultural, ethnic and, in some respects, political selfhood. For African descended people in the diaspora, to embrace one's blackness is a political act that challenges those who would rather be apolitical.

One thing seems clear, a critical mass of African descended people need to be present in a population for resistance to oppression and solidarity to occur, which may help explain the differences between Aruba and Curaçao. The 2000 meeting of the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related forms of Intolerance gave rise to the Afro-Latin American and Caribbean Strategic Alliance. At the meeting Carlos Agudelo stated, "in the island nations of the Caribbean, where there is a majority Afro-descendent population, racial problems and those linked with identity have specific historical and contemporary characteristics" (2014: 77). The history of enslavement is one of these shared characteristics and discrimination, whether based on race or color, is another.

Curaçao more than Aruba or Bonaire, has been situated discursively within the context of black power, which shares some features with *Négritude*, but is more grass roots in origin. In "Black Power, Popular Revolt, and Decolonization in the Dutch Caribbean," Gert Oostindie (2014) refers to Curaçao's May 1969 uprising as having been primarily motivated by economics, and claims that race was not discussed much in political debates. However, in his description of black power, Oostindie describes black identity during the black power movement as radical not only to the extent that it was based on African hairdos, clothing, and music, but also because black people had the audacity to talk about slavery and slave revolts, and to attack white racism (2014: 247). Cege Githiora (2014) also claims "race was never an issue" (242) in the May 1969 uprising. However, he admits that the people were shouting "Death to the Whites/Dutch" (242), which contradicts his statement. Perhaps the Dutch like the French colonizers think that the people whom they have oppressed should assimilate and thank them for the privilege to do so. Many have argued that assimilation is cultural suicide. The people's slogan in May 1969 was "We will teach them to respect us" (Githiora, 2014: 242). The use of us in this case seems to indicate group identity and solidarity.

According to Emma Howell (2012), "The Caribbean world recognizes [...] Negritude as a first step in the construction and enunciation of a Caribbean identity" (115). The initiatives, publications and organizations pioneered by Paulette Nardal in the early 20th century seem to have borne fruit for women in the late 20th century as well, but it is as yet unclear to what extent the ABC islands were affected. Sonia Cuares (1998) observes, "The history of class, race and gender relations is largely under researched for the Dutch

Antilles” (86). She elaborates, “The Netherland-Antilles have a distinct character within the region. They are not always viewed as part of the Caribbean, possibly because of the long-standing link with Holland. The islands and peoples are considered Dutch in appearance, behavior and thinking” (86). That said, she also concedes that many people see themselves as Antillean and Caribbean. This postulated comparative lack of racial consciousness might be attributed to the way in which slavery developed in the Dutch islands. There was no large plantation economy, and many were enslaved inside households, where they were vulnerable to sexual abuse. This resulted in the creation of blood relationships with European descended people, which were perhaps more often acknowledged by the colonial authorities than on the plantation.

While all of this might account to some extent for a seeming lack of Afro-Caribbean identity in Curaçao, it is also possible that the concept of *Négritude* and black consciousness are present, but not voiced and articulated in the same way as they are elsewhere in the Caribbean. Joceline Clemencia, an Afro-Curaçaoan feminist who pushed for independence and for making Papiamentu an official language of the island, stated that the people of Curaçao, the ABC island with the largest black population, have been shaped by a culture of silence (Ansano, Clemencia, Cook & Martis, 1992: 7). Her observation coincides with Oostindie’s statement about race not being a topic of discussion in the uprising of May, 1969. That fact that there is so much uncertainty as to what extent *Négritude* and the feminist initiatives of the *Négritude* women affected the Caribbean in general and the ABC islands in particular, makes it clear that there is much more scholarly work to be done on such pivotal figures as Paulette Nardal, Jane Nardal and Suzanne Roussi-Césaire. It also means that there is much more community work to be done to move beyond the identity complex described so astutely by Frantz Fanon in *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952) and to achieve the black solidarity that the three women of *Négritude* imagined a century ago.

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CARNIVAL, CULTURAL RESILIENCE AND COVID-19 IN THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

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Abstract

This article takes a look at the ways in which Carnival cultures in the Dutch Caribbean and Trinidad and Tobago have grappled with issues of power, disempowerment and empowerment during the COVID-19 pandemic. In many ways, COVID 19 has brought with it several forms of disempowerment, such as restrictions on human contact, crowd size, live cultural events, movement, work, study and travel. In a number of Caribbean communities, however, the grueling effects of the pandemic have not been able to stymie the creative genius of cultural expression. Instead, the concept of Carnival has in many cases been re-imagined and re-engineered to create new Caribbean spaces of cultural resilience.

Key terms: Carnival, COVID-19, Dutch Caribbean, Trinidad and Tobago, resilience

Carnival and COVID-19 in the Caribbean

The overall effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on the Caribbean have perhaps been even more severe in some ways than in much of the rest of the world. As in other regions, lockdowns have forced businesses in all sectors to close their doors. But in the Caribbean, where some islands depend on tourism for up to 90% of their GDP, the vital hospitality sector has been severely affected, with airports closed for long periods, hotel occupancy plummeting, and many restaurants having to close their doors. Musicians and other cultural workers found themselves not only deprived of the lucrative tourist market, but also deprived of the income that they derive from live performances for local people, because of physical distancing restrictions and the general ban on crowds.

The pandemic also exposed the precariousness of employment in the entertainment industry, as most musicians do not have the financial and social security enjoyed by other workers.

Carnival festivities were also negatively impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic. Musicians were hoping that Carnival celebrations would proceed as usual, with some of them even lobbying for public support for their cause via their social media platforms. But, in the end, most of the governments of the region made the decision to cancel all carnival events, citing the risk of even greater levels of active COVID-19 cases and the devastating effect which that would have on an already overburdened healthcare infrastructure. Even the annual Rotterdam *zomercarnaval* [summer carnival] (all translations in this article are by the present authors, unless specified otherwise), which is organized by Dutch Caribbean diaspora in the Netherlands, was canceled.

Despite the cancellation of the traditional official Carnival festivities, there has been no lack of the abundant creativity, imagination and resilience that typifies both Calypso and Carnival in the countless efforts made throughout the region to keep Carnival alive during the pandemic. Even within the constraints of compliance with the COVID-19 prevention protocols, people still found a way to release the spirit of bacchanalia, even if it was via Zoom. For example, prior to the Carnival celebrations on the islands, a spontaneous initiative was spearheaded by French St Martin Calypsonian Andrew Baker Jr. Richardson called the ‘The Baker Jr Calypso Quarantine Challenge.’ This Challenge was a virtual calypso competition, established originally with the aim of educating the public on the importance of mask wearing and proper hygiene during the pandemic. The competition focused on extempo calypso, a style of calypso where lyrics are sung extemporaneously in a competitive exchange between performers, tied to a specific beat, melody and refrain. The Challenge went viral throughout the Caribbean and the diaspora and eventually involved calypsonians of the likes of Brian London, T-Money, Kaiso Brat, Young Spitfire, Heather Macintosh and the Calypso Monarch of Trinidad and Tobago, Terri Lions. Many other calypsonians and non-calypsonians all over the region and beyond also contributed.

Carnival and COVID-19 in the Dutch Caribbean

Aruban artist Valentino King participated in this extempo challenge with a calypso in four languages, utilizing a trans-languaged approach to calypso that is quite common on Aruba. The entire performance can be viewed on Facebook (see King, 2020). We will consider only two verses of the entire piece here. In the first verse, sung in Aruban English lexifier Creole, Valentino King relates the pandemic to biblical prophecy and gives the audience advice about wearing masks and gloves, as well as instructions on how we might solve this problem through prayer:

This covid 19 shift is a stress

People paranoid and it causing death
 Put on you gloves, masks when you sneeze
 To stop contamination of this damn disease
 I think we have to pray and get on we knees
 The Bible speaks of all these prophecies
 So read psalms 91 when you pray
 And pestilence will vanish go way

In the second verse the calypsonian sings in Dutch, making reference to the heated political discussion within the Kingdom of the Netherlands regarding pandemic-related financial support for the Dutch Caribbean from Holland. A considerable amount of political and social tension reverberated throughout the Kingdom as the Dutch government promised COVID-19 relief to the islands, but tied that support to stringent neoliberal and neo-colonial structural adjustment conditions, including the imposition of fiscal reform measures. This led to accusations by many on Curaçao, Saint Martin and Aruba of using the pandemic as a cover for recolonization by the Dutch. In this verse Valentino King highlights the hypocrisy of the regime of Dutch Prime Minister Rutte, who has granted the release of European Union COVID-19 relief funds to Italy and Spain with few strings attached, but at the same time is forcing the Dutch Caribbean to beg for help and to sell their autonomy in the process. He finalizes the verse with a critique of the Dutch and their colonial legacy.

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Lieve Nederland ons moederland
We hebben hulp nodig, in verband
Met de Covid-19 dit is spoed
Rutte, hier op Aruba hebben wij het niet goed
Spanje en Italië hebben hulp gekregen
Maar hier in Aruba moeten wij jou bedelen
In onze hoofd hebben wij geen rust
Alle goud van Aruba willen wij terug
 [Dear Netherlands our mother country
 We need help, related to
 Covid-19 it's an emergency
 Rutte, here in Aruba we are not doing well
 Spain and Italy have received help
 But in Aruba we still have to beg
 in our minds, we don't have peace
 All the gold of Aruba, we want back]

Despite the many challenges posed by the pandemic, the people of the Dutch Caribbean have found creative and resilient ways to express themselves, with interest groups, radio

personalities, music makers and carnival committees trying to imagine alternative ways to celebrate Carnival and other cultural events. For example, while an abortive attempt was made to organize a ‘drive through’ carnival in Curaçao, a virtual Tumba festival was successfully organized and celebrated. The Tumba festival is normally the biggest musical competition on the island during Carnival. The festival had a commemorative theme, as younger participants sang Tumba classics for an online audience. In Aruba, one of the biggest audio companies on the island organized a series of online concerts, inviting the virtual audience to contribute funds to support struggling music makers and entertainers. Via his own Face Book channel, Aruban comedian and media influencer, Tyson the Entertainer performed carnival comedy shows, while Tele Aruba, the national TV station, screened historic videos of carnivals gone by. Similar events took place on other islands as well.

Massive Radio 103.5 FM in San Nicolas, Aruba organized several activities related to Carnival. As much as possible, they tried to preserve the traditional carnival schedule and structure, even with the switch from face-to-face to virtual modality. For example, on the day when the Calypso contest is normally held in Aruba, they invited a panel of experts and aficionados to their studios to reflect on the calypso and soca music that has been performed throughout the history of Carnival on the island. Massive Radio also organized a virtual *jouvert* morning, complete with DJs in the studio in the early hours of the morning hyping up the virtual crowds who were at home or in their yards in front of their cameras. The audience was dressed in their traditional *jouvert* attire, including nightgowns, head ties, rollers, paint, powder, pots and pans and more. On the days of the grand parades, radio DJs guided listeners through each fantasized spectacle, creating elaborate accounts of how each make-believe parade was progressing, complete with descriptions of costumes, identifications of which carnival groups and music bands were passing in front of them at each moment, and detailed banter concerning which personalities were out and about, impressing the crowds with their performative street theatrics. A similar approach was adopted during the Saint Martin carnival in April 2021.

Carnival and COVID-19 in Trinidad and Tobago

In Trinidad and Tobago, the resilient spirit of Carnival and Calypso has been exemplified by the initiatives undertaken by Kenny Phillips and his KMP Music Group, which includes WACK 90.1 FM Radio, WACK TV, audio company KMP Music Lab, a video company and a video editing company, all backed by a state of the art streaming facility. Heavily invested in the music culture of Trinidad and Tobago, Phillips has been able to attract a cadre of Calypsonians, Soca artistes, Parang performers, Chutney artistes and Gospel performers to his studio to perform live, record, and maintain their financial viability even in the midst of the pandemic.

Trinidad and Tobago is one of the few Caribbean countries where Carnival takes place sufficiently early in the year so that it was actually celebrated in the traditional face-to-face modality in 2020, even though it had to go virtual in 2021. Soon after the celebrations in 2020, however, COVID-19 restrictions were put into place, and Calypsonians and Carnival winners found themselves with few opportunities to perform and make a living. To help remedy this situation, on March 29, 2020, in collaboration with the FundMeTNT.com platform, Phillips and his WACK FM co-host Mr Desmond livestreamed a battle of DJs called ‘Tune for Tune’ to help support the performers. This show was a huge success for a regular Sunday radio programme, amassing some TTD \$11,000 (some USD \$1,600).

Taking advantage of this new opportunity to generate funds for performers during the pandemic, WACK FM has launched a series of livestream concerts on the FundMeTNT.com platform. The format is simple; people see the show for free and pay what they can via the website FundmeTnT.com. Viewers can tune in via YouTube, Facebook, or FundMeTnT.com and enjoy a range of shows featuring all local talent. To date, WACK FM has hosted over 170 shows on the website, grossing over TTD \$1.5 million (over USD \$225,000) 50% of which has gone to local performers, with the other 50% going to WACK FM to cover costs, including space rental, PA system, lighting, camera equipment, camera operators, bandwidth, DJ, set design, etc. These shows have also provided a platform for nostalgia, since most of the patrons are diasporic Trinbagonians residing in North America. That said, these performances have vastly expanded the opportunities for citizens of Trinidad and Tobago to experience Calypso, Soca, Parang, Chutney, Soca and Steelpan culture in cyberspace. The result has been a win-win situation, in which performers have received funding for their work during the pandemic, while the subscriber base of WACK FM has risen from some 8,000 to some 16,000 people.

During Carnival of 2021, WACK FM launched the virtual ‘The New Calypso Tent Series’ in collaboration with the Trinbago Unified Calypsonians’ Organisation (TUCO). The series featured a number of successful shows including: Showcase Productions from TUCO South Zone (January 22); Kaiso Karavan, from TUCO East Zone (January 22); Calypso Revue (January 23, 29, and February 3); Klassic Russo – North Zone (January 28), and Kaiso House – Mother of all Tents (January 27 and February 4). This brand new virtual approach took the Calypso Tent to the people and created an opportunity for the re-emergence and the re-insertion of the Calypso artform into the COVID-19 restricted lives of people of Trinidad and Tobago and its diaspora.

The COVID-19 pandemic and its restrictions have proven to be no match for the resilient and resistive spirit of Carnival and Calypso. Veteran Calypsonian Calypso Rose sums this up better than we could ever do in this line from her video, titled “Calypso

Rose: lioness of the jungle” (Obolo et al. 2013, [2011]) in which she declares, “I am like a river overflowing its banks, if you try to stop me, I going to find room to pass”.

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**MASKING, AUTHENTICITY AND INTERSEC-
TIONALITIES IN THE LANGUAGES OF THE
DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND**

FURTHER THOUGHTS ON SURINAME AND THE JAMAICAN MAROON SPIRIT LANGUAGE

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Abstract

Krio, spoken in Africa, and Sranan, spoken in South America, exhibit remarkable, yet unexplained, similarities. It has been proposed that the shared link was a now esoteric variety of Jamaican (MSL) much influenced by Sranan, but which in earlier times was general Jamaican, and which was brought to Sierra Leone by the Maroons from that island in 1800. The present article adds to Hancock (2021) by demonstrating instead that MSL is not Sranan-influenced Jamaican, but a more recent, deliberately-created cryptolect, itself influenced by the Krio taken to Jamaica in the mid-19th century.

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Key terms: Krio; Jamaican; maroons; cryptolect

Introduction

In an early paper (Hancock, 1987), I wrote that the Spirit Language of the Maroons (MSL) who live in three eastern Jamaican communities and which was first documented by Bilby (1983: 277), was “a cryptolectal retention, in part, from the approximately 1,000 slaves who arrived in Jamaica in 1671 and 1675” from Suriname, and added that: features shared by the Suriname creoles and Maroon Spirit Language in Jamaica include, besides considerable lexical and phonological similarities, [a number of] grammatical forms. It did not escape Bilby’s notice that MSL appeared to share a remarkable number of features not only with the Suriname creoles, but with Sierra Leone Krio as well. (277)

In an analysis of the degree of relationship among the English-lexifier Atlantic creoles, Singler (2008) found that “the most dramatic [...] involves Sranan and Krio. There is no evidence of early direct contact between Suriname and Sierra Leone, yet the Sranan-Krio pair is Sranan’s highest and Krio’s second highest score.” (349) In fact there were at least 22 British voyages from Sierra Leone to Dutch Guiana between 1702 and 1821,

and at least 51 Dutch voyages from the Windward Coast to Dutch Guiana between 1722 and 1805 (Eltis et al., 2021). In any case, the ‘discovery’ of MSL appeared to provide the answer: that the two languages share a remarkable number of features could only be explained by Sranan, Ndyuka and Saramaccan feeding into (or even creating) MSL in Jamaica, when their speakers were brought in from Suriname in the 1670s, then MSL’s being brought to Sierra Leone in 1800 with the Maroons from Trelawny and becoming Krio. Bilby (1983) was careful not to claim this outright. On the basis of his findings, he wrote:

it is not possible to arrive at any sort of firm conclusion. While the close relationship of the ‘deep’ creole of the Jamaican Maroons to Krio and the Suriname creoles may have to do primarily with ultimate common ancestry, a more direct, linear connection through time (via the early migration from Suriname to Jamaica, and subsequently from Jamaica to Sierra Leone) cannot be ruled out (61-62).

This latter possibility led to Norval Smith’s analysis of epenthetic vowels in MSL and the Suriname creoles in the following year (1984), elaborated upon in his dissertation (1987: 91-115), in which he maintained that “MSL is, as Bilby suggests, [is] indeed the result of the transportation of slaves from Surinam to Jamaica in the period 1668-1680.” He proposed two possible scenarios for the MSL-Suriname creoles relationship: (a) a West African Pidgin English that yielded both Krio and proto-Sranan, then proto-Sranan developing into the Suriname creoles and MSL, or (b), an Upper Guinea Pidgin English yielding both Krio and Lower Guinea Pidgin English, which in turn fed into Krio and proto-Sranan, which then became the Suriname creoles and MSL.

Smith’s (2017) latest position stated specifically that Krio is “a development of the ‘lost’ language of the Trelawny Maroons of Jamaica ...the Western Maroon Jamaican Creole” (270). This analysis was repeated more cautiously in Yakpo and Smith (2021), which states that “a Maroon variety of Jamaican was transplanted to Freetown, Sierra Leone, in the late 18th century and substantially fed into the emerging Krio language.” (181), where it is acknowledged that a pre-Krio already existed on the Sierra Leone coast—an argument I have been making for the past half-century.

I believe that the impact of the Suriname creoles upon early and still-emerging Jamaican has been greatly over-estimated, and their presumed features in MSL can be otherwise accounted for. I shared Baker’s (1999) skepticism when he wrote:

It is not clear why [Bilby] supposes that the ex-Surinam slaves, forming just 10% of Jamaica’s slave population at the time of their arrival, would have had a particularly important influence upon Jamaica[n]. Although he writes that ‘Jamaica was still a fledgeling English colony in 1671, the colonization of Surinam had begun only four years earlier than Jamaica.’ [Thus] no explanation is offered for why a Creole language would have emerged in one territory in just 20 years, but not in the other in 16 years (344).

Did the slaves brought to Jamaica in the 1600s include speakers of all three Suriname creoles? Supposing that they did, and that they were already distinct from each other at that time² and that each fed into the still-emerging Jamaican, in what proportion was each represented? Did the three Suriname creoles blend into one, once in Jamaica, before feeding into pre-Jamaican? And was that early, undocumented Jamaican a “richer” (i.e., Surinamized) variety, everywhere to become more metropolitanized over time, now only surviving in its unmodified form in the remote and separate (until recently, at least) Eastern Maroon communities?³

Bilby (1983) queries whether the distinctive features of MSL “could have once existed in other parts of the island and over time, as in Moore Town, have disappeared from normal speech” (68, note 30). It has been suggested more explicitly that MSL may in fact be the remnant of that hypothesized, once more-widespread creole, representing what Jamaican *used* to be and what was spoken until at least 1796 throughout the whole country (Lalla & D’Costa, 1990: 122), subsequently being brought to Sierra Leone.

The relationship between the Eastern and the Western Maroons was not always harmonious. In 1735:

a group of about 300 ‘Windward’ Maroons tried to join the ‘Leeward’ Maroons after a dramatic march [of over 100 miles] across the island. Then leader of the Leeward Maroons refused politely but adamantly to take them in and sent them back after a few months. His reasons were: the area could not support any more people; he was afraid that the conduct of the newcomers would provoke attacks from the whites and that his own position of authority would be undermined (De Groot, 1984: 76).

In Hancock (2021), I argued that while there are intriguing similarities between the Suriname creoles and MSL, a better case may be made by taking into account the fact that MSL has all the characteristics of a deliberately-constructed “secret” register—a *cryptotlect*, derived in large part from Sierra Leone Krio, carried to Jamaica with the Krio-speaking Sierra Leonean Maroons from West Africa in the mid-19th century. To the points raised in that paper, I add below the following further considerations. Firstly, there is *no* evidence that MSL was ever spoken by the *Western* Maroons, and it was *they* who arrived in Freetown in 1800. Since we only learnt about its existence in Bilby’s 1983 essay, we have nothing to show that it was spoken in 1796 when they left Jamaica, that it was spoken in Nova Scotia for four years, or that they arrived in Freetown in 1800 speaking it, or that it was the common Jamaican language at that time. Secondly, substantial numbers of the descendants of the Western Maroons that came to Sierra Leone in 1800 went to Jamaica (not ‘back’ to Jamaica, since almost all of them were born in Sierra Leone) where they joined—and revitalized—the dwindling Maroon communities in the eastern part of the country. Significantly, they spoke *Krio*, not Jamaican or MSL. Kuczynski (1948: 92) wrote “It seems impossible that [Jamaican-born Maroons] still lived in Freetown 38 years after the insurrection.” The dubious argument

that after four decades in Sierra Leone the African-born Maroons still spoke Jamaican is based on just two words, *matter* vs. *fashion* in Rankin (1836), who added “[t]he difference between the ... Settler *patois* and the Maroon, was so slight and so non-essential that a professor of languages need not have blushed at the mistake” (105-107). A cryptolect called Tut or Tutnese, was mentioned by Maya Angelou in her book *I know why the caged bird sings* (1969: 142) and described by McIlwain (1994, 1995). Supposedly created by slaves secretly learning to read, it identifies each letter of the alphabet with a word. Appendix 3 below contains examples from a number of other, unrelated cryptolects that illustrate the same techniques of encryption as are found in MSL.

To the points raised in my earlier paper, I add below the following further considerations. MSL differs from general Jamaican (JAM) *only* lexically and phonologically. If the modified pronunciations, along with the encrypted vocabulary, including the several items that resemble Sranan are removed from MSL, one is simply left with Bilby’s “normal Jamaican.” This is evident in my Jamaican, Sranan and Krio translations below of a text in MSL provided by Bilby (1983: 72):

MSL version:

Yes, bigi suma, da nyūman ya bin fram big īsho, bin fram abrouni, bot afa im bin a yangkungku pre, grāfa, da man de a manis. grāfa, di nyūman a manis. wi tuk tek na im na wi kaban. grāfa, wi tuk tek na wi kaban tel i about yangkungku sonti, bot grāfa, im a bin bak di taim. im a bin bak frā i uon prandes an i uon kaban. an di man tuajina mi, onti taim in bin bak ... ī wi bin bak kushu toun. so grāfa, in se in wi bin bak. mi no no onti fī, if da man a tel laiis, a im a taak truis, bot wi tek wa in se. if im a tel lais, wen im bin bak wi de go go na in sikin. if in no tel lais, wen in bin bak, wi al se, “wiakwamba, wiakwamba, wiakwamba, denko na mi fremili . . . wiakwamba, wiakwamba, grāfa shukumse.” (Bilby, 1983: 72)

English translation:

Yes, old one, this man came from across the sea, came from outside, but after he came to the Maroon place, Grandfather, that man is (showed himself to be) a man. Grandfather, the man is a man. We took him into our home. Grandfather, we took him into our home and told him about Maroon things. But Grandfather, he is coming back sometime. He is coming back from his own yard and his own house. And the man told me (privately), when (which time) he would come back ... he will come back to Kushu Town (*i.e.*, Scott's Hall). So Grandfather, he said he will come back. I don't know which, if the man is telling lies, or he is talking the truth, but we took what he said. If he is telling lies, when he comes back we will go to his body. If he didn't tell lies, when he comes back, we will all say,

“wiakwamba, wiakwamba, wiakwamba, denko na mi fremili . . . wiakwamba, wiakwamba, grãfa shukumse” (Kromanti language). (Bilby, 1983: 72)

General Jamaican (JAM) translation (by the present author):

Yes, big sumadi, da nyong man ya en kom fram big *waata*, fram outsaid, bot afta im kom a i Maruun plies, granfada, da man de a man. Granfada, di nyong man a man. Wi en tiek im ina wi uom. Granfada, wi tiek im ina wi uom an tel im bout *Maruun biznes*, bot granfada, im wi kom bak som taim. Im wi kom bak fram im uona yaad an im uon ous. An di man *kanfaid pan* mi, wa taim im wi kom bak ... im wi kom bak a Scott’s Hall. So granfada, im se im wi de ya bak. Mi no nuo a wich, if da man a lai, ar im a taak truu, bot wi tiek wa im se. If im a tel lai, wen im kom bak wi a go go a im kin. If im no lai, wen im kom bak, wi aal wi se, “wiakwamba, wiakwamba, wiakwamba, denko na mi *family* . . . wiakwamba, wiakwamba, grãfa shukumse.”

Sranan translation (by the present author):

Ai, owru man, a man disi ben komopo na abra a se, a komopo a dorosei, ma baka a kom na a presi fu den Businenge, granpapa, a man dati na *man*. Granpapa, a man na wan *man*. Wi ben teki en kon na ini wi oso, taigi en taki abra Businenge sani. Ma granpapa, a o kon baka wan ten, a e kon baka komopo na en eigi pranasi nanga en eigi oso. En a man en tai gi mi dipibere taki te a o kon baka . . . a o kon baka na Kushu Town. So, granpapa, a taki a sa kon baka. Mi no sabi ef a le a e gi wi, noso a tru, ma wi en teki ala sani di en taki. Efu a le a e le, te a kon baka wi sa go na ini en skin. Ef a n’en e le, te a kon baka wi ala sa taki “wiakwamba, wiakwamba, wiakwamba, denko na mi fremili . . . wiakwamba, wiakwamba, grãfa shukumse.”

Krio translation (by the present author):

Yes ol man, dis man bin kɔmɔt oba wata, i kɔmɔt nado, bot wans i bin dɔn rich na di Marun ples, Granpapa, da man na *man*. Granpapa, da man na *man*. Wi bin ker am go insay wi os; wi tel am bot Marun biznes. Bot Granpapa, i go kam bak wan de. I go kɔmɔt na in yon yad, in yon os. En di man bin tel mi kɔnɔkɔnɔ wan ustem i go kam bak . . . kam bak na Kushu Tɔng. So, Granpapa, i se i go kam bak. A nɔ no us wan, ef na lay i de lay ɔ i de tɔk tru, bot wi bin tek ɔl in wɔd den. Ef na lay i de pul, we i kam bak wi go go insay in bɔdi. Ef i nɔ bin lay gi wi, we i kam bak wi ɔl go se “wiakwamba, wiakwamba, wiakwamba, denko na mi fambul . . . wiakwamba, wiakwamba, grãfa shukumse.”

To provide more evidence for my analysis (Hancock, 2021) of MSL as a largely Sierra Leone Krio derived cryptolect which was carried to Jamaica from Sierra Leone by Krio-

speaking Maroons in the mid-19th century, I include the following comments on selected items in MSL:

MSL copular *na*

MSL has both prepositional and copular *na*. While prepositional *na* is found in the earliest Sranan texts, this cannot be said for copular *na*, since it is only copular *da* that shows up early on, even as late as Weygandt (1798: 77-78), whose dictionary Voorhoeve and Donicie (1963: 31) believe to be more representative of the language as it was actually spoken, and so is a more reliable source (Arends, 1995: 14). Copular *na* does not occur in the literature until 1843 (ten Kate & Prins 1842-1843). MSL and Krio *na di wan dat* ‘that’s the one’ seems (to me) to be more Krio than Jamaican.

MSL future/irrealis marker *sa*

The MSL future marker *sa* (earlier *zal*) is found in all the Suriname creoles, as well as in all the Dutch-lexifier creoles, and Dutch *zal* ‘shall’ is a probable source. *Sa* is also found in Guyanese English lexifier Creole, which earlier had <shall>/<sall> (in a letter dated 1787 in Pinkard, 1806), also probably from Dutch, with convergence from English. Watson (1817: 18) recorded <shall> from St. Vincent (“*me heary say me shall eat*”), and Baker and Bruyn (1999: 333) has <sha’> from Watson. Scott (1834, volume I: 13) recorded <shall> from Jamaica (“*Me no sabe massa—top, I shall see*”), while Lalla and D’Costa (1990: 153) refer to Scott’s phonetic spellings in his Jamaican accounts and give *sall* as an example, but this turns out to be representative of a foreign white speaker of English, not a Jamaican (Scott 1834, volume I: 15):

In his 1868 Jamaican grammar, Russell (1868: 16) says of the future construction with *wi*: Observe that *WE* is used only in the affirmative sense, and *sha’n* (*a* as in law—contraction of shall not) in the negative future ... “A we not go,” is never used, but “I sha’n go” [not in the *Dictionary of Jamaican English* (Cassidy & LePage, 1980)].

As in English everywhere, including Irish English, ‘shall’ is gradually being ousted by ‘will’, and this has happened in Jamaican. In American English, ‘shan’t’ had disappeared by the mid-20th century.

If not an outright adoption from Sranan, resulting from the several contemporary social interactions between Jamaican Maroons and Sranan-speaking Maroons both in and from Suriname, *sa* could also have been a deliberately-encrypted form of ‘shall’ modelled on Jamaican *wi* from ‘will.’ While “sall” for “shall” is found throughout eastern Scotland and the north of England, it is more likely that *sa* rather than **sha*, as a deliberate modification of “shall,” imitates the supposed phonology of the African-born ancestors. Second-language speakers pronounce Krio and English words with [ʃ] shifting to [s], e.g. *kɔnfisɔn*, *Inglis*, *pus*, *sut* (‘confusion,’ ‘English,’ ‘push,’ ‘shoot’). In some adoptions from Krio into Temne and Limba [ʃ] also becomes [s] (Turay 1971; Conteh

2017: 6). The loss of final [l] from ‘shall’ is matched in MSL *gya* ‘girl,’ *kaa* ‘call’ and *kii* ‘kill.’ Krio has *demba* ‘demble,’ *kabudu* ‘caboodle,’ *natay* ‘nut oil,’ *pamay* ‘palm oil,’ *ramshaku* ‘ramshackle,’ *te* ‘until,’ *trōki* ‘turtle’ (with metathesis) and in the word *Krio* itself.

MSL pronouns

Some of the MSL pronouns resemble those in Sranan, but not regularly, and the correspondences may be random. Thus, both share the subject pronoun *a* ‘(s)he, it’ but not MSL’s *o*. Likewise both share *i* ‘you’ but not MSL’s *u*. Both *i* and *u* may be modelled on *ye* and *you*, cf. also ‘thankee,’ ‘harkee,’ and the loss of initial /y/ in MSL *iis* ‘yes.’ Krio has *eside*, *ia*, *et* ‘yesterday,’ ‘year,’ ‘yet.’

The object pronoun *am* ‘him, her, it’ is not Sranan but Krio, and in any case it may be found in general Jamaican, where it has been recorded in the parish of St. Andrew (*Dictionary of Jamaican English*, Cassidy & Le Page, 1980: 8). Smith (1984: 16) did not consider Krio when remarking on the word *kisã* ‘catch.’ While suggesting that the /ã/ is an “incorporated third person pronoun” in MSL rather than an epenthetic vowel, he gives Antiguan *ɔm* as a possible source (without explanation), rather than Krio *am* (pronounced [ã]) in that language: *ketfã* ‘catch it,’ (L2 *kesã*). Both MSL and Sranan have *kisi* ‘catch,’ while Jamaican has [ketʃ]/[kʲatʃ], and Krio [ketʃ]. But Krio has [s] < [tʃ] in *ɔmɔs* ‘how much,’ *fes* ‘fetch,’ *tumɔs* ‘too much’ and *us* ‘which’.

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MSL durative/incompletive aspectual marker *e*

While Sranan has an aspectual marker *e* which is similar to the durative/incompletive aspectual marker *e* in MSL, Arends (1986: 105, 117; 1989; Arends & Perl, 1995: 47) has shown that like the shift from *da* to *na*, the emergence of the Sranan variant *e* from earlier *de* postdates the exodus from Suriname to Jamaica by nearly a century. Smith (1987) suspects that perhaps “the /d/ was lost in some forms of Sranan as early as 1700 [but] whether we can advance this date by thirty years to the 1670’s is not clear” (97). In general Jamaican, *d* is variably lost from copular *da*, and from *di* ‘the.’

MSL question words

Of the five MSL question words, Bruyn (1999, agreeing with Smith, 1987: 98-100) says that their connection with the Suriname creoles “is less compelling than Bilby suggests” as only *(h)ufa/(h)ofa* ‘how?’ is comparable to early Sranan *fa/fasi/hufa/hufasi* ‘how.’ (293) Given its MSL form, *(h)ufa/(h)ofa* could conceivably have been created independently from *(h)ou + fashn*. *Fashin*, also pronounced *fasin*, is a common adverbializer in Krio: *i du am wɔwɔ fasin* ‘he did it in a poor way,’ *us fashin?* ‘in what way?’ Given that [ʼfa si(n)]/[ʼfa ʃi(n)] would have been the Sierra Leonean Maroons’ pronunciation, rather than [ʼfaʃɪn]. Loss of final [n] after [i] occurs in some Krio items: *ajɔyni* ‘ajoining,’

kɔntapi ‘counterpane,’ *Kramanti* ‘Coromantine,’ *kwini* ‘quinine,’ *ragamɔfi* ‘ragamuffin,’ *Wesinji* ‘West Indian,’ see also MSL *sonti*, Krio *sɔntin* ‘something.’

MSL *ondi*

Ondi, from *on* [ɔ̃] + *di*, only means “which” in Ndyuka (*on di fu den sama?* ‘which of those people?’); Smith (1987) provides sound reasons why:

it is most unlikely that the eighteenth-century form *ondi* ‘what?’ recorded by Schumann is to be connected to modern Ndyuka /ondi/ ‘which?’ The *di* is an extension of *di* ‘relative pronoun’ (*a buku di mi lesi* ‘the book that I read’). (100)

I suggest that Krio *wetin/wɔtin* ‘what’ was the model for *ondi*. Loss of final [n] after [i] in Krio has been accounted for above, and /t/ for /d/ in Krio occurs in *dɔdul* ‘dottle,’ *gɛdawt* ‘get out,’ *padna* ‘partner,’ *Podogi* ‘Portuguese,’ *raydawe* ‘right away,’ *sɛdul* ‘settle’ and *spads* ‘spats.’ For loss of initial [w], Krio has *us* ‘which,’ *usay* ‘where;’ see also Afro-Seminole [wɪsɪd/wʊsɪd] ‘where,’ Jamaican *ud* ‘wood,’ and MSL *hudu* ‘wood’.

Except in *onti yu bin* ‘where have you been?’ *onti* makes better sense in the sentences provided as ‘what’ rather than as ‘which,’ though the extended application of items grammatically and lexically is also a characteristic of MSL:

MSL: *na honti yu he du ye?* ‘what are you doing here?’

Krio: *na wetin yu de du ya?*

Jamaican: *a wa yu a du ya?*

MSL: *onti o luku na yu?* ‘what was looking at you?’

Krio: *wetin bin de luk pan yu?*

Jamaican: *a wa en a luk pan yu?*

MSL: *onti bat?* ‘what about?’

Krio: *bɔt wetin?*

Jamaican: *wa bout?*

MSL: *mi no no onti fi* ‘I don’t know which’ (**onti fi duu?*)

Krio: *mi nɔ no wetin* ‘I don’t know what’

mi nɔ no wetin fɔ du ‘I don’t know what to do’

mi nɔ no us (wan) ‘I don’t know which (one)’

Jamaican: *mi no nuo a wa(ra)* ‘I don’t know what (it is)’

mi no nuo (a) wa fi duu ‘I don’t know what to do’

mi no nuo (a) wich ‘I don’t know which’

MSF *bin*

Bilby glosses MSF *bin* as ‘be, come, go.’ It seems to represent forms of existential *de* in most of his examples without the tense reference of Kriol *bin* (Jamaican and Sranan *ben*). His examples include:

<i>da nyūman ya bin fram big īsho</i>	‘that young man BE from (across) the sea’
<i>bin fram abrouni</i>	‘BE from outside’
<i>afa im bin a yangkungku pre</i>	‘after he BE at the Maroon place’
<i>im a bin bak di taim</i>	‘he <i>a</i> BE back some time’
<i>im a bin bak frā i uon prandes</i>	‘he <i>a</i> BE back from his own yard’
<i>ī wi bin bak kushu toun</i>	‘he <i>wi</i> BE back in Kushu Town’
<i>in wi bin bak</i>	‘he <i>wi</i> BE back’
<i>wen im bin bak, wen in bin bak</i>	‘when he BE back’

Epenthetic vowels

Smith (1987) is less persuaded regarding the relationship between MSL and the Surinamese Creoles by MSL question words than he is with the epenthetic vowels in MSL. On the basis of these, he concluded that “the resemblances are so striking that a relationship must be regarded as proved” between MSL and the creoles of Suriname (Smith 1984: 13).

He provides a total of 35 items comparing epenthetic vowels between MSL and Sranan/Ndyuka/Saramaccan, eight of which don’t match, most of which do. If we take the Sranan examples alone, then there are ten mis-matches. But we would expect a high level of coincidental forms since vowel harmony is predictable, i.e., *gudu* < ‘good’ etc., could happen independently. In fact, Smith himself provides a template (1984: 16), though Bruyn (1999) regards his examples as being among MSL’s “innovations” (292). Knowing that those arriving from Africa pronounced Jamaican words epenthetically, the Maroons followed suit in order to imitate them, attaching “pseudo-epenthetic” vowels, but not consistently; Bruyn (1999) called the process “unpredictable paragoge.” (292) By way of example Bilby (1983) provides e.g. both *bere* ~ *beri* ‘belly,’ *saфра* ~ *saфри* ‘soft(ly),’ *wudu* ~ *wudi* ‘wood,’ etc. and says of his examples:

some may represent “standard” Jamaican Creole forms which have been “deepened” by acquiring a final vowel . . . My data indicate that this is indeed the case, and I remember the occasional adding of final vowels to words (not listed here) which were most commonly pronounced, even in possession speech, without them (64, note 13).

Contemporary Krio does this too: cf., *pwelo*, *wini-ma-lɔsi* modified from *pwel* ‘spoil,’ *win* ‘win’ and *lɔs* ‘lose’ but with specialized meanings—a ‘gormless person’ and ‘a gambling game’ respectively.

While Smith (1984) is right in saying that (contemporary) Krio has only “a handful of forms with epenthetic vowels” (16), he disregards Krio as it was in the 18th and 19th

century (pre)formative period, during which many more of these forms are scattered throughout the literature. The following forms are all from Sierra Leone, where such forms usually exhibit the vowel harmony noted by Smith (1984: 16), with exceptions such as *gladi* ‘glad,’ *łosi* ‘lost,’ *tłki* ‘talk’ and *pwelo* ‘spoil’ and possibly *bedi* ‘bed,’ *chenji* ‘change,’ *fredi* ‘afraid,’ *tenki* ‘thank,’ and *yeri* ‘hear’:

a-a:	<i>arata</i> ‘rat,’ <i>baka</i> ‘back,’ <i>langa</i> ‘long,’ <i>tranga</i> ‘strong,’ <i>waka</i> ‘walk’
u/ʊ-u:	<i>gudu</i> ‘good,’ <i>krutu</i> ‘recruit,’ <i>futu</i> ‘foot,’ <i>susu</i> ‘shoes’
e/ɛ-e:	<i>ede</i> ‘head,’ <i>dede</i> ‘dead’
i-i:	<i>piki</i> ‘speak,’ <i>switi</i> ‘sweet,’ <i>wini</i> ‘win’
ɛ-ɛ:	<i>leke</i> ‘like’
o/ɔ-ɔ:	<i>broko</i> ‘broke,’ <i>drɔngɔ</i> ‘drunk’

Lest it be thought that some of these forms were brought to Sierra Leone by Jamaican and Nova Scotian ‘Old Settlers,’ it is clear from the literature that these are either pre-Freetown or were recorded from Liberated Africans.

Cryptolectal voice quality

Of possession speech in Suriname, Voorhoeve (1971: 313) wrote:

Fancy pronunciations are used ... a certain amount of stuttering ... a certain throatiness of the voice ... In phonology there is some difference too, Kromanti-possessed may try to imitate Bush Negro pronunciation. But the clearest differences may be found in the domain of vocabulary. The general sentence structure does not deviate from the Creole one, but lexical items are replaced by keywords from the cult languages, or by lexical items from bush languages in the case of Kromanti.

In Sierra Leone, when in the presence of spirits from the *tru wɔl* (the spirit world), Poro Bush followers disguise their voices by holding their noses or speaking in falsetto (Thomas 1916: 145). Also in Sierra Leone, Butt-Thompson (1926) says that “Novice society members in the presence of “after death spirits” awaken after being drugged to hear “a new language; [they] can communicate with those they left behind these communications may come as dreams, or as a ‘voice’ that can only be interpreted by officials of the local society” (118, 196). In the case of Cameroon, Todd (1984: 99) writes “There is one variety of C[ameroon] P[idgin] called ‘Makro’ which is deliberately used to prevent understanding. It involves backslang, reduction and a high percentage of words from the Douala language ... [it is] used by people wishing to avoid contact with the law.” In 1960s Freetown, there was a young men’s (non-society) cryptolectal variety of Krio called [kúzwális(t) tók’], characterized by the prevalence of the marginally-Krio phoneme [ʒ] (e.g. [ʒĩji] ‘incompetent person’).

Lexical encryption or cryptolectal wordplay

Hall-Alleyne (1982: 28ff.) as well as Dalby (1971) list several words existing in Kromanti, a variety that in some senses could be considered to be an Afro-Atlantic Maroon cryptolect *par excellence*, which are also found in MSL. An extensive English-MSL

wordlist can be found in Appendix 1 below, while the Sranan equivalents of some of these words are listed in Appendix 2, expanded by the present author from Bilby (1983: 54-55). The Sierra Leonean Maroons spoke English as well as Krio, and may also have drawn upon it as a technique of encryption. In any case, overall, the MSL words don't match Sranan overwhelmingly, as shown in the examples below:

MSL	Jamaican	Krio	Sranan	English
<i>bladis</i>	<i>blod</i>	<i>blɔd</i>	<i>brudu</i>	'blood'
<i>cheri</i>	<i>chiir/chia</i>	<i>chia</i>	<i>sturu</i>	'chair'
<i>droundi</i>	<i>dro(u)ng</i>	<i>drawn</i>	<i>sungu</i>	'drown'
<i>sambo</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>san</i>	<i>son</i>	'sun'
<i>teretere</i>	<i>terichrii</i>	<i>teritri</i>	<i>gron, kondre</i>	'territory'

Instead, MSL words often exhibit features that could very plausibly be the result of the various strategies of encryption or 'wordplay' found in cryptolects worldwide (Hancock, 2021). In the section that follows, examples of the various strategies that could have been deployed to derive MSL words from general Jamaican words are listed.

Encryption strategy 1: Syllable added word initially

kimbombo 'vagina' (<JAM *bombo*)

okaban 'cabin' (<JAM *kyabin*)

Encryption strategy 2: Syllable added word finally

hagubu 'hog' (<JAM *hag*)

mansu, manis 'man' (<JAM *man*)

yaiye 'eye' (<JAM *yai*)

Encryption strategy 3: Consonant cluster expanded from CCV to CVCV

akisi 'ask' (<JAM *aks*)

ariki 'listen' (< 'archaic' JAM *hark*, Cassidy & Le Page, 1980)

chiri 'three' (JAM *chrii*)

siton 'stone' (JAM *ston*)

sumala 'small' (JAM *smal*)

Encryption strategy 4: Vowel added word finally (in addition to the examples of epenthesis listed above)

hagubu 'hog' (<JAM *hag*)

mansu, manis 'man' (<JAM *man*)

tumochi 'too much' (<JAM *tuu moch*)

yaiye 'eye' (<JAM *yai*)

Encryption strategy 5: Consonant added word finally

kandal 'clothes' (<JAM *kanda* 'palm bough,' in Krio 'rind, skin')

Encryption strategy 6: Syllable deleted

ebiba 'everybody' (<JAM *ebribadi*)

emba 'anybody' (<JAM *enibadi*) Cf. Krio *kamba* 'kind of (a)'

<i>ku</i>	‘look’ (<JAM <i>ku ya!</i> ‘look here!’)
<i>nomba</i>	‘nobody’ (<JAM <i>nombadi, nombari</i>)
<i>suma</i>	‘somebody’ (<JAM <i>s(u)maadi, s(u)maari</i>)
<i>turo</i>	‘tomorrow’ (<JAM <i>tumara</i>)

Encryption strategy 7: Consonant in cluster deleted

<i>afa</i>	‘after’ (but JAM <i>aata</i> , and so from English?)

Encryption strategy 8: Consonant deleted word finally

<i>bika</i>	‘because’ (JAM <i>(bi)kaa(z)(n)</i>)
<i>buufra</i>	‘bullfrog’
<i>gya</i>	‘girl’ (<JAM <i>gyal</i>)
<i>sonti</i>	‘something’ (<JAM <i>sinting</i> , Sr <i>sani</i> , Kr <i>sontin</i>)

Encryption strategy 9: Change of vowel

<i>okaban</i>	‘cabin’ (<JAM <i>kyabin</i>)
<i>hami</i>	‘hammer’ (<JAM <i>hama</i>)
<i>hozi</i>	‘husband’ (<JAM <i>hozban</i>)
<i>mutu</i>	‘mouth’ (<JAM <i>mout</i> , Krio <i>mɔt</i> , but Sranan <i>mofo</i>).
<i>yiis, iis</i>	‘yes’ (<JAM <i>yes</i>)

Encryption strategy 10: Change of consonant

<i>chip</i>	‘sleep’ (<JAM <i>slip</i>)
<i>frafra</i>	‘fire’ (<JAM <i>faia</i>)
<i>ji</i>	‘give’ (<JAM <i>give</i>)
<i>kubaiti</i>	‘goodbye,’ (<JAM <i>gudbai</i>)
<i>tombaig</i>	‘turn back’ (<JAM <i>ton bak</i>)

Encryption strategy 11: Metathesis

<i>mildri</i>	‘middle’ (<JAM <i>migl</i>)
<i>prebri</i>	‘pebble’ (<JAM <i>pebl</i>)
<i>pripri</i>	‘people’ (<JAM <i>piipl</i>)

Encryption strategy 12: Reduplication

<i>frafra</i>	‘fire’ (<JAM <i>faya</i>)
<i>munumunu</i>	‘menstruation’ (<JAM <i>muun</i> , Krio <i>si mun</i> ‘menstruate’)
<i>puropuro</i>	‘pure’ (<JAM <i>pyo(r)</i> , Krio <i>piɔpiɔ</i>)
<i>swaswa</i>	‘swallow, sip’ (<JAM <i>swala</i>)
<i>wiwi</i>	‘wheeled vehicle’ (<JAM <i>wiil</i>)

Encryption strategy 13: Special suffixation with /-bo/ ‘boy’

<i>pikibo</i>	‘child’ (<JAM <i>pikni</i>) Krio <i>pikin</i> + <i>bo</i>
<i>sambo</i>	‘son’ (<JAM <i>son</i>) Sranan <i>son</i> , Krio <i>san</i> + <i>bo</i>

Encryption strategy 14: Special suffixation with /-is/ Voorhoeve (1971: 314) says of Suriname Kromanti “a suffix *-ini* has been observed without any other functions apparently to embellish the utterance.” (314) This seems also to be the case with MSL /-is/

<i>beksis</i>	‘vex’ (<JAM <i>veks</i>)
<i>bladis</i>	‘blood’ (<JAM <i>blod</i>) MSL first vowel is English
<i>frakis</i>	‘frock’ (<JAM <i>frak</i>)
<i>laiis</i>	‘lie’ (<JAM <i>lai</i>)
<i>libis</i>	‘live’ (<JAM <i>lib</i>)
<i>manis</i>	‘man’ (<JAM <i>man</i>)
<i>nyamis</i>	‘yam’ (<JAM <i>nyam</i>)
<i>truis</i>	‘truth’ (<JAM <i>truut</i>)

Encryption strategy 15: Metaphoric compounding with MSL words + *man*

<i>bigiman</i>	‘ancestor’ (<big man)
<i>blakishman</i>	‘cooking pot’ (<black + -is man)
<i>digaman</i>	‘hoe’ (<digger man)
<i>lepman</i>	‘toad’ (<leap man)
<i>ogliman</i>	‘obeah-man’ (<ugly man) [nb MSL use of <i>ogli</i>]
<i>shoman</i>	‘crawfish’ (<show man)
<i>tanopman</i>	‘house’ (<stand up man)
<i>tri-ai-man</i>	‘coconut’ (<three eye man)
<i>trii-fut-man</i>	‘pot’ (<three foot man)
<i>weteman</i>	‘rice’ (<white man)

Encryption strategy 16: Metaphoric compounding with other words

<i>biginsho</i>	‘sea’ (<JAM big + MSL <i>insho</i> ‘water’ < Akan <i>nsú</i>)
<i>bigipre</i>	‘grave’ (<big place)
<i>faingrien</i>	‘rice’ (<fine grain)
<i>gudufa</i>	‘well’ (<good fashion)
<i>hondad han</i>	‘bunch of bananas’ (<hundred hand)
<i>lang-teil</i>	‘cow’ (<long tail)
<i>lang-teil-fuo-futu</i>	‘cow’ (<long tail four foot)
<i>siplbungga</i>	‘snake’ <slippery <i>bungga</i> (JAM <i>banga</i> ‘small fish’)
<i>wetamigl</i>	‘mulatto’ (<white at middle) (Hall-Alleyne 1982: 37)

Encryption strategy 17: Metaphoric extension of word meanings

<i>frakis</i>	(<frock) ‘clothes, trousers’
<i>kandal</i>	(< <i>kanda</i> ‘palm bough’ ‘clothes’ Krio ‘rind, covering’)
<i>malānfo</i>	(< ?) ‘salt, harmful substance’
<i>nangka</i>	(<snake), ‘snake, eel’
<i>sho, shoyo</i>	(<show) ‘Maroon dance’
<i>tesu</i>	(< ?) ‘stand up, sit down’
<i>yanda</i>	(< yonder) ‘sound of a drum’ (heard from yonder?)
<i>ogli</i>	(<ugly) ‘evil’
<i>onti</i>	(<see discussion above) ‘what, which, where, who’

Conclusion

Instead of being the remnant of a once more widespread creole, MSL exhibits the characteristics of a cryptolect, with features that are more like Krio than Jamaican. It is inconceivable that what is analyzed here, characterized by deliberately disguised words and cant-like metaphor, was once the everyday general Jamaican language. MSL features that have been identified in the literature as being strikingly similar to those found today in Surinamese Creoles are often not attested in Suriname until well after the exodus to Jamaica between 1668 and the 1680s. In fact, these features could have been adopted into MSL much later through contacts between the Maroons of Jamaica and the Maroons of Suriname, such as the Maroon Festival in Washington DC in 1992 and the 2014 visit by a Ndyuka Maroon group led by Suriname's Ambassador Fidelia Graand-Galon to the Trelawny Town Maroons in Jamaica to install Gloria 'Mama G' Simms as their first female paramount chief.

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APPENDIX 1 English to Maroon Spirit Language wordlist

English	Maroon Spirit Language
abeng (i.e. signalling horn)	akéte, akéke, akréke, kongkongkraba
accompany	chai
adult	jenkem kótoki
afraid	fred
after	afa
all	ala, ara
all right	arete
all right, are you?	okoto he are
ancestor	bigiman
angry	bekes, beksis
anybody	emba, eniba
arm	hanu
Ashanti	shanti
ask	aksi, akis, akisi
at	na
back	baki
bag carried over shoulder	katu
banana	puyaku, puyaak
banana bunch	hóndad han
be	bin, na
beads	sabrusa
beat (a drum)	yanda
bed	atipó, hachibó, bedi, akete
believe	brib
belly	bere, beri, beli, dindi, diindi, indi
bet	beti
big	bigi
bird	bodo
black	blaka, baka, braka, blakis, blakish
blind	bren
blood	bladis, blada, mblada, busufra, obujufra, blodo
blow	bro

blue	bru
body	sikin
book	buku, bukun
boot	butu, bútwá, futpuosuol
bottle	blakabwai, bakabwai
bow-and-arrow	buta
bowels	indi
bowl	abáso, obwaso, obwasu
boy	bo, obwato
bread	brede
break	broko
breast	chesi
broad	brada
brother	ba, brada, blada, mbebwa
bullfrog	buufra
butt	buku
buttocks	lasi
call	kali, kaa
calm, be	kategbe
calm, not (be)	kategbe yanu
car	bróbo
carefully	gudufa
carry	chai
cashew	kushu
cat	laizi, salimióu
catch	kisan, kison
certain	sótin
chair	kutakuta, cheri
chest, breast	chesi
chick	wayukwamba
chickenhawk	okrema, pinyaak, pinyaku
child	dakuma, daku, dako, pikibo, pikin, besi
chop	lem
clean	krin
clear	kre, kle, kli
clever	kreba
climb	klem, krem
clothes	dindi, diindi, kandal
coconut	triiyaiman, chriiyaiman
come	kon, bin
complete, much (as in 'sabi amfang')	ampáng, ampóngko
cook-house	kukram
cool down	salónggo
copulate	foki, kitireri, yarefo
cot	akete
cotton-tree	imbusu
country	kóndri
cousin	imbutwa, kón, bútwá

cow
 cow-horn
 cramp
 crayfish
 crossroads
 crow
 cry
 cut
 dance
 dance to cure sickness
 dance-ground (ceremonial)
 dancer's headtie
 dark
 dawn
 dead
 dead, you are
 death
 devil
 discuss in private
 distant place
 dodge, outmaneuver
 dog
 drink
 drown
 drum
 drum, old
 drum, to beat a
 drummer
 drums, pair of
 drum-stick
 ear
 earth
 eel
 egg
 evade, fool, trick
 everybody
 evil
 eye
 face
 family
 Fanti
 far away
 far place
 fashion
 fight
 fire
 fire-stick
 fish

langteil, Iangteilfuofutu
 abeng
 buku
 shóman, sumans, sumanz
 tuakwantan
 opéte, apete, apetebi
 krei
 koti
 nyaba, yingga, tinya
 fete
 safra grong, safri grong
 wingkaz
 darik
 debrekin, debekin, debeklin
 kitireri, dede, debe, debre, yarefo
 opong
 dede, debe, debre
 debri
 tuajína
 legonanan, legonan
 sháfana, jafana, jafan, jijafana, ijifo
 dago, akuta, kuta, akute, buwe
 jram
 droundi
 móngki, printing, oprinting, salimam, akwa
 grandí
 yanda
 okrema, ókreman, okremu, kete-man
 krimpóng
 abáso tik, akáni tik
 yezi, yesi
 minibó, ninibo, sasi, asasi
 nyangka, obungge
 entachwa, ingkeswa, engkeswa, keswa
 jafana, jafan, jijafana, ijifo
 ebiba
 ogri, hógri, hogli, ógli, hógli
 yaiye, dindi, diindi
 fesi
 fremili
 fanti
 jajomp
 legonanan, legonan
 fa, fashin
 fete
 adufa, adufe, frafra, timbambu
 engkwesta
 fishi

fling	fring
flog	fraga, flaga
fly	flei, frei
food, yams	ninyan
fool, trick	sháfana, jafana, jafan, jijafana, ijifo
foot	futu, ofutu, dindi, diindi
forest	wudu, udu, hudu, wudi
fowl	okóko
friend	fre, okotoko, bútwá
frock	fraka, frako
get	jet
girl, woman	gyala, gya, sho
give	ji
glass	glasi, glau, glau, gras
go	bin
goat	mememep, biowu, sabreke, sabreke
God above	yankipong asasi, nankipong
good	gudu
goodbye	kubaiti, niyantiyo
gossip	kóngkonsa
grand	grandi
grandfather	granfa, granfara, grangfa
grandmother	gramara
grave	bigipre, minibó, ninibo, sasi, asasi
green	jiin
greeting, a	maki
ground	minibo, ninibo, sasi, asasi
gun	aduwa, otúa
hair	he
half-Maroon person	abróuni
hammer	hami
hand	dindi, diindi, hanu
harmful substance, salt	malanfo
he	a, o
head	ede, adia
headscarf	ingkechá
head-tie, dancer's	wingkaz
hear	árik, hárik, arík, harík
heart	hati
hello	hódio
hen	inkóko
her	im, am
herbs, medicinal	racha
here	ye
high	hei
him	im, am
hips	hipi
hit	naki

hoe
 hog
 hole
 home
 horn, cow
 horse
 house
 house or area, ceremonial
 hurry, hurry up
 hurt, injure
 husband
 I go come
 live
 in
 indirect reference, insult
 injure, hurt
 inside
 instrument for divining
 instrument, bamboo percussion
 instrument, metal percussion
 instrument, to play
 insult
 is coming
 it
 kerosene lamp
 kill
 kitchen
 knife
 knock
 know
 Kromanti ritual specialist and dancer
 land, territory
 leave
 leg
 letter
 lie down
 like
 like (v.)
 liquor, cane
 listen
 loincloth
 look at
 look out!
 love
 machete, cutlass
 magic, apply
 make
 make haste

digaman
 hagu, hagubu
 oli, holi
 prandes
 abeng
 opóngko, aponko
 prandes, tanopman, kaban, okaban
 asafo hous, osafu hous, safri hous
 kukri
 yarefo
 ozi, hozi
 amereko aba
 libis
 na
 obróbo
 buku
 indi
 jege
 kwat
 adawa, adawó, adowá
 tinya
 obróbo
 odabra, odabra, odagwa
 a, o (sub.), im, am (obj.)
 shain
 ki, kii, yarefo
 kukram
 indepe, indufe, dufe
 naki
 sabi, sa
 feteman, ofeteman, sabiman
 teretere
 tónbaig
 futu, ofutu
 apisi
 lei
 laka
 lobi
 josengwij
 árik, hárik, arík, harík
 obraye
 luku
 babasi awenkini, bobosi onenkini
 lob, lobi
 afána
 busubranu
 meke
 kukri

man
 Maroon
 Maroon dance
 menstruation
 message
 middle
 mirror
 money
 moon
 morning
 mouth
 mule
 nail
 neck
 night
 no
 nobody
 non-Maroon person
 nose
 obeah-man
 old
 on
 once upon a time
 only
 outside place
 outsider
 palaver
 paper
 particular
 pebble
 peel
 people
 pepper
 person
 pig
 place
 place, far away
 plant
 plate
 play
 pleased
 pleasure
 pot
 pot, cooking
 prepare, prime
 pull
 pure
 quickly, quick

manu, mansu, manis, obo, nyunman, bútwá
 brufo ashanti, yengkungku, yingkungku
 kremu, shóyo
 munumunu
 apisi
 mildri, miljri
 dadikóm, dedekum, derokum, yerokum
 takifa
 werewu jéfru
 manti
 mútu, mutú, moutu
 aponko, oponko
 nel
 neki
 net
 néba, nabajak
 nombá, noba, noma
 babasinya wengkini, obroni
 nosi
 ógliman
 bigi
 na
 preko
 kuto
 obróni, bróuni, abróuni
 obróni, bróuni, abróuni
 praba
 pepa
 sótin
 prebl, prebri
 piili, pii
 pripri
 óglitadí, awisa
 suma
 oprako
 pre, pres
 legonanan, legonan
 planti, pran
 prete
 pre
 priis, priiz
 priis, priiz
 triifutman, chriifutman
 blakisman, blakishman
 prem, prim, trim
 pu, puu
 puro, puropuro
 krikri

rain
 rat
 red
 relative, kin
 response to greeting
 rice
 ride
 ritual specialist
 road
 rooster
 rope
 round
 rum
 salt
 salt water
 sea
 self
 she
 shoe
 sick
 sing
 sip
 sister
 sit down
 skin
 sleep
 small
 snake
 somebody
 speak
 spear
 spider
 spirit medium (= 'horse')
 spirit of ritual specialist
 spirit possession
 stand up
 stick
 stone
 stranger, non-Maroon (derogatory)
 string
 sugar
 sugar water
 sun
 swallow
 swear
 take
 take care of, prepare
 talk

onini
 rata
 rede
 imbebwa, titai
 adiyaro, ade madiyaro
 res, fainggrien, weteman
 re, rede
 kumfu, kunfu, titaiman
 rodi
 bo inkóko
 dosengri, titei
 rouni
 insa, jakinsa, insha
 josengwi, midasem, malanfo
 saliwata
 big insho, bigi insho
 shref, shwelfi
 a, o, im
 futpuosuol
 seke, yarefo
 tinya
 swipswip
 sa
 tesu, kesu, shroom, shoom
 sikin
 chip
 sumala
 nangka, siplbungga, ananka, nanka, sineki
 suma, sumali
 piik
 jóngga, jungga, tuju, Krio: tujub
 nansi
 as, has
 pakit
 maial
 kesu, tesu
 tiki
 abuba, abuking , siton
 jiaro, wengkini
 tei, titei
 doshengri
 hasikewe, hasikere
 ananti ara, sambo
 swara, swaa
 swiri, sweri
 teka, teke, chai
 kiir
 taki

tell
 territory
 thank you
 that
 thing
 think
 three
 tie
 time
 toad
 today
 tomorrow
 too much
 tooth
 town crier
 tree
 trick, fool
 trousers
 turn back
 ugly
 uncle
 understand
 us, ourselves
 use spirit power, without possession
 vagina
 vehicle, wheeled
 verbal marker (durative)
 verbal marker (future)
 very
 very much
 vulture
 wait
 walk
 walk gracefully, dance
 walking stick
 water
 weak
 weed
 well, carefully
 what?
 where?
 which?
 while
 white
 who?
 wine; sugar and water
 within
 woman

te
 teretere
 midasi
 dāre
 sónti
 tinki
 chiri
 tei, titei
 tem
 lepman
 tere, teré
 turo
 tumochi
 tutu
 obrafo
 kójo
 sháfana, jafana, jafan, jijafana, ijifo
 frakis
 tonbaig
 ogi, ogli, ogri
 ónku, hónku
 sabi, sa
 yengko
 salo
 kimbómbó
 wiwi
 e, he
 sa
 beri
 tumochi
 opéte, apete, apetebi
 wet
 waka, wakis
 kwita
 kójo
 insho
 wiiki, wiki
 widi
 gudufa
 hata, ónti, hónti
 ónti, hónti
 ónti, hónti
 weri, wel
 wete
 ónti, hónti, huma, uma, huba, hub
 insikri
 indi
 besi, opréswa, oprosoa

won't (negative verbal modifier)	ne (no+ e)
woods	wudu, udu, hudu, wudi
work	ruku, woko
worthless	wokris
yam (specifically, St. Vincent yam)	kónjo
yams, cultivation ground	nyans, nyamis
yard	prandes
yes	iis, yis, yiis, hiis, iisjak
you	i, u

APPENDIX 2 Sranan equivalents of the MSL items, expanded from Bilby (1983: 54-55)

MSL	Sranan
(o)kaban 'cabin'	kampu cf. Krio <i>ɔrɔbish</i> 'rubbish' (ɔ= a noun class prefix in Temne)
afa 'after'	baka
akisi 'ask'	aksi
arete 'alright'	ala bun
ariki 'listen'	arki
bekes 'vex'	atibron, mandi
bigiman 'ancestor'	bigisma, trotro
biginsho 'sea'	se
bigipre 'grave'	grebi
bika 'because'	bikasi, Jamaican: bika
bin 'be'	de, na
bladis 'blood'	brudu
blakabwai 'bottle'	batra
blakishman 'cooking pot'	boripatu
bo 'boy'	boi
bukun 'book'	buku
butwa 'boot'	buta
buufra 'bullfrog'	todo, jompometi
chip 'sleep'	sribi
chiri 'three'	dri
darik 'dark'	dungru
digaman 'hoe'	dikiforku
ebiba 'everybody'	alasma
emba 'anybody'	iniwansma
fa 'fashion'	fasi
faingrien 'rice'	aleisi
frafra 'fire'	faya
frakis 'clothes, trousers'	krosi
fre 'friend'	mati
gudu 'good'	bun
gudufa 'well'	bun
gya 'girl'	wenke, buli
hagubu 'hog'	agu
hami 'hammer'	amra
he 'hair'	wiwiri

hondad han	bakbanu
hozi 'husband'	masra
jet 'get'	kisi
ji 'give'	gi, ji
jiin 'green'	yongu
jonga 'spear'	lansri
kaa 'call'	kari
kandal 'clothes'	krosi
kii 'kill'	kiri
kimbombo 'vagina'	bombo
kondri 'country'	kondre
krikri 'quickly'	esesi
ku 'look'	luku
kubaiti 'goodbye,'	adjosi
lang-teil 'cow'	kaw
lang-teil-fuo-futu 'cow'	kaw
lep-man 'toad'	todo
libis 'live'	libi
luku 'look'	luku
mansu, manis 'man'	man
manti 'morning'	mamanten
mildri 'middle'	mindri
moutu, mutu 'mouth'	mofo
munumunu 'menstruation'	futu
na 'in; at; be'	na
nangka 'snake, eel'	sneki, snekfisi
nomba 'nobody'	no wan sma
nyamis 'yam'	yamsi
ogliman 'obeah-man'	obiaman
oglitadi 'hot pepper'	pepre
onku, honku 'uncle'	omu
onti 'what'	osani
pii 'peel'	piri
pikibo 'child'	pikin
pikin 'child'	pikin (JAM pikni)
pran 'plant'	prani
pre 'place'	presi
prebri 'pebble'	smaraston
pripri 'people'	libisma
puropuro 'pure'	soifri
puu 'pull'	puru
re 'ride'	rede
sabiman 'ritual specialist'	sabiman, Krio: sabiman
salimiou 'cat'	puspusi
sambo 'sun'	son
seke 'sick'	siki
siton 'stone'	ston
sonti 'something'	wansani

srom, shrom ‘sit down’	sidon
suma ‘somebody’	wansuma
sumala ‘small’	smara
swaswa ‘sip, swallow’	swasani
tanopman ‘house’	oso
teretere ‘territory’	kondre
titei ‘string’	tite
tombaig ‘turn back’	go baka
tri-ai-man ‘coconut’	kokronoto
trii-fut-man ‘pot’	patu
tumochi ‘too much’	tumusi
turo ‘tomorrow’	tamara
waka ‘walk’	waka
weteman ‘rice’	aleisi
wokris ‘worthless’	tanfuru, soi
wudu, hudu ‘wood’	udu
yaiye ‘eye’	ai
yiis, iis, ‘yes’	ai

APPENDIX 3 Examples of encryption in other cryptolects

1. **CANT** dates from 16th century England and was the English-based register intended to disguise criminal activity (Barrère, 1890, B.E., 1899). See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ql9zrRBFp7U>.

Foreign words: *grannum* ‘wheat’ (< Latin), *pannem* ‘bread’ (< Latin), *togeman* ‘clothing’ (< Latin), *unguentum* ‘bribe’ (< Latin), *dik* ‘see, look’ (< Romani), *cheat* ‘thing’ (< OE *cēat* ‘do’). Modified words: *cuttle* ‘knife’ (< cut), *fullums* ‘loaded dice’ (< full).

Coinings: *darkmans* ‘nighttime,’ *bene darkmans!* ‘good night!’ *lightmans* ‘daytime,’ *roughmans* ‘hedgerow,’ *cackling cheat* ‘chicken,’ *stamping cheats* ‘feet,’ *lowing cheat* ‘cow,’ *snoot-fair* ‘attractive (person)’ (< snout + fair).

2. **POGADI** is the ethnolect of the Romanichals, the Romani people who came to North America from Britain mainly during the mid-19th century. Well represented in Texas, it consists of Romani words in a non-Romani (in this case English) framework (Hancock, 1978, 1984a). For basic Romani, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IM7BzpJRtXg>.

Foreign words: [*ˈswɛɡlə*] ‘tobacco pipe’ (< German *Schwegel* ‘tube’), [*ˈbɪti*] ‘small’ (< French *petit*), [*ˈbæsəvəl*] ‘bad’ (< German *böse*), [*ˈspɪŋɡlə*] ‘pin’ (< French *épingle*).

Modified words: [*ˈbluəsə*] ‘blue,’ [*ˈdiəri*] ‘dear,’ [*ˈfoʊki*] ‘folk,’ [*ˈnʌti*] ‘nut,’ [*ˈrɪdʒəl*] ‘partridge,’ [*ˈɡriːnoʊ*] ‘green.’

Coinings: [*ˈbɒŋɡo-sɪv*] ‘hook’ (< Romani *bango* ‘crooked’ + *siv* ‘needle’), [*ˈkɒf-lɒli-pɒp*] ‘candy apple, toffee apple’ (< Romani *kašt* ‘stick’ + *loli* ‘red’ + *phab(aj)* ‘apple’), [*ˈdɪkɪn-mʊktə*] ‘television’ (< Romani *dikh-* ‘look’ + *moxto* ‘box’), [*ˈpræstrɪn-sæstə*] ‘bicycle’ (< Romani *praster-* ‘run’ + *sastri* ‘iron’), [*ˈrʌmnɪs-rɒkrɪn-ˈtʃrklə*] ‘parrot’ (< Rromanes ‘Romani’ + (*v*)*raker-* ‘talk’ + *čhiriklo* ‘bird’), [*ˈsæsti-tʃrklə*] ‘aeroplane’ (< Romani *sastri* ‘iron’ + *čhiriklo* ‘bird’), [*ˈsæsti-ɡrʌɪ*] ‘locomotive’ (< Romani *sastri* ‘iron’ + *graj* ‘horse’), [*ˈʃuːn-n-pʊtʃ*] ‘telephone’ (< Romani *šun-* ‘listen’ + *pučh-* ‘ask’), [*ˈbæsəvəl-tʊv*] ‘marijuana’ (< German *böse* ‘evil’ + Romani *thuv* ‘smoke’).

Artificial extension of homophones: [*stɔː*] ‘for’ (< Romani *štar* ‘four’), [*duwi*] ‘to’ (< Romani *duj* ‘two’).

Reinterpretation based on English: [*ˈɡɔ(r)dʒəs*] < ‘gorgeous’ but meaning ‘in a non-Romani way,’ from [*ˈɡɔːdʒə*] ‘non-Romani person.’

Calques: ‘got the [*ˈɡɒnə*]’ ‘got the sack,’ i.e. was fired from the job (British English ‘got the sack’).

3. **PACHUCO** is the in-group speech of the Pachucos or Tiriloneños and consists of disguised Spanish used as a mark of group membership by members of a social community originating in El Paso, and spreading east and west to California along the border with Mexico (Barker, 1950). Examples can be found at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hINsoiLIJ3E>.

Foreign words: *bato* ‘term of address’ (< Spanish Romani *bato* ‘father’), *buti* ‘very’ (< Romani *but* ‘many, much, very’), *chavo* ‘boy’ (< Romani *čhavo* ‘boy’), *chavala* ‘girl’ (< Romani ‘last’), *chiche* ‘breast’ (< Romani *čuči* ‘breast’), *chingar* ‘fornicate’ (< Romani *čingar* ‘struggle’), *chulo* ‘impressive, attractive’ (< Romani *thulo* ‘fat’), *diquelar* ‘to look’ (< Romani *dikh-* ‘look’), *estache* ‘hat’ (< Romani *stadji* ‘hat’), *gacho* ‘lousy, bad’ (< Romani *gadžo* ‘a non-Romani’), *gate* ‘shirt’ (< Romani *gad* ‘shirt’), *parne* ‘money’ (< Romani *parni* ‘white’),

cachuquear ‘to double-cross’ (< Nahuatl *cachuco* ‘counterfeit coin’), *chante* ‘home’ (< Nahuatl *chāntli* ‘home’), *chuchuluco* ‘candy, sweets’ (< Nahuatl *chuchul* ‘amusement; toy’), *tacuchí* ‘suit of clothes’ (< Nahuatl *tacuchi* ‘bind with cloth’).

Calques upon English: *cortarse* ‘quit, stop’ cf. Spanish *cortarse* ‘cut,’ ‘cut it out!’, *chueco* ‘dishonest, crooked’, cf. Spanish *chueco* ‘crooked, not straight’, *patada* ‘a thrill, a ‘kick’, cf. Spanish *patada* ‘a kick with the foot’, *lechuga* ‘money’ cf. Spanish *lechuga* ‘lettuce’, *quebrada* ‘a second chance, a ‘break’, cf. Spanish *quebrada* ‘a breakage, rupture’.

Modified words: *daime* ‘a dime, ten cents, *estache* ‘stash of marijuana’, *guaino* ‘wine’, *suera* ‘sweater’, *monquiar* ‘to monkey around’, *babiche* ‘son of a bitch.’

Reinterpretations based on English: *birria* ‘beer’ cf. Spanish *birria* ‘a meat stew’, *dátil* ‘a date, appointment’ cf. Spanish *dátil* ‘fruit of the date palm’, *ganga* ‘a gang’ cf. Spanish *ganga* ‘a bargain, a sale’, *mechas* ‘matches’ cf. Spanish *mechas* ‘wicks’, *chanza* ‘chance, opportunity’ cf. Spanish *chanza* ‘a witty saying’, *nacho* ‘naturally’ cf. Spanish *nacho* ‘cornmeal cracker’.

Figurative use: *al alba* ‘alert’ cf. Spanish *al alba* ‘at dawn’, *alfiler* ‘knife’ cf. Spanish *alfiler* ‘pin’, *arpon* ‘drug addiction’ cf. Spanish *arpon* ‘needle, pin’, *bolillo* ‘Euro-American’ cf. Spanish *bolillo* ‘white bread-roll’, *cacahuete* ‘barbiturate pill’ cf. Sp. *cacahuete* ‘peanut’, *calate* ‘use someone, sexually or otherwise’ cf. Spanish *calar* ‘to use, permeate, pierce’, *con safos* ‘no response allowed’ cf. Spanish *con safos* ‘with safety’, *cuete* ‘pistol’ cf. Spanish *cuete* ‘fire-cracker,’ *chicle* ‘unwanted third person’ cf. Spanish *chicle* ‘gum’, *ojales* ‘eyes’ cf. Spanish *ojales* ‘buttonholes’, *picaza* ‘Romani person’ cf. Spanish *picaza* ‘magpie’.

Disguised place names: *Califa* ‘California’, *Lobica* ‘Lubbock, Texas’, *Mejicle* ‘Mexico’, *Róbe* ‘Robestown, Texas’, *Sanánto* ‘San Antonio, Texas.’

4. **POLARI** reached its heyday in the mid-20th century mainly in Britain, but was also heard in other English-speaking countries. It was the in-group register used by gay males, and likely had its origins in the mediaeval Mediterranean Lingua Franca. Most of its lexicon is traceable to Italian (Hancock, 1984; Baker, 2002). See also

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ol8MIXWouY>.

Foreign words (other than Italian): *chavvies* ‘children’ (< Romani *čhave*), *gajo* ‘outsider’ (< Romani *gadžo* ‘non-Romani person’), *lavs* ‘letter, words’ (< Romani *lav* ‘word’), *bona lavs* ‘salutation at end of letter’ (< Polari *bona* + *prec.*), *mooi* ‘face’ (< Romani *mui* ‘face, mouth’), *moosh* ‘man, guy’ (Romani *murš* ‘male person’), *naff* ‘bad, unpleasant’ (< Romani *nafla* ‘ill’), *parnie*, ‘tears, rain’ (< Romani *pani* ‘water’), *vonka* ‘nose’ (< Romani *vonka* ‘before, in front’ < French *avant que*), *kosher-omee* ‘Jew’ (< Yiddish כשר *kosher* + Polari *omee*), *nishta* ‘no, not’ (< Yiddish נישט *ništ*), *nosh* ‘eat; food’ (< Yiddish נאָשן *nošn* ‘to snack’), *shykle* ‘wig’ (< Yiddish שייטל *šaitl*), *manky* ‘bad, useless’ (< French *manqué*), *Shinwarz* ‘Chinese’ (< French *chinoise*), *nada* ‘nothing’ (< Spanish *nada*), *nada to vada* ‘nothing to see’ (*vada* < Polari), *bodega* ‘shop’ (< Spanish *bodega*), *nix* ‘no, not’ (< German *nichts*), *sharda* ‘pity’ (< German *Schade*), *ken* ‘house’ (< Cant), *pannum* ‘bread’ (< Cant), *stampers* ‘shoes,’ (< Cant) *tober* ‘road’ (< Cant).

Modified words: *ajax* < ‘adjacent, near(by),’ *bimf* < *bumf* < bum fodder, i.e. ‘toilet paper,’ *cosy* ‘costume,’ *fab*, *fable*, ‘fabulous,’ *fogle* (< fog) ‘smoke; tobacco,’ *gent* (< argent) ‘money,’ *jarry* (< manjarry < Italian *mangiare* ‘eat’) ‘eat; food,’ *metties* (< metals) ‘coins,’ *trezh* ([trɛʒ]) ‘treasure (term of endearment).’

Coined words: *trummus* ‘buttocks,’ *vakaia* ‘noise,’ *yews* ‘eyes’ (< ‘looking at you(s)’?).

Disguised place names: *Eine* [aɪn] ‘London’ (< ?), *Dilly* ‘Picadilly.’

Rhyming slang: *dog* ‘telephone’ (< dog and bone), *minces* ‘eyes’ (< mince pies), *scotches* ‘legs’ (< Scotch eggs), *green* ‘stage’ (< greengage), *ginger* ‘homosexual’ (< ginger beer = ‘queer’).

Backslang: *riah* ‘hair,’ *slops* ‘police,’ *traf* ‘fart,’ *drut* ‘turd.’

Blends and metaphors: *ear fakes* ‘earrings,’ *fake riah* ‘wig,’ *fang-carsey* ‘dentist’s surgery’ (fang + Polari *carsey* ‘house’), *hearing cheats* ‘ears,’ *ogle fakes* ‘eyeglasses,’ *ogle riah fakes* ‘artificial eyelashes’ (eye + hair + things), *ogle riders* ‘eyebrows,’ *omee-poloni* ‘gay man,’ *pig’s latty* (‘pig’s house’) ‘stye on the eyelid (sty for stye),’ *polari lobes* ‘ears,’ *polari pipe* ‘telephone’ *vardavision* ‘television’ (Polari *varda* look at’ + (tele)vision).

5. **JIVE** Jive Talk was the coded register popular amongst jazz musicians during the 1940s which was recorded in a number of publications (Durst, 1953; Gold, 1957; Crane, 1958; Aiello, 2009). Earl Conrad, in his introduction to Burley (1944, reproduced in Aiello, 2009) suggests that “Jive talk may have been originally a kind of ‘pig Latin’ that the slaves talked with each other when in the presence of whites,” a possibility also suggested by DeSalvo (2006: xiiij, 96). Example: “It’s about a tray of haircuts on the backbeat when I nixes my pad, drops my twister on the keep, and collars a light broom down the cruncher to the lushpad on the three pointer” (“About three weeks ago I left home, gave my key to the housekeeper, and walked down the avenue to the tavern on the corner,” Burley, 1944:16-17). See also

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xc1Vuq2gZrA>.

Modified words: *mewnin* ‘morning,’ *igg* ‘ignore,’ *wice* ‘rice,’ *reet* ‘right,’ *ofay* ‘white person or policeman’ (reversal from ‘foe’), *ofay-sweet-smell* ‘talcum powder,’ *pies* ‘eyes,’ *bogoops* ‘a lot of’ (< beaucoup), *allrightareenie* ‘all right,’ *reachous* ‘righteously (i.e. positively) ‘reachable,’ of a female.

Cryptic vocabulary: *jeff* ‘conservative behaviour,’ *blip and copasetic* ‘excellent,’ *trickeration* ‘dressing fashionably,’ *zoot* ‘exaggerated,’ *boot* ‘give,’ *bree*, *rootie-vootie*, *viddle-vop* ‘girl,’ *cups* ‘sleep,’ *peola* ‘light-skinned person,’ *reetie-pootie* ‘onion,’ *glims* ‘eyes’ (< Cant), *dukes* ‘hands’ (< Cant), *doss* ‘sleep,’ *togs* ‘clothes’ (< Cant), *kick* ‘pocket’ (< Cant), *fin* ‘five dollars’ (< Cant), *plates* ‘feet,’ *stir* ‘jail,’ *shiv*, *chib* ‘knife’ (< Romani).

Metaphor and paraphrasis: *threads*, *vines*, *drapes* ‘clothes,’ *skypiece* ‘hat,’ *piechopper* ‘mouth,’ *brightnin* ‘day,’ *early black* ‘evening,’ *set of seven brights* ‘one week,’ *off-time jive* ‘inappropriate remark,’ *togged to the bricks* ‘smartly dressed,’ *the twister to the slammer* ‘the key to the door.’

6. **SHELTA** is the ethnolect of the population of Irish origin known as the Minceirs, or Irish Travellers, and is widely spoken in Britain and the United States. It exists along a continuum reflecting the percentage of cryptic lexicon it contains, the bulk of which derives from modified or disguised Irish, although Shelta speakers generally cannot speak that language. In the United States, the Irish Travel(l)ers refer to it as Gammon or “the Cant,” a confusion of labels (Hancock, 1984b, 1986). A speaker discusses it at

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J6YdRd-mBtU>.

Disguised Irish with reversal: *od* ‘two’ (< Irish *do* ‘two’), *karb* ‘old woman’ (< Old Irish *fracc* ‘old woman’), *lakin* ‘girl’ (< Irish *cailin* ‘girl’), *gop* ‘kiss’ (< Irish *pog*), *kam* ‘son’ (< Irish *mac*) *lurp* ‘flour’ (< Irish *plur*), *manik* ‘name’ (< Irish *ainm*), *tober* ‘road’ (< Irish *bother*).

Disguised forms from English: *fogus* ‘smoke,’ *grant* ‘aunt,’ *graucer* ‘saucer,’ *grauder* ‘soldier,’ *greskit* ‘vest (waistcoat),’ *groppa* ‘shop,’ *mongas* ‘tongs,’ *Rilantu* ‘Ireland, Catholic, Gaelic,’ *rucket* ‘bucket,’ *Sartin* ‘Martin,’ *shrish* ‘dish,’ *slatter* ‘platter.’

From other languages: *bulla* ‘letter’ (cf. Latin *bullarum* ‘(Papal) bull’), *finnif* ‘five-pound note’ (< Yiddish פֿינִיף *finif* ‘five’), *goshta* ‘plenty’ (< Pogadi *dosta* ‘plenty’ < Romani *dosta* ‘enough’), *gyor* ‘penis’ (< Pogadi *kor(i)* < Romani *kar* ‘do.’), *kanya* ‘ears’ (< Pogadi, Romani *kanya* ‘do.’), *manjari* ‘lunch’ (< Polari *manjari* < Italian *mangiare* ‘eat’), *ora* ‘time’ (< Pogadi, Romani *ora* ‘time’), *shushey* ‘rabbit’ (< Pogadi *shushi* < Romani *šošoj*), *stadi* ‘hat’ (< Pogadi, Romani *stadi* ‘do.’), *vongur* ‘money’ (< Pogadi *vongur* < Romani *angar* ‘coal’).

Coinings: *grat-gushu* ‘saddle’ (< Irish *ait* ‘place’ + *suidh* ‘sit’), *gwop-grimsher* ‘winter’ (< Irish *bog* ‘soft’ + *aimsir* ‘time’), *kadyog-skurlum* ‘lime’ (< Irish *caid* ‘stone’ + *skurlum* ‘burn(t)’), *od-sharkers* ‘scissors’ (Irish *do* ‘two’ + *gearradh* ‘cut’), *Skai Groot* ‘America’ (< Irish *uisge* ‘water’ + *nuadh* ‘new’), *slunya-suner* ‘mirror’ (< Irish *gloinne* ‘glass’ + *sun* ‘look’ <?).

7. **BOONTLING** Boontling emerged among the population of Boonville, California, and was extensively used between the 1880s and 1920s as the town’s private speech in its rivalry with neighboring communities in the Anderson Valley (Adams, 1971). See also: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CP33LwonyXM>.

Foreign words: *boshe* ‘deer’ (< Pomo *bishe*), *boo* ‘potato’ (< Pomo *bu*), *breggo* ‘sheep’ (< Spanish *borego*), *layche* ‘milk’ (< Spanish *leche*).

Compounding: *haireem* ‘dog’ (< hairy-mouth), *puseek* ‘cat’ (< pussy cat), *sluggin nook* ‘bedroom’ (*slug* ‘sleep’ (<Yorkshire dialect of English) + *nook*).

Modified words: *deem* ‘dime,’ *leek* ‘look,’ *sneeble* ‘snowball,’ *smeel* ‘small,’ *televeef* ‘television,’ *neemer* ‘no more,’ *hyutle* ‘hotel,’ *tobe* ‘tobacco,’ *ling* ‘lingo,’ *Boontling* (< ‘Boon(ville) + *ling*), *moshe* ‘machine.’

Personal names: *borp* ‘pancake syrup’ (< Boarp brothers), *madge* ‘prostitute’ (< Madge), *lizzied* ‘pregnant’ (< Lizzie).

Semantic extension: *fazeeck* ‘peach’ (< fuzzy + g(anno) ‘species of apple’), *glow-worm* ‘kerosene lamp.’

8. **NORDLINN** Nordlinn was a conlang based largely on English and Swedish created in the late 1950s by the author and a friend while in high school, and which is still spoken by them today. While (unlike the other cryptolects discussed here) it has a distinct grammatical structure, some of its processes of word-formation are the same (Lundgren & Hancock, 2009).

Foreign words: [ˈskæli] ‘house, room’ (< Norse *skáli*), [pɛˈkeɪ] ‘why’ (< Italian *perchè*), [ʌŋk] ‘life’ (< Egyptian *ankh*), [loʊk] ‘hole’ (< German *Loch*), [sfʌs] ‘a sexual position’ (< French *soixante-neuf*), [ˈdʒælə] ‘go’ (< Romani *džal*), [tɒk] ‘buttocks’ (< Yiddish טװך *toches*), [ˈsfikə] ‘man’ (< Halkomelem *swəyʔqə*), [ˈglupɪg] ‘silly’ (< Russian глупый).

Slang: [spɒn] ‘money’ (< spondooliks); [pɪnɜr] ‘leg(s)’ (< pins); [glɒm], [ˈglɒmə] ‘hand; hold’ (< glom); [pleɪdɜr] ‘feet’ (< Cockney plate (of meat); [glɪm] ‘light; fire’ (< glimmer).

Modified words: [jʊk] ‘I’ (< Swedish *jag* [jaɪ]), [ˈfli:jə] ‘girl’ (< Swedish *flicka*), [kfʌn] ‘when’ (< French *quand*), [ˈplɒdə] ‘vagina’ (< Canadian French *plotte*), [ˈmjukə] ‘very’ (< Swedish *mycket*), [jɔ:] ‘yes’ (< Swedish *ja*); [gəˈhʌft] ‘cheat’ (< shaft), [ˈi:jə] ‘not’ (< Swedish *icke*), [ˈhæplɪg] ‘maybe’ (< Swedish ‘perhaps’).

Semantic extension and compounding: [biəl] ‘car; any vehicle’ (< Swedish *bil* ‘car’), [ˈøɡə] ‘see’ (< Swedish [øɡ] ‘eye’), [ˈsɛŋə] ‘sleep’ (< Swedish *säng* ‘bed’), [ˈrɒtø:l] ‘wine,’ (< red + Swedish *öl* ‘beer’), [ˈjʌmstræsə] ‘railway’ (iron + Swedish [ˈstræsə] ‘way’), [ˈjʌmstræsəbiəl] ‘train’ ([jʌmstræsə] + [biəl], see above), [li:k] ‘body’ (< Swedish *lik*), [ˈli:kfræm] ‘skeleton’ ([li:k] see above + [fræm] < ‘frame’), [ˈlikfræmərˈku] ‘bone’ ([ˈlikfræm] see above + [mərˈku] ‘piece’ < French *morceau*), [ˈʌŋkjʊs] ‘blood’ ([ʌŋk] see above + [jʊs] ‘juice’), [ˈkujʊs] ‘milk’ < [ku] ‘cow’ + [jʊs] see above), [ɡɪˈrɒlə] ‘hear’ (< ear hole), [gəˈmaʊdə] ‘eat’ (< mouth), [ˈkeɪklʊk] ‘mouth’ (cake + [lʊk] see above).

Proper names: [ʃvʌn] ‘nose’ (< Mr. Swan, vice-principal), hence [ˈʃvʌnə] ‘to smell,’ [ˈʃvʌn:ɪn] ‘a smell,’ [ˈʃvʌnlʊk] ‘nostril’ ([ˈʃvʌnə] + [lʊk] see above), [ˈkæmrəfli:jə] ‘slim girl’ (< Cameron, the name of a local lake that is supposedly bottomless) + [ˈfli:jə] see above); [ˈrʌklɪdʒ] ‘dirty person’ (< Rucklidge, a fellow student).

AFRICANISMS REVISITED: RESISTING REPRESSION IN THE DUTCH AND BRITISH COLONIAL CARIBBEAN

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Abstract

This essay examines repressive Dutch and British colonial legislation towards Afro-Caribbean culture, specifically drums and drumming. Tracing the direction of the resilient innovations made by the Afro-Caribbean populations in both islands reveals the varied ways in which African culture has survived in the Caribbean.

Key terms: Curaçao, Trinidad, African drums, tambu, steelband

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[Culture is] the product of interaction between the past and the present. Its toughness and resiliency are determined not by a culture's ability to withstand change, which indeed may be a sign of stagnation not life, but by its ability to react creatively and responsively to the realities of a new situation.

Lawrence Levine (1977: 5)

Introduction: Africanisms

The almost total absence of visible African artifacts in African American culture led to the general belief that nothing African survived the tyranny of American slavery ... in the United States. (Asante, 2005: 65)

The term *Africanism* was originally used in a linguistic sense (the Oxford English Dictionary 2021, cites the first instance in an essay by the British poet John Milton in 1641), a focus which continues to this day in, for example, discussing African-derived vocabulary in Puerto Rican Spanish. However, from the eighteenth century on, references to Africanisms in Britain expanded to include customs and traits characteristic of African peoples. A focus on cultural practices developed in the twentieth century as American

anthropologists and sociologists such as Melville Herskovits and E. Franklin Frazier debated the extent to which African heritage survived slavery and resettlement in the Americas.

While Herskovits (1941) emphasizes the continuity of what Holloway (2005) characterizes as “African carryovers,” Frazier notes the tremendous repression which Africans encountered in North America, arguing “because of the manner in which the Negroes were captured in Africa and enslaved, they were practically stripped of their social heritage” (1963: 1). Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price (1976, 1992) focus the discussion of Africanisms on the Caribbean, emphasizing how different culturally the African slaves from different ethnic groups and regions were. In effect siding with Frazier that direct cultural continuities are rare, they argue: “What the slaves undeniably shared at the outset was their enslavement; all – or nearly all – had to be created by them” (Mintz & Price, 1992: 18). Tracing its use up to more recent times, Palmié (2019) questions the utility of the concept of Africanisms for analyzing reflections of African culture

Drums, music and dance

Afro-Atlantic peoples have used music and dance to continually represent and reinvent their multiple bases of identity Through the two genres, these communities dramatize, articulate, and appreciate their historical narratives in relation to their African, European, and American genealogies. (Diouf & Nwankwo, 2010: 1)

Throughout the Greater Caribbean, arguably no more salient examples of surviving elements of African culture exist than African-style drums, polyrhythmic drumming techniques and related dances. Moreover, far from causing mixed ethnic groups disembarked in the “New World” to in effect start from scratch, the evidence would indicate that enslaved Africans reproduced musical instruments, drum music and dance styles from their own heritage. Figure 1 below is an illustration of African musical instruments from John Gabriel Stedman’s *Narrative of a Five Years’ Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam ... from 1772-1777*. Stedman (1813: 296) comments that in the Dutch colony the slaves’ “instruments of music, which are not a little ingenious, are all made by themselves.”

Most are percussion instruments. For example, number 1, identified as a *qua qua* is a board beaten with metal pieces or bones. Number 4 is identified as the sheepskin-covered “*great Creole drum*,” which the musician straddles and beats with the hands. Number 5 has sheepskin at both ends and is called “*the great Loango drum*” (referring to a coastal area north of the Congo River) which Stedman says is played with number 7 “*the small Loango drum*” (1813: 296-297). Stedman testifies to the Africans’ enthusiasm for making music in both the regular Saturday evening diversions and especially the quarterly “grand balls,” asserting: “So indefatigable are they at this diversion, that I

have known the drums continue beating without intermission from six o'clock on Saturday night till the sun made its appearance on the Monday morning" (1833: 299).

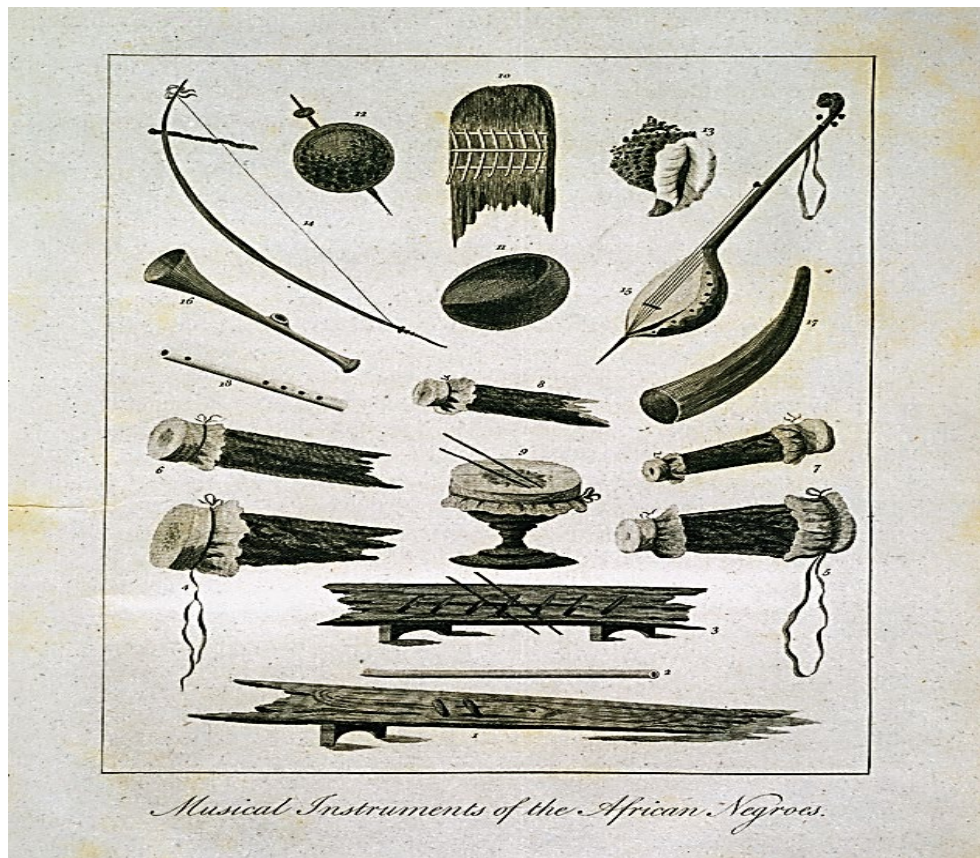


Figure 1 Musical Instruments Suriname 1770's by Stedman. Source: [public domain] <http://slaveryimages.org/s/slaveryimages/item/964>

That African drums, drum music and drum dances have faced intense repression in possibly every European colony where they have appeared seems likely. That this repression even extended to European colonies on the African continent is being studied by an organization called AfricanDrummingLaws.org founded in 2016 by US-based academics and law librarians. Writing about this organization, Parisi (2017) points out that while the cultural importance of African drumming has long been recognized, "[l]ess known is the disruptive effect of colonial drumming regulations as a means of controlling African society." For example, British colonial authorities enacted the "Control of Drumming Adoptive Bye-laws" which as amended in 1958 forbade the playing of twelve drums between the hours of 6:00 pm and 6:00 am in the Egun-Awori district of SW Nigeria.

In the Caribbean, such laws have been around for much longer. Colonial legislation regulating drums and other African musical instruments was enacted as early as the seventeenth century and was historically more focused on fears regarding the spread of rebellion. Handler (1982: 15) quotes documents from the British colony of Barbados

from 1676 decrying a foiled slave revolt of the previous year in which “In the dead time of night ... trumpets ... of elephants teeth and gourdes [were] to be sounded on several hills, to give notice of the general rising.” In response, a 1676 act ordered regular searches of slave houses for “clubs, wooden swords, or other mischievous weapons” as well as “drums, horns, shells, or other loud instruments which may call [the slaves] together to give sign or notice to one another of their wicked designs and purposes” (Handler, 1982: 17). Fear of musical instruments continued in the colony as attested by a subsequent 1688 “Act for the Governing of Negroes” (No. 329) which repeats the language of the 1676 act and further pressures slave owners to prevent slaves from owning and playing instruments such as drums and horns:

And whatsoever Master, Owner or Overseer shall permit or suffer his or her Negro or other Slave or Slaves, at any time hereafter to beat Drums, blow Horns, or use any other loud Instruments, and shall not cause his Negro-Houses once every Week to be diligently searched, and such Instruments be found, cause to be burned ... shall forfeit Fifty Shillings Sterling for every such Offence. (Rawlin, 1699: 157)

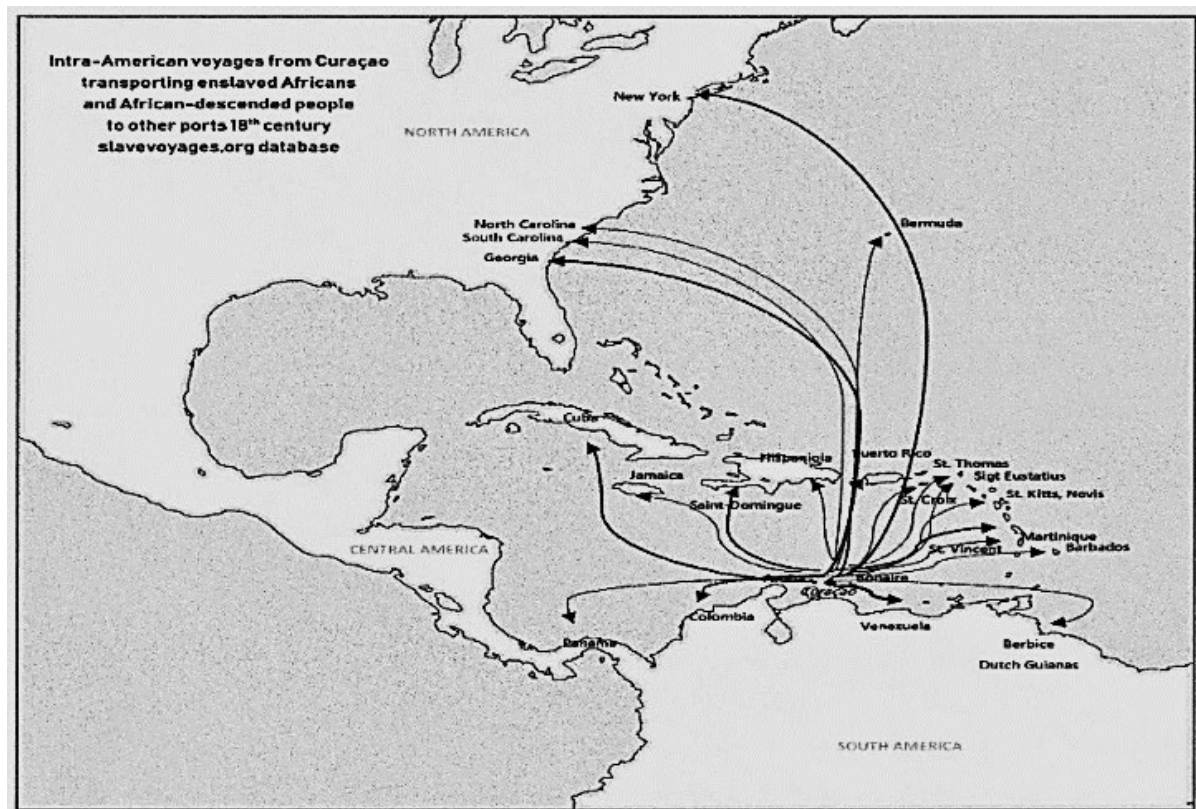
Yet, despite the drastic legal suppression of African musical instruments and music in the plantation colonies, cultural survivals abound. Versions of the instruments described by Stedman have been documented throughout the Caribbean and areas of South America where Africans were disembarked during the trans-Atlantic and intra-American slave trade. Notably, in many instances, the very repression African and African-descended peoples endured can be seen to have driven the creative evolution of African-derived instruments, musical repertoires and dances. Glissant (1992: 248-249) asserts: “music, gesture, dance are forms of communications, just as important as the gift of speech. That is how we first managed to emerge from the plantation.”

The repression of African drums and drumming in Curaçao: Adapting social functions

Tambú has undergone multiple transformations ... As a sacred ritual, it continued to facilitate the worship of deities and communion with ancestors; as a secular practice, it became tantamount to an oral newspaper In its more recent evolution, it has produced a renowned Curaçao New Year’s event through which bad luck ... may ostensibly be driven away. In [a] ... newer transformation ... the so-called Tambú season, has become an occasion in which Curaçao youth revel in what they now consider party music. (de Jong, 2012: 4)

Curaçao was originally claimed by Spain in 1499, but was taken over by the Dutch in 1634. An important entrepôt during the trans-Atlantic slave trade, rather than a plantation economy, Curaçao has had “a key role in what Gilroy (1999) calls the routing of black cultures within the Americas” (Allen 2012: 53). While Postma (1990: 302)

estimates that the Dutch disembarked over 400,000 captive Africans to various ports, the exact number arriving in Curaçao remains unclear. For example, the Slave Voyages database estimates that more than 27,000 Africans were transported to Curaçao on voyages for which records exist either through the trans-Atlantic or intra-American slave trade (slavevoyages.org). However, it is undisputed that the vast majority of Africans disembarked in Curaçao were transported on to other colonies. For example, Map 1 from Albuyeh (2019: 41) below shows the destinations of Africans sent out from Curaçao in the eighteenth century.



Map 1 Slave voyages from Curaçao to other colonies, 18th century. Source: slavevoyages.org (Albuyeh, 2019: 41)

The Africans arriving in Curaçao came primarily from West and West Central Africa. Eltis and Richardson (2010) report that the chief areas where Dutch traders embarked slaves were first West Central Africa (modern Congo, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Angola), followed by the Gold Coast (Ghana) and the Bight (“bay”) of Benin (SE Ghana, Togo, Benin and SW Nigeria).

The most famous African drum in Curaçao is a skin-covered round wooden drum called *tambu*. Despite claims that the name *tambu* comes from French *tambour* or Spanish *tambor*, linguists derive it from a KiKongo word for drum, *ntambu*, of West Central Africa (Warner-Lewis, 2003: 238). Whether any connection exists between African and European sources – the etymology of the Romance language words has been reported

to be fifteenth century Arabic or Persian – certainly the similarity among these words for drum could be seen to be a case of reinforcing convergence, and possibly a reason the name has survived. (Note that the name *tambu* shows up in the variously spelled tamboo bamboo percussion music of Trinidad discussed below.)

Over the years *tambu* has been the name of not only the drum, but also associated dances, musical genres, and singing and feasting. Although drums, music, and/or dances called *tambu* are found in Jamaica (Jamaica Information Service, n.d.) and as far away as Brazil (Kubik, 1990), The continuing importance of *tambu* is exemplified by its having been named by UNESCO as part of the intangible heritage of the Dutch Caribbean and Suriname in 2014 (UNESCO, 2016).

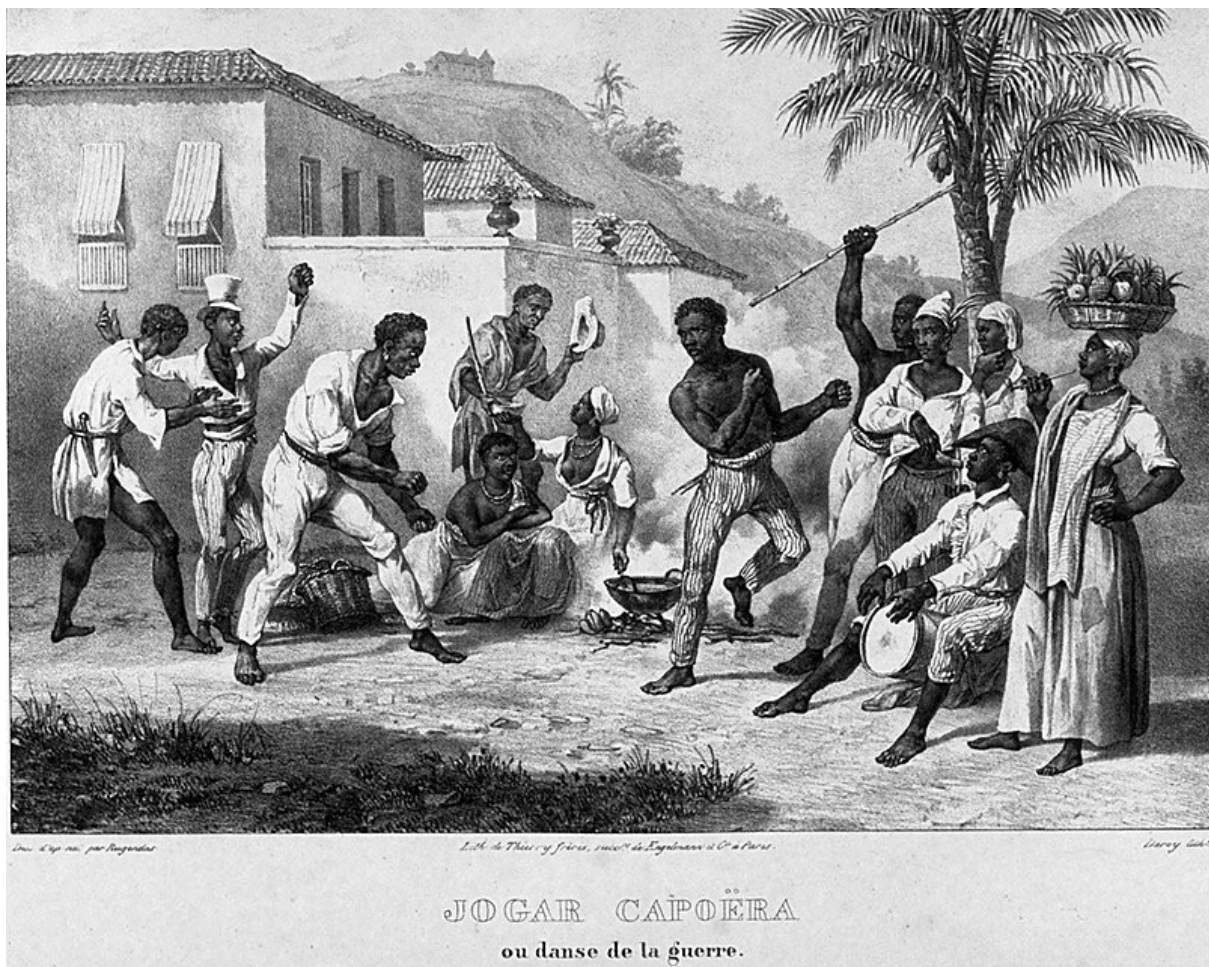


Figure 2 “Jogar Capoëra ou danse de la guerre” 1835 by Rugendas. Source: [public domain] <http://slaveryimages.org/s/slaveryimages/item/1020>

Yet since Dutch colonial times, harsh measures of suppression were directed at the drum, music and dancing associated with *tambu*. De Jong (2012) reports that the origin of *tambu* is associated with arrivals from Angola who engaged in stick fighting to the accompaniment of drumming and singing.

The fact that the tambu drum arrived with stick fighting was significant to the colonial rejection of this drum. Stick fighting, a kind of dancing martial arts form, is found in many other regions in the Americas; the Curaçaoan version is called *kokomakaku*. The image below shows martial arts accompanied by drumming in Brazil painted by the artist Johann Moritz Rugendas in 1835, “Capoeira or the Dance of War.”

De Jong (2012: 22) asserts that:

uniformly, when New World colonialists sought to maintain control of the growing slave communities, the black martial arts became the focus of censure ... instead of disappearing altogether, however, *kokomakaku* assumed new and different forms ... a secular version evolved during the early slave years, which replaced fighting sticks with words ... used to attack a person’s real or supposed shortcomings ... This new musical performance context acquired the name *Tambú*, its title taken from the accompanying ritual drum, *tambú*.

De Jong (2012: 22-23) attests that a sacred form also emerged which became an integral part of the Montamentu religion which derived from an Angolan practice of communing with ancestral spirits. Following the format of *kokomakaku* the first part of the ceremony involved praises sung not to the stick fighters, but rather to the ancestors. During the second part, audience members performed a trance-like dance and “the drummer, whose improvised slaps and hits guided the stick fighters in battle ... was [now] responsible for mediating between the ancestors and the participants” (2012: 23).

De Jong (2010) describes the continuing evolution of tambu as the Dutch West Indies Company (WIC) shifted its trading focus from Angola to West Africa during the eighteenth century and iron instruments were added to the musical accompaniment. Enslaved Africans from West Africa are known to have brought metal-working skills to the Greater Caribbean (Goucher, 2013). The West African influence extended to the adoption of West African gods, who alongside ancestral spirits, were consulted for their guidance and protection.

During this period the Dutch also authorized priests from Venezuela to conduct religious training among the slaves. “Yet, rather than spelling the end of Tambú ... followers of Tambú added the [Catholic] saints to their existing pantheon ... and adopted the Catholic ritual calendar” (de Jong, 2010: 204). Moreover, de Jong states that after the WIC established incarceration facilities on Curaçao in the late eighteenth century many prisoners arrived from colonies in South America and other parts of the Caribbean whose Afro-creolized deities were absorbed by tambu for example borrowing Legba from Haitian vodou.

However, as the black population was engaging in such communal activities, fearing anti-white sentiment, the Dutch authorities intervened, “with Tambú at the forefront of the attack” (de Jong, 2010: 207).

In 1740, an ordinance known in English as “Rules against Bad Behaviour and For the Better Discipline of Blacks and Mulattos” was enacted, followed by the “Prohibition of Meetings by Black People and Mulattos” in 1741, forbidding congregation in groups of seven or more (de Jong, 2012: 52). Dutch repression of tambu increased after the abolition of slavery in 1863. An 1872 ordinance “The Decree to Keep Public Order, Tranquility and Security on the Island of Curaçao” empowered white vigilante interference and specified a list of punishable behaviors including the dancing which could be associated with tambu (de Jong, 2010: 209). At this time, the Catholic church condemned tambu for its “evil character” and began to call its followers *brua* or witches. As de Jong reports, instead of abandoning tambu, many Afro-Curaçaoans turned toward secular versions of tambu. “However, that too soon became a target of criticism. The church now attacked Tambú through its dance, promptly complaining it was the dance moves that embodied evil” (2010: 209). In 1882 Monsignor Niewindt proclaimed:

you can hear in the streets and in the towns the noises of Tambú drummers and this so-called singing ... by these shameless black women [who] ... take turns doing this appalling dance this has prompted Protestants to feel ashamed and ... say that Curaçao is becoming more like Africa – an uncivilized place. (quoted in de Jong, 2010: 209)

Just as there were many versions of sacred tambu, for example, its role during funerals, secular tambu also existed with different functions. For example, tambu performers circulated gossip and news among plantations and communities (de Jong 2012, 54).

Christa (2002) describes growing up with modern tambu and the difference between the “real” tambu danced in a grove of trees and the tambu she and her friends danced at parties along with salsa and disco. Christa (2002: 295) attests that both are developments of secular tambu since “tambu has completely lost its religious aspect because of the very successful campaign to make it seem immoral.”

Although from the late 1700’s the drums themselves had also been targeted by Dutch colonial officials, who would confiscate and/or destroy them, they somehow survived in a similar form to the African originals. De Jong (2012: 57) relates that after emancipation in 1838, the practice of painting the drums in the colors of the Dutch flag was adopted and the police on confiscating the drums sold them back to the tambu players rather than destroying them according to local folk historians quoted by Rosalia (1997: 108). Thus, while the dances and events featuring tambu drums have evolved over time, the musical instrument has remained remarkably similar to that introduced by the Africans who introduced it to Trinidad.

The repression of African drums and drumming in Trinidad: Adapting musical instruments

[T]hese [African] ancestors were brought to a new land to undergo pressures towards culture change. But the musical instruments retained their

basic percussional character though changing in form – skindrum, stamping tube, tambour bamboo, biscuit drum, dust bin and finally, steel drum – in unbroken continuity through centuries of human struggle for freedom to sing, dance and ‘play masque’. (Elder, 1969: 20)

Trinidad was claimed by Spain a year before Curaçao. While still a Spanish colony, Trinidad acquired many French settlers when the policy known in English as the Cedula of Population (1783) encouraged Roman Catholic European allies of Spain to move there. As a result, many planters, their slaves and free African-descended people migrated to Trinidad from neighboring French colonies. Trinidad was taken over by the British in 1797. Partly as a result of this mixed colonial heritage, African captives who settled in Trinidad came from a number of ethnic groups and geographic areas. In the Trinidad Slave Census of 1813, 54% of the more than 25,000 slaves reported were African born, of these 20% were Igbo (SE Nigeria), 17% were Congo, 16% were Moko (Cameroons), 10% Mandingo (Senegambia), with the rest divided among other West African ethnic groups (de Verteuil 1992, 9-10). Although Yoruba people (SW Nigeria) in the 1813 census comprised only .07% of the African-born slave population, from 1838 to 1870 Yoruba are believed to have made up a significant portion of some 36,000

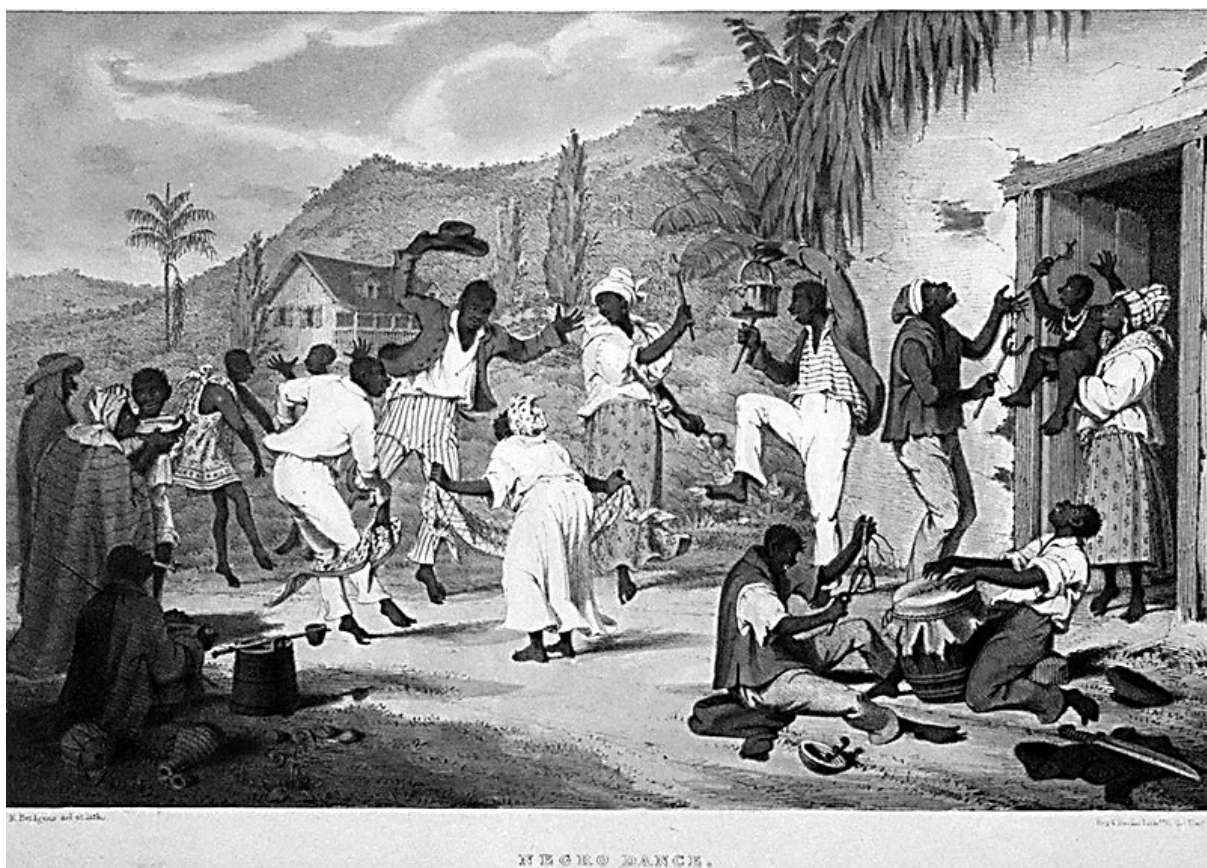


Figure 3 “Negro Dance” 1836 by Bridgens. Source [public domain]
<http://slaveryimages.org/s/slaveryimages/item/988>

Africans, recruited from liberated slaves captured by the British Royal Navy, who immigrated to Trinidad as indentured workers (Trotman, 1976). An even greater number of indentured laborers recruited post-emancipation were from South Asia. Between 1838 and 1920, approximately 144,000 South Asians immigrated to Trinidad (Singh, 2015: 53).

Early skin-topped drums (membrane drums) played by African slaves in Trinidad have been largely described as part of Congo culture (Elder, 1969; Warner-Lewis, 2003, although Igbo cultural tradition also features a group of similar drums (Lo-Bamijoko, 1987). Richard Bridgens' lithograph "Negro Dance" in Figure 3 below depicts a musician playing a membrane drum in a plantation in Trinidad in 1836.

Cowley (1992: 606-611) surveys British colonial legislation indicating that within months of the British takeover of Trinidad in 1797, regulations restricting dancing appeared which required slaves to apply for a permit to dance until "the 8:00 pm firing of the evening gun" and "coloured people" to apply for a permit to do so after 8:00 pm. In 1801, a law was enacted which prohibited "Negro dances in Town;" in 1807 "people of colour" had to donate to the pauper fund to obtain permission to hold "Balls and Assemblies." Ordinance No. 1 of 1832 defined offences committed by slaves which included holiday meetings or dances without permission.

Post abolition and emancipation the ordinances continued with a focus on playing percussion instruments. In 1835, Ordinance No. 4 regulating behavior within the town of Port of Spain forbade the beating and playing of "any drum, gong, tambour, bangee or chac-chac in any house, outhouse, building or yard" between 8:00 pm and 5:00 am. An 1837 ordinance extended this prohibition to areas near Port of Spain.

In 1882, Ordinance No. 9 targeted Muslim South Asian immigrants, enacting "legislation to regulate the anniversary of Moharram known also as Hosé" which also featured drumming using Indian "tassa" membrane drums. Bazinet (2013: 65) asserts that the governor at the time "was responding to complaints about East Indian drumming around the St. James Barracks (reminding us that Indo- and Afro-Trinidadians alike were part of the lower class 'problem' in elite eyes)." As Bazinet documents regarding "Obeah legislation," the suppression of drumming among the Afro-Trinidadian population also had a religious connection as it was associated with the Orisha religion among the immigrant "Yarrabas" (Yorubas) (Bazinet 2013: 57).

Ordinance no. 11 of 1883 made every "Owner and Occupier of any house, building, yard or other place" liable if they allowed undesirables to "play or sing or dance therein to any drum, gong, tambour, bangee, chac-chac or other instruments." Ordinance No. 1 of 1884 took prohibiting music to the street: "The Governor may from time to time by Proclamation prohibit during periods specified ... any of the following things in any street, highway or public places 2. The beating of any drums, the blowing of any horn or the use of any other noisy instrument. 3. Any dance or procession." Thus, bands

were allowed to parade the streets on Carnival day, “provided they did not carry the old conch-shells and cow horns or beat the African drums” (Elder, 1964: 132).

Whereas, in Curaçao, response to colonial suppression involved changing the venues where drum music was used such that the functions and occasions including the playing of the drums became more and more ‘benign’ under the colonial gaze, in Trinidad the musical instruments themselves were adapted. As Elder notes above, the first substitute for drums was the adoption of instruments called stamping tubes, and notably, both the Igbo and Yoruba are among those who use versions of these instruments. Blades (1992: 40) states that African stamping tubes have a wide distribution and “remain a woman’s instrument and are usually connected with fertility rites, particularly at sowing or harvest time.” Thus, the stamping tube might have been seen as a less-threatening choice of instrument by African and African-descended people in Trinidad. Citing sources that document the past and current use of stamping tubes throughout the Americas, Osborne (n.d.) points to claims that they became a substitute for hide-covered drums as recently as the early twentieth-century in Haiti when the US military often seized and destroyed drums.

In Trinidad, the stamping tubes evolved into the variously spelled “tamboo bamboo” bands in which the instruments seem to have taken on the tonal characteristics of Yoruba talking drums. Cut to various lengths, the bamboo pieces are beaten with sticks and produce a tonal music. Although the claim that the bands playing bamboo sticks were also then banned by the British is often repeated (e.g. Seeger, 1958; Savage, 2017), it appears that suppression of the tamboo bamboo bands emanated from the organizers of Carnival who wanted to “improve” the music which had never been accepted by “Whites and Coloureds” (Liverpool, 2001, 363). Guilbault (2007: 45) reports that “Even though the tamboo bamboo ... that had replaced the banned drums after 1884 were never outlawed and continued to accompany singing during Carnival well into the 1930’s, the organizers of singing competitions in 1919 excluded all bamboo and bottle musicians.” In addition, the bamboo canes had sometimes been used as weapons by rival bands, that could be confiscated by the police. Gradually, not only bottles, but also pieces of metal were introduced as percussion instruments.

“In urban areas,” Brown (1990: 91) reports, “tamboo bamboo bands were replaced by percussion bands that transformed the flotsam and jetsam of an industrial society – brake linings, trash cans, paint cans, and biscuit tins – into musical instruments. With more carrying power than tamboo bamboo, these cast-off metal products were new vehicles expressing an old aesthetic – the same one found in West African percussion bands.”

As with the tamboo bamboo, the metal percussion instruments’ evolution would also embrace the production of tones. Brown (ibid.) explains that “At first these percussion bands produced only rhythms, and bugles were used to provide the melodic lines.

Someone, however, discovered that the metal tins they had been beating could produce more than one tone if the surfaces they struck were shaped in certain ways.”

By the 1940's steel drums discarded by the oil companies and the US military forces stationed in Trinidad (Liverpool 1994: 189) were being adapted for the playing of music. Thus, were created the range of steel pans and the steelbands that play these instruments. “Less than two generations ago,” then Prime Minister of Trinidad, A. N. R. Robinson, proclaimed, “the most deprived members of the urban sector of this society, built on the age-old tradition of the drum. They tuned a steel membrane and made oil drums capable of interpreting the most complex and sophisticated musical forms” (Robinson, 1991).

Conclusion: Tracing Africanisms through time and space

[N]o one's life is entirely traditional and no one's life is entirely modern
.... Traditional versus modern is better thought of as opposite ends of a
scale Each community fits somewhere along the scale, in some combination of modern and traditional. (Finger, 2004: 31-32)

That fact that in both Curaçao and Trinidad aspects of the cultural traditions which were carried to these Caribbean islands by the Africans who came to live there have survived is indisputable. In both, harsh and targeted colonial repression was met with resilient innovation. In Curaçao, the role of the tambu drum and drumming evolved in radical ways that also met the needs of generations of Curaçaoans. In Trinidad, the form of the original drums and drumming changed in radical ways which in turn met the needs of generations of Trinidadians. Holloway (2005: 2) refines the concept of Africanisms to include traceability: “those elements of culture found in the New World that are traceable to an African origin.” This essay is one attempt to examine the ways in which the salient cultural elements of drums and drumming may be traced throughout the Caribbean.

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EL ELEMENTO PORTUGUÉS EN LA LENGUA FRANCA DE SURINAME, EL SRANANTONGO

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Resumen

El elemento portugués en las lenguas criollas surinamesas representa probablemente por mayor parte los restos del pidgin afroportugués que se hablaba en la época colonial en la costa del Oeste de África, que llegó a Suriname por vía de esclavizados. Probablemente, por un proceso de relexificación, los vocablos de origen portugués en el sranantongo, se han remplazado por vocablos de origen inglés, y luego se agregaron vocablos de origen holandés. Por lo tanto, existe más de un substrato en estos idiomas: el substrato de idiomas ancestrales de África y el substrato de pidgin afroportugués. En el caso de la lengua criolla a base léxica inglesa sáamaka, también desarrollado por grupos de esclavizados huidos, hubo una influencia de superstrato de vocablos de origen portugués sefardita o una variedad criolla del portugués llevado de Pernambuco, sobre esta lengua criolla básicamente de léxico inglés. Este artículo describe el elemento portugués en el vocabulario del sranantongo, la lengua franca de Suriname.

Términos clave: lenguas criollas, vocabulario, sranantongo, portugués

Introducción

Este artículo describe el elemento portugués en la lengua criolla a base léxica inglesa, el sranantongo, la lengua franca de Suriname. Se relaciona la descripción con el concepto sociolingüístico de ‘ecología multilingüe’ (Yakpo & Muysken, 2017) y el concepto de ‘vocabulario básico’, como lo aplica Huttar (1994) a una de las lenguas criollas afines al sranantongo, el nduyka. Los dos idiomas son lenguas criollas cuyo vocabulario viene por la mayor parte del inglés, pero también del portugués, holandés y algunos idiomas indígenas. Sin embargo, el nduyka se desarrolló en el interior de Suriname por pueblos cimarrones, alejado de las plantaciones y la ciudad en la costa del país, que es el área donde se ha desarrollado el sranantongo.

Huttar (1994) se enfoca en la secuencia de incorporación de vocablos y su relación con el concepto de vocabulario básico. Los vocablos menos básicos, normalmente se sustituyen con más facilidad que los vocablos básicos. Una de las conclusiones de Huttar (1994: 226), basándose en la sustitución de vocablos de colores básicos como el negro y blanco en el ndyuka, es que en situaciones de criollización, por el proceso de relexificación, posiblemente el vocabulario básico se sustituye y se estabiliza primero, mientras que vocablos menos básicos no se sustituyen o se sustituyen y se estabilizan después. Huttar relaciona este fenómeno con la frecuencia de los dominios de uso, en este caso, las interacciones en las plantaciones, donde la distancia social entre esclavistas y esclavizados solía ser relativamente grande (Huttar, 1994: 226). El caso del sranantongo, en este aspecto, se deja comparar con el ndyuka, aunque los dos idiomas se han desarrollado en diferentes ámbitos del país, tanto geográficamente como social y culturalmente (Yakpo & Muysken, 2017: 7).

El elemento portugués en las lenguas criollas surinamesas representa probablemente por mayor parte los restos del pidgin afroportugués que se hablaba en la época colonial en la costa del Oeste de África, que llegó a Suriname por vía de esclavizados. Probablemente, por un proceso de *relexificación*, los vocablos de origen portugués en el sranantongo, se han remplazado por vocablos de origen inglés, y luego se agregaron vocablos de origen holandés (Smith & Cardoso, 2004; Charry, Muysken & Koefoed, 1983: 22, 29, 44; Voorhoeve & Lichtveld, 1975: 3; Voorhoeve 1982: 41, 42, Herskovitz 1930 in Voorhoeve & Lichtveld 1975: 4). Por lo tanto, existe más de un substrato en estos idiomas: el substrato de idiomas ancestrales de África y el substrato de pidgin afroportugués. En el caso de la lengua criolla a base léxica inglesa sáamaka, también desarrollado por grupos de esclavizados huidos, hubo una influencia de superstrato de vocablos de origen portugués sefardita o una variedad criolla del portugués llevado de Pernambuco, sobre esta lengua criolla básicamente de léxico inglés.

Es decir, había un ‘protocriollo afro-inglés’ que se basaba, por lo menos parcialmente, en un idioma protocriollo a base léxica portuguesa relexificada al inglés que se hablaba en la costa occidental de África. De este protocriollo afro-inglés se formaron, entre otras variedades, el sranantongo, ndyuka y sáamaka (Smith, 2002; Arends, 2002). El sranantongo y ndyuka son por mayor parte de léxico inglés, mientras que el sáamaka lleva un relativamente alto porcentaje de vocablos de origen portugués. El precursor del sáamaka se conocía como *dyu tongo* (‘lengua de judíos’), el nombre antiguo en la colonia para denominar el lenguaje de los esclavizados de los judíos sefarditas.

Por la complejidad del proceso de las interacciones sociales en la ecología multilingüe de la mencionada época en que se formó el precursor del sranantongo, es difícil distinguir cuáles son los vocablos de origen portugués incorporados al sranantongo proveniente del protocriollo afro-inglés y cuáles son los que se incorporaron por vía del lenguaje de los sefarditas y sus esclavizados. Tal vez el papel de *dyu tongo* fue más influyente de lo que se piensa hasta ahora. Es muy posible, que la variedad sefardita del

portugués y el protocriollo afro-inglés se juntaron en algunos momentos, usando los mismos vocablos parecidos.

Para describir del elemento portugués en el sranantongo, este estudio busca la respuesta a la pregunta directiva: ¿Cuál es la influencia de origen portugués, directa o indirectamente, (incluyendo los préstamos incorporados de otros idiomas) en el sranantongo? Enfocándose en los elementos antiguos de origen del portugués, se excluyen las posibles influencias modernas de portugués por vía de migrantes brasileños a Suriname. Aunque este ensayo se enfoca en describir estas influencias en el sranantongo, tiene características explorativas dentro el marco teórico de los conceptos ‘ecología multilingüe’ y ‘vocabulario básico’. La selección de vocablos se basa en la investigación de listas de palabras y diccionarios del sranantongo de los siglos XVIII y XIX y diccionarios modernos. Para estudiar la incorporación de vocablos de origen portugués desde la formación temprano del idioma, se usaron los diccionarios de sranantongo de Schumann (1783), Focke (1855) y Wüschlängel (1865). Sin embargo, se enfocó más en los diccionarios de Schumann y Focke, porque el diccionario de Wüschlängel (1865), aunque incluye muchas expresiones que no están incluidos en los demás diccionarios de esta época, representa por parte el *kerki sranan* (‘el sranantongo de la iglesia’), el lenguaje de misioneros y evangélicos que se considera menos auténtico. Por ejemplo, este diccionario incluye vocablos inventados que se refieren a la biblia, como *pikadu-watra* ‘agua de pecado, el gran diluvio’ y Paska ‘la Pascua,’ que son de origen portugués pero tal vez no representan el sranantongo hablado por la gran mayoría de la población de aquella época.

Una comparación de los vocablos portugueses encontrados en los diccionarios de los siglos XVII y XIX con los vocablos portugueses encontrados en los diccionarios modernos, demuestra que por los menos 120 palabras en el sranantongo incluidos en los diccionarios modernos son seguro de origen portugués o de variedad criolla de portugués (Schumann 1783; Focke 1855; Woordenboek Sranantong-Nederlands/Nederlands-Sranantongo por Blanker & Dubbeldam (2010, [2005]); Sordam & Eersel 1985; Woordenlijst Sranan-Nederlands-Engels por Volkslectuur, 1980, [1961]). Hay solamente algunos pocos vocablos de origen portugués que se encuentran en Schumann que no están incluidos en los diccionarios modernos: *bassia* ‘agacharse,’ del verbo portugués *vacilar* y *fruta* ‘fruta.’

Los comentarios metalingüísticos en Schumann (1783), según Kramp (1983: 3), indican cuáles se consideraban los vocablos típicos de la variedad *dyu tongo*. La mayoría de estos vocablos son de origen portugués, pero no todos, como el término *adjabre* ‘mentir,’ que posiblemente es un vocablo de origen africano. Según Kramp (1983), este diccionario de Schumann representa muy probablemente la descripción del sranantongo tal como se hablaba en la ciudad de Paramaribo. Kramp (1983: 11, 13) estima que el diccionario de Schumann es la más amplia descripción del sranantongo hablado en los años ochenta del siglo XVIII. Además, según Kramp (1983: 11, 13), este diccionario

parece ser una descripción bastante adecuada, porque Schumann elaboró su obra con la ayuda de informantes cuya lengua materna parece haber sido el sranantongo. En la investigación actual, se han estudiado también descripciones del vocabulario de origen portugués en la lengua criolla ndyuka (Huttar, 1994; Ficenca 2017). Para la comparación con el lenguaje de sáamaka, se estudió la lista de vocablos de origen portugués de los siglos XVIII y XX, elaborado por Smith y Cardoso (2004).

En cuanto al elemento portugués en el sranantongo, hay que tomar en cuenta que los sefarditas mantenían un repertorio plurilingüístico. Este repertorio incluía el portugués, el español, el sranantongo y el neerlandés, además del hebreo como idioma litúrgica. Posiblemente hablaban el protocriollo afro-inglés también, o alguna variedad criolla del portugués llevado de Pernambuco a Suriname, al que posiblemente se agregó el vocabulario portugués de los sefarditas. Cabe mencionar, que algunos sefarditas servían de intérprete entre los europeos y los indígenas, viviendo en el *frontier society* de la colonia (Vance Roitman, 2014). Es decir, en cuanto a sus contactos con los indígenas, a las que esclavizaban sino también a las que se aliaban, el repertorio lingüístico de los sefarditas en Suriname era el reflejo tanto de relaciones opresivas como de aliados y de conexión (Vance Roitman, 2014).

En el periodo en que se formaba el sranantongo – en aquel tiempo conocido como *neger-engelsch* ‘inglés de negros’ – la colonia se estaba convirtiendo en una colonia de plantaciones de gran tamaño. Así, las distancias sociales entre los colonialistas y los africanos esclavizados creció, en muchas plantaciones de tal manera que los dueños de las plantaciones apenas sabían de las formas de cultura que se mantenían entre los esclavizados en su territorio (Voorhoeve, 1982). En esta época, hubo eventos significantes desde el punto de vista sociolingüístico, como el cimarronaje en masa, empezando a finales del siglo XVII (Smith, 2002; Arends, 2002). Los esclavizados que se huyeron eran frecuentemente los africanos – los *sowt 'watra 'nengre* ‘negros del agua salada’ recién llegados a la colonia.

Los primeros cimarronajes en masa se organizaron en las plantaciones judías en el interior, donde se hablaba el *dyu tongo*, una de las diferentes variedades étnicas del sranantongo (Schumann, 1783), vea también Van den Berg, 2013: 738). De esta variedad *dyu tongo*, se desarrollaron las lenguas criollas el sáamaka y su variedad dialéctica matawai. El sáamaka lleva el relativamente alto porcentaje de 34.9 % de vocabulario básico de origen portugués (Smith & Cardoso, 2004: 118), mientras que las demás lenguas criollas de Suriname, cuentan con mucho menos vocablos de origen portugués. Según Smith y Cardoso (2004: 118) el porcentaje de vocablos básicos en el sranantongo de origen portugués llega a ser 3.7%, los de origen inglés 77.1 %, de origen holandés 18%, y de origen africano 1.6%. Según la lista de Smith y Cardoso el vocabulario básico de origen portugués de sáamaka llega a ser 34.9%, de origen inglés 49.9%, de origen holandés 10.5%, y de origen africano 4.7%. Voorhoeve y Lichtveld encontraron en una muestra aleatoria de 476 verbos del sranantongo 44% vocablos de origen inglés, 40%

de origen holandes; 5% de origen portugués; 2% de origen africano y 9% de origen desconocido (1975: 241).

El vocabulario básico en la ecología multilingüe

El vocabulario de los sefarditas en el sranantongo, a pesar de que son relativamente pocas palabras que se hayan incorporado, nos podría brindar información sobre la dinámica de las relaciones entre los sefarditas y el resto de la sociedad surinamesa en el periodo de formación del sranantongo durante los siglos XVII y XVIII (Arends, 2002; Smith, 2002). El concepto de vocabulario básico, cuando se aplica al proceso de *relexification* y la sustitución de vocablos luego en el proceso de formación del idioma, podría arrojar luz sobre la formación del sranantongo y la dinámica social. Lo que complica el concepto de vocabulario básico, es que cada cultura lleva otro concepto de lo que es básico (Huttar, 1994). Huttar aplica el concepto semántico cognitivo de ‘vocabulario básico’ y la sustitución de vocablos básicos desde el punto de vista del estudio lingüístico diacrónico, para saber cuáles son los vocablos que se dejan replazar de manera relativamente fácil. Según Huttar, aplicando el concepto de vocabulario básico, se podría descubrir cuáles de los vocablos portugueses en el sranantongo se incorporaron antes de la incorporación de los vocablos ingleses y holandeses, y cuáles después. Es decir, cuáles de los vocablos de origen portugués representan los restos de protocriollo afro-inglés y cuáles representan los vocablos agregados en la colonia, por vía del lenguaje de los sefarditas y/o sus esclavizados. De esta manera se relaciona el concepto de la ecología multilingüe con el concepto de vocabulario básico, como instrumentos arqueológicos de investigación de idiomas en la época colonial temprano.

Huttar (1994) concluye que, en contrario a otro tipo de situación de contacto lingüístico, posiblemente el vocabulario básico en situaciones de creolización es el que se reemplaza antes. Por ejemplo, los colores básicos negro y blanco, están representados en el ndyuka por vocablos orígenes de inglés, y los vocablos para verde y rojo – colores menos básicos – por vocablos de origen holandés, y los vocablos para los colores amarillo y gris – menos básicos que el verde y rojo – por vocablos que son posiblemente de origen africano (Huttar, 1994). No se sabe, que para indicar verde y rojo, antes se usaban vocablos de origen inglés o otra lengua en los idiomas criollos de Suriname. Según Schumann (1783) en el sranantongo se denominaba el color rojo y el color amarillo con el mismo vocablo *redi*. En el sranantongo moderno se denominan respectivamente con los vocablos *redi* y *geri*, de origen inglés y holandés.

Huttar (1994) aplica el concepto de vocabulario básico también a los términos de clasificación de relaciones familiares de ndyuka. En su descripción de estas relaciones y sus vocablos en ndyuka, Huttar considera las relaciones familiares más cerca del ‘ego’, como los más básicos. El ndyuka, para indicar estas relaciones cercas del ‘ego’ como padre y madre, usa vocablos que provienen de idiomas africanos. Sin embargo, estos vocablos *mamá* y *dadá* son parecidos en todos los idiomas en contacto. Para relaciones

más lejanas, de familia política y los tíos, el ndyuka usa vocablos orígenes de portugués, que también están incluidos en la lista de sáamaka de Smith y Cardoso (2004:146): *tiyu-tiya* ‘tío/tía’, *mai/pai* ‘madre política/padre política’. En el diccionario de Schumann (1783) figura el vocablo de origen portugués *mai* para denominar ‘madre’, pero en el sranantongo moderno, se ha sustituido por *m’ma*, que en Schumann (1783) figura como *mámma* y en Focke (1855) como *mamá*. El ndyuka denomina relaciones de hermanos con vocablos de origen inglés *baala* ‘hermano.’ y *sisá* ‘hermana.’

En el sranantongo, aparentemente se sustituyeron los vocablos *tiyu/tiya*. por vocablos de origen holandés *omu* ‘tío’ y *tanta* ‘tía.’ Los vocablos para denominar los hermanos y padres políticos en sranantongo son de origen inglés, igual que en el ndyuka, *brada* ‘hermano,’ *sisá* ‘hermana,’ *masra m’ma/wefi m’ma* ‘suegra, madre del esposo, madre de la esposa,’ y *masra p’pa/wefi p’pa* ‘suegro, padre del esposo, padre de la esposa.’ En los dos idiomas, el vocablo *tatá* significa ‘hombre mayor/abuelo/padre o antepasado;’ solamente en ndyuka aparece la significación ‘Dios’. Los abuelos y antepasados en los dos idiomas se denominan con el vocablo *afo* de origen portugués, y los bisabuelos con el vocablo posiblemente derivado del portugués *totro*. Aunque los antepasados son familiares más lejanos que los que están vivos, estos vocablos tienen connotaciones importantes en las religiones africanas. Por esto se podría incluirlos en el dominio de familiares lejanos, pero íntimos, es decir, pertenecen al vocabulario básico de las culturas africanas. Por la relación íntima con la religión – Dios y los antepasados – se adoptaron vocablos de origen de portugués para representarlos en la etapa temprana de creolización. La religión surinamesa de origen africana, el *winti*, como dominio de uso de vocablos en el sranantongo, retiene también muchos términos africanos. Sin embargo, se incorporaron al menos dos términos de alta frecuencia que son derivados del hebreo. Según Herskovitz (1930, citado en Voorhoeve & Lichveld, 1975) estos términos de origen hebreo *trefu* ‘tabú de alimento,’ *kaseri* ‘puro según la ley de la religión,’ no provienen de influencia local, ya que en el idioma sáamaka no aparecen, y el sáamaka tiene sus orígenes por gran parte en el *dyu tongo*. Schumann incluyó, efectivamente, estos términos en su diccionario, que representa el sranantongo de la ciudad del siglo XVIII, sin asignar estos términos al *dyu tongo*. La mayoría de los vocablos de origen portugués en este diccionario no lleva este comentario metalingüístico, mientras otros de origen no portugués llevan el comentario *dyu tongo*. Es decir, que el *dyu tongo*, incluía vocablos de origen de otros idiomas, además del portugués. Así, el vocablo *trefu*, podría indicar algo de la naturaleza de las relaciones interétnicas en esta época, sobre todo en la ciudad de Paramaribo.

Para el vocablo *trefu* existía un sinónimo africano *kina* pronunciado [ʃi. na], que según los diccionarios modernos significa ‘algo que le irrita mucho a uno’, pero no lleva una connotación religiosa. No está incluido el vocablo *kina* en la lista de vocablos de origen portugués de sáamaka elaborada por Smith y Cardoso (2004). Los dos vocablos *trefu* y *kaseri* se incorporaron en la terminología africana de *winti*, porque los conceptos existen

de alguna forma en las dos formas de religión. Es posible, que estos vocablos se incorporaron a finales del siglo XVIII al sranantongo de la ciudad, o antes como sinónimo a *kina*, por que entre los grupos étnicos en la ciudad se mantenían contactos más intensivos que en las plantaciones del interior. Con el tiempo, la sociedad en la ciudad de Paramaribo se desarrolló en una más compleja que la de las plantaciones. Había mulatos y negros libres que adaptaron la religión judía como la suya, y, hasta ahora hay muchos negros y mulatos que obedecen el *trefu* judío de comer el pescado sin escamas y la carne de puerco. De esta manera, los vocablos hebreos incorporados al sranantongo, podrían arrojar luz a la compleja dinámica de relaciones, posiblemente las de la ciudad, que hizo que se incorporaran los vocablos portugueses al sranantongo.

Indicaciones de que el elemento portugués se ha incorporado al sranantongo por la influencia del protocriollo afro-inglés, juntando la influencia del lenguaje de los sefarditas, son los nombres de los días de la semana que parecen ser, hasta cierto punto, calcos. El diccionario de Schumann incluye los días *fossi deh worko* ‘lunes,’ *tu deh worko* ‘martes,’ *dri deh worko* ‘miércoles,’ *fo deh worko* ‘jueves,’ *feifi deh worko* ‘viernes,’ *siksie deh worko* ‘sábado,’ en portugués: *segunda-feira* ‘lunes,’ *terça-feira* ‘martes,’ *quarta-feira* ‘miércoles,’ *quinta-feira* ‘jueves,’ *sexta-feira* ‘viernes,’ *sábado* ‘sábado’ y *domingo* ‘domingo.’ Sin embargo, Schumann también incluye *saba* (sabbath), que en la lista de vocablos de origen portugués en el *sáamaka* de Smith y Cardoso (2004: 124-147) aparece como *grang sabba domingo* ‘day following the *grang sabba*’). En los diccionarios modernos ya no aparecen *fossi deh worko*, *feifi deh worko* y *siksie deh worko*, sino, respectivamente *monde*, *freyda* y *satra/saba(t)/sabat-dei*. La sustitución de *siksie deh worko* ‘sábado’ por el vocablo *saba*, parece una influencia sefardita. El diccionario de Focke (1855) incluyó estos vocablos de sustitución, agregando también la expresión *nyam sába* ‘disfrutar el sábado.’ Schumann agrega la información en un ejemplo de una frase de que los judíos para el *sába* tenían *terrefe* ‘tabú’ para fumar *pipa*. Por su carácter cultural, es difícil saber la facilidad con que se sustituyan los nombres de los días de semana. La tradición en Suriname de dar nombres a los nacidos según los días de semana es una tradición africana que se mantiene hasta ahora, pero principalmente por las comunidades de cimarrones donde la influencia africana se ha mantenido más que en la ciudad.

Clasificación y dominios de uso de los vocablos portugueses en el sranantongo Tabla 1 presenta un listado de vocablos portugueses en sranantongo. En la tabla, se nota que la gran mayoría de los vocablos portugueses en sranantongo pertenecen a las categorías morfosintácticas de sustantivo (A) y verbo (B), con algunos adjetivos (C) y muy pocos adverbios y preposiciones (D). Además, hay varios vocablos polifuncionales (E), es decir, pueden funcionar como miembro de dos o más categorías morfosintácticas. Entre los vocablos portugueses en sranantongo, hay algunos que tienen sinónimas de origen inglés o neerlandés (F), algunos de los cuales se han caído casi en desuso.

Algunos de los vocablos portugueses en el sranantongo son de origen indígena (G) y han sido integrado en los léxicos de varios idiomas europeos y posiblemente se han incorporado al portugués antes de incorporarse al sranantongo. Mientras que la mayoría de los vocablos portugueses en sranantongo tienen cognados en español, hay algunos que también podrían ser de origen portugués, inglés y/o neerlandés (H). Los vocablos en Tabla 1 se encuentran clasificados hasta cierto punto conforme a sus dominios de uso, que incluyen: 1) los que refieren a las relaciones familiares y de etnia (I); 2) los que refieren a la alimentación (J); 3) los que refieren a animales de europa (K); 4) los que refieren a la religión (L), entre los cuales se encuentran varios derivados del hebreo (M).

Tabla 1 Vocabulario de probable origen portugués en sranatongo, escrito conforme con la ortografía oficial. Desde el punto de vista semántico, las traducciones indican los significados más básicos, ya que con el tiempo se ha ampliado la significación de muchos de ellos.

Categoría	Sranantongo	Portugués
A: Substantivos	alanya ‘naranja’ baba ‘baba’ barba ‘barba’ bobo ‘bobo’ boka ‘hocico, morro, jeta’ brasa ‘abrazo’ bruya ‘confusión’ buta ‘bota’ carta ‘carta de baraja’ dyari ‘jardín, solar’ fasi ‘manera’ fesa ‘fiesta’ fika ‘resto’ goma ‘pegamento, harina de tapioca’ kabesa ‘truco’ kamisa ‘taparrabos’ kandra ‘vela, candelero’ kartusu ‘cartouche’ kbá ‘final’ k’ka ‘caca, tonterías’ krioro ‘criollo’ kruwa ‘crudo, verde’ (fruta o carne) pasi ‘camino, calle’ pata ‘zapato deportivo’ payasi ‘payaso’	laranja baba barba boca bobo bota embrulhar abraçar carta (de baraja) jardim fazer festa ficar goma cabeça camisa candeeiro cartucho acabar caca crioulo crua passear sapato palhaço pequenho penar

	pikin ‘niño’ pina ‘pena’ sigara ‘cigarro’ sinta ‘correa, amarrar’ tinya ‘úlceras’ tripa ‘tripa’	cigarra cintar tinha tripa
B: Verbos	aswa ‘pelear, luchar, competer’ baba ‘babejar’ bada ‘preocuparse, estar agitado’ bari ‘gritar’ brasa ‘abraçar’ fika ‘quedarse, restar’ gagu ‘tartamudear’ geme ‘gemir’ gosa ‘disfrutar, divertirse’ kbá (acabar, terminar) kibri (esconder) k’ka (cagarse) kria ‘criar/generar’ lamata? ‘agotar, dejar matado’ masi ‘machucar’ nyenye ‘loriquear’ pina ‘penar’ pingi? ‘exprimir, pellizcar, apretar’ prati ‘repartir’ psa ‘pasar’ sinta ‘amarrar, juntar’ sreka ‘mantenerse firme’ tan (?) ‘quedar, estar’ tapu ‘tapar’ trusu ‘empujar’ tuka ‘tocar, encontrarse, toparse’	assuar baba badalar barrir abraçar ficar gago gemer gozar acabar cubrir caca criar matar amacear nhenhéném (Brasil) penar pungir? repartir pasar cintar cercar estar tapar torcer tocar
C: Adjetivos	bun ‘bueno’ bruya ‘desordenado, caótico’ kabúgru ‘raza mezc negro x indíg.’ kapadu ‘castrado’ kbá ‘terminado’ kriro ‘criollo’ mofina ‘pobre’ pikin ‘pequeno, un poco’ pobri ‘pobre’ psa ‘pasado’	bom embrulhar caboclo (< tupí) capado acabar crioulo mohína pequenho pobre pasar sem-par

	semper ‘especial’	
D: Adverbios y preposiciones	kbá ‘ya’ na ‘a, en, la dirección de’ psa ‘pasado, por vía’	acabar na pasar
E: Vocablos polifuncionales	baba ‘babeear, baba’ brasa ‘abrazar, abrazo’ bruya ‘confusión, desordenado’ fika ‘quedarse, restar/resto’ kbá ‘acabar, terminado, ya’ k’ka ‘cagarse, caca’ krioro ‘criollo’ sinta ‘correa, amarrar’ pina ‘pena, penar’ pikin ‘pequeño, niño’ psa ‘pasar, pasado, por vía’	baba abraçar embrulhar ficar acabar caca crioulo cintar penar pequeno pasar
F: Ejemplos de vocablos que tienen sinónimas de otro origen en el sranan-tongo	boka, sin: <i>smuru</i> ‘hocico, morro’ dadú, sin: <i>dóbel</i> ‘jugar a los dados’ k’ka, sin: <i>p’pu</i> ‘caca’ kruwa, sin: <i>lala</i> ‘crudo, verde’ semper, sin: <i>spesrutu</i> ‘especial’ prati, sin: <i>panya</i> ‘repartir’	boca dado caca crudo/cruda sem par repartir

G: Vocablos indígenas incorporados al portugués y otros idiomas europeos	barakuda ‘barracuda’ legwana ‘iguana’ maskita ‘mosquito’ patata ‘patata’ sabana ‘sabana’ tabaka ‘tabaco’ markusa ‘maracuyá’	barracuda iguana mosquito batata savana tabaco maracujá
H: Ejemplos de vocablos que podrían ser de origen portugués/español, inglés, y/o neerlandés	adyosi ‘adios’ altari ‘altar’ baba ‘baba’ bari ‘barril’ grio ‘grillo’ lolo ‘rodar’ nogosi ‘negocio’ pasensi ‘paciencia’ pipiti ‘pepita’ sigara ‘cigarro’ sukru ‘azúcar’ te ‘hasta’	
I: Vocablos que refieren a las relaciones familiares y de etnia	afo ‘abuelo, antepasado’ mai ‘madre’ kabugru ‘mezcla negro e indígena’ kastisi ‘castizo’ katibo ‘esclavo, esclavitud’ mayoro ‘mayor’	avó mãi caboclo (< tupí) castiço cativo major

	mostisi ‘mestizo’ pikin ‘niño’ spanyoro ‘español’ totro ‘antepasado, bisabuelo’	mestiço pequenho espanhol tataravô
J: Vocablos que refieren a la alimentación	batyaw frita ‘bacalao frito’ bokadinyu ‘receta, plato’ figa ‘higo’ frita ‘frito’	bacalao frito bocadinho figo frita
K: Vocablos que refieren a animales de europa	batyaw (bacalao) buriki (burro/burra, mulo) krabita (cabra) lagadisa/lagadisya (lagartija)	bacalao burrito cabrito lagartija
L: Vocablos que refieren a la religión	altari ‘altar’ kaseri ‘limpio según la ley religiosa’ mason ‘pan ácimo’ Paska ‘Pascua’ pikadu ‘pecado’ pom ‘plato de Poerem’ santa ‘sagrado’ trefu ‘tabú de alimento’	altar kasher (< hebreo) matse (< hebreo) Pascua pecado Poerem (< hebreo) santa tereifa (< hebreo)
M: Vocablos de origen hebreo	kaseri ‘limpio según la ley religiosa’ mason ‘pan ácimo’ pom ‘plato de Poerem’ trefu ‘tabú de alimento’	kasher matse Poerem Tereifa

Al menos entre 117 y 120 vocablos en el sranantongo que aparecen en el diccionario moderno de Prisma tienen sus orígenes en el portugués. De las palabras encontradas en los diccionarios modernos de sranantongo/holandés y sranantongo/inglés, 76 vocablos de origen portugués figuran en la lista de vocabulario portugués del sáamaka elaborado por Smith y Cardoso (2004: 124-147) (que incluye la lista de Schumann del Samáaka del siglo XVIII), 11 figuran en la lista de vocabulario de ndyuka de Ficenca (2017) y 45 figuran en el diccionario sranantongo/alemán de Schumann (1783).

Relacionando el vocabulario del *dyu tongo* al concepto de ecología multilingüe, la (casi) ausencia de vocablos que refieren a la fauna y flora local es significativa. Posiblemente, los idiomas indígenas funcionaban como *adstrates* del *dyu tongo* para denominar la flora y fauna local de una manera parecida al papel que han jugado, no solamente en la emergencia de los demás lenguas criollas en Suriname, sino también en la emergencia de las variedades de holandés que se hablan en el país. Así, no se pueden considerar como sustituciones sino vocablos agregados, porque se trata de fenómenos naturales desconocidos en Europa. Solamente para animales conocidos en Europa o tal vez de África, aparecen vocablos de origen portugués en el sranantongo. A pesar de que la mayoría del vocabulario (básico) del *dyu tongo* aparentemente era de origen portugués, esta variedad también incluía palabras de origen distinto al portugués que se consideraban típico del *dyu tongo*. Es probable, que los vocablos indígenas que hasta ahora forman parte del sranantongo y del holandés de Suriname, hasta alguna medida formaban parte del lenguaje de los sefarditas y sus esclavizados.

Es difícil distinguir entre elementos de portugués que se incorporaron a través del protociollo afro-inglés o en etapas tempranas del portugués de los sefarditas. La mayoría de los vocablos y elementos portugueses encontrados en los diccionarios modernos y en el diccionario sranantongo/alemán del final del siglo XVIII de Schumann no figuran como parte del lenguaje típico del *dyu tongo*. Se puede deducir que algunos elementos del vocabulario básico se mantuvieron en el sranantongo, por ejemplo *afo* ‘abuelo/la, abuelos, antepasados’ o *tatá* ‘hombre mayor, padre.’ Estos pueden ser los elementos portugueses que formaban parte de protociollo afro-inglés. Posiblemente, los sefarditas reconocían estos elementos como vocablos de origen portugués y los usaban de su manera, o los seguían usando en la forma en que los encontraron en la colonia.

Puede ser que los vocablos en sranantongo que son de origen hebreo como *trefu* y *kaseri* son de importancia significativa para entender mejor las prácticas lingüísticas de los sefarditas en su lenguaje diario en sus relaciones con otros grupos étnicos en Suriname. Estos vocablos hebreos podrían haber llegado al sranantongo por vía del portugués de los sefarditas. Lo que sí es claro, es que el dominio de las religiones – las africanas y la del judaísmo – parece el dominio que retiene más los vocablos originales; el vocabulario de estas dos religiones se sitúa en el corazón de sus culturas, así que resulta difícil incorporar términos de otras culturas a este dominio de uso, que se podría considerar básico de las culturas implicadas. De la incorporación de los dos mencionados términos básicos en la religión judía al sranantongo, se deduce que había contacto cultural en este sentido, tal vez por vía de esclavizados, tal vez por vía de judíos negros y mulatos libres.

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**MASKING, AUTHENTICITY AND
INTERSECTIONALITIES IN EDUCATION
IN THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND**

EXAMINING THE USE OF SPECIFIC READING COMPREHENSION STRATEGIES AMONG STRUGGLING CARIBBEAN READERS: A MIXED METHODS INQUIRY

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Abstract

This study investigated the use of the Question-Answer Relationship to Pictures (P-QAR) and Question-Answer Relationship (QAR) strategies with selected readers who operate at frustration level in a primary Standard Three class in an Anglophone Caribbean school. The aim of the study was to describe the students' use of, and benefit from, these strategies during reading comprehension. The research provided insight into the features of the aforementioned strategies that were reflected in "*In the Book*" or literal type questions to "*Think and Search*" or inferential type questions. Student-generated questioning was included which helped to transform the reader from being a passive observer to an active participant. A sequential exploratory mixed method approach was used, including a semi-structured interview, an open-ended interview, a journal component and a post-test. Quantitative data was based on descriptive statistics, using central measures of tendency. Eighteen sessions were conducted over a four and one-half week period. Qualitative and quantitative data were compared to confirm that there was a greater degree of success with the P-QAR technique than with the QAR technique. Findings were analyzed and used to generate recommendations to all stakeholders.

Key terms: struggling readers, reading comprehension, P-QAR, QAR

Problem statement, rationale, significance, and background

Many Caribbean students are entering higher grades with inadequate reading comprehension ability in Caribbean Standard English. Though orally proficient in a Caribbean creole language, primary school students experience language interference and reading

comprehension difficulties as they make attempts to function in the target language. Comprehension provides the foundation for further language learning in secondary school (Sweet & Snow, 2003, as cited in French, 2005) and students who cannot understand what they read are not likely to acquire “the skills necessary to participate in the 21st century workforce” (NRTAC, 2010: 1).

Over the last four years there has been a downward trend in pupils’ abilities to independently answer questions based on English-based prose/poetry texts. When questions are asked, the participants chosen for this study seem to be as immobilized and as lacking in points of reference as the proverbial deer caught in the headlights. They are also unable to actively engage with or connect with the text. Although they have been formally taught strategies such as locating details, predicting, drawing conclusions and cause and effect, these students cannot apply these skills to actual texts using the whole-class strategy.

Consequently, the present researchers decided to explore the use of P-QAR and QAR strategies to help nine students make sense of text. It is thought that starting with direct explicit instruction, thinking aloud and student-generated questioning and gradually moving toward into a less structured framework may help students become purposeful, active readers who can one day take control of their own reading comprehension, in order to ease the “transition from learning-to-read to reading-to-learn” Brabant (2009: 4). Other positive outcomes may include motivation to read more, deeper analysis of text, and greater self-esteem on the part of students as they advance through primary school and beyond.

This study was designed to benefit a number of stakeholders. The nine Standard Three English-lexifier Creole speaking students who were chosen to be the main beneficiaries of this study have hopefully been equipped with the necessary tools to ask and answer questions at varying levels of Bloom’s (1956) taxonomy, thus helping them across disciplines and at secondary and tertiary levels of study as well as helping them to become life-long learners, so that they might make better sense of their school-work and experiences in order to move away from frustration and toward independence.

At the school-level, the school principal and teaching staff of Promise Primary School hopefully have been provided with the necessary means to expand the use of these strategies to other students who operate at a frustration level in reading, and have increased ability to “... become more aware of their instructional practices and provide their charges with the requisite strategies to enhance their reading comprehension” (Sargusingh-Terrance, 2008: 6). Eventually, it is our hope that these practices will be shared with other schools as a way to help teachers improve questioning activities, enabling them to generate both literal and higher-order thinking questions that facilitate reading comprehension. Finally, it is our intention that officers and policy makers at the Ministry of Education in Trinidad as well as in other creole-speaking societies might consider

taking some of the strategies investigated in our study on board as part of the Reading Comprehension component of the Language Arts Curriculum.

This study was conducted at the Promise Primary School (a pseudonym) in Trinidad and Tobago. In former days, Promise Primary School was a prestigious institution and a first choice school for many parents, but today approximately 55% of the parents are non-readers. Written communication from these homes indicates that reading levels are limited. This has a negative impact on the students' level of reading comprehension, as there is little in the way of reading at home.

An overall analysis of the baseline data from the 2009 Standard One National Test revealed that the proficiency percentages for the study participants ranged from 31% to 51% in Reading Comprehension. Data supplied by the same students' performance on the Centre for Caribbean Excellence in Teacher Training 2009 pretest yielded similar results, yielding percentages of 0% to 58% with a class average of 46%. Moreover, the three summative test results for the same academic year provided similar results. According to The Ministry of Education in Trinidad and Tobago, the standardized pass mark is 60% in primary schools, therefore the students in this study were performing below this standardized benchmark.

Research questions and operational definitions of key terms

The following research questions were formulated for the study:

Primary research question:

- How did students in the sample respond to the use of P-QAR and QAR strategies during reading comprehension exercises?

Secondary research questions:

- How did students in the sample respond to literal and inferential levels of comprehension questions in lessons that incorporated think-aloud process using both P-QAR and QAR strategies?
- What were the characteristics of the literal and higher-order thinking questions posed by the students using P-QAR and QAR strategies?

Operational definitions of some of the key terms used in this study include the following:

Reading Comprehension is a creative, multifaceted thinking process in which students engage with the text (Tierney, 1990 as cited in Tompkins, 2010).

QAR is a questioning strategy that emphasizes that a relationship exists between the question, the text and the reader's prior knowledge (Raphael, Highfield & Au, 2006).

P-QAR is the application of QAR strategies to pictures. This enables struggling readers to respond to varying levels of comprehension questions in which cognitive task demands and available resources vary (Cortese, 2003).

Scaffolding is providing external support to learners to enable achievement of learning goals and tasks within their zone of proximal development until they can independently perform the task.

Struggling Readers are “students who read below their academic grade-level and are at-risk for not passing their current grade level” (Strickland, Ganske & Monroe, 2002: 1).

Think Alouds are prompts used by students to verbalize their thoughts as they learn to think about their use of strategies. This leads to developing more thoughtful, strategic readers who can monitor their comprehension (Tompkins, 2010).

Literature review

Raphael and Au (2005: 206) found that:

promoting high levels of literacy for all children is a core responsibility for educators, since the success of a democratic society depends on an informed citizenry who can read a wide range of materials, interpret and evaluate what they read and draw conclusions based on evidence.

Comprehension, then, is a key vehicle through which these goals will be attained, and if it is not developed in the early grades, reading difficulties will exacerbate as the demand to independently read more complex texts increases. The revised QAR framework has been shown to be a straightforward approach for reading comprehension instruction (Raphael & Au, 2005), for analyzing and understanding questions (Raphael, Highfield & Au, 2006), for encouraging students to be active, strategic, readers of texts, as well as for helping students to recognize the kind of thinking they need when responding to questions of varying levels which is a critical component of learning because many students are unaware of the different levels of thinking questions may require (Buehl, 2008).

Raphael and Au (2005) have demonstrated that QAR instruction can be adjusted for use across grade levels and content areas because of the way the categories progress from simple to difficult, and it can be used to help students learn to use reading strategies effectively and independently. Armed with QAR language, students communicated what they were doing and requested the help they needed to answer or ask questions effectively. The framework also proved useful for conceptualizing and developing reading comprehension questions. Buehl (2017: 165) noted that QAR was “... a useful guide for students in three comprehension strategies: locating information, determining text structures and how they conveyed information, and determining when an inference was required.”

The QAR technique has been shown to help children to understand that information from both texts and their background experiences are necessary when answering questions. It also helped students search for key words and phrases to locate the appropriate information for answering questions (Buehl, 2008). Raphael and Wonnacott (1985) in-

investigated the efficacy of QAR as part of regular instructional reading programs implemented by classroom teachers across grade-levels. Their findings indicated that students were more successful in identifying QAR as well as generating answers using the QAR strategy than comparable peers who received conventional instruction. Brabant's (2009) quantitative study found that by using the QAR strategy, students were encouraged to look at how questions were developed, which sources were used and how to search for and respond with the correct information. This deepened students' comprehension while simultaneously requiring them to think critically.

While the aforementioned studies targeted students who read either at their grade-level or beyond, but who had trouble answering comprehension questions, the present investigation focused on nine struggling readers who were lagging one grade-level behind their peers. Understanding the characteristics of struggling readers is important when planning instruction to meet their needs. According to Florio-Ruane, (as cited in Duke & Pearson, 2009: 113) , among the causes for "...reading difficulties, [are] a history of language impediment, limited English proficiency, non-standard dialect of English spoken at home, attention deficit disorder, a lack of motivation, and ineffective classroom practices." These characteristics are precursors to reading failure and frustration in older struggling readers (Marshall, 2011).

To assist such at-risk readers, Cortese (2003) and Croll et al. (1986) developed a variant of the QAR, which is the P-QAR. This technique focused on using pictures to increase readers' background knowledge for reading comprehension. As Kossack and Bader (1980: 376) noted, "... this non-threatening and unencumbered context of printed language was appealing for poor readers with reading difficulties and [who] had language learning problems." Croll suggested that:

pictorial representations contained overarching visual statements, rich details, interrelated subtopics, implications for past and future action, clues about human motives, and many other concepts Interpreting the pictorial image logically presented an easier cognitive linguistic task than interpreting the meaning of the printed word... (cited in Cortese, 2003: 375).

Duke and Pearson (2009) concurred that good comprehension teaching included explicit teaching in specific comprehension strategies, inclusive of using visuals, so students were able to actively participate in the process of comprehension through practice until they employed them automatically. Furthermore, Keene and Zimmerman (1997) suggested that explicitly teaching children effective reading strategies and encouraging them to use them independently was essential to the reading process. Therefore, when P-QARs were introduced to struggling readers, the cognitively easier questions were done first, spiraling upward from 'Right There' to 'Putting It Together,' where the answers were found in the picture. (Cortese, 2004) shares her experience:

Once the student experienced formulating answers to questions using these more obvious visual perspectives on the source of information, the ‘Artist and You’ strategy was introduced and was followed by the more challenging ‘On My Own’ strategy. When the student became familiar with the P-QAR types, they need not be implemented in this cognitive hierarchy (377).

Scaffolding as a developmental strategy was employed to help participants locate answers for both, ‘In the Book’ (literal) and ‘In my Head’ (inferential) questions. Scaffolding has its roots in Vygotsky’s (1978) notion of the zones of actual and proximal development. A student’s zone of actual development (ZAD) is characterized by what the student can do independently, while their zone of proximal development (ZPD) is defined by what the student can do with assistance. Scaffolding helps to bridge the gap between these two levels (Vygotsky, 1978) in such a way that, as students are exposed to teacher modeled strategies and skills, they have ample opportunities to engage with them during group work, which enables them to attain higher levels of skill and understanding.

Au and Raphael (2011) therefore stressed that QAR and P-QAR instruction must rely on language that is accessible to students across developmental levels and that students need clear frameworks to understand why they are being taught particular aspects of comprehension; how and where this knowledge is relevant and, when and how to use their current knowledge to develop new or deeper understandings. This was shown to be especially pertinent for inferential type questions such as “*Why? What if? How? and What do you think?*” Teachers need to provide students with opportunities to extend their current skills and knowledge along with simplifying tasks to make them manageable, and they also need to motivate students to pursue instructional goals. Nonetheless, Hausfather (1996: 12) asserted that teachers should look “... for discrepancies between students’ efforts and the solution, control for frustration and risk, and model an idealized version of the act ...”

In previous qualitative studies Chi (as discussed in Mohammed in, 2011 investigated and compared scaffolding strategies employed by two teachers in the process of instructing learners of English as a foreign language. The results revealed that effective scaffolding in reading comprehension instruction improved students’ skills in this subject area. Additional research revealed that “... discussion-based instruction, significantly enhanced reading comprehension.” (Applebee et al., 2003: 400). Scaffolding has therefore been demonstrated to assist students in the process of transforming their knowledge to become more strategic readers.

Visuals offer a medium through which this can be achieved, as children today are surrounded by multimodal forms of texts Kress (2003) and Peeck (as cited in Hibbing & Rankin-Erickson, 2003: 762) have asserted that that pictures make reading a text more enjoyable, resulting in more positive attitudes of struggling readers toward reading in

general and influencing the time readers are willing to spend on a text. Consequently, incorporating representational illustrations provide positive affective-motivational effects during reading. Cortese (2004) stated that P-QAR was initially motivated by how one makes meaning from visual stimuli in one's environment. The Primary School Language Arts Syllabus of Trinidad and Tobago concurs, explaining that visual literacy encompasses all ways of communicating a message and this recognition of how to use these different forms of media extends their communication skills, and "[s]ince research indicates that 80% of the information we process comes through our eyes, it is vital that our children participate in viewing activities to enhance the skills necessary for an age of technology." (Ministry of Education, 1999: vi).

Visual literacy has created a plethora of opportunities for students to expand their knowledge of the world around them. Short, Harste and Burke (1996) named this translation of meaning from one mode to another as "transmediation" as students moved from examining details in a picture, to the spoken word and to the written word. For struggling readers, pictures and illustrations have proved to be essential elements for responding to text (Hibbing & Rankin-Erickson, 2003).

However, in order for students to apply comprehension strategies independently within a QAR framework, a think-aloud procedure was identified as necessary, whereby self-talk was used to help students understand what they had read and what a given question was asking about it. This think-aloud strategy was shown to improve students' comprehension both when students themselves engaged in reading activities and also when teachers routinely thought aloud while reading to students (Duke & Pearson, 2009). In their investigation of the effectiveness of explicit instruction in thinking aloud as a means to promote fourth grade students' comprehension-monitoring abilities, Baumann, Siefert-Kessell and Jones (1992) concluded that direct teacher-led instruction in thinking aloud was an effective way to enhance students' abilities in comprehension and metacognition. Therefore, combining the think-aloud procedure with the P-QAR and QAR strategies facilitated the verbal expression on mental processes in which readers engaged when constructing meaning from text. Other researchers have concluded that the think-aloud protocol was effective at improving comprehension because it decreased students' impulsiveness in providing answers (Meichenbaum & Asarnow, 1979). Instead of impulsively drawing conclusions about text-meaning or perusing the text without having sufficiently understood what had already been read, thinking aloud led to more thoughtful, strategic reading.

However, Duke and Pearson (2009) cautioned that studies have not specifically examined the effect of teachers' thinking aloud by itself. Therefore, researchers cannot infer directly that teacher think-aloud is effective. Effective teaching of reading comprehension involves integrating metacognitive strategies into general reading instruction. This has become a crucial element in using the P-QAR and QAR strategies. For purposes of

this study, the think-aloud protocol was used in conjunction with metacognitive strategies to help students monitor and repair their reading comprehension and connect their experience to the picture or text in order to respond to inferential type questions.

Harvey and Goudvis (2000) propose that teaching reading strategies eventually leads to struggling students responding to 'In my Head' or inferential type questions. Teaching metacognitive strategies such as making connections, questioning, visualizing, inferring, determining importance, and synthesizing impact positively on reading comprehension (Tompkins, 2010). Also, when readers activate prior knowledge, they have been shown to be accessing "mental files" which is considered to be an effective strategy for improving reading comprehension (Keene & Zimmermann, 1997). This process enables proficient readers to make connections with text. Harvey and Goudvis (2000: 154) contend that "Text-to-self, text-to-text and text-to-world connections are the predominant types of connections made by readers. Explicit instruction, modeling, and guided practice in which readers were encouraged to make meaningful connections were essential to readers using this strategy to enhance comprehension."

Teplin (2008) has asserted that there are challenges associated with teaching metacognitive strategies. Nonetheless, each of the various categories of P-QAR and QAR strategies have been imbedded into metacognitive strategies instruction to help struggling readers monitor and repair their reading comprehension tasks. Metacognition hinges on students' abilities to generate questions based on given texts in order to transform the reader from being a passive observer to becoming an active participant.

Research design and methodology

A mixed methods approach was adopted as part of a sequential exploratory research design in this study. Data collection was conducted in three phases. Phase one consisted of eighteen-sessions, conducted over four and one-half weeks by the researchers and the classroom teacher (referred to in this article by the pseudonym Teacher L). Half of the sessions were dedicated to the P-QAR strategy, while the other half focused on the QAR strategy. Phase two comprised semi-structured interviews with the nine sample students. In phase three, the post-tests were administered by another teacher, (referred to in this article by the pseudonym Teacher P). Following this, the data were collected, analyzed and triangulated.

Participants were chosen using a non-probability purposive sampling strategy targeting a particular group that does not represent the wider population; but instead represents itself (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000). The nine Standard Three students were chosen for this study on the basis of their learning experiences in comprehension skills and underperformance on comprehension tests. The nine students consisted of four boys and five girls, whose ages ranged from 8 to 11. They all read one grade level below their peers.

Data collection in this study involved gathering both numeric information as well as text information so that the final database reflected both sets of data (Creswell, 2008). Quantitative data were collected from students' performance on the Informal Reading Inventory (IRI) test for Year Three. These tests were constructed so that the researchers could elicit precise information on specific behaviors. The tasks were arranged in such a manner as to yield systematic observations concerning particular traits, and therefore could be used to determine how each participant responded to the use of the P-QAR and QAR strategies. Qualitative data were collected through semi-structured interviews and journal entries. Best and Kahn (2003) contend that the interview is a most appropriate instrument for dealing with young students or those with language or reading difficulties. The semi-structured interviews were designed based on observations of independent and/or group activities, and the exact wording and sequence of questions were predetermined. All interviewees were asked the same basic questions in the same order, ensuring content validity; whereas reliability was determined either by restating the question in a slightly different way at a later time in the interview or repeating the interview at another time. These interviews were audio taped with the respondents having the freedom to end the interview anytime. Themes were generated based on the responses to each question. Journals were kept by the researchers which included their reflections on their experiences during all three phases of data collection, with a particular focus on how each strategy worked with each student.

Prior to conducting the investigation, the interviews and post-tests were designed and piloted with the school's principal, teachers and non-participating students in three schools. Ethical procedures were adhered to by requesting institutional approval from the principal of Promise Primary School for permission to conduct the study. Subsequent to having received official approval, consent letters were sent to the parents requesting written permission for their child's involvement in this exercise.

For purposes of accountability, the researchers presented both the school's principal and Teacher L with a comprehensive outline of the study along with copies of each lesson plan. These lessons, which were used in phase one of data collection, were developed in accordance with Teacher L's Reading Comprehension and Science schemes of work. Each lesson incorporated at least one metacognitive strategy such as activating prior knowledge; predicting or inferring; along with think aloud and question-generating activities. Fifteen of the eighteen lessons lasted from 60 to 65 minutes, while the other three sessions ended within a 40-minute period. Half of these lessons were dedicated to P-QAR and the other half dedicated to QAR. 'Transmediation' proposed by Short, Harste, and Burke (1996, as explored in Williams, 2007) was imbedded in the P-QAR and QAR instruction to help the participants progress from the visual (looking at the material), to the oral (discussing and responding) and then to the written, with students writing responses either during group discussions or independently. The form of

differentiated instruction used was jigsawing (Radencich and McKay, 1995, as discussed in Ford, 2005: 9-14), a type of group formation designed for cooperative learning in small groups such as triads. Each triad comprised one student who had background knowledge about the text, one student who was a willing participant and one student was a reluctant speaker. These groups were rotated on a weekly basis. Students were actively engaged in their groups with their pictures/texts, asking questions for clarification, further explanation and justifying their opinions; especially when their roles were reversed with the researcher during guided practice involving buddy/peer teaching.

This study employed Duke and Pearson's (2009) five-step model to help students engage with the stated strategies. These steps included an explicit description of each subsection of the strategies, demonstrating and modeling of when and how they should be used. For example, using a metacognitive strategy, such as predicting in QAR – the Think and Search activity was introduced based on a poem recently studied with the class teacher Teacher L titled, "The Mountain and the Squirrel." The researcher posed a question '*What would the mountain's reply be?*' The researcher began to make text-to-self connections aloud, using question-generating as well, "*Have I ever been angry with anyone? Who started the quarrel? What did that person say? Why did he/she say such a thing? Why is he/she so angry? Did I do anything to cause this person's hurt? How did we solve that problem?*" The researchers engaged students in this discussion as well, having them share their experiences with one another.

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The second step involved teacher and students in scaffolding the strategy in action. Here, text-to-text connections were made, again thinking aloud and questioning the poet; for example "*Have I seen a movie, read another book or poem similar to this, where people argued? What did they do? Can you think of anything as well? Aha, I know the poem, "The Quarrel" where two brothers fought and they didn't know why? How did that end? Yes, they solved the problem.*"

Collaborative use of the strategy in action ensued. The students became involved in the discussion. Using the story about marine pollution titled, "Coral Carnival" students were required to answer 'Author and You' type questions such as, '*Which character are you in this story? Justify your responses. How are you similar to this character?*' Together both researchers and students shared their ideas, defended their positions and used the story to support their choices. At this point, the researchers switched roles to participant observer to give students opportunities to apply metacognitive strategies such as inferring, visualizing and activating background knowledge to answer these inferential QAR questions.

Subsequently, guided practice using the strategy with gradual release of responsibility was done with all nine students. Five of the students attempted to monitor their reading, by rereading, recalling old information, making connections between their experiences and the author's message and asking questions as they journeyed to find their answers. During this process, the other four students also posed questions and responded to their

peers' questioning. Students referred to their "Steps in the QAR Procedure" handout, when needed.

The activities were followed by collecting, transcribing and coding the qualitative data from audio taped interviews and field notes along with analyzing the post-test results using descriptive statistics. Subsequently, a post-observation interview was conducted with the class-teacher Teacher L to determine how students applied the strategies during additional Science and Social Studies reading comprehension exercises.

Themes used in coding the data included ease of learning, use of visuals, preference for the P-QAR framework, increased motivation, increased participation and frustration with the think-aloud strategy, cooperative learning. The researchers engaged in open and axial coding (Creswell, 2008). In the open coding phase, the field notes were aligned with quotations to support the themes, while the axial coding phase resulted in determining relationships between themes and subthemes through triangulation of the data sources.

Post-tests were done over two consecutive days. The P-QAR post-test was taken first, followed by the QAR post-test. Each test consisted of ten questions. The assembly of the structure of the test was set in accordance with Bloom's Taxonomy (1956), namely the cognitive and affective domains. According to the psychology of good test construction, each test progressed in complexity from simple to difficult, to put students at ease and to build their sense of confidence. Marks were awarded based on the difficulty of the question. There were six 'In the Book' or literal type questions and four 'In my Head' questions. For both tests, Teacher P was asked specifically to limit her interventions to reading the general instructions to the nine students. She was also informed that she was not to assist in reading any questions and to adhere to the strictest testing conditions. There was no specific timeframe within which to complete each test.

Findings and analysis

The themes were identified, analyzed and sorted into two major categories. Cognition was the first theme explored including use of visuals, ease of understanding and increased curiosity. Secondly, themes related to the affective domain inclusive of cooperative learning, increased participation, increased motivation and frustration with the think-aloud strategy, were explored.

In order to respond to the primary research question, namely "How did students in the sample respond to the use of P-QAR and QAR strategies during reading comprehension exercises?" it was found that there was a greater degree of success with the P-QAR technique than with the QAR technique. In the semi-structured interviews, participants unanimously agreed that they preferred the P-QAR strategy over the QAR strategy. They said that pictures offered them a medium through which they could answer reading comprehension questions. One student said, *"I doh have to bodder with words, sounding out and know meaning of words. I could jes look at de picture an answer dem*

question. *Dat easy.*” The class teacher, Teacher L, concurred saying, “*All students preferred P-QAR to the QAR because they didn’t have to read words they didn’t know. The P-QAR strategy was more successful in helping students who operate at the frustration level because the stimulant (pictures) intrigued the students and enhanced motivation.*” Another student supported this view stating, “*Pictures make comprehension a real breeze*” maintaining that “*Once pictures there, I could get dong to answering dem questions.*”

The quantitative data supported this conclusion. Table 1 compares the number of students who gained 60% or higher on the P-QAR and QAR post-tests. This benchmark was used because it is the standardized passing grade in Trinidad and Tobago. The nine participants got all the ‘Right There’ questions correct for both P-QAR and QAR. However, for P-QAR six students achieved the benchmark for ‘Think and Search’ but only four did so for QAR. Performance data on the ‘In my Head – On my Own’ strategy for P-QAR showed that seven students met or surpassed the criteria, while only four did so on the QAR test. For the ‘Artist and You’ activity six students met the standard for P-QAR, while three students did so for QAR.

Table 1 Number of students who scored 60% or higher in each category of P-QAR and QAR strategies. (Total number of students (n) = 9)

	‘In the Book’ / Literal Questions		‘In my Head’ / Inferential Questions	
	Right There Questions	Think and Search Questions	On my Own Questions	Artist/Author and You Questions
P-QAR Post-Test	9	6	7	6
QAR Post-Test	9	4	4	3

Table 2 shows the descriptive statistics for both post-tests. It indicates that the students performed much better on the P-QAR post-test with a total score of 144; while they scored a total of 94 on the QAR post-test.

Table 2 Descriptive statistics for both P-QAR and QAR post-tests

	Total Score	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation
P- QAR	144	16.00	16.00	2.83
QAR	94	10.44	10.00	3.09

The implication here is that visuals supported texts to help scaffold struggling readers to think at inferential levels during reading comprehension exercises. These findings confirm the research done by Cortese (2004), Hibbing and Rankin-Erickson (2003) and Williams (2007) that at-risk readers need visuals to help increase their background knowledge for reading comprehension. The current study also confirms previous studies conducted by Raphael and Wonnacott (1985) Raphael and Au (2005) and Au and Raphael (2011) which show that incorporating pictures into reading comprehension exercises is a critical component to help struggling readers interpret text.

Visuals helped students who operate at the frustration level to actively participate in reading comprehension exercises across disciplines. One student asked, *“Why we never do tings like dis before to help me in comprehension?”* As long as pictures were included, enjoyment of reading comprehension exercises, as well as a boost in self-confidence were evident, yielding increased levels of motivation and participation. Visuals thus seemed to open a ‘whole new world’ for these at-risk readers as they immersed themselves with enthusiasm in the assigned reading comprehension tasks.

Now we turn to the first of our two secondary questions, namely “How did students in the sample respond to literal and inferential levels of comprehension questions in lessons that incorporated think-aloud process using both P-QAR and QAR strategies?” The five students who applied the think-aloud strategy to reading comprehension questions found that this strategy helped them to clarify uncertainties for both literal ‘Right There’ and inferential ‘On my Own’ type questions. They also agreed that in addition to pictures, familiar texts permitted them to answer recall questions independently, because these questions were found within one sentence and the ‘On my Own’ questions did not require a response from the text. One student observed that *‘I jes have to know what the passage talking bout, for me make a connection, no set ah reading to do to answer dat’*. Teacher L suggested that *“The skills in thinking aloud were a prerequisite in helping students assimilate information from the question to construct an appropriate response.”*

The researchers also noted that students made attempts to analyze questions. They re-read each question, circled clue words in the questions to help formulate responses and were beginning to constantly remind themselves of the type of question being asked. They applied the think-aloud process to locate responses to questions posed by both researchers and peers. Some think-aloud questions heard were: *“What kind of question is dis? What words tell we so – Who? Why? What if? How? (P-QAR) Where de answer for dis question? Is de answer in one sentence? No, we have to look for it, but it in de passage.”* They also referred to their “Steps in the QAR Procedure Handout. The researchers heard the following expressions of understanding from students while playing the role of participant observer: *“A ha!’ Yes, we get it! Look the answer right here partner! No girl, de answer not in de picture/text, we have to use we experience to answer it. Look, it say here ‘What would you do if ...?/What advice would you give to ...?’”*

Teacher L further stated that, *“the three students who practice using the think-aloud strategy are now known as “little ambassadors” for P-QAR and QAR, ... They have shown more confidence in themselves as they are more focused in responding to reading comprehension questions. They look for clue words in the questions to determine what type of question is asked and where to locate answers for them.”*

These five students were beginning to realize that in order to understand the authors'/artists' messages it was necessary to interact with texts and pictures. As they started to construct their own meaning through think-alouds, they were becoming active learners by realizing that understanding meaning depends on interaction with their observations. Therefore, the present study confirms Morrison, (2009, 2011) who asserted that the think-aloud procedure facilitated 'thinking' which is a skill often ignored in teaching.

The other four students, however, were not as confident in using the think-aloud strategy and found it frustrating. They informed both the researchers and the class-teacher that they needed more assistance with this, with one student saying, *“I doh know how to think dis ting tru., It frustrating. I need more help to answer dem hard questions.* Teacher L's general comments were, *“These four students are usually quiet and need heavy support from either or both teacher and group members. They show frustration when applying the think-aloud procedure to inferential type questions.”*

Although the think-aloud procedure worked for assertive students more than it did for reserved or quiet students, jigsawing allowed the four reserved students to become more participative during reading comprehension exercises. However, these students still needed more encouragement to voice their ideas and thoughts during whole-group discussions. The think-aloud strategy showed that not every reader understands texts in the same way, because of their varied experiences and cultures. Therefore, additional strategies with direct explicit instruction are needed to help some students answer questions. These findings are in line with those of Bartolone (2004), Brimmer (2004), Baumann, Siefert-Kessell and Jones (1992), Duke and Pearson (2009) and Morrison (2009) who found that the think-aloud procedure was an effective and efficient way to facilitate reading comprehension and metacognitive strategies; in order to foster deeper understanding.

Considering the second of our two secondary questions, namely “What were the characteristics of the literal and higher-order thinking questions posed by the students using P-QAR and QAR strategies?” it was found that each time a new picture was presented, students initially asked researcher-modeled questions such as, *“What do I want to learn more about? If I were the artist, what else would I draw in here? What would I omit?”* Eventually they were able to pose questions of the 'In the Book' and 'In my Head' types for P-QAR with ease during guided practice. This finding supports Williams' (2007) assertion that pictures do indeed reduce the burden of reading texts, while extending

students' opportunities to expand their horizons to include their own ideas. Table 3 displays a range of questions offered by students during guided practice in relation to P-QAR Lesson Seven titled "Attacked by Bees."

Table 3 Types of questions generated for P-QAR Lesson Seven "Attacked by Bees"

Right There Questions	Think and Search Questions	Artist and You Questions	On my Own Questions
What did Ann have in her hand?	How was she feeling in picture two?	What will she tell her parents? (student)	(Student) "I bet she gonna hit dong dat bee hive. I woulda do the same ting."
What was she going to do with the stick?	Where were her parents?	"I know I wounda tell de truth cuz I guh get it good - (Laughter)!"	What advice will you give to Ann?
What did she do? Why?	Why was she in the woods all alone?		(Student) "What guh happen to she in de end?"
Where was she going?	Why did she hit the beehive?	If I was Ann, what would I have done?	Imagine you were the parents, what would you do?

Students' competencies seemed to peak in Questioning the Artist mode, using recall, comprehension, application, synthesis and evaluation type questions (Bloom, 1956; James & Carter, 2007). Initially, the nine participants were shy and unwilling to question the artist/author because they were uncertain of what to do. However, they all eventually felt comfortable in taking the risk to question the artist/author, even if it meant regurgitating questions previously offered during whole-class and guided practice. One student remarked that *"When I ask my question and dem, I understand de picture better."*

Increased participation resulted from the student-generated questions. Self-questioning enabled a deeper understanding of texts and a deeper ability to empathize with characters. One student mentioned that *"Questioning the artist or author help me get inside the head of the characters, so I could understand what really going on."* Teacher L stated that *"The nine students are generating more literal type questions for the author and are slowly making attempts to do so at higher levels, but it's a start, as students have begun to take responsibility for their learning."* She asserted that while she consistently models varying levels of questions to encourage students to generate questions at inferential levels, this is more successful with P-QAR than with QAR. Teacher L also noted that prior to the investigation, *"The students were very reserved and unwilling to respond to questioning during reading comprehension exercises."* Although she con-

tinues to encourage dialogue and group work, the noise can easily filter into other classes to distract or disturb other students, because all classrooms at Promise Primary School are separated only by chalkboards.

The efficacy of question-generating relied on scaffolding, with the ‘gradual release of responsibility’ (Pearson & Gallagher, 1983). This instructional support included procedural prompts, coaching using direct explicit instruction and buddy teaching. The current study confirmed Diaz’s (2011) findings that in order to help struggling students develop proficiency in question-generating, procedural prompts such as signal words or elaborate question stems had to be modeled with gradually increasing difficulty. For this strategy to be successful, the researcher modeled a range of multi-tiered questions for ‘In the Book’ and ‘In my Head’ since question-generating was a new strategy for these nine students.

This analysis supports evidence for a specific type of structured instruction such as using question stems to foster students’ awareness of asking “thought-provoking” questions instead of merely literal questions to encourage thinking at inferential levels, as seen in (Duke & Pearson, 2009; Taboada, 2003). Students used cues to take ownership of their learning. When question-generating was modeled, the participants drew tables with the following headings(1) ‘Right There’: answer is in one sentence; (2) ‘Think and Search’: I have to look but, answers in text; (3) ‘On My Own’: what I think; and (4) Author/Artist and You: text-to-text; text-to-self and text-to-the-world. They also wrote the following researcher modeled questions under their respective headings “who, what, when and where,” or generic stems for example “Why did she ... What might he do? ... What would you have done? How is ... like ... ? Explain ... ” This enabled students to construct similar questions at different levels based on the stimuli. This competence led to students’ efficacy in their ability to share their constructed questions with more confidence for P-QAR than for QAR. Consequently, as the students became more proficient, the researcher faded support and students worked collaboratively in teams to revise and correct questions and provide support and feedback to one another (Rosenshine, Meister & Chapman, 1996).

Table 4 lists some questions that the students formulated for the last QAR lesson. The participants were clearly proud of themselves and their accomplishments.

Table 4 Questions generated by students for QAR (Science) Lesson Eighteen- “Marine Pollution: Coral Carnival” by Sonia Canals

Right There Questions	Think and Search Questions	Artist and You Questions	On my Own Questions
What were the sea creatures celebrating?	How did the sea animals solve the problem?	What would I do if I was Bubbles?	How can I prevent marine pollution?

Where did they live?	What happened in the end?	Which character am I like? Why?	How can I keep the beach clean?
Who was Bubbles?			How would we feel if the animals did that to us?
What happened to the sea animals after the rainstorm?			

Buddy-teaching and small group discussions proved beneficial in helping the students comprehend texts better, as they engaged in a tripartite process with the text, their teacher/peers and their ideas or metacognitive skills. Student-generated questions offered insights into the students' thought processes and provided a point from which teaching and learning could begin. Increased participation empowered all of the students to voice their ideas and questions which enabled viewing texts and pictures with a more critical eye. When students generated their own questions, the classroom became more dialogic. Discussion helped them develop a deeper understanding of the picture/text, as they became active participants within a community of learners. To support their understanding of text students had to monitor, predict, infer, connect, visualize and organize their thoughts as they assimilated new information (Keene & Zimmerman, 1997). When teachers allowed students to generate their questions and prompted them to elaborate, students developed learning attitudes that encourage inquiry and deepen reading comprehension.

Both the class teacher and the researchers agreed that the students supported and nurtured one another during most of the investigation. However, initially, the students preferred to work alone because they were not accustomed to group work. Soon though, each group was working as a team to help the members of their group as much as they could. This became evident during the first review lesson on P-QAR. The researchers presented a four-frame picture for the unit titled, 'Susan Saves a Bird,' with the following questions for triad group practice: (1) "What did Susan find? (Right There); (2) Where might she be going? (Think & Search); (3) How was she feeling throughout the story? (Artist and You); and (4) What would you have done if you were Susan in Frame Four?" (On my Own). Before the researcher had to remind the participants about looking for clue words and to scaffold this process, several of the students said, "*Miss doh help we! We want to try on our own. Doh worry Miss, we guh help the odders too.*" The researchers applauded this intervention, but also ensured that all students were comfortable with this idea.

Another instance of how students attempted to understand a 'Think and Search' question during dyad practice is provided here utilizing a QAR poem titled "A Caterpillar" where student A attempted to help Student B:

A: Let us tink dis tru. It easy.

- B: I doh know how. I doh know where to look.
- A: Ok, firs, we have to read the question, den look for all the clue words. From dat we know where to get de answers. Leh we try it. Come I guh help you.
- B and A read together, with A guiding the reading.
- A: So what is the clue word in dis question? ‘Why did the caterpillar want to be like the butterfly?’ So what you tink de clue word is?
- B:..I suppose it is ‘Why?’
- A: Yippee! Circle it. Now let we decide what kind of question dis is. What you tink?
- B:Is not a ‘Right There’ or ‘On my Own’ I doh know, I not sure.
- A: You right, but ok, is a ‘Think and Search.’ De answer right in the poem, but we have to look for it. Why you tink a caterpillar want to be like a butterfly?
- B: It want to be pretty and to fly. I remember dat from de story bout de ‘Jealous Caterpillar.” Oh ho! Look de answer here in Verse Two. It want to be pretty and ha wings.
- A: Boy you real good, look how you making connections with odder texts and getting de answer nah. You good you know, yuh jes too quiet! Yuh have to start talking tru it. It does help.
- B: Yeah, buh I doh ever have enough time to find dem answers.

This was one of many instances of scaffolding using paired teaching. Cooperative learning was effective when the contributors and informers engaged in dialogue with one another during group practice. Consequently, informal support groups were formed. These students now willingly helped peers during their spare time, including during their lunch period. The findings revealed that these nine participants responded to the P-QAR strategy with more enthusiasm and confidence than they did to the QAR strategy. As such, their attitudes and beliefs about reading comprehension were becoming maximally positive when pictures were used.

Finally, students were supposed to use scaffolding independently but were unable to accomplish this because they felt they needed more “practice with texts”. In contrast, they were quite skilled at using the strategies in oral reading comprehension. Although the students maintained a positive attitude towards the investigation, they were disappointed in themselves that they were not as proficient with the QAR as they were with the P-QAR strategy. One student said, *“I wish I did understand the QAR, just like I understand the P-QAR.”*

Recommendations and conclusions

The results of this study indicate that the sample students had more success with the P-QAR strategy than they did with the QAR strategy, because pictures enabled them to

‘read’ the story and respond to ‘In the Book’ and ‘In my Head’ type questions. Therefore, as struggling readers advance through the primary school system, visuals should be incorporated as much as possible into reading comprehension passages, to allow them to freely develop critical thinking and unique interpretations. The “transmediation” process has proved to be crucial in developing literacy skills as students move from the visual to the spoken and from the spoken to print.

As students advance to secondary and tertiary levels of education, they must be prepared to read textbooks that offer fewer visuals and more content. Therefore, the onus is on each teacher to support the students by teaching them decoding skills; clarifying vocabulary necessary to understanding the text, building fluency skills and teaching comprehension skills by using direct explicit instruction in comprehension; with a focus on thinking-aloud and student-generated questions to develop understanding.

School administrators can address this issue by sourcing both human resources and teaching aids to help at-risk readers develop competency in reading comprehension. Human resources could include in-house reading coaches, with past administrators and teachers being asked to assist here alongside private reading specialists. Texts with supporting illustrations are glaringly absent at Promise Primary School. To help remedy this situation, teachers within the school or the district could proactively pool their artistic talents to help create or source aesthetically pleasing visuals for texts. Relevant illustrations that support text serve as a motivational function for struggling readers and also afford them the opportunity to actively participate in discussions, especially if the topic is not within their experience Peeck (as cited in Hibbing & Rankin-Erickson, 2003: 762). The costs of better illustrated materials, teaching aids and reading specialists could be met by Parent-Teacher Associations, Past Pupils Associations, the business community, non-governmental organizations and other willing benefactors.

There is also a need to train teachers in how to effectively apply the procedures and strategies deployed in P-QAR and QAR classrooms, by utilizing such resources as the Lesson Study Approach (LSA) (Hiebert, as explored in Cerbin & Kopp, 2006). The LSA involves teachers working in small teams to plan, teach, demonstrate, analyze, and refine research-based lessons to examine and improve reading comprehension. Collaboratively, teachers focus on improving pedagogic knowledge aimed specifically at addressing problems that they themselves have identified using technique that they have not yet fully utilized in their classrooms. Having jointly planned a lesson in detail, one teaches the lesson as the others observe. Language curriculum officers and reading coaches can be instrumental in sharing P-QAR and QAR strategies and best practices using the lesson study approach. This could enable teachers to master a common language designed to improve questioning activities and to eventually enable students to generate both literal and higher-order thinking questions that facilitate reading comprehension. Curriculum officers can initiate the process of effecting changes to the Reading Comprehension component of Language Arts Curricula to incorporate the P-QAR and

QAR techniques across disciplines and grade-levels, because all subjects involve reading and understanding.

It is our hope that the present research will serve to better enable all stakeholders to lend a hand in the process of assisting at-risk students to better understand texts and negotiate meaning in order that they might find greater success and fulfillment, not only in their day-to-day classroom learning experiences, but also over the course of their academic careers.

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HOW CAN TEACHERS MINIMIZE BEHAVIORAL PROBLEMS IN CARIBBEAN LANGUAGE CLASSROOMS?

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Abstract

Teachers are regularly confronted with students who display undesirable behavior in the classroom, which has a negative impact on the learning environment and impedes the learning process. This study aims to explore techniques which could aid language teachers in minimizing undesirable behaviors displayed by students in language classrooms specifically. As a result of this study, a behavior modification technique based on operant conditioning was introduced into the classroom. The main idea behind this technique was that behavior followed by positive consequences would be encouraged whereas behavior followed by negative consequences would be discouraged. To do this, immediate attention was given to behaviors displayed by the students via green, yellow and red bonus cards throughout a period of 5 weeks. The results showed that the frequency of undesired behaviors displayed by the students decreased by the end of the fifth week. A major conclusion which could be drawn from the results of the study is that immediate attention given to the behavior of students which involves the use of appropriate incentives or disincentives is effective in minimizing undesired behavior displayed by students in the classroom, which in turn may promote academic resilience.

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Key terms: Behavioral problems, disruptive behavior, undesired behavior

Introduction

The main priority of any school is for students to learn. Good behavior makes effective teaching and learning possible, whereas disruptive behavior impedes this process (Department of Education and Science and the Welsh Office, 1989: 60). Most challenges teachers are confronted with are often the result of behavioral problems displayed by their students. The ability of a teacher to deal with challenges most certainly has an impact on their students' learning process. There are different factors influencing the

behavior of students, some of which are beyond the teacher's ability to control. The aim of this study is to explore techniques that might aid teachers in dealing with difficult behaviors in the classroom, as part of a strategy for promoting academic resilience.

The specific goals are 1) to find out what the most common difficult behaviors displayed by the students in the classroom are and 2) to explore techniques that might aid teachers in minimizing these behavioral problems displayed in the classroom. In doing so, this study will attempt to answer the main research question: What techniques can language teachers use to minimize behavioral problems displayed students in the classroom? To answer the main research question, the following sub-questions will be investigated: 1) What difficult behaviors do students display in language classrooms?; 2) What behavioral problems do language teachers experience as most problematic?; 3) Is there a consistent pattern in the difficult behavior displayed by students in language classrooms ?; 4) What strategies do language teachers use to manage undesirable behavior?; and 5) Can operant conditioning techniques be effectively used by teachers to deal with difficult behavior in language classrooms?

Literature review

According to Tiwari and Panwar (2014: 516), behavioral problems in schools refer to deviation from institutionally pre-set rules or regulations. In general, the types of behavioral problems that most commonly occur in schools include stealing, bullying, fighting, teasing, truancy, disobedience/insubordination, lying, cheating, lateness, rudeness, destructiveness, drug/alcohol addiction, and work avoidance. Behavioral problems affect the teacher's ability to successfully manage the classroom environment, consequently negatively affecting the academic performance of the students.

In real classrooms, teachers will almost inevitably come across undesirable situations caused by students' behavioral problems. Teachers can positively influence their students in ways that go beyond academic performance by promoting attitudes, behaviors and skills in the classroom that are necessary for students to become successful individuals who have the ability to function in society. That said, it is unrealistic to assume that teachers can eliminate all behavioral problems displayed by the students in their classes because students often come to school with challenges that are rooted in social, economic and other problems that are beyond the scope of the educational system to resolve. Although teachers can have a consequential impact on the behavior and attitudes of their students, those same students are without a doubt continuously affected by the other contexts in which they find themselves outside of the classroom.

Thus, while the complete elimination of behavioral problems in schools may not be possible, this does not mean that teachers should not explore the use of techniques designed to minimize such problems and their negative effects on the learning process, so as to enhance academic performance. There is a broad array of behavioral problems with which schools are regularly confronted. Normally, however, the behaviors that

teachers most often report having to deal with are repetitive ‘low-level’ disruptions to the learning process, such as ‘talking out of turn’, ‘calculated idleness or work avoidance’, ‘hindering other students’ or ‘making unnecessary noise’ (Department of Education and Science and the Welsh Office, 1989: 60). Nevertheless, even these more common but perhaps less disruptive behaviors can have a debilitating effect on the classroom environment, which is why it is crucial for teachers to have the ability to deal with these kinds of behavior effectively.

Determining the precise nature and extent of the impact of behavior on academic achievement is difficult, given the enormous number of variables involved. These include, but are not limited to, factors such as: 1) the training, life experiences and management strategies of each individual teacher; 2) the life experiences, coping mechanisms and behavioral patterns of each individual student; 3) the learning environments provided by each individual school; and 4) the extent to which, and the means by which difficult behaviors are acknowledged, analyzed and addressed by all stakeholders. Despite these challenges, clear understandings of the relationship between difficult behavior and academic achievement in specific situations can be achieved and utilized in order to generate appropriate assessment, prevention and intervention strategies for students who display difficult behavior in the classroom (Barriga et al., 2002: 233).

The teacher’s ability to manage the classroom and handle difficult situations has a direct influence on the behavior of the students. Students often display multiple forms and varying combinations of behavioral problems. One student may display truancy and work avoidance, whereas another may simply talk out of turn. Some students display aggressive behavior such as fighting and destructiveness, while other students cheat on tests. Beyond each particular classroom, there are other factors that can have a profound effect on both the nature and extent of the impact that a specific behavior has on learning, such as each student’s home environment, the institutional conditions established by the authorities charged with running each individual school, the socio-economic situation of the neighborhood in which each school is located, the socio-political climate of the municipal, regional and national jurisdictions to which each school is responsible, etc.

Another factor that must be taken into account when investigating the relationship between behavior and academic achievement is the assessment of behavioral problems, which is both subjective and context sensitive. For example, the definition of students’ misbehavior may vary depending on the particular subject being taught. A science teacher who is responsible for the students’ interactions with expensive and potentially dangerous laboratory equipment may be less disposed to allowing spontaneous outbursts by the students than a language teacher who is encouraging students to express themselves creatively.

Despite all of this, Sun and Shek (2012) conducted a study aimed at examining secondary school teachers’ experience with, and opinions about student misbehaviors in their

classrooms. When asked to identify the most common, most disruptive, and most acceptable behaviors, teachers' responses were surprisingly similar with talking out of turn being consistently identified as the most commonly occurring misbehavior, and the most unacceptable behaviors being identified in descending order as disrespecting teachers, disobedience, rudeness, talking out of turn and verbal aggression. Sun and Shek concluded that, in general, teachers found that they felt compelled to intervene especially when student behaviors involved rule-breaking, violated implicit norms or expectations, or lacked appropriateness to the classroom setting, teaching and learning. In another study Barriga et al. (2002) demonstrated that difficult behavior such as aggression and other forms of antisocial behavior are often linked with academic underachievement, and that, in general, behaviors which require some sort of intervention from teachers have a relationship with relatively lower academic achievement. They also observed that while depression and anxiety often lead to work avoidance and academic underachievement, a subjective sense of belonging and interpersonal support is associated with higher achievement, motivation and educational planning.

Whereas our discussion of the literature thus far has focused on behavioral problems in mainstream education in general, we now shift our focus to behavioral problems in language classrooms in particular, which is the primary focus of this study. While the former are relevant to all classroom situations, including that of the language classroom, the latter will allow us to zero in on the particular challenges faced by language teachers. Although only a limited number of studies have been conducted on classroom management in language classrooms, the few studies which have been conducted have all suggested that classroom management in language classrooms differs in some respects from other classroom settings (Kayıkçı, 2009; Kerdikoshvili, 2012; Korukcu, 1996; van de Ploeg, Steglich & Veenstra, 2016). Debreli and Ishanova (2019) demonstrate that behavioral problems such as the usage of one's mother tongue, asking irrelevant questions, usage of mobile phones, and work avoidance are the most common behavioral problems displayed in foreign language classrooms and attribute these behaviors primarily to lack of motivation. This indicates that even as one focuses specifically on behavioral problems in language classrooms, problematic behaviors which are found in virtually all classrooms such as work avoidance and usage of mobile phones must also be taken into account.

Richards and Renandya, 2002 (as cited in Khasinah, 2017: 81) divide students who display behavioral problems in language classrooms into the following three categories:

1. The back-row distractor, who always sits in the back and distracts others.
2. The nonparticipant work avoider, who systematically avoids classroom activities.
3. The over exuberant student, who is smart but very dominant and monopolizes classroom activities.

All three types of students often exhibit several of the typical behavioral problems listed by Cruishank et al., 2009 (as cited in Khasinah, 2017: 81) including aggression (physical and verbal attacks on others, displays of violence, etc.), dishonesty (cheating, lying, stealing, etc.), defiance of authority (refusing to obey teachers or rules, etc.), disruptive behaviors (talking loudly, calling out, tossing objects, etc.) and off-task behaviors (daydreaming, fooling around, etc.).

To minimize behavioral problems displayed by students in language classrooms, we must first identify the causes of these behaviors. As stated earlier, most studies conducted on classroom management have concluded that lack of motivation on the part of students is a general underlying factor (Debreli & Ishanova, 2019: 3). For instance, Kerdikoshvili (2012) demonstrated that there is a close relationship between language learning and motivation, observing that the presence of a group of motivated students positively affects the behavior of other students, whereas the presence of a group of demotivated students has the opposite effect. Other investigations have concluded that factors such as cultural differences, overcrowded classrooms, time limitations, family or personal problems, and feelings of inadequacy are underlying causes of behavioral problems displayed by both secondary and primary students in language classrooms (Baker & Westrup, 2000; Brown, 2007; Kavikci, 2009, all cited in Debreli & Ishanova, 2019: 3). Ghazi et al. (2013: 353) add more factors to this list, including inconsistent, uncaring and/or overprotective parents, poverty, negative attitudes, lack of alternatives, community trauma, psychological problems, and poor classroom conditions.

Other common causal factors are related directly to teachers. If they are to attain their goal of facilitating learning, teachers require specific skills, knowledge and qualities of personality (Maazouzi, 2019). How teachers behave, treat their students, prepare their lessons, and handle difficult situations all have a significant impact on classroom behavior. For instance, Maazouzi (2019), notes that teachers with strong personalities are usually respected, while teachers with weak personalities find it more difficult to gain students' respect.

Attitudes have a decisive impact on behavior, with positive attitudes generally contributing to increased motivation to engage constructively in classroom activities (Nakamura, 2000, as cited in Debreli & Ishanova, 2019: 5). Negative attitudes are often expressed through the display of behaviors that interfere with the learning process, such as those linked to lack of motivation and lack of engagement in school activities. It is therefore important to consider students' attitudes toward school when discussing behavioral problems. Promoting positive attitudes toward school can help decrease the frequency and intensity of behavioral problems and increase levels of academic performance. Students' negative attitudes and the resulting lack of motivation on their part have been correlated to lack of confidence, anxiety and inhibition, teachers' negative attitudes towards students, absence of positive reinforcements, absence of approval or

appreciation of students by teachers, and non-supportive classroom environments (Brophy, 2008; Dörnyei, 2005; Gardner, 2001; Renninger, 2009).

Oroujlou and Vahedi (2011: 998-1000) suggested 5 methods that have proven to be effective in influencing the motivation and attitudes of students in language classrooms:

1. creating a friendly classroom atmosphere
2. encouraging students to personalize the classroom environment
3. creating situations where students feel a sense of accomplishment
4. encouraging students to set their own short-term goals
5. providing peer group activities with the purpose of building confidence and connecting language learning to student's interest outside of class

Furthermore, a study conducted by Akey (2006) finds that students who are confident in their ability to succeed become more engaged in learning. This means that students with positive attitudes toward their own academic abilities have better chances at academic achievement. Akey also suggests that in order to contribute to positive attitudes towards school on the part of the students, teachers should promote confidence and the school environment should be designed to promote feelings of success. This study identifies two factors that seemed to play a major role in enhancing students' competence and engagement, namely, supportive teachers and clear and high expectations about behavior. The study concludes that creating collaborative environments with high, yet achievable standards contributes to positive attitudes towards school.

Attitudes can be seen as mental and emotional models that guide individuals' behaviors (Baysal & Tekarslan, 1996: 254, as cited in Akçay, Ulutaş & Sevinç 2016: 1073). Teachers' attitudes can often be reflected in their pedagogical performance, their interpersonal relationships with students, and their professional relationships with colleagues. Therefore, teachers' attitudes contribute in a significant way to both the classroom and school environment, thus influencing the behavior of their students. Because attitudes influence performance and interpersonal relationships, it is important for schools to ensure that teachers establish and maintain positive attitudes towards their work. In Curaçao, as elsewhere, some schools that are popularly misjudged to be 'inferior' end up with students who have been expelled from other schools that are popularly misjudged to be 'superior'. This unfortunate dynamic more often than not leads to classrooms in the 'inferior' schools experiencing higher frequencies of undesired behaviors than those in 'superior' schools, a vicious circle that can have a disastrous impact on the attitudes of the teachers who work in these so-called 'inferior' schools.

A study conducted by Akçay, Ulutaş and Sevinç (2016) on the attitudes of teachers, found that while they often stated that their work was tiring, and often described their work conditions as unfavorable, their average scores on job satisfaction were high and increased with experience. Thus, teachers who had more years of experience had more positive attitudes towards their job compared to teachers with less experience (Akçay, Ulutaş & Sevinç 2016; Colomeischi & Colomeischi, 2014). This same study concluded

that there was no relationship between the level of education of teachers or their salary levels on the one hand, and their attitudes towards their work on the other (Akçay, Ulu-
taş & Sevinç, 2016).

Colomeischi and Colomeischi (2014) investigated the relationship between teachers' attitudes towards work in relation to emotional intelligence and self-efficacy. They found that teachers who worked in environments with poor communication among staff had less positive attitudes towards their jobs compared to those who worked in environments with high quality interpersonal and professional relationships. This study also found that there was a significant correlation between both emotional intelligence and self-efficacy on one hand and both positive attitudes toward work and higher levels of job satisfaction on the other.

We can therefore conclude that, whereas teachers' attitudes towards their jobs usually improve with experience, there are different methods that could be used by schools to improve the attitudes of their staff members toward their work, such as promoting emotional intelligence and self-efficacy, facilitating better communication, fostering better interpersonal and professional relationships and defusing and debunking negative and damaging public discourse.

When discussing student behavior, it should be taken into account that all students are unique individuals with their own ways and pace of learning. Teaching that is not fine-tuned to students' needs usually leads to frustration and confusion on the part of the students, which can have a negative impact on motivation levels, and low motivation is often manifested through undesirable classroom behavior. Thus, taking the level of the student into account when planning the lesson is an important factor that can aid teachers in minimizing undesirable behaviors displayed by students in the classroom.

Since the pioneering work of B. F. Skinner in the mid-1900s, different forms of operant conditioning have been utilized in classrooms worldwide. The main idea behind behavior modification strategies based on operant conditioning is that behaviors followed by positive reinforcement are encouraged whereas those followed by negative reinforcement are discouraged. Recent work on the successful application of operant conditioning on the resolution of behavioral problems in the classroom includes that of Sharma, Malawade and Shrikhande (2018), whose study focused on positive reinforcement, negative reinforcement, time-out techniques and assertiveness training.

Foxx, 1972 (cited in Sharma, Malawade and Shrikhande, 2018: 2) notes that providing immediate attention is an extremely powerful reinforcement strategy that can be used in a variety of behavior modification programs. In Sharma, Malawade and Shrikhande's (2018) study, immediate attention was given to behavior displayed by students. To do this, symbolic tokens in the form of yellow, green and pink cardboard stars were used in combination with verbal reinforcement. Alter et al., 2008 (cited in Sharma, Malawade and Shrikhande, 2018: 2) consider tokens such as these stars to be symbolic, conditioned rewards which represent the actual reinforcement that students will receive in the future,

thus avoiding situations where frequent rewarding disrupts the learning flow. Sharma, Malawade and Shrikhande (2018) demonstrated that these tokens in combination with positive reinforcement decreased undesirable behavior on the part of students in the classroom.

Sharma, Malawade and Shrikhande (2018) also found that behaviors such as non-compliance with requests made by the teachers and other adults could be modified by using a set of techniques called modelling. Modelling involves observational learning where the children are inspired by others who are able to perform better. It demystifies the desired behavior, makes it less frightening and encourages the belief that “I can do it, too” (Sharma, Malawade and Shrikhande, 2018: 2). In this technique, a role model is provided for the students to follow and they are taught to deal with concrete situations through role playing. Researchers have found that positive behavior supports such as games, music and other recreational activities as well as the application of fair disciplinary rules are associated with improved acquisition of academic skills (Sharma, Malawade, & Shrikhande, 2018).

Several studies propose strategies that could aid teachers in avoiding or minimizing behavioral problems in their classrooms. Hastings and Bham (2002) suggest that giving clear instruction and regularly monitoring students has a positive effect on their behavior. Other researchers have suggested that giving students responsibility and keeping them busy also seems to be effective (Manning & Butcher, 2013). Quintero Corzo and Ramírez Contreras (2011) observe that stating clear rules and explaining the consequences of breaking them is very effective. Zuckerman’s (2007) study demonstrates that planning lessons effectively, establishing and following classroom routines, following classroom rules and norms, arranging classroom seating strategically, dealing swiftly with off-task students, and varying the pace of lessons are effective strategies for minimizing student misbehavior in the classroom.

Methodology

Two groups of participants partook in this study. The first group consisted of a total of 6 language teachers at a Curaçaoan secondary school. 2 of the teachers were Papiamentu teachers, 2 were Dutch teachers, 1 was a Spanish teacher, and 1 was an English teacher. 5 of the teachers were female and 1 was male, and all of the teachers were between the ages of 30 and 65. The second group of participants consisted of 1 first year class, which we will label as Class 1 for the purposes of this study, and one second year class, which we will label as Class 2 for the purposes of this study. Class 1 consisted of 22 students (11 male and 11 female) between the ages of 13 and 15. Class 2 consisted of 14 students (four female and 10 male) between the ages of 14 and 16. All the students were from low to middle income households.

The first instrument was used in the first week of the study and consisted of a behavior frequency observation sheet constructed by the present researcher, which was designed

to get an overview of the number of occurrences of undesirable behavior displayed by the students throughout the week. This initial behavior frequency observation sheet included a total of 16 behaviors and for each behavior the observer could mark four options (0, 1-5, 5-10, and 11+) throughout the first week of the study to indicate the frequency of the behavior. After each behavior there was also space on the sheet for any possible remarks.

The second instrument was used during the second, third, fourth and fifth weeks of the study, and consisted of an adapted behavior frequency sheet, which was constructed by the present researcher after determining the 10 behaviors which had the highest number occurrences throughout the first week. This adapted behavior frequency sheet was then used to record the frequency of undesirable classroom behaviors throughout the final four weeks of this study.

The third data collection instrument was a survey on behavioral problems constructed by the present researcher. The survey was designed for all the language teachers at the school and consisted of 34 items of which 11 were open ended questions and 23 were multiple choice questions. The purpose of this survey was to determine which behaviors the language teachers considered to be the most problematic, which they experienced most often, and how they dealt with these behaviors.

Data collection began at the beginning of the second trimester after obtaining permission from the headmaster of the school. The frequency of undesirable behaviors displayed by the students in both classes selected for this study was then measured throughout five weeks. Each class met for three 45-minute sessions per week with the teacher recording the frequency of undesirable behaviors displayed by the students during the first 45 minute session of each week.

Beginning with the second week of the study, a behavior modification technique based on operant conditioning was implemented in all of the classrooms involved in the study, with the goal of minimizing the undesired behaviors displayed by the students. For this purpose, a conditioning system based on green, yellow and red cards was introduced to the students. In doing so, clear rules were established which were crucial to the success of this study. These rules were elaborately explained to the students and written on the blackboard where the students could view the rules throughout all the lessons.

The rules were as follows:

- Green card: All students get a green card at the beginning of each lesson. A student who has only received green cards by the end of the trimester will have the right to five bonus points in total, which will be added to any tests of the students' choice, except for tests taken during the final comprehensive testing week. To maintain the green card throughout the lesson the student has to: 1) actively participate in the lesson; 2) be prepared for the class (with books, pencil, pens etc.); 3) have their uniform in order; 4) respect others by not talking out of turn; 5)

refrain from using their mobile phone without permission; 6) refrain from walking around the classroom or 7) refrain from leaving the classroom without permission.

- Yellow card: Receiving a yellow card means that one point will be deducted from the five bonus test points that the student has the right to. A student will receive a yellow card if the student: 1) does not actively participate with the lesson; 2) is not properly prepared for the lesson (no books, pencils, pens etc.); 3) does not have their school uniform in order; 4) talks out of turn or makes unnecessary noises; 5) uses their mobile phone without permission; 6) walks around the classroom; or 7) leaves without permission.
- Red card: Receiving a red card means that the student has displayed behavior which is not acceptable by any means. A red card means that the student's mentor and/or parents must be contacted to deal with this behavior. If repeated, the student must face some kind of punishment such as detention or writing an apology letter. A student will receive a red card if: 1) the student receives three yellow cards in a row; 2) the student curses or is disrespectful towards the teacher or another student; 3) the student fights during the lesson.

In our discussion of the literature above, it was mentioned that according to Richards and Renandya, 2002 (cited in Khasinah 2017: 81), there are three types of students who display disruptive behavior in language classrooms: 1) the back-row distractor; 2), the nonparticipant work avoider; and 3) the over exuberant student, who is smart but very dominant and monopolize all activities in the classroom. While the operant conditioning technique was implemented during the final four weeks of the study to minimize undesired behaviors displayed by all three types of students in the classroom, extra and more challenging lesson materials were provided for the over exuberant students specifically, with the purpose of providing them with more of a challenge, alongside special tasks such as checking on and helping other students in an attempt to minimize undesirable behavior on their part in particular.

At the end of the fifth study week, an overview was created of the frequencies of the behaviors which were recorded throughout the study. In addition, the survey was administered to all of the language teachers in order to get an overview of which behaviors the teachers regarded as problematic, of their general attitudes toward their work, and of how they dealt with undesired behavior displayed by their students in their classrooms.

Results

Results of the undesirable behavior frequency count.

In Figure sets 1 and 2, we present the results of the undesirable behavior frequency counts which took place during the five weeks in Classes 1 and 2.

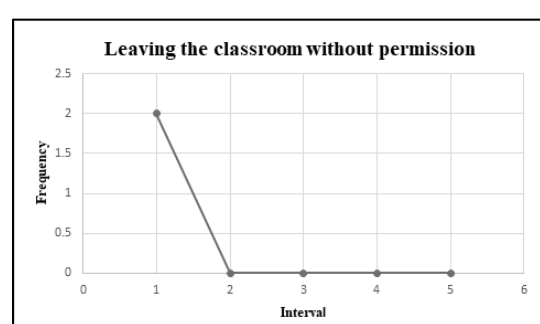
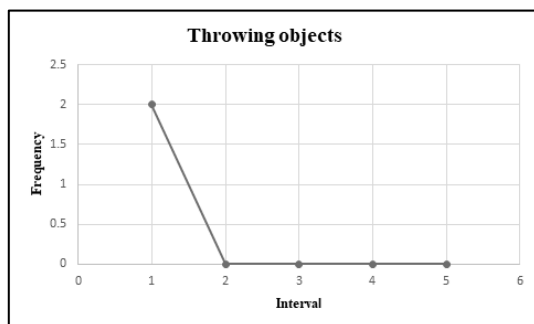
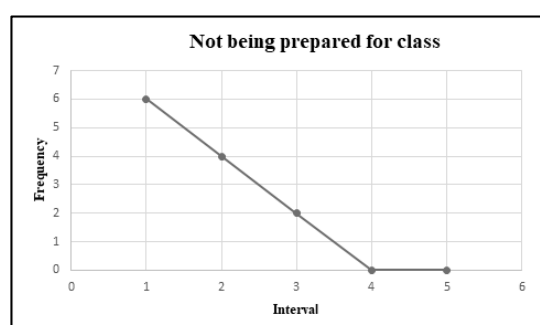
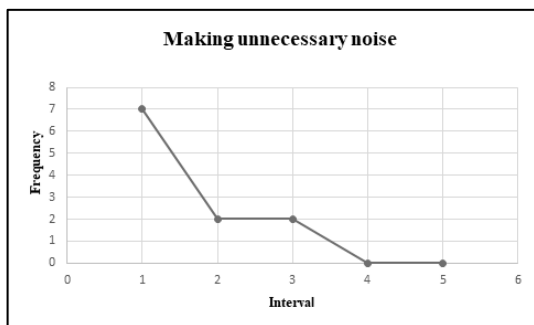
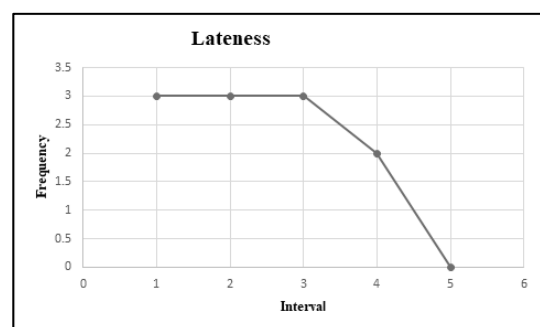
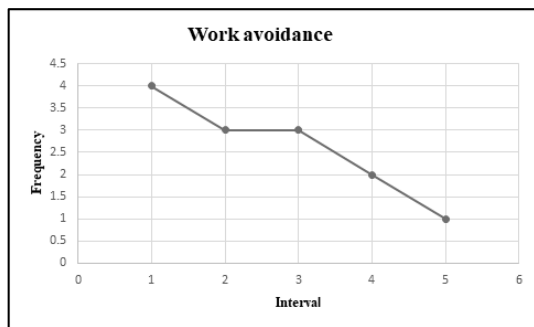
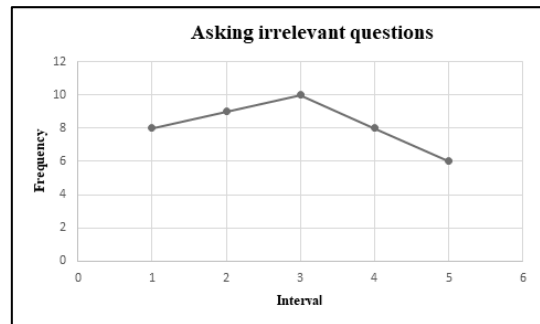
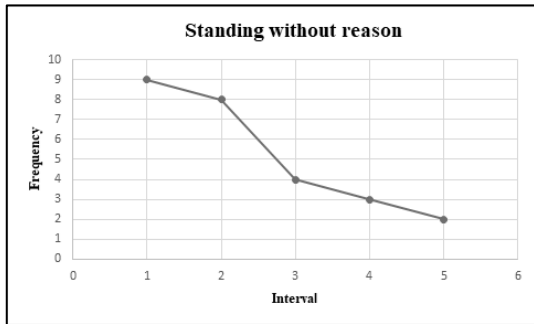
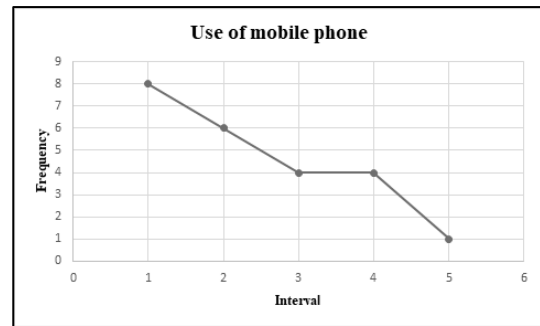
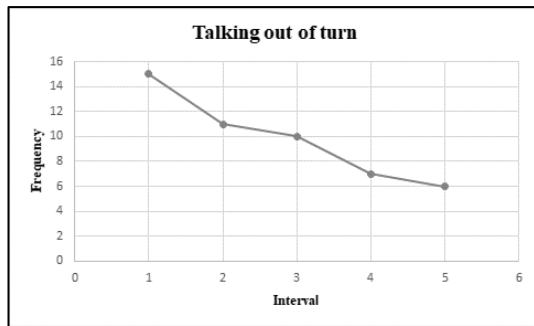


Figure set 1 Undesirable behavior frequency results for Class 1

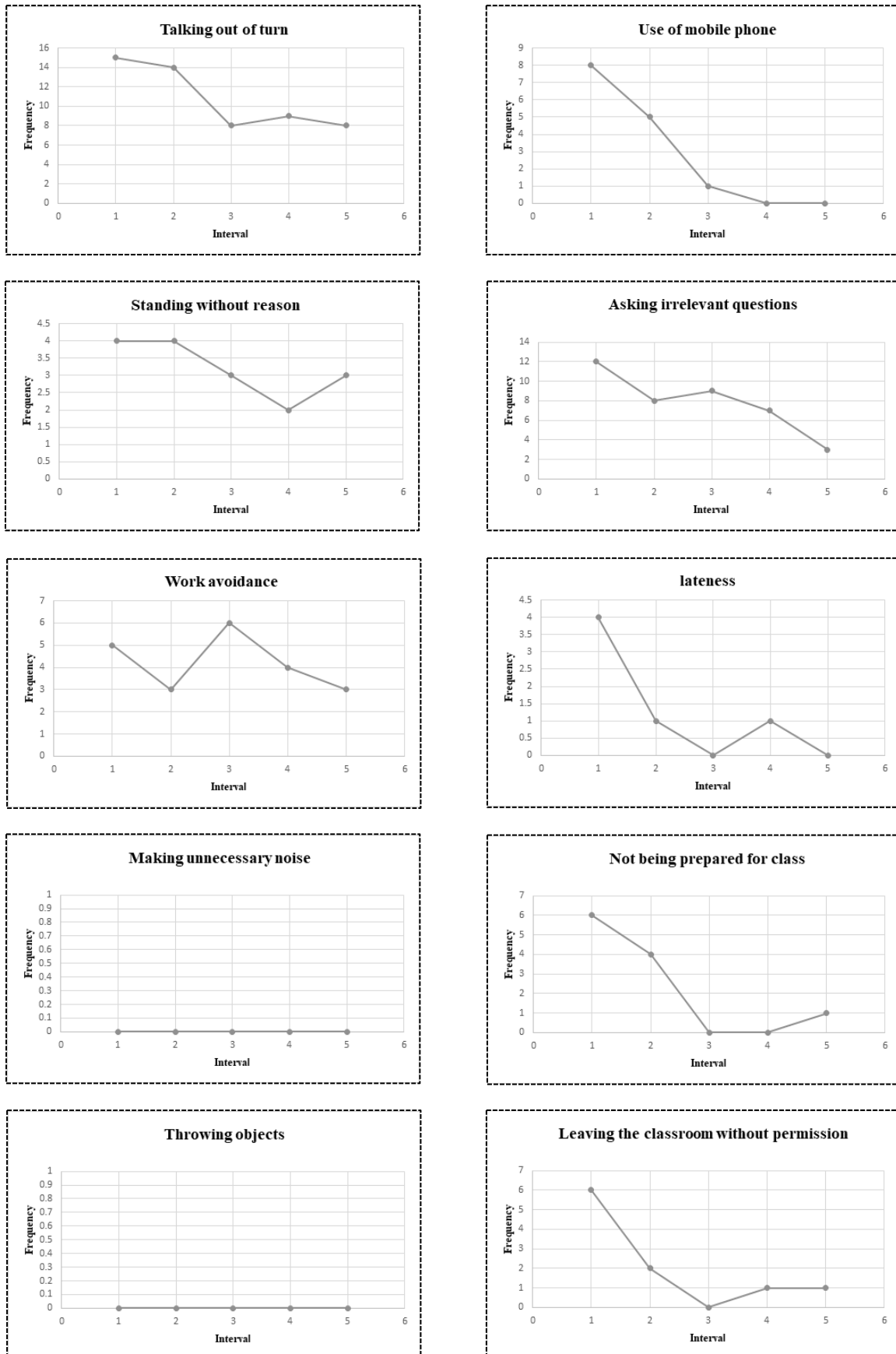


Figure set 2 Undesirable behavior frequency results for Class 2

Results of the survey

The first part of the survey was intended to investigate the overall attitude of the language teachers. The results of the first part of the survey are listed in Table set 1.

Table set 1 Overall attitudes of teachers

1. Subject	2. Years teaching	3. Work environment	4. Improvement	5. Attitude
Papiamentu	2 13 years 2	Challenging 4	Materials, guidance	Passionate
Spanish	1 15 years 1	Changeable 1	Computers, Wifi	Positive
Dutch	2 26 years 1	Reasonable 1	Digital resources	Love it
English	1 28 years 1		Wifi, smartboards	Passionate
			Internet	Positive
			Digital devices	Passionate

6. Planning time	7. Causes of Misbehavior	Scale	8. Student enjoyment	9. Respect for staff	10. Lessons are motivating	11. Effort to teach
Insufficient	Lack of interest	None	0	0	0	0
Insufficient	Lack of education	A bit	1	1	1	0
Insufficient	Lack of parental attention/guidance	Some	3	3	3	0
Sufficient	Social/emotional/family problems	Much	2	2	1	2
Insufficient	Lack of interest	Very				
Insufficient	Personal life too full	much	0	0	1	4

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The purpose of the second part of the survey was to determine to what extent the language teachers considered behavioral problems displayed by students to be problematic. The results of the second part of the survey are listed in Table set 2.

Table set 2 Extent to which teachers considered behaviors to be problematic

Problematic?	Talking out of turn	Mobile phones	Out of chair	Irrelevant questions	Cheating on tests	Avoiding work	Mother tongue	Leaving class
Not at all	0	0	0	2	1	0	2	0
A bit	2	0	0	2	1	1	0	0
Somewhat	2	2	1	2	0	0	3	0
Very	2	1	2	0	2	1	1	0
Extremely	0	3	2	0	2	4	0	6

Problematic?	Destroying property	Bullying	Lateness	Noise	Not prepared	Uniform	Swearing	Leaving class
Not at all	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
A bit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Somewhat	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0
Very	1	0	6	2	4	3	2	0
Extremely	5	6	0	3	2	0	4	6

Problematic?	Throwing objects	Disobedience	Aggressive behavior	Physical fighting	Additional comments
Not at all	0	0	0	0	How teachers deal with students has a major influence on their behavior Students need to be motivated by their parents
A bit	0	0	0	0	
Somewhat	2	1	0	2	
Very	2	2	0	2	
Extremely	2	3	6	2	

Part three of the survey was designed to determine which behavioral problems teachers encountered the most, with 1 being the least encountered behavior and 5 the most encountered behavior. The results of the third part of the survey are listed in Table set 3.

Table set 3 Most frequently encountered problematic behaviors (listed in order of frequency)

Teacher 1	Teacher 2	Teacher 3
Disobedience	School uniform untidy	Not being prepared
Bullying	Talking out of turn	Lateness
Mobile phone use	Mobile phone use	Leaving the classroom
Work avoidance	Not paying attention	Work avoidance
Not being prepared	Mother tongue use	Mobile phone use
Teacher 4	Teacher 5	Teacher 6
Cheating on tests	Mobile phone use	School uniform untidy
Irrelevant questions	Work avoidance	Not being prepared
Student out of chair	Irrelevant questions	Talking out of turn
Mobile phone use	Student out of chair	Leaving the classroom
Talking out of turn	Talking out of turn	Work avoidance

Finally, teachers were asked if they used any reward systems in their classrooms. Four of the six teachers reported not using any reward systems, while one teacher said that they gave treats to top students, and another said that they used a card system to encourage positive behavior.

Discussion

Sharma, Malawade and Shrikhande (2018) investigated the effectiveness of behavioral modification techniques in classrooms where a range of subjects were taught. They did so by identifying the five most commonly disruptive behaviors encountered by the teachers in their sample and then implementing behavior modification strategies aimed at minimizing those behaviors. The present study attempted to replicate Sharma, Malawade and Shrikhande's (2018) study to a certain degree but with a specific focus on language classrooms. This was done by first identifying the ten most commonly disruptive behaviors encountered by the language teachers in our sample and then by implementing behavior modification strategies aimed at minimizing those disruptive behaviors. In the present study, the modification method adopted was based on operant conditioning.

Sharma, Malawade and Shrikhande (2018) demonstrated that all of the five disruptive behaviors that they had identified decreased significantly in frequency by week eight of their study, that is, several weeks after the introduction of behavioral modification techniques in their sample classrooms. Similarly, in the present study, all of the 10 disruptive behaviors that we had identified decreased significantly in frequency by week five of our study, that is, four weeks after the introduction of the behavioral modification techniques in our sample classrooms.

As shown in Figure sets 1 and 2 above, this decrease in frequency of disruptive behaviors was more significant in some cases than in others. Dramatic decreases were observed for behaviors such as using mobile phones, lateness, making unnecessary noise, not being prepared for class, throwing objects and leaving the classroom without permission. More modest decreases were observed for behaviors such as standing without reason, work avoidance, asking irrelevant questions, and talking out of turn. In the case of these last two behaviors (asking irrelevant questions and talking out of turn) it should be noted that in Part 2 of the survey, teachers generally reported that they did not consider these behaviors as particularly problematic (see Table set 2 above). This means that teachers may have tended to be less inclined to administer negative reinforcements when students engaged in asking irrelevant questions and talking out of turn, than, say, when students made unauthorized use of their cell phones. In the future, it would be interesting to add a classroom observation component to a study such as the present one to see if teachers apply behavioral modification techniques in a uniform and consistent fashion when they encounter each of the disruptive behaviors under investigation.

Turning from the frequency results to Part 1 of the survey, when teachers were asked to describe their work environment, Table set 1 above indicates that four of the six teachers used the word "challenging", and most reported mediocre levels of student motivation, mediocre levels of respect for teachers and mediocre levels of motivating lesson content. Despite the fact that lack of motivation has been demonstrated to be a key causal factor for behavior problems in the classroom (van de Ploeg, Steglichs & Veenstra,

2016), and the fact that the teachers themselves realized this, only two of the teachers considered their lessons to be substantially motivating for the students. All of the teachers reported that their work required significant levels of effort on their part, with five of the six teachers indicating not having enough time to plan their lessons effectively. When the teachers were asked what they felt was necessary to improve their work environment, all complained about the lack of access to Wi-Fi and/or technological aids, such as digital boards.

Despite this less than optimal assessment of their work situation, the teachers in the sample not only displayed remarkable commitment to their profession, with an average of 20 years spent in the classroom, but they also had very positive attitudes toward their work. These results are similar to those obtained by Akçay, Ulutaş & Sevinç (2016), who concluded that while educational workers stated that their jobs were tiring, and described their work conditions as unfavorable, their average scores on job satisfaction were high and increased with experience.

Part 2 of the survey was intended to determine which behaviors the teachers considered to be most problematic, regardless of the frequency with which they encountered them. While the results varied per teacher, Table set 2 above shows that the use of mobile phones, leaving the classroom without permission, physical fights, not being prepared for class, disobeying teachers, swearing, destruction of school property, and disrespectful behavior towards the teachers or students were perceived as extremely problematic by all teachers. It was also evident from the results that, in general, the teachers did not have strong feelings about students asking irrelevant questions.

Based on the questions in Part 3 of the survey, Table set 3 above indicates that the most common behavioral problem encountered by the teachers was the use of mobile phones (five of the six teachers), followed by work avoidance and talking out of turn (four of the six teachers), and not being prepared for class (three of the six teachers). None of the other behaviors was mentioned by more than two of the six teachers. As mentioned above, the most common cause for these behaviors mentioned by the teachers was lack of interest/motivation (see Table set 1 above), although there was less consensus here than in other areas. These findings are similar to those of Debreli and Ishanova (2019) who demonstrated that in foreign language classrooms, the use of one's mother tongue, asking irrelevant questions, the use of mobile phones, and work avoidance are the most common behavioral problems encountered, with lack of motivation being identified as the main factor underlying most of them.

While all of the teachers reported that they utilize a range of strategies to deal with these behavioral problems, such as verbal warnings, taking phones away from students or changing seating configurations, only two teachers mentioned using reward systems in their classrooms. One teacher reported using reward systems such as compliments and bonus card systems and another teacher mentioned giving treats to best behaved students at the end of each trimester.

Conclusions and recommendations

The present study had various limitations, including the limited number of language teachers who were available to participate, given our time and logistical constraints. Another limitation was the lack of a classroom observation component in the study design, which would have shed considerable light on the nature of disruptive behaviors experienced by the teachers, as well as on how the teachers actually implemented the behavioral modification technique introduced as part of the study. There is a pressing need for more investigative work in the area of student behavioral problems in language classrooms, and we recommend that future studies involve larger samples of teachers as well as a classroom observation component.

The purpose of the present study was to explore the problems experienced by language teachers and the techniques which could aid them in minimizing behavioral problems displayed by students in language classrooms. On the basis of our findings, we can draw the following conclusions:

- In general, there were no significant differences in the results of the present study when compared to previous studies, even previous studies that were based on samples that were not restricted to language classrooms.
- It can be concluded that the language teachers in our sample seemed to have a generally positive attitude toward their work, despite describing their work conditions as less than optimal. Thus, the attitudes of the teachers did not seem to be of as much concern in relation to problematic behaviors in the classroom as the attitudes of students, especially in terms of their lack of motivation.
- Both teacher and student performance seemed to be negatively impacted by lack of time for teachers to plan motivating lessons and a lack of up-to-date technology in the classroom, which might make lessons more motivating and relevant to students, thus improving their behavior.
- A major conclusion which can be drawn from the present study is that as a behavioral modification technique, operant conditioning was effective for minimizing behavioral problems displayed by students in language classrooms.

Schools should encourage teachers to implement behavior modification techniques in their classrooms and provide them with necessary training to do so. These techniques should involve the use of reward systems as a means to encourage positive behaviors and discourage undesirable behaviors. To this end, schools should ensure that teachers have enough training, planning time and up-to-date technology to make all of their lessons maximally motivating and relevant to students, with the aim of removing the root causes of problematic behavior in their classrooms.

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RETHINKING LANGUAGE, RETHINKING ACQUISITION

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Abstract

In this article, I explore the concept of language as a colonial system and how this impacts both language education and language acquisition. I mention some existing language policies in education, commonly taught strategies for teaching language acquisition, and I discuss the implications of these typically homogenous approaches for learners with pluralistic identities. I specifically look towards Afro-Atlantic languages and cultures to provide examples for how the idea of language as a colonial system impacts language acquisition and teaching strategies, as well as what should be considered the “norm” when thinking about student needs. Finally, I discuss what educators can take away from these ideas and how they can begin to decolonize their approaches to language education through cultural competence and sensitivity. This article is not intended to provide a comprehensive investigation into the colonization or decolonization of language and language instruction, but instead to serve as a starting point for language educators to begin recognizing the impacts that colonization has on language, education, and acquisition, as well as to begin considering methods for deconstructing this system.

Key Terms: language education, language acquisition, cultural sensitivity, colonization, language learning

Introduction

“One of the most devastating impacts of colonialism lies in what it acknowledges, valorizes and/or centers versus what it erases, trivializes and/or marginalizes in the dominant historical and scientific narratives that it has bequeathed to us” (Faraclas & Delgado, 2021: 2). Colonialism has ultimately controlled how most of the world’s major symbolic systems and institutions are shaped. Education and language are no exceptions

to this, and the notion of standardized, individual languages is a colonial construct in itself (Makoni & Pennycook, 2005: 138). It has been suggested that we refer to and think of languages as linguistic repertoires and/or linguistic varieties instead, because there is no such thing as a truly standardized version of a single language that any human being uses in actual communication (Faraclas & Delgado, 2021: 6). Additionally, certain languages, such as creoles, have been further marginalized by this colonial linguistic framework. However, there is much to learn from creoles in both linguistic and educational theory.

Creoles are traditionally defined as languages that have undergone significant linguistic contact and restructuring, but this is actually the case with all languages (Faraclas & Delgado, 2021: 8). To categorize creoles as different from ‘mainstream’ languages is to essentially ignore the history and formation of all languages while arbitrarily stigmatizing creoles. Furthermore, traits often associated with creole languages and cultures, such as pluri-lingualism, pluri-culturalism, and pluri-identification, are the norm in most societies rather than the exception (Faraclas & Delgado, 2021: 8). With this in mind, one could think of enforcing homogenous language use, educational strategies, and learning contexts as essentially part of a process of colonizing language acquisition. The Western model of education encourages the development of ‘academic’ ways of understanding the world through systems of classification (DeCapua & Marshall, 2011: 35). This way of seeing education, language, and the world in general is an extremely monolithic approach that can stifle learner motivation, particularly those who come from pluri-cultural backgrounds (i.e., most people). Instead of finding creative ways to support students within this traditionally Western framework, the framework needs to be dismantled altogether. Emphasis on pluri-identification, deconstructing preconceived notions about language, and rethinking strategies for language acquisition are all necessary to decolonize language education. Learning does not occur in a vacuum, but rather it is intermingled with sociocultural experiences and occurs primarily through interaction (Walqui, 2006: 159). With this in mind, educators can begin to utilize their formal knowledge and pair it with approaches that appeal to a more universal group of language learners.

The linguistic perspectives just mentioned offer those involved in language education a fresh opportunity to reevaluate how language acquisition and education are approached and implemented. Educational concepts such as cultural competence, learner agency and motivation, and connections to prior knowledge have been widely accepted and used in lesson planning by language educators. Most of the ideas about deconstructing language as a colonial system connect quite naturally with accepted approaches to language acquisition and instruction.

Policies, strategies and viewing languages as “linguistic repertoires”

Many of the policies and strategies for teaching languages in the US and the Caribbean were designed with good intentions, but ultimately leave out crucial considerations. For example, learner motivation is often thought of in two categories: integrative and instrumental (Schwarzer, 2009: 27). Integrative motivation describes a willingness to learn a language and become part of a language community. Instrumental motivation describes a willingness to learn a language based on immediate needs and goals, such as acquiring a job. However, this approach oversimplifies student motivation and fails to consider learners that are resistant to learning a certain language, especially in situations related to colonization. These types of situations may not only cause students to lack motivation for learning the target language but can actually instigate a total rejection of that language. This is very clearly seen in Puerto Rico, where the United States attempted to force English onto the local population and Puerto Ricans largely resisted. Although all Puerto Rican students have been taught English from kindergarten to high school, only some 20% of the population can hold a sustained conversation in English (Faraclas et al., 2014: 15).

Another typical policy seen in language education is the requirement to use standardized varieties of language. This is implemented in American schools constantly, where those who use “standardized” (i.e. ‘White’, Midwestern, Northern) US English are rewarded and those who use “improper” (i.e. African American English, Southern, “broken”) English are criticized. It is no coincidence that the versions of English that are deemed more acceptable are primarily those spoken by Americans with wealthier, more European descended backgrounds while the less accepted versions are primarily spoken by people from marginalized groups. Although certain aspects of standardization, such as the articulation of grammar rules in textbooks, can be useful for learning a language, many of the formal rules that are emphasized are not necessary for successful communication within a language community. It is important for lessons to be connected to the cultural contexts of the learners and the cultural contexts of the environment outside of the classroom, which standardization often neglects (Schwarzer, 2009: 29).

Policies and strategies, such as the aforementioned, fail to consider language as a malleable and complex source of communication used in a variety of situations and environments. In other words, they do not perceive real living language as manifesting itself through ‘linguistic repertoires’ (Faraclas & Delgado, 2021: 6). Rethinking languages in this way provides opportunities for educators to create authentic learning experiences that are truly culturally connected to the learners they are trying to support.

Educators often think of the term “standardization” in the context of legally enforced exams, curricula, and learning policies. It is not shocking to many educators that some learners slip through the cracks when these approaches are adopted. For example, English language learners who have been in the United States for one year or longer are

required to take the same standardized exams as their native English-speaking classmates, despite the fact that they may not be fully proficient in the language (Menken, 2010: 122). This approach elevates a very specific type of knowledge while discounting other forms of learning, and it can have lasting effects on the learner, such as failing to graduate high school.

The idea of teaching and enforcing standardized languages essentially causes problems similar to those mentioned above. Language is often thought of in terms of ‘correct’ or ‘incorrect’ and there is usually a specific language that is elevated over others, even in multilingual communities, as is the case with the imposition of Dutch as the language of instruction in the schools of Aruba and most of the rest of the Dutch Caribbean. As Régine Croes (2010: 97) points out, Aruban teachers are caught in a struggle between maintaining a Dutch-only environment in the classroom or embracing the language that their students feel most comfortable with, although doing so causes backlash from school administrators. These types of linguistic ultimatums assume that language learning is a linear process and a zero-sum game, in which more exposure to a singular language equates to more learning and higher proficiency (Faraclas et al., 2010: Croes, 2010, 97). One major flaw with this perspective is that it often requires suppression of other languages, supposedly in order to ensure learning of the decided target language. However, students need their languages and cultures validated and appreciated through genuine efforts by their teachers and actual practice in their classrooms (Kramsch, 1996, as cited in Walqui, 2006: 160). Furthermore, learning does not only occur in the classroom; it is also heavily tied to social interaction (Walqui, 2006: 162). When language learners are viewed as whole people with complex identities, then deeper learning can occur. Allowing learners to express themselves in pluri-lingual, pluri-cultural, and pluri-identificational ways is a crucial component of validating their identities. Croes (2011: 295) puts this into perspective while discussing the benefits of multilingual education, stating that children growing up in multilingual environments are equipped with multiple tools to use for interaction and establishing meaningful connections (Faraclas et al., 2011: Croes, 2011, 295).

This approach could also appeal to more students world-wide, since pluri-identificational societies are the norm and not the exception; such an approach would likely benefit learners that traditionally come from mono-identified backgrounds as well (Faraclas & Delgado, 2021: 8). Approaching language learning from a mono-identificational perspective that enforces standardized language practices ultimately sets up learners who do not identify with this perspective to struggle, resist, or lose interest in learning. By acknowledging standardized language for what it is, a colonial construct, educators can start to view language acquisition in more meaningful, complex ways.

Instead of focusing on teaching a ‘language’, that is, a standardized version of communication with countless rules that have historically been used to impose a colonizing

agenda, educators can think of the linguistic ability of their students as ‘linguistic repertoires’ composed of ‘linguistic varieties’ (Faraclas & Delgado, 2021: 6). Even within one standardized language, native speakers utilize countless varieties and variations to communicate in different contexts, and consistently adopt non-standardized methods of communication. It is truly artificial, arbitrary, and potentially harmful, to try and teach from the perspective of enforcing standardized linguistic codes and dismissing other avenues for navigating the world.

Strategies in instructional settings: Toward a toolkit approach

Language educators reading this may wonder what utilizing the concept of language repertoires would look like in an instructional setting. Below can be found my proposal for beginning to incorporate this approach into the classroom. Rather than thinking of language acquisition as a linear process, educators should think of it as a process whereby learners gradually acquire tools for communication and expression while figuring out which tools are helpful in which contexts.

Think of a toolkit that one keeps in one’s home. It normally contains devices such as a screwdriver, a hammer, a wrench, and so on. One can utilize these tools for countless purposes and one will often need to use various combinations of the tools to complete a task. Furthermore, one can complete the same job utilizing the tools one has available or the tools one prefers. For example, if someone wants to hang a picture on a wall, this can be accomplished using a screwdriver, drill, hammer, or a combination of these. Which tool or combination of tools will work best highly depends on the conditions of both the picture and the wall, as well as the preference or ability of the person doing the task. Over time, a person may need to purchase, borrow, or create tools to use for tasks that arise. One might lend a tool to a friend or neighbor. One may need to learn how to use certain tools more effectively by watching others or reading instructions. Each new tool that a person acquires is added to their toolkit for future use, and each time they learn to utilize these tools in a new way, that experience is added to their repertoire of knowledge.

In terms of ‘linguistic repertoires’ or ‘linguistic varieties’, educators can use this toolkit approach when supporting language acquisition. Learners have an existing repertoire of linguistic knowledge and can acquire more methods of communication and expression as they need them. Each learner has personal preferences based on available knowledge when it comes to choosing modes of expression in certain contexts. A learner’s linguistic repertoire can include a number of varieties, dialects, accents, cultural practices, word choice preferences, etc. As learners navigate the world, they will learn which combinations of linguistic features work best for them to achieve their ends. Each time a learner acquires new knowledge about a linguistic feature, such as vocabulary, intonation, and grammar, they are adding a linguistic tool to their toolkit. Over time, learners

will figure out how to utilize varying linguistic features in different contexts, thus adding more material to their linguistic repertoires.

The idea of deconstructing the concept of language and replacing it with a more fluid approach fits well within many aspects of language acquisition theory. One example of a sound teaching practice is looking at learners as whole people, not simply language learners (Schwarzer, 2009: 28). By denouncing the enforced rules of language standardization, educators can see learners for who they truly are, which very well may be humans with pluralistic identities who communicate using linguistic practices derived from multiple cultural backgrounds who communicatively express themselves in a countless number of ways which do not follow standardizing language trajectories.

While there is much debate about which teaching methods produce the best results, I believe that rethinking the idea of language fits well into all of them. Some experts believe that learners can acquire a second language in a similar way to how they acquired their native language—through immersion, exposure, and necessity (Dutro & Moran, 2003: 2). When educators incorporate this perspective into their instructional practices, they should take into account a crucial aspect that is far too often ignored: the people who learners are communicating with. If educators are to rethink the concept of language, they also need to rethink the concept of language use. Oftentimes, language curricula are centered around one particular language with the assumption that the learner will be communicating with mono-identificational members of a monolithic linguistic community. However, this is not at all how language works in real life, and coming to terms with the pluri-lingual nature of real human communities is fundamental to the adoption of the approaches advocated for in this article.

Other experts believe that ‘systematic’ teaching, where educators describe clear rules and standards, is most effective (Dutro & Moran, 2003: 2). While understanding certain structural concepts, such as morphosyntax, can absolutely be beneficial to learners, far too often this approach is centered on the learner using a particular language ‘correctly’. However, communication frequently does not follow the standardized rules that are so often imposed on learners. Even native speakers regularly communicate in non-standardized ways. This is simply another example of how language is used in support of a colonizing agenda. For example, when native English speakers (especially those of European descent) use non-standardized varieties of English, they are rarely viewed as using the language ‘incorrectly’. However, those learning English are highly criticized when they use these and other varieties of English that do not perfectly follow the standardizing norms. These types of linguistic practices are even referred to as ‘broken’ English! Thinking of language in terms of the mutually exclusive, conjunctively exhaustive zero-sum binary of ‘correct’ versus ‘incorrect’ is extremely limiting and continues to push a colonizing agenda which imposes the standards on ‘outsiders’ while allowing non-standardized usage on the part of ‘insiders’.

Imposing restrictive and monolithic communication practices on learners is surely not the best that educators can do, which is why I feel the toolkit approach is a useful strategy. It leaves space for learners to pull from various linguistic backgrounds so that they can utilize the linguistic tools that they need for real-life communication. This approach acknowledges that learning is not linear, and it does not solely happen in an academic setting. It avoids arbitrary binary categorizations, which too often involve labeling concepts in terms of ‘good’ versus ‘bad’, ‘correct’ versus ‘incorrect’, ‘proper’ versus ‘improper’, or ‘standard’ vs. ‘substandard’.

Dutro and Moran (2003) offer several instructional strategies for those teaching English language learners, most of which can be applied to instruction in any language. These strategies include methods such as front-loading language, maximizing teachable moments, and linking form to function. While these approaches are useful in language instruction, they can be refined to further support the decolonization of language instruction and second language acquisition. Below, I will provide my recommendations for utilizing these typical instructional strategies in more progressive ways. This is by no means intended to be an exhaustive list and these suggestions can absolutely be further expanded upon or modified. This list is merely a starting point for language instructors to begin conceptualizing and creating decolonizing language learning environments.

Front-Loading Language: Front-loading language is the idea that instructors should include language lessons prior to content lessons for learners of a specific language (Dutro & Moran, 2003: 27). This strategy involves pre-teaching language to ensure that language learners have the language concepts that they need in order to engage in content skills or activities (Dutro & Moran, 2003: 27). While this is undeniably useful for language learners in immersive academic situations (for example, a student enrolled in school who is not fluent in that school’s instructional language), this method can be reconstructed and utilized to account for non-academic situations, to consider socio-cultural contexts, and to include pluri-identificational perspectives.

Firstly, the concept of front-loading language is a skill in itself that can be taught to language learners. Instead of the instructor always deciding which skills the learner will need to engage in a task, learners can be guided to engage in front-loading language concepts on their own. This method gives learners autonomy to decide which concepts they will need to learn or review in order to achieve a particular task. For example, an adult language learner who is preparing to go to the supermarket in a foreign country can review useful phrases in the target language before going to the store. If instructors teach learners the skill of front-loading rather than just incorporating it in their lessons, they are setting up their students to independently engage in communication outside of an instructional setting. Furthermore, learners can choose which concepts they feel are relevant for certain contexts, which provides space for learners with pluri-linguistic

identities to pull from various linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Such learners can utilize language features that will allow them to communicate in a particular environment most effectively, which very well may not include standardized language or monolingualism.

I will now provide a personal account of this method in action. While taking classes at the University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras, I frequently observe my Puerto Rican classmates fluctuate between English and Spanish, and the varieties of both languages they are using are definitely not the standardized norms. As a native English speaker who is trying to learn Spanish in order to live and study in Puerto Rico, the Eurocentric textbooks and language programs that I have been using are only getting me so far. If I want to effectively communicate in Spanish with Puerto Ricans, I am better off researching Puerto Rican-specific vocabulary before certain tasks. However, a traditional front-loading model would involve a Spanish instructor telling me the vocabulary and sentence structures that I need to know prior to a task. In this scenario, I am reliant on the instructor's advice and perspective, which is often coming from a monolingual and monocultural point of view. However, because I have developed the skill of front-loading language, I can decide for myself which language concepts I need to know for certain contexts, which gives me both autonomy to learn outside of an instructional setting and power over the language I learn and use.

286 So much of language colonization involves standards and practices being imposed on specific communities. In the service of the interests of ruling classes, symbolic elites such as academics decide what is acceptable and what is not. This not only removes learners' power over language and learning, but also effectively excludes the majority of learners who are prevented from attaining the highest levels of formal education in favor of a privileged minority (who are typically from privileged backgrounds) who manage to master the standardized norms sufficiently to overcome the multiple obstacles that the educational system places in their path. If instructors are able to guide language learners to navigate language independently and contextually, I would argue that they are actively transferring the power to learners to make linguistic decisions, thus taking steps to decolonize language acquisition.

Maximizing Teachable Moments: Dutro and Moran (2003: 35) describe maximizing the teachable moment as an opportunity to utilize odd moments for expanding and deepening language knowledge, as well as responding to unanticipated learner needs as they arise, which in turn supports learners in developing their language skills. This strategy for teaching language certainly connects with many of the ideas previously discussed and can definitely be utilized as a tool for decolonizing the process of language acquisition. However, I feel that this strategy is most effective if it is approached in a way that emphasizes learner autonomy and does not rely too heavily on arbitrary language standards. For example, an instructor that uses every instance that a learner deviates

from standardized language as a ‘teachable moment’ is essentially just perpetuating a colonizing dynamic that has persisted for centuries. However, if an instructor places emphasis on cultural and contextual concepts, they are providing opportunities for learners to gain knowledge about various situations that are specific to their personal lives. Furthermore, instructors should attempt to use teachable moments as situations to give learners more autonomy over the language learning process.

Here I provide a theoretical example of maximizing a teachable moment in a way that emphasizes cultural and contextual connections, as well as provides opportunities for learner autonomy. A learner pronounces a word in a manner that is not consistent with standardized norms during language class. Rather than using this as an opportunity to ‘correct’ them, the instructor asks the class to discuss all of the different ways that they have heard this word pronounced. This could easily lead into a discussion about language varieties/dialects, linguistic differences between the learners’ native and second languages, and so on. In this example, the learners have an opportunity to explore both ‘standardized’ and ‘nonstandardized’ linguistic features, as well as marinate on the different contexts in which each feature might be used. Finally, it gives the learners autonomy to decide how they want to approach using any particular feature in the future in various communicative situations.

Linking Form to Function: Language function is described as the communicative task at hand, while language form refers to the tools needed to complete that task (Dutro & Moran, 2003: 6). If the instructor can teach the learner certain concepts that relate to a particular task, then the learner will likely have more success completing the task. Furthermore, mastery of one task should provide students with tools that can be used in other contexts (Dutro & Moran, 2003: 17), which is essentially adding a ‘tool’ to the learner’s ‘toolkit’ of linguistic knowledge. The notion of linking these two concepts together is often approached in a way that involves the language instructor analyzing which tools the learners will need in order to successfully complete a given communicative task, teaching those tools, and then evaluating how well the learner completes the task.

From a decolonizing perspective, the two primary concerns that I have with this approach is that it is too often interpreted and implemented in ways that enforce a relatively linear model of learning and in ways which rely heavily on the instructor acting as the authority figure who imposes a particular way of learning onto the learner. While instructors should certainly analyze the tools needed for particular communicative contexts and support learners in building the skills necessary for those contexts, it is crucial that instructors consider that learning often occurs through socialization and cultural connections rather than through the linear dynamic typical of so many classrooms (Walqui, 2006: 160), and that teachers identify and create spaces for learner agency.

In order to effectively link form to function in a way that begins to decolonize language acquisition, instructors might consider the following approaches:

- Include time and opportunities for learners to analyze and discuss the tools that they feel are necessary for building skills in order to approach a certain communicative task, rather than explicitly telling learners which skills they need.
- Consider the learners' prior knowledge and offer opportunities for them to incorporate skills that they already have in their linguistic repertoires.
- Link the functions that are being included in instruction to cultural and social contexts that the learners will likely encounter in real-life communicative situations.
- Avoid unnecessarily imposing arbitrary standardized language onto the learners and include opportunities for them to explore 'nonstandardized' linguistic elements that may be encountered in real life whenever possible.

An example of a theoretical situation in which an instructor could utilize some of these approaches might look like the following. An instructor is planning to teach students how to give an oral presentation in the target language. First, the instructor should give the learners an opportunity to discuss which tools they think are important for being able to accomplish this task, which the instructor should consider when going forward with the lesson. Furthermore, the instructor could ask the class to discuss times when they have given oral presentations, either in their native languages or in the target language. The learners could list language elements that they are already familiar with that apply to this communicative task. The instructor might ask the learners to mention when this task could come up in their daily lives, as well as have the students talk about why it is useful to learn how to give oral presentations. Finally, the learners practice their presentations and receive feedback. The instructor should strongly consider which language elements prevent effective communication, and primarily focus on giving feedback in those areas rather than dwell on small errors that do not hinder overall understanding.

While the basic principle of linking form to function is absolutely necessary in language instruction, it can be utilized in ways that further support decolonizing approaches to language acquisition. Referring to the previous example, the instructor can facilitate an environment that supports learners with pluralistic identities by giving them space to consider which contexts the function they are learning about could be applied in, as well as activating their prior knowledge. By allowing the learners to discuss which skills they find important to refine in order to engage in a language task, the instructor is allowing the students to assume agency over their language learning. Finally, by primarily focusing only on language errors that impede communication, the instructor is promoting the decolonization of language acquisition and rejecting the enforced notions of what constitutes 'correct' language.

The three strategies that I have discussed are just a few of the means by which teachers can go a step further to truly work towards making language instruction more accessible and equitable for learners. While language learning is highly individualistic and every learning situation is different, hopefully these can serve as inspiration for instructors to begin thinking about how to support learners in ways that challenge the colonization of language practices and learning practices as much as possible.

Cultural sensitivity and competence in instructional settings

When language instructors are implementing the frequently taught concepts of cultural sensitivity and cultural competence, it is crucial that they consider colonization as a major influence over what constitutes culture and identity. It is not enough to simply be aware of other cultural practices and viewpoints, but instead instructors need to have a thorough understanding of the history of colonization in order to truly practice and promote cultural sensitivity and competence. Colonization is not just about certain countries invading and controlling other countries, but rather it operates in all contexts where domination prevails (Faraclas & Delgado, 2021: 3). People gendered as ‘plus male’ have historically colonized people gendered as ‘minus male’, people gendered as ‘plus white’ have historically colonized people gendered as ‘minus white’, people classed as ‘plus rich’ have historically colonized people gendered as ‘minus rich’, and we as humans have historically colonized our natural environment (Faraclas & Delgado, 2021: 3).

By understanding this and maintaining a clear idea of the impacts that colonization has had worldwide, educators can truly begin to internalize and practice cultural competence and sensitivity in their educational settings. Furthermore, language instructors should familiarize themselves with the origins and impetus behind the concept of ‘standardized language’. The forces of colonization have historically supported the standardization of language in order to turn living language into a dead object that can be predicted, controlled, and especially deployed as a norm to which every speaker strives. In this way we spend our lives speaking not in our own images and interests, but instead in the image and interests of the dominating classes (Mignolo, 2000: 255). Language educators must be aware of this in order to actually create an equitable and decolonizing language learning environment.

Language instructors need to provide space for learners to practice communication in ways that make sense for their own use, which include utilizing non-monolithic linguistic varieties in pluri-cultural and pluri-identificational contexts. Learners should be evaluated based on their critical and creative use of linguistic repertoires, rather than being forced into mechanically conforming to linguistic norms that are imposed through standardized tests and curricula (García & Alvis, 2019: 36). This perspective offers learners the opportunity to be validated as communicators with a rich array of knowledge and skills in their toolkit, and not just on the basis of how well they can

reproduce the gaze and the words of some idealized European descended monolingual speaker (García & Alvis, 2019: 36).

Concessions, key takeaways and conclusions

Many of the ideas brought up in this article may not easily apply to certain instructional settings. As a language educator myself, I am far too familiar with the limits that are imposed on both instructors and learners in real-world settings. Standardization of curriculum, assignments, exams, and rubrics can definitely impede an instructor's ability to take full advantage of potential opportunities to decolonize the language acquisition happening in their instructional environments. I certainly acknowledge these limits and challenges, however, that is precisely why I am writing on this topic.

This article is intended to serve as a jumping off point for language instructors to begin recognizing and acknowledging the deep-rooted colonial systems that are still largely controlling language, education, and acquisition in our societies. By first acknowledging just how ingrained these systems are in language, educators can start to recognize problematic concepts, approaches, and procedures in their respective instructional settings. Furthermore, educators can analyze their own teaching practices and consider how these could be further improved upon in order to actively support learners with pluralistic identities as well as to begin to deconstruct the notion of 'correct, standard, single' languages. Hopefully, if more language educators recognize standardized language as a colonial construct and actively work to deconstruct it, education systems will begin to follow suit and allow for more equitable and socially just language practices. Decolonization involves transforming the colonial mindset (García & Alvis, 2019: 28), which is so deeply ingrained in our lifeways that it often goes unnoticed. If enough people can prioritize the decolonization of their ways of thinking and living, then eventually entire systems can also be challenged, transformed and decolonized.

This article was written with the intention of demonstrating that formal language education and acquisition are still heavily reliant on colonial norms, but that this damage can definitely be undone with conscious efforts from educators. The basis of many approaches to language education and acquisition are problematic because they often focus on teaching languages as monolithic, standardized entities rather than fluid, pluralistic methods of communication. In order to begin to redirect this counterproductive and anti-pedagogical trajectory, educators must begin to acknowledge what standardized language is to begin with: an artificial, colonial construct designed as a tool for exclusion and control.

Once educators reject the idea of singular monolithic languages in favor of such concepts as 'linguistic repertoires' or 'linguistic varieties', they can begin to create space in their classrooms for learners with pluri-identificational backgrounds to thrive. Furthermore, educators can adjust existing strategies for language acquisition and instruction in order to decolonize their teaching practices. By understanding that learning is

not linear, but instead a process of collecting necessary knowledge and tools, educators can reframe the ways in which they think about and teach language. Learners need to be supported in assuming agency within the language learning process, to be afforded opportunities to mobilize their pluralistic linguistic competences, and to be provided with spaces to explore the unstandardized linguistic varieties that are used in so much of our daily lives.

While it can be challenging to implement all of this within many instructional environments due to standardized rules, expectations, and curricula, educators should at the very least familiarize themselves with these concepts and try, whenever and wherever possible, to include them in their lesson plans and classroom practices. In order for language educators to truly be culturally competent, they must actively strive to think of languages, cultures and education outside of the colonial mindset. As long as we, as educators, continue to unquestioningly allow colonial norms to prevail in our classrooms, our silence and lack of initiative will continue to make us perpetrators of the systems of domination that are laying waste to our planet, our societies, our communities, our families, our minds and our bodies.

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SIGNIFICADO VERSUS SIGNIFICANTE: ¿UNA CARRERA UNIVERSITARIA ES IGUAL A “SER ALGUIEN”?

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Resumen

En este escrito se contiene la reflexión crítica del autor en torno a los hallazgos de un estudio de caso en una escuela secundaria en Puerto Rico. Se explora cómo con las aportaciones lingüísticas de Ferdinand de Saussure se pueden explicar las contestaciones que proveyeron los¹ participantes. Además, se apoyan estas aportaciones a través de la óptica de teóricos de distintas disciplinas con el fin de tener una mayor apreciación acerca de cómo estos enunciados son plataformas para la reformulación de las siguientes dimensiones: el lenguaje, la educación, las escuelas, el liderazgo educativo, la sociedad y la libertad.

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Términos clave: significado, significante, aspiraciones postsecundarias o universitarias, identidad estudiantil, libertad

Introducción

Durante el semestre de agosto a diciembre de 2019, se realizó un estudio de caso en una escuela superior (secundaria) pública del municipio de San Juan, Puerto Rico. Para esta investigación se establecieron los siguientes objetivos: identificar cuáles fueron las alternativas de estudio o laborales que los estudiantes de duodécimo grado tenían una vez culminaban sus estudios; divulgar las fuentes de información mediante las cuales se instruyeron acerca de opciones de estudios postsecundarios; describir las experiencias y percepciones de los alumnos, la consejera académica y otros miembros de la facultad acerca de las aspiraciones postsecundarias o universitarias de los estudiantes de cuarto año; analizar el vínculo entre la información que reciben los estudiantes de cuarto año y su decisión acerca de sus aspiraciones postsecundarias; y analizar cuál fue la función de la consejera académica.

¹ Para fines de agilizar la lectura, se utilizará el masculino neutral donde sea necesario

Como parte de las técnicas de recopilación de información se llevaron a cabo protocolos de entrevistas semiestructuradas tanto a estudiantes individuales como a grupos focales. Es entonces, como producto de esta información recopilada, que se desprende la presente reflexión crítica. A continuación, se compartirán algunas de las expresiones emitidas por participantes, a fin de proveer una interpretación de estas a través de las concepciones acerca de la lingüística según descritas por Ferdinand de Saussure. Además, se auscultan las contribuciones de teóricos con distintas pericias para contextualizar el análisis en disciplinas relevantes a las de la investigación. Esto se realiza con el propósito de proponer un modelo integrador hacia la libertad de la identidad estudiantil a fin de erradicar el poder negativo, el gravamen y la influencia de las palabras sobre la identidad de una persona.

Una reflexión crítica del discurso estudiantil sobre una carrera universitaria

A fin de profundizar en el tema, se reitera que el propósito de esta investigación fue auscultar cuáles fueron las aspiraciones postsecundarias o universitarias de los estudiantes de cuarto año en un contexto de educación pública. Como producto de la fase de recopilación de información, se resaltan las siguientes aseveraciones de estudiantes participantes:

Tabla 1 ¿Qué significa para ti una carrera universitaria?

Estudiante	Fragmento de contestación
A	“...una inversión a futuro, o sea, inviertes en ampliar tu conocimiento sobre algo que te gusta para tener un mejor futuro y conseguir un buen trabajo.”
B	“...ofrecer un mejor futuro a tus hijos.”
C	“...que puedes ser alguien en el mañana.”

Se puede observar, entonces, ante las contestaciones de algunos participantes, que existe una relación estrecha entre su percepción de lo que para ellos significa una aspiración postsecundaria o universitaria y una identidad positiva. No obstante, esta percepción no debe normalizarse como una máxima o un estándar social. Si bien es provechoso y honroso proseguir con estudios luego de haber culminado la educación básica de *Kindergarten* a duodécimo grado, también es imprescindible resaltar que dicha acción debe provenir de motivaciones intrínsecas (Knowles, 1984); no de expectativas de la sociedad ni por presión por parte de figuras de autoridad. Cabe destacar que trascendió entre las contestaciones que los estudiantes proveyeron que algunos de estos cursarán carreras universitarias porque así lo desean, mientras que otros compartieron que lo van a hacer por pedido de sus adultos significativos. Es por esto por lo que es meritorio hacer un examen de los significados y los significantes que estos estudiantes otorgan en los enunciados en cuestión.

Para Ferdinand de Saussure (1945), lingüista y teórico suizo-francés, hay una relación simbiótica entre los términos denominados significado y significante. De Saussure explica, primeramente, que “significado” es cualquier concepto en cuestión (de Saussure, 1945). A este concepto se le otorgó convencionalmente una identidad arbitraria (de Saussure, 1945). Esto significa que el concepto tiene ese nombre por acuerdo. Si se extrapola al contexto de este ensayo, el concepto en estudio es “carrera universitaria.” Por otra parte, el significante es la materialización de ese concepto. A esto, de Saussure lo denomina como la “imagen acústica” (1945: 91). Dicho de otra manera, si se ve como un proceso de estímulo y respuesta (Skinner, 2012), el significante es la imagen que se crea y surge como respuesta a partir del estímulo visual o auditivo del concepto. Esto entonces implica que la relación que guardan ambos términos es estrecha y no mutuamente exclusiva. Por tal razón, se puede entonces inferir que “una inversión a futuro,” “ofrecer un mejor futuro a tus hijos” y “ser alguien” (ver Tabla 1) es la imagen acústica o el significante que estos estudiantes atribuyen al significado de tener una carrera universitaria.

Sin embargo, ¿qué realmente implica, por ejemplo, ser alguien y por qué fueron estos los significantes que le atribuyeron a tener una carrera universitaria? Esta concepción es evidencia de que se ha inculcado una visión de mundo sesgada e irracional. Ciertamente, Schultz (1960) propone que la educación es la clave de la movilidad social a partir del desarrollo del capital humano, pero en su planteamiento no se considera la educación como un aspecto terminal, sino como una contribución para el desarrollo continuo.

Aquí es donde se comienzan a observar desfases entre lo ideado y lo practicado. Constantemente en las esferas departamentales se crean estándares cada vez más altos para la educación y la expectativa social y educativa del ser humano es permanentemente alta y va cada vez en ascenso (Robinson, 2011). De la misma forma que se esperan altos estándares educativos, la competencia social es cada vez más alta y, en ocasiones, frecuentemente en las ramas de las ciencias naturales, un grado doctoral no es suficiente (Robinson, 2011). Erróneamente se asocia el estatus y la identidad con el nivel de educación de una persona y se distinguen términos, como “vivir humildemente,” como significados peyorativos para significantes relacionados a ser pobres o no tener educación. ¿Acaso conocerse, tener valores y tener educación son un mismo concepto? Esto se plantea sin desarrollar a profundidad el concepto de la movilidad social y cómo algunas profesiones que no requieren de estudios postsecundarios o universitarios influyen en la economía del país. Para cerrar esta brecha social se deben romper y reestructurar todos los paradigmas actuales que se tienen acerca de la identidad del ser humano como contribuyente de la sociedad.

El pensamiento actual que estos estudiantes tienen acerca de una carrera universitaria los priva gozar de su libertad y de su derecho a tener un fundamento ontológico preciso. Esto se cataloga dentro de lo que Freire (1970) denomina una mentalidad de oprimido.

Beauvoir, citada en Freire añade a este argumento describiendo la conducta del opresor, al puntualizar que “lo que pretenden los opresores es transformar la mentalidad de los oprimidos y no la situación que los oprime” (1970: 75). Cabe destacar que los estudiantes no son responsables de pensar así. Su concepción acerca de tener una carrera universitaria proviene de la suma de todas las influencias contextuales (dígase, su familia, la comunidad donde viven, la escuela, su actual estado socioeconómico, la condición social, demográfica y política del país, entre otros aspectos) mediante la cual se les ha provisto distintos insumos hasta que ellos generaran este significativo.

La única manera de cambiar este pensamiento es cambiando el lenguaje o la jerga de todos esos componentes influyentes. Es entonces imperativo proponer que se reflexione, desde el ámbito educativo, social y político, cómo se está influyendo con el discurso a que los estudiantes tengan este pensamiento. Por otra parte, se debe reeducar a estos tres componentes para que se promueva la movilidad social a partir de la libertad y la emancipación (Freire, 1970; Horkheimer, 2002). Los miembros de una institución educativa juegan un papel importante en este proceso también. Ellos deben hacer saber a sus estudiantes que su identidad y valía trascienden las titularidades. A su vez, deben fomentar tanto en idea como en acción la promoción de la libertad y la felicidad como sus derechos inalienables (Hancock et al., 1776). Además deben propiciar en el aula instancias mediante las cuales planteen su situación actual, desarrollen sus capacidades de pensamiento y análisis crítico y provean soluciones para reformularla (Brameld, 1956; Freire, 1970; Horkheimer, 2002; Kuhn, 1996). Con estos esfuerzos se logrará que los estudiantes reformulen su pensamiento acerca de tener una carrera universitaria a uno adecuado.

Propuesta de un modelo integrador hacia la libertad de la identidad estudiantil

Ante estas evidencias de significantes mal atribuidos a un significado, urge la necesidad de un replanteamiento de lo que realmente significa obtener una carrera universitaria y de cómo esto afecta a la identidad de un estudiante. Es menester cambiar el actual paradigma, que aparenta ser punitivo y esclavizante por medio de un nuevo paradigma. A cambio, se debe garantizar al estudiantado, a través de acciones concretas, que sus aspiraciones postsecundarias o universitarias se encaminen hacia su libertad. A través del modelo que se presenta en la Figura 1, se exponen una serie de teorías con las cuales se podría proponer un nuevo paradigma mediante el cual se guíen las nuevas prácticas liberadoras para acompañar a estudiantes en su proceso de aspiraciones postsecundarias o universitarias. Por otra parte, en la Figura 2 se contextualizan las teorías por medio de ejemplos que se deben evidenciar una vez se ponga en acción el nuevo paradigma. Las figuras también se explicarán a continuación.

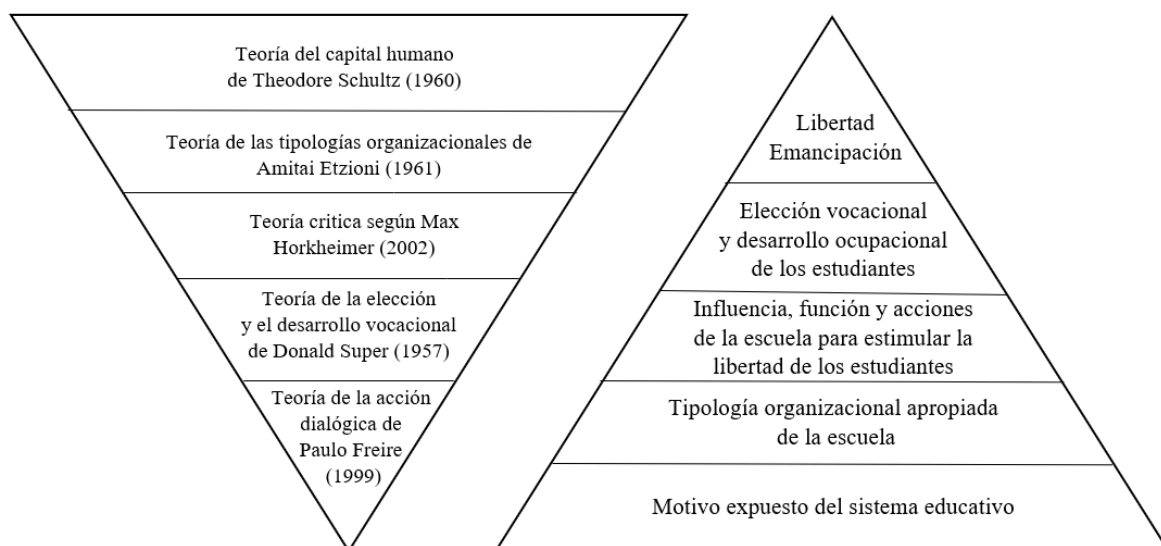


Figura 1 (izquierda): Pirámide invertida en representación de la especificidad de las teorías con relación a las aspiraciones de los estudiantes en torno a estudios postsecundarios o universitarios. Se proyecta la teoría del capital humano (Schultz, 1960) como punto de partida general, hacia la teoría de la acción dialógica (Freire, 1970) como fin teórico específico.

Figura 2 (derecha): Pirámide tradicional en representación jerárquica de los fundamentos teóricos contextualizados al caso en estudio. Se proyecta el enunciado proposicional del sistema educativo como fundamento para alcanzar las demás acciones hasta lograr la libertad, emancipación y autorrealización de los estudiantes.

Ciertamente, las aspiraciones postsecundarias o universitarias del estudiantado son fundamentales, porque a través de estas se presenta un atisbo de la realidad social. Si, en efecto, se educa para la movilidad social a partir del desarrollo del capital humano (Ley de Reforma Educativa de Puerto Rico, 2018), las aspiraciones de los estudiantes deben estar vinculadas en las acciones y esfuerzos de las escuelas a través de las prácticas educativas, el apoyo del personal y la integración de la comunidad al contexto escolar. Es decir, que la complejidad de una organización educativa no debe estar enajenada de la complejidad de los individuos, en este caso, los estudiantes, porque ellos mismos son componentes de la institución.

Para comprender las aspiraciones del estudiantado, se debe conocer primero cuál es la concepción que se tiene en el sistema educativo acerca del producto de la educación. Si existe un vínculo entre los esfuerzos realizados por distintos componentes de la comunidad escolar, con las aspiraciones de los estudiantes de cuarto año, se puede entender que en la escuela se cumple con el fin ulterior plasmado en la Ley de Reforma Educativa de Puerto Rico (2018). Tal como se menciona anteriormente, en ese enunciado se idea el desarrollo del capital humano para el país con vías a que se promueva la movilidad social. Esta visión se explica con mayor claridad a través de la teoría del capital humano

de Theodore Schultz (1960). El autor expone que, si bien la sociedad aspira a desarrollar las capacidades del capital humano, la concepción de ver la educación como un gasto debería cambiarse (Schultz, 1960). En cambio, el teórico propone que la educación se vea como una inversión, ya que, a través de esto se generará el fortalecimiento económico: si se educa bien a los estudiantes, se educa bien a la fuerza laboral y, por tanto, la economía del país se desarrollará y crecerá (Schultz, 1960). A través de esta recomendación de Schultz (1960), se puede apreciar la importancia de la educación como beneficio tanto para el humano como para la sociedad. Sin embargo, no basta con proclamar un enunciado para obtener cambios.

Es por esto por lo que se debe dar una mirada a la perspectiva teórica de Etzioni (1961) acerca de las tipologías de las organizaciones para comprender la naturaleza de la organización educativa. Etzioni (1961) plantea que las organizaciones se pueden catalogar dentro de tres categorías o tipos: coactivas, normativas y utilitarias. También, este autor menciona que existen organizaciones de tipo mixto. Se debe aspirar a que la tipología de una organización educativa no sea coactiva, pues estas se caracterizan por su uso de la coerción para controlar a sus miembros. En cambio, se debe aspirar a que una organización educativa sea de tipo normativo, pues en estas impera el compromiso. Reconocer como organización cuál tipología permea en las acciones de esta y movilizarse hacia una eficiente es beneficioso, pues mediante esta acción se viabilizan acciones vinculantes de la escuela en interés por su comunidad educativa. En este caso, se afirmaría un compromiso por la libertad de los estudiantes para formular su identidad estudiantil y sus aspiraciones postsecundarias o universitarias.

Consecuentemente, en una organización educativa cuya naturaleza sea de una tipología apropiada y esté alineada al motivo expuesto del sistema educativo, se deben propiciar instancias mediante las cuales se fomenten las aspiraciones de los estudiantes a proseguir su carrera académica. De modo que, con la intención de promover la movilidad social, también se propicie en la escuela la emancipación del estudiante. Para entender el concepto de emancipación, se explicará brevemente la teoría crítica según Max Horkheimer (2002).

El autor explica con esta teoría aspectos de la esencia humana que únicamente con la teoría tradicional no se podrían entender, puesto que la teoría tradicional se fundamenta en conceptos naturales y científicos para comprender la visión de mundo del ser humano (Horkheimer, 2002). En cambio, Horkheimer expone que es a través de la teoría crítica que obtenemos “un elemento esencial en el esfuerzo histórico de crear un mundo mediante el cual se satisfagan las necesidades y los poderes de los hombres” (2002: 246, traducción propia) o el ser humano. El autor incluso extiende este planteamiento al añadir que con esta teoría se tiene como meta “la emancipación del hombre de la esclavitud” (Horkheimer, 2002: 246, traducción propia). En este caso, no se contextualiza la esclavitud en su definición literal, sino como una antonomasia para representar brechas de desigualdad social, como lo son las condiciones socioeconómicas.

Que los estudiantes estén orientados hacia la emancipación mediante acciones positivas perpetradas por los componentes de la escuela producirá entonces que cada uno tenga una elección vocacional y, consecuentemente, un desarrollo ocupacional adecuados. Super define la elección vocacional como un proceso que incluye “una serie de opciones, resultando en la eliminación de algunas alternativas y la retención de otras hasta lograr la elección de una ocupación” (Horkheimer, 2002: 184, traducción propia). Por otra parte, el desarrollo vocacional es la evolución individual vitalicia de esa elección vocacional, e implica “el desarrollo de la carrera en la línea consistente con la experiencia pasada del individuo y el desarrollo de su personalidad” (Super, 1957: 131, traducción propia). Esta teoría se nutre de cinco momentos que ocurren en etapas: crecimiento, exploración, establecimiento, mantenimiento y descenso. En el caso de estudiantes de duodécimo grado, estos se encuentran en la etapa de exploración, por lo cual es deber de los miembros de una organización educativa proveerle a los estudiantes de una variedad de recursos necesarios para que ellos a su vez tengan la oportunidad de experimentar una exploración abarcadora y profunda, de modo que puedan emitir un juicio informado acerca de sus aspiraciones.

Presentar opciones a los estudiantes únicamente no es suficiente. Los estudiantes deben recibir el apoyo y estímulo necesarios de distintos adultos significativos para efectuar la emancipación y la libertad de la cual se expuso previamente. Sin embargo, la culminación de la emancipación y la libertad son la emancipación y la libertad mismas. En las organizaciones educativas se deben encaminar todas las acciones hasta lograr que se concreten ambas. Freire explica ambos conceptos en su aportación, la teoría de acción dialógica, la cual él explica que es el descubrimiento y la transformación del mundo “para la liberación de los hombres” (1970: 235) o del ser humano. Esto se logra a través de la acción encaminada a la aceptación de la otredad, el diálogo y la reflexión, de modo que todos sean partícipes de dicha libertad (Freire, 1970). Del mismo modo que Horkheimer con el concepto de esclavitud (2002), Freire puntualiza la opresión como agente inhibidor de la libertad del pueblo. Freire (1970), por su parte, propone la alfabetización del pueblo, la educación y la resolución a través del diálogo y la reflexión como los elementos revolucionarios mediante los cuales se logra la libertad.

La traducción de esta propuesta de lo escrito a lo activo es, sin lugar a duda, una tarea profunda y compleja. Se requiere de compromiso, visión, labor compartida y un buen ejercicio del liderazgo para manifestar acciones concretas con las cuales se encamine una organización educativa en torno al fomento de la identidad estudiantil y de la identidad. También se necesita establecer pautas, metas concretas, objetivos observables, acciones puntuales y se necesita instaurar proyectos y programas mediante los cuales se viabilicen las acciones. De tal modo se puede monitorear la práctica de este nuevo paradigma, a fin de que se vaya reformulando y perfeccionando conforme a las necesidades del estudiantado y conforme a la transformación de la sociedad.

Consideraciones finales y conclusión

Nuestra identidad ya es. Por ende, no tenemos que equipararla a un ideario de expectativas inalcanzables. El ejercicio de examinar el discurso de distintos componentes de una comunidad escolar es necesario para conocer cómo se relacionan el significado y el significante. Este ejercicio es también uno incómodo, pues, ciertamente, nos llevará a plantearnos nuestra función como seres de influencia al estudiantado. A través de este escrito se exploró cómo algunos estudiantes atribuyeron significantes al significado de una carrera universitaria. También se reflexionó en torno a cómo estos significantes moldeaban la identidad estudiantil. Además, se propuso un modelo teórico articulado con acciones para replantear un nuevo paradigma a través del cual las escuelas podrían operar en virtud del compromiso que se tiene hacia los estudiantes.

El lenguaje es un factor influyente en las percepciones y la visión de mundo de las personas. Cuando se educa y comunica a partir de concepciones erróneas, estos preceptos de cierto modo se heredan y con las concepciones, a su vez, se provoca un retroceso de la ideación real de significantes. Dichos significantes pueden ser imprescindibles en la vida de un ser humano. Cuando existe un desfase entre el significado y el significante, la mentalidad se puede encaminar hacia un estado oprimido. No obstante, es fundamental que se corrijan estas nociones lo antes posible para que se redirijan los pensamientos y las acciones hasta que el verbo hablado y el verbo actuado sean partícipes del ideal ontológico de Paulo Freire (1970): el ser humano es el sujeto transformador para la libertad de los pueblos oprimidos.

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**MASKING, AUTHENTICITY
AND INTERSECTIONALITIES IN
THE STUDY OF ARUBAN SOCIETY**

CARIBBEAN SPACES AND LEGAL SYSTEMS: LEGAL LEGACIES AND ECONOMIC OUTCOMES IN ARUBA

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Abstract

This article is an initial attempt to research the role of legal legacies on economic outcomes in Aruba by comparing the limits of the island's civil law system to the expansiveness of the common law system. It is based on a review of meta-theoretical literature and is not intended to be exhaustive. The purpose of this article is to highlight the dominant role that the legal system has in determining economic life in Aruba, which results in a deepening of the tourism dependency paradigm, that in turn imposes limits on the potentiality of economic diversification on the island, despite the urgency of developing robust economic alternatives to this dominant paradigm. This problem is compounded because of the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the general economy, and the significant reduction in economic activity resulting from this dependency.

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Key terms: economic outcomes, economic development, dependency paradigm, legal systems, COVID 19

Introduction and overview

The concept of law has traditionally been theorized in academic and theoretical silos as a singular subject connected to a particular domestic or international context with a “weak” as opposed to robust connectedness to its effects on economic activity. It has been historically viewed as a subject limited to its own stylistic and textual parameters and its effect on economic outcomes have only fairly recently been explored (La Porta, Lopez-de-Silanes & Shleifer, 2008). In recent years there have been explicit attempts to connect rule of law measures to economic development goals in developing states (Dam, 2006) however, there has not been any substantive research on the extent to which the choice of legal systems may significantly influence economic outcomes in

those developing states. This article is intended to be illustrative only and is the commencement of a research project that seeks to connect Caribbean thought and legal theory as it relates to property rights. While the concepts of economic development and property are highly problematic and contested notions, that discussion is beyond the scope of this article, and in this text, the conventional understandings of these terms are adopted.

Aruba's legal system is based on Dutch civil law. The island is substantially tourist dependent with a relatively small population (110,000 persons) and the particular vulnerability and fragility of small islands, in term of spatial dynamics, exposure to external shocks and limited resource base. This article attempts to critically assess the theory that "law reflects and creates a mental construct" that leads to path dependence and path determinative outcomes (Chang & Smith, 2012: 51).

In broad contextual terms legal systems form part of the culture, civilization and history of the societies in which they are embedded (Dainow, 1967: 419). They are reflective of social and political norms and therefore critical to the social and economic development of states. As Picker (2008: 1093) notes, legal systems can be described in terms of the composite structure and social and political presence of the legal institutions, rules, laws, regulations, and legal actors within and emanating from specific political units such as states or sub-state entities. Economic development depends on the institutional structures, resources, and an operating framework in which legal rights, property rights and contract rights, can be executed (Chukwumerije, 2009: 383).

It is posited that the two main legal systems rooted in Western legal thought, the civil law and common law, can be considered living organisms in that that they breathe, grow, and evolve, and are integral to societal development (Chukwumerije, 2009: 420). However, there are substantive differences between the civil and common law, not only as they relate to a variety of rights and remedies, but also as they relate to rights and obligations that impact economic activities. Among other things, common law and civil law systems differ in terms of their view of property rights (Chang & Smith, 2012). According to Roe and Siegel (2009), legal systems rooted in the civil law are statist, and highly regulated in how they execute the law as well as how property rights are asserted, while the common law limits state regulation and defers to the marketization of those rights.

It should be noted that the particular interpretations of civil law and common law discussed in this article are based on Dutch civil law and English common law respectively, and other civil law or common law systems will not be considered. This is due to the particular histories of Aruba and the other territories of the Dutch Caribbean, and also due to the need to be as focused as possible, given the broad and sweeping nature of the topic treated here.

Aruba applies Dutch civil law because of its historical and continuing colonial and neo-colonial ties to the Netherlands, including its integration into the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Since the onset of colonialism on the island in the 17th century, Aruba has never had the option of a choice of legal system, with the island's overarching legal framework being determined by its positioning at the periphery of a metropolitan, imperial sphere of influence. As a consequence of this peripheral status, Aruba has no impact on the development of Dutch civil law. This is a manifestation of legal power asymmetries and legal Eurocentrism masquerading as legal 'universalism' built into the colonizer-colonized relationship that continues to be asserted in colonized/ neo-colonized spaces.

Civil law, common law, property rights and their effects on economic outcomes

There are several important features that are conventionally attributed to a viable property rights system under Western legal systems. One such feature is universality, that is, scarce resources are owned by individual members of the community or social group. In addition, property rights provide a high level of exclusivity, limiting access to the entire world ('rights in *rem*') except the individual with the right of access. Further, property rights are subject to transferability, ensuring a mechanism that facilitates transfer of property from one person to another. Property laws encapsulating property rights provide the legal framework for the exchange of those rights, and a regulatory superstructure that includes enforcement mechanisms to preserve those rights (Whincop, 2000). Therefore, by providing a legal framework which allows parties to sell, exchange and distribute property rights, property law drives economic development based on how such laws are constructed to facilitate the effective deployment of those property rights. Property laws also define the terms of use of property rights, the manner and purposes for which they can be used to maximize benefits to the holder of those rights, and the scope of those rights, i.e., whether they are limited and narrow or expansive and broad in terms of how they can be interpreted by the legal system.

Real property or land is subject to what is referred to as jurisdictional monopoly, that is, it is jurisdictionally specific and there are limits to the impact of international law rules on the assertion of rights or the claims of third parties outside the jurisdiction. In the case of Aruba this means that the relevant law governing property rights in its most basic form and in its relationship to land is Aruban law, which is based on the Dutch civil law system. Under this legal system, property is viewed as a right to a thing and property law as the 'law of things' (Smith, 2012). Therefore, in the Aruban context and for purposes of this article, property rights are foundational and expressive of the social institutional arrangements that delineate, define and delimit the space for the assertions of ownership privileges approved and recognized by the state to individuals of resources that are specific, including parcels of land.

It is therefore best to view private ownership as a bundle of rights which includes the right to exclude nonowners from access to the property right asserted, the right to exclusion of others from the potential stream of economic rents from the use of and investments in the resource, and the right to exchange the property right for other rights or access to other rights (Smith, 2012). An important rule of Dutch property law concerns the fact that a right of ownership can only surround a thing as a whole and not one of its parts. As stipulated under Dutch civil law (Dutch Civil Law, n.d., §5.1) the right of ownership can be defined in specific terms:

1. Ownership is the most comprehensive property right that a person, the ‘owner’, can have to (in) a thing.
2. The owner is free to use the thing to the exclusion of everyone else, provided that he [sic] respects the rights and entitlements of others to the thing and observes the restrictions based on rules of written and unwritten law.
3. The owner of the thing becomes the owner of its separated fruits and benefits, except when another person is entitled to them.

The concept of the ‘accession to property’ is also important in this regard (Dutch Civil Law, n.d., §5.3):

Accession: As far as the law does not provide otherwise, the owner of a thing is the owner of all its components.

This concept of accession is a binding principle which cannot be abrogated or contracted away by the parties in an agreement.

Generally, unlike under common law systems, under civil law ownership is considered not to be fragmented, but unitary (van Erp, 2003). In civil law systems on the whole, property right holders in land do not have the autonomy to grant or allocate to other persons property rights in that asset (Hansmann & Kraakman, 2002). Therefore, under Dutch law, property rights is the most comprehensive and complete set of rights which a person can have in a thing (van Erp, 2003). The unitary concept of property rights under civil law posits that in terms of principle, property rights in an asset must be focused on the prominence of ‘ownership’ by the legally recognized right holder, rather than divided into partial rights shared among two or more persons (Hansmann & Kraakman, 2002).

In contrast, common law systems do not construe the concept of ownership as unitary, and as a consequence, parties-fragmented ownership is a normative property right. Further, there are no *numerus clausus* in the civil law sense (van Erp, 2003). This fundamental distinction between civil and common law is underscored by Akkermans (2017) who observes that *numerus clausus* of property rights is one of the fundamental Dutch principles of property law and signals that both the number and content of property rights is limited.

A basic illustration of the implications of the differing positions adopted by civil law and common law on the unitary concept can be found in their respective concepts of

‘lease’. Under Dutch civil law, a lease to property is not recognized as bestowing a property right to the lessee, but instead as bestowing a contract right, while under common law a lease to property can be interpreted as bestowing a property right to the lessee (van Erp, 2003). Therefore, within Dutch law it is our understanding that real property rights only emanate from a closed system of substantive law that is mandatory.

One of the effects of this aspect of civil law on Aruba’s economic development is that that real property is not as completely marketized as under common law, in a neoliberal economy that privileges market action and market determined outcomes. This serves as a constraint on a range of potential economic activities. As a consequence, economic development in Aruba follows a well-trodden path in tourism development with limited risks, but which is maximally susceptible to entrapping the island in the tourism dependency paradigm. The limits of Dutch property rights can be observed in terms of the limited options that are available to smaller property owners to expand their potential economic activities. This is mostly reflected at the micro level, with constraints on how individuals can deal with property that they own, for example, limits on transfers of state-owned properties subject to long term leases. In practice, while this effectively limits the extent of marketization of property rights by individuals, it perversely allows large foreign investors with adequate capital resources to be fully engaged in market policies that maximize their interests, a dynamic that typically leads to tourism dependency. In contrast, under common law the concept of adverse possession facilitates marketization because it allows persons in possession (of leases, etc.) to acquire ownership rights to replace those of the original owner. This ensures that property is not idled or underutilized. Adverse possession is a legal basis on which a property right in a rightful owner’s property can be acquired by exercising the right of possession during a specified period. This concept forces property owners to maintain and be vigilant about their rights and seek to maximize their usage, which is not a prominent feature of Dutch civil law.

Civil law is foundationally based in jurisdictions where the primary source of law is legislation, unlike common law where substantial segments of legal rules are systematically codified. For example, it can be argued that the property law framework of civil law is rigid, compared to that of common law, and may not be sufficiently flexible for the present paradigm of ‘fast capitalism’ (Chang & Smith, 2012: 51). Common law systems by contrast allow for greater flexibility in conceptualizing property and have an expansive view of property rights that are comparatively open-ended (Chang & Smith, 2012: 53). In evaluating the impact of legal rules on economic outcomes, there is a need to consider the robustness of legal institutions, legal norms on behavior, as well as the fundamentally critical role of legal culture and legal origins in driving positive economic growth and facilitating societal welfare (Xu, 2011: 836).

Common law systems generally regard government as subservient to law, and subservient to the individuality of its subjects, all of which is consistent with neo-liberal, globalized corporate capitalist models of economic development (Nedzel, 2018: 455). Legal rules in common law systems are therefore theorized to be instrumentalized to acquire, preserve and build on economic rights that facilitates wealth creation in a more focused manner than other legal systems. Property rights concepts for example are rooted in Lockean concepts of property as rights acquired through the individual's effort to expropriate and control those resources based in nature to the exclusion of subsequent claims to those resources by others (Locke, 1980, [1690]). Civil law legal systems, on the other hand, provide individuals with positive rights, which are offset by the duties and obligations that individuals owe to society (Nedzel, 2018: 455). In that context individual freedom is not emphasized as critical to law and the relationship between the individual and the law and government is redefined to privilege government and the law over individuality.

Further, consideration should also be given to the role of social capital, which can be described as an integral "component of human capital that allows members of a given society to trust one another and cooperate in the formation of new groups and associations" (Fukuyama, 1995: 90) and the extent to which social capital is impacted by legal rules and the legal contexts and frameworks that reinforce normative behavior. In addition, the concept of trust and its impact on transaction costs is a factor in both the civil law and the common law systems in relation to such factors as the costs of negotiation and enforcement actions that are determined by prevailing legal rules determine the types and structures of organizational forms that engage in economic activities (Fukuyama, 1995: 90).

As Xu (2011: 838) notes, the differences between civil law and common law can be substantively traced back to their legal origins, legal traditions, and their historical social, political, and economic context. One of the key features of common law systems is the preeminence of judge-made law and its capacity to create legal rules and challenge existing legal norms including the constitutionality of legislation. Another key feature of common law is that it relies more on judicial resolution of disputes between individual actors and less on legislation as a prescriptive remedy or solution to social problems than civil law, which seeks to provide guidance for socially normative behavior (Xu, 2011: 838). In the development of English common law, the concept of *stare decisis*, or judicial precedent, has been a fundamental guiding principle. Considering the relationship between the state and the individual, while the state has prominence in civil law, it is the relationship between the individual and society that matters most in common law, and, as a consequence, emphasis may be given to private market outcomes rather than state-centric social policies.

The academic literature has engaged discussions on the effect that substantive differences in legal systems can have on economic outcomes in different jurisdictions (La

Porta, Lopez-de-Silanes & Shleifer, 2008; Roberts, 2017). This is an interesting area for further research in the Caribbean context because of the variegated legal systems in the region, as a consequence of its variegated colonial heritage (Antoine, 2005: 41). The pivotal role of judicial interpretation of legal rules and the significance of precedence in common law systems appear on the surface to facilitate a much more expansive and flexible legal framework than in civil law systems. There is, however, a sense that there is a growing and inexorable convergence of aspects of both legal systems in the context of international law as it moves away from being perceived as *sui generis* (Picker, 2008: 1085). Examples include concepts such as proportionality in bilateral investment treaty (BIT) arbitral decisions which attempt to seek fairness in international disputes between host states and investors (Ranjan, 2014: 853). A narrowly defined approach to international law based on either common law or civil law is inimical to the concept of international law because of the need for a broader approach that embraces both legal systems.

For example, normative standards embedded in Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) include elements of both civil and common law and are part of the package of international legal rules to which small island developing states (SIDS) are required to adhere in order to become a part of the international legal community. That said, however, common law or civil law approaches to interpretation of international rule systems such as IPR could produce conflicting understandings in different jurisdictions (Ranjan, 2014: 853). The role of international law matters for SIDS and small non independent jurisdictions (SNIJs) such as Aruba, because, under the auspices of institutions like the World Trade Organization, SIDS and SNIJs are invariably held strictly accountable to the global matrix of rules designed and enforced by the governments of the neo-colonial metropolises, multilateral agencies (such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, etc.) and the corporate interest that they represent. Of course, these same colonial metropolises and their globalizing transnational corporations seem to flaunt these same rules with impunity, whenever they see fit to do so. Therefore, under the neo-colonial system, territories such as Aruba have been forced to maximally expose and endanger their economic wellbeing and legal governance to the whims of predatory capitalism.

Conclusions

Property rights are jurisdictionally specific and defined in legal systems that limit other forms of property rights that may apply in other jurisdictions (Hansmann & Kraakman, 2002). The legal conflicts ensuing from differences between common law and civil law systems is important to understand in the territories of Aruba and the rest of the Dutch Caribbean, because of the intensity of their interactions with US-based investors. These investors operate within a common law framework and neo-liberal economic system that holds views of property rights and property law that conflict with the unitary ap-

proach of Dutch civil law. Under Dutch law, real property rights are regarded as absolute, as part and parcel of the asset, and as enforceable against the entire world (rights in *rem*), with ownership being the dominant and only legal right, without any other legal interest possible (Hansmann & Kraakman, 2002). Common law looks at property as a bundle of rights that can be allocated to different persons and can result in several and varied interests in property.

In Aruba, however, such differences in the concept of property rights are not emphasized in property transactions. For example, timeshare agreements can be interpreted from the common law perspective of a US buyer as a right to interest in property and an asset, and they are in fact often presented as such to potential buyers. However, from the civil law perspective of the Aruban legal system, these agreements are simply contractual arrangements, and do not confer property rights on the buyer, nor do they result in the accrual of “assets” to the benefit of the buyer, in the common law sense. While timeshares are a dominant feature of Aruba’s tourism dependent economy, different views of applicable law exist and are articulated in the same space without clearly clarifying these discrepancies to the parties involved in timeshare transactions.

This article represents an initial attempt to fill in the gap in academic research on the comparative analysis of legal systems in the Caribbean context. Comparative law studies tend to focus almost exclusively on the differences between common law and civil law as they relate to and affect larger metropolitan entities, e.g., the United States (US) or the European Union (EU). Caribbean states and territories are often overlooked or marginalized in those discourses, yet these states had no choice in selecting their legal systems as they were imposed by the colonial powers, whether in the form of colonial civil or common law, or neo-colonial international law. Concepts and theories of legal origins have not played a significant role in the emergence of legal systems in the Caribbean context, what has been preeminent instead has been legal imperialism and ‘universalization’ of Eurocentric civil law and common law systems. Both systems have been transplanted to a context where there is a disconnect between their origins and Caribbean social realities. This article assesses the impact of that disconnect on economic outcomes in Aruba in particular and the region in general.

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A POLITICS OF PRETENCE: VENEZUELAN'S' LEGAL LIMINALITY IN THE ARUBAN ASYLUM SYSTEM

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Abstract

This article investigates the implications of the 2019-instituted Aruban asylum system and its effects on the lives of the Venezuelan population on the island. Drawing on relevant literature concerning the governmentality of asylum politics in the context of post-colonial realities, the article deploys understandings gained through ethnographic fieldwork in Aruba from January, 2020 until April, 2021. It draws on insights gained from participant observation and in-depth unstructured interviews with asylum seekers and NGOs. The asylum system, although driven by moral imperatives to protect, firstly serves as a mechanism of surveillance, controlling Venezuelan asylum seekers' conduct. Moreover, the protracted liminality Venezuelan asylum seekers experience forces them into deportability; easing state responsibility, while benefitting the Aruban economy. As part of wider border regimes, the Aruban asylum system, I conclude, is instituted with the pretence of aiding a vulnerable population, but ultimately deploys different governmental techniques of control as a system of surveillance within a wider politics of exclusion.

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Key terms: asylum, governmentality, small-island states, Venezuelan migration crisis

Introduction

"Let me tell you ..." said Mariana smacking her fist on the table. That is how our conversation started. I met Mariana through another contact, who invited me one afternoon to talk to her. Mariana is both mother and activist, asylum seeker and political opponent. When she first arrived in Aruba in 2017, she was carrying her two daughters and a whole bag of documents with her, containing evidence substantiating her fear of political persecution and her need to receive political asylum. She told the authorities at the airport about her intention to request asylum. "Asylum was something they had never

heard of', she told me (Mariana, personal communication, March 03, 2020). Since that day, her life in Aruba has been a constant struggle. She was referred from one place to another, talking to a substantial number of people who did not know how to process her request to claim asylum. After three months of staying at the Red Cross shelter, she finally succeeded in receiving a temporary document from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2018), declaring she and her children were UNHCR registered asylum seekers. In the following year her documents became invalid as Aruba started implementing its new asylum system. Now, four years later, she is still registered as an asylum seeker, without the right to work, nonetheless working and therefore deportable, while not ever having received an answer to her request. By now, all she wants is to leave the island. Without the resources, however, she cannot leave, and without a denied asylum decision she cannot request asylum in any other country. Like Mariana, many others have been caught in the protracted temporariness of the asylum-seeker limbo that seems to be extended indefinitely. This legal limbo, in other contexts conceptualized as "liminal legality" (Menjívar, 2006), "permanent temporariness" (Bailey et al., 2002: 138) or "space of non-existence" (Coutin, 2000: 175), affects people's lives substantially, engendering the lack of access to social services, denying them essential human needs, such as the right to work or access to health care, and impacting their integration into society as they are kept in an open-ended state of instability. However, an in-depth discussion of the consequences is not the aim of this article. Instead, it dissects the fickle relationship between protection and control that plays out within Aruban asylum procedures.

The aim of this article is to expand understanding of the mechanisms of governance of the Aruban asylum system, which play out through a politics of protection and control. While this approach leaves room for many more questions and proliferating avenues of investigation, it allows nevertheless for a more complete comprehension of the power dynamics at play. The asylum system, which was ostensibly introduced as a humanitarian facility, has come to fulfil a crucial function in Aruban politics of migration. Throughout this article, I unravel the mechanisms of a politics of migration, that, couched in a logic of protecting vulnerable populations through the asylum system, constitutes instead a system of control, aimed at expulsion. My main contention is that, while asylum is legitimized through an exclusionary understanding of compassion, it serves the Aruban state to govern an 'unruly' population. By drawing on ethnographic cases of how the asylum system is enacted on the ground, I outline its contours as a politics of pretence that lures undocumented Venezuelans into a system that renders an illegible population legible, existing within blurred boundaries between legal, political, and ethical-moral directives.

To execute this investigation, Michel Foucault's concept of governmentality is particularly pertinent (Foucault, 2007, [1977-78]). Foucault's conceptualizations on governmentality, especially understandings of sovereign and disciplinary power become

important lenses that, when applied to the context of asylum, can elucidate the ways in which institutions, discourses and practices surrounding asylum requests shape the manner in which migrants are governed and their conduct controlled. I am principally interested in understanding the particular technologies of government that are enacted to control asylum seekers' conduct, that is, those techniques that aim to regulate conduct with the aspiration of generating desired effects (Rose, 1999: 52). Technologies of government are, as Rose (1999) succinctly argues, heterogeneous assemblages of forms of knowledge made up of a diversity of objects and relations; including "modes of perception, practices of calculation, vocabularies, types of authority, forms of judgement, architectural forms, human capacities, non-human objects and devices, inscription techniques and so forth" that circulate with "aspirations to achieve certain outcomes in terms of the conduct of the governed" (52). Thus, deploying a lens on technologies of government, I aim to examine the Aruban asylum system, shedding light upon its concealed architecture of power and authority that constructs asylum seekers' behaviours.

My argument has two main theoretical facets. First, I suggest that the asylum system, although supposedly driven by the moral and ethical imperative to protect, serves as a mechanism of control that is deployed as a surveillance technique in a fashion akin to "panopticism" (Foucault, 2008, [1975]) that increases the state's ability to keep undocumented Venezuelans under surveillance, resulting in control over the conduct of Venezuelan asylum seekers. Second, the asylum seeker limbo, or the protracted liminality Venezuelan asylum seekers experience while being refused the right to work, must also be seen as a mechanism of control. It ultimately forces people out of material need into deportability, thereby easing state responsibility, while benefitting the Aruban economy.

Firstly, examining the asylum system and the underlying discourses guiding decisions on applicants, I investigate the dominant episteme and rationale, the discourses and practices present within the governing institutions and asylum system. Secondly, deploying the lens of the temporality of asylum, I analyse two modes of governance present in the Aruban context: a) the 2019 legislative changes accelerating the termination of asylum claims, in contrast to b) the legal limbo, protracted situations of liminal legality many Venezuelan nationals seeking asylum are experiencing. Next, I analyse these mechanisms' functionality within Aruban society, discussing changes in the right to work for asylum seekers in the context of Aruba's necessities for migrant labour. Finally, I conclude by arguing that the asylum system needs to be understood as a politics of pretence where the current policies relieve the state of responsibility as asylum seekers are driven to violate their asylum requirements in order to meet their material needs, facilitating their expulsion from Aruban soil.

The governmentality of asylum

The diffuse forms of applied controls in this emergent politics of exclusion became apparent to me over the course of my fieldwork with undocumented Venezuelans and asylum seekers over two periods of fieldwork amounting to 6 months in Aruba between January, 2020 and April, 2021. Research methods included in-depth interviews with twenty asylum seekers and undocumented Venezuelans, participant observation and several interviews with institutions present on the island, including the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), UNHCR, and several grassroots organisations. I initially went to Aruba to analyse the system of ‘illegality’ created around the Venezuelan nationals who chose to flee to Aruba, and to examine the effects of their illegalization on their identity and sense of belonging. Throughout the course of my fieldwork, the recently instituted asylum system and the ways it serves to control Venezuelans’ conduct became evident.

This research can be situated in the field of deportation studies, arguing for an understanding of ‘illegality’ as historically specific, shaping the configuration of migrant ‘illegality’ through regimes of immigration control that govern particular migrations within a particular nation-state (De Genova, 2002: 424). I do not perceive immigration law as a “functional by-product of some presumed (and thus, teleological) structural logic” (De Genova, 2002: 424); rather I interpret it through what Farmer (2004) described as “structures that are sinful and ostensibly nobody’s fault” (307) yet not homogenous and totalizing. I aim to reconceptualize Aruba’s migration regime, understanding it in terms of a larger apparatus including a variety of actors and practices that govern through techniques of control and serve to shape the conduct of Venezuelan migrants. What I aim at is “ethnographic grounding” (De Genova, 2002: 456) or an anthropology that goes beyond “the ethnographic visible” (Farmer, 2004: 304).

An understanding of Aruba’s immigration regime requires an interdisciplinary, in-depth analysis of a wide range of processes and interrelated factors. These include, at the very least, the current situation in Venezuela, the legal production of migrant ‘illegality’, Aruba’s asylum system, its politics of citizenship, nativism and security, as well as public discourses, issues of identity, belonging and resistance, and embedding these in coloniality and the global production of labour. This project, while limited in scope, desires to analyse some of these mechanisms, from ‘below’, in order to provide a counter-discourse to the public perspective on Venezuelan asylum seekers whose voices are systemically silenced, and shedding light on the government-enacted techniques of control over Venezuelans’ voices and conduct.

To carry out this analysis, Foucault’s concept of governmentality is thus especially suitable. The Venezuelan situation in Aruba can be useful in illuminating the governmentalities of asylum by demonstrating the intersections between different techniques of control, in which diverse technologies of power conjunctively produce the asylum seeker and discipline their behaviours. The undocumented migrant or asylum seeker

has been described as “the paradigmatic site – and victim – of modern techniques of [...] ‘governmentality’”, showcasing “the organised practices and techniques used to produce, care for and/or dominate individual subjects” (Owens, 2009: 568). Governmentality describes:

the ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principle form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security. (Foucault, 2007, [1977-78]: 102)

Through governmentality the entire apparatus of technologies is captured that links strategies to manage life, ensuring among other things, the civility of the masses, economic relations and the health of populations (Rose, 1999: 18).

The study of the Aruban asylum system aligns with studies of governmentality whose objective is to investigate the forms of knowledge that produce ‘problems’, devising forms of solutions that are conceptualizable and manageable (Rose, 1999: 22). This form of government consists of the practice of creating and circulating specific truths, and dissemination of these through techniques, mechanisms and discourses that extend beyond the state, including other authorities and bodies in society (Rutherford, 2007: 293). Thus, studies of governmentality discuss the “different sites where the construction of problematizations occurred, which authorities enunciate them, and who devises technologies to solve such problems, as well as discussing the particular forms of authorities and subjectification these strategies and techniques target” (Rose, 1999: 22).

Governmentality is an assemblage of different forms of power that interact; sovereignty, discipline and bio-power are joined in the conceptualizations of governmentality, where each form is reorganized within general tasks of government devising “the best way to exercise powers over conduct individually and *en masse* so as to secure the good of each and of all” (Rose, 1999: 23). As Guild (2012: 7f) notes, first, in its sovereign mode, death and punishment are placed at the heart of decision making about people and law. Second, in its disciplinary mode, institutions such as prisons and schools (and asylum systems) discipline the bodies of people and their conduct towards conformity to an ensemble of rules, assuring the inscription of power onto the body (Guild, 2012: 7f). Lastly, in its biopolitical mode, forms of knowledge are produced through the categorization and calculations of life itself (Aradau & Tazzioli, 2020: 200), transmitting power “through the creation of norms and their relationship with risk” (Guild, 2012: 8). It is the collection of information that establishes the norms and it is through normalization that the individual is transformed (Guild, 2012: 8).

Manifestations of such techniques of control become apparent in the adjudication of asylum requests. Asylum systems are in their most visible form manifestations of sovereign power, since granting or rejecting asylum is an intervention into the protection of bodies. The capacity to decide about inclusion or exclusion points to a key feature of

sovereign power (Nyers, 2003: 1071). Foucault has argued that technologies of power operate through a “micro-physics of power” that has as its objective the composition and control of the forces of bodies (Mills, 2003: 255). In this sense, disciplinary power trains people in their behaviours; it manufactures and normalises subjects to become and act alike (Foucault, 2007, [1977-78]; Foucault, 2008, [1975]). Analysing such mechanisms from the perspective of governmentality, and this research aims to detect the mechanisms of power with which the asylum system facilitates, restrains or regulates the lives of Venezuelans seeking protection by the Aruban state.

Regimes of truth in an environment of closure

In 2019, around 17,000 undocumented Venezuelans and asylum seekers were estimated to be residing on Aruba (R4V, 2019). These are only estimates due to the nature of undocumented immigration, however Aruba is one of the countries with the highest ratio of undocumented migrants, and Venezuelan immigrants are the third largest migrant group in Aruba (Aruba Central Bureau of Statistics, 2018). In 2018, Aruba requested the UNHCR to discontinue the registration of asylum seekers, and took responsibility for the registration and refugee status determination of asylum seekers (R4V, 2020). With no known cases of accepted Venezuelan refugees, as expressed by NGOs in interviews, and a politics that aims at the exclusion of Venezuelans seeking protection, the question emerges as to the basis on which the asylum system operates, and what common rationales are deployed to deny Venezuelan nationals refugee status. According to the UNHCR, refugee status is a form of protection under international human rights law that many Venezuelans merit (UNHCR, 2018).

I am interested in the dominant *dispositif*, or apparatus, to use Foucault’s terms, that is, “the set of social relationships built around a discourse: institutions, laws, policies, disciplines, scientific, and philosophical statements, concepts, moral propositions, and so on” (Estévez, 2014: 76). Dominant truths are spread through discourses, which are tactical tools constructing subjectivities, or objects of analysis that operate via *dispositifs*, which are maintained through concepts that separate the false from the true, relying “on other truth discourses such as the law and criminology, and [...] produced and distributed under the control of large political and economic apparatuses such as courts, immigration offices, and law firms” (Estévez, 2014: 76). Analysing the techniques of government that the Aruban asylum system showcases, I seek to understand the dominant ‘regime of truth’ which aids the “conduct of conduct” (Rose, 1999: 19), defined as such because it’s a form of power that is “not exercised directly on people but by inducing, facilitating, hindering, limiting, and preventing their actions” (Estévez, 2014: 76).

With no known cases of successful asylum applicants, and an acceptance rate no higher than 2% as several interlocutors from NGOs confirmed, I am interested in understanding the dominant *dispositif* and its underlying discourses that regulate Venezuelans’ asylum claims. As asylum discourse operates “as a tactic in the migration

apparatus” and produces “truth effects” (Estévez, 2014: 76), this section examines the regime of truth and uncovers the discourses facilitating the rejection of Venezuelan asylum seekers. In what follows, I demonstrate how certain forms of truths are constructed, knowledges that are deeply rooted in constructed understandings of the Venezuelan migrant, which are spread and carried out in different bodies of society and function as techniques of government to control the population of asylum seekers, and other undesired populations.

The issue of illegal immigration erupted into the Aruban public imagination in 2017, when increasingly, Venezuelans fleeing the severe humanitarian crisis in their home country arrived on Aruba, mainly as tourists with the intention to overstay their visas, or in boats from the only 30 kilometres-distant Venezuelan coast. The Caribbean region has been the primary destination for Venezuelans living close to the Venezuelan coast, as Trinidad and Tobago, Aruba and Curaçao are located in immediate proximity. Since many Venezuelans leave because of the humanitarian situation and not because of political persecution, Aruba and other territories in the Caribbean region do not perceive there to be sufficient reason to grant Venezuelans asylum and stress the limited carrying capacity of the islands, and lack of resources (Jones, 2020: 11).

While Aruba has long been signatory to the Geneva convention, it was only in 2019 that Aruba developed its own asylum system in response to the increasing numbers of arriving Venezuelan migrants. Asylum is regulated through the current legal framework, consisting of the National Ordinance on Admission and Expulsion (LTU, using Dutch acronym, see Central Wettenregister, 2019) and the Admission Decree (Tb, using Dutch acronym) (R4V, 2020). In Aruba asylum is managed by the Department of Integration, Management and Admission of Foreign Nationals (DIMAS, see Departamento di Integracion 2018; 2000), and regulated through Article 19 of the Admission Decree (R4V, 2020). The Aruban asylum system is still policy and not yet law (R4V, 2020). This is relevant because, despite being legally binding, these policies can be adapted according to emerging crises. This was the case first in 2019, when increasing numbers of Venezuelan citizens applied for asylum, and in 2020, when the increasing stress exerted by COVID-19 on the Aruban state resulted in further restrictions on regular work permits.

The idea of ‘asylum’, and what asylum entails, is malleable (cf. Davies, 2007 on the changes to the 1967 protocol expanding the 1951 Refugees Convention’s definition of refugees). An asylum system’s governing power lies explicitly in its ability to change according to context. Asylum policy, while adapting to context, remains bound to the universal right to asylum, namely the human right to protection of human safety, that is incorporated in Aruban legislation into law. Human rights, of course, are a philosophical construct, not an ontological reality, but structures driven by functionality. The idea of asylum is based on the right to protection, to safety and well-being and its role is to achieve this. However, the “very idea of human rights is neither true nor false in a sense

that could be empirically or scientifically verified" (Drummond, 2002: 226). Instead, the concept of human rights is an effective mechanism to influence current affairs, and bring new mechanisms into being (Drummond, 2002: 226).

The common understanding of the law as rational, consistent and precise in its execution stands in harsh contrast to its actual practice, characterized by malleability and frequent manipulation (Heyman & Smart, 1999: 11). Nonetheless, "asylum law has truth effects concerning what constitutes an act and a victim of persecution, and the context in which persecution occurs". As argued by Estévez (2014), it has manufactured "a politics of truth", in which subjectivities, objects, and concepts are deployed to separate true from false, "excluding many subjectivities, objects, and concepts" (81). While always involving a degree of interpretation (Ticktin, 2011: 136), migration law has been subject to diverse forms of manipulation (Heyman & Smart, 1999: 11). Interviews that I conducted often revealed a dominant 'culture of disbelief' among governmental officials regarding the validity of asylum seekers' claims, sustained by asylum seekers' perception of the impossibility of provision of the evidence required to attain asylum. Officials, respondents argued, seem to perceive asylum seekers as untrustworthy.

Venezuelan asylum seekers experience what has been noted in the case of France. Undocumented immigrants, as argued by Miriam Ticktin (2006) "are subject to entry on a case-by-case basis and have to prove their merit without knowing the rules being applied" (36). Alternating between rage and desperation, Ana, a Venezuelan asylum seeker whose husband had been part of the Venezuelan military, outlined to me how the person at DIMAS conducting her interview was not looking for the 'truth' but instead for evidence supporting the denial of her claim. Despite her husband's function within the military, the required evidence seemed to be impossible to provide. Arguments of having to flee because of receiving threats and constant surveillance of their house were decentred as the conversation circled around her economic necessities. Ana's case exemplifies that what qualifies as sufficient evidence is ambiguous and is subject to the interpretation of the official handling the case.

In Aruba, subjectivity is narrowly defined by the active quest to disprove asylum seekers' claims, as in Western contexts, "asylum procedures" demonstrate the "need to inhabit a particular subject position in a circumscribed legal narrative" (Ticktin, 2011: 136). Unlike many Latin American countries, Aruba did not follow the guidelines stipulated in the Cartagena convention and failed to expand its definition of 'refugee' in response to the extraordinary crisis playing out in neighbouring Venezuela. As a result, Aruban case law adheres strictly to the narrow definition of political persecution provided in the Geneva Protocol. For example, one asylum seeker argued that he was being persecuted by police inspectors in Venezuela, but this was not considered sufficient to justify his claim to asylum because the persecution was deemed to have been for personal reasons.

Evidence of what being a victim of persecution might constitute is ambiguous and depends on the migration official's discretion. As the registration and interviews of asylum seekers, conducted by DIMAS, verify whether or not the asylum seekers' information is in line with the refugee convention's definition of refugee (Departamento di Integracion, 2000) the perception of Venezuelans within the interviewing process becomes a crucial issue. As interviews revealed, based on pre-emptive knowledges that circulate, Venezuelans seem to be excluded *prima facie*. As Venezuelan asylum seekers seem to be viewed with suspicion and conflated with economic migrants (Jones, 2020: 10) in Aruba, the rhetoric deployed seems to centre on notions of the 'bogus asylum seeker' and the 'illegal immigrant'. The dominant perception of Venezuelans, as expressed by Venezuelan asylum seekers and international humanitarian organizations, and as reflected throughout my fieldwork, is that they are presumed not to qualify for protection. This aligns with Guild's (2012: 4) research, in which she argues that "the image of the deserving refugee" is strongly "detached from that of the 'bogus' asylum seeker". In the Aruban case, the established 'truth' of the 'Venezuelan fortune seeker' is reinscribed into asylum seekers' physical bodies.

The ways information is processed by adjudicating institutions is embedded in regimes of truth. The NGO personnel that I interviewed contended that their interactions with DIMAS left them with no doubt that DIMAS officials' dominant view of Venezuelan asylum seekers is strongly impacted by the perception of Venezuelans being merely economic migrants and therefore not qualified for refugee status. Such pre-existing perceptions determine the decision making process, and an interview that I conducted with UNHCR officials in Aruba corroborates the evidence that asylum decisions are situated within a 'culture of disbelief' concerning the validity of asylum seekers' claims. This means that tangible evidence of political persecution seems to be disregarded, because the ruling perception is one of Venezuelan asylum seekers using the asylum system as an opportunity to achieve legal status, not as emerging from the need for protection.

This bias is further evidenced in the inferred obligation to apply for asylum upon arrival at the airport. Such a requirement is inconsistent with international law and does not account for surplus claims, that is, claims based on events that occur in a person's country after that person has left, which can render that person a refugee whose safety cannot be assumed if that person attempts to return to their country. Nonetheless, the fact that asylum seekers might not have applied for asylum upon arrival to Aruba is influencing how cases are adjudicated. As interviews corroborated, decisions made by either DIMAS or judges were following this line of argument to deny people's asylum claims. Disseminated and mobilized in the asylum system, the false perception that the only 'true' refugees are those who claim asylum upon arrival has been widely deployed to disqualify people's claim to protection.

Venezuelans in Aruba are governed through a politics of exclusion masquerading under the pretence of a politics of care, as graphically and horrifically demonstrated by

Aruba's near total rejection of asylum requests. The rejection rate was estimated to be between 97% and 99% in interviews that I conducted. The Aruban asylum system does little to provide protection to vulnerable populations, and works in conjunction with the dominant security narrative to further penalize migrants. In the final analysis, the evidence overwhelmingly indicates that the Aruban asylum system functions principally through the pretence of being humanitarian, as required from Western institutions operating within the human rights based Enlightenment discourse that, not by accident, emerged at the same time as the Western European colonial invasion of the planet in the 17th and 18th centuries (Fassin, 2011; Ticktin, 2011). The implementation of the asylum system may be articulated as aiming at the protection of human rights, however, in the case of Aruba, I argue that its directives merge instead with the objective of determining ways to ensure the governance of an unruly population. As elsewhere, immigrants serve this purpose in at least two ways, not just as objects of discipline and control, but also as demonized others who can be used to inspire fear and insecurity in the general population, thus making them more open to hypernationalist, ethnocentric and totalitarian discourse, and as such themselves more susceptible to discipline and control.

Fast-tracking asylum determinations and 'asylum seeker limbo'

I argue above that laws are always malleable, yet the legalities of asylum on Aruba are in some ways paradoxical: a recent policy change allowed for the speeding up of asylum jurisdiction, whereas simultaneously a large number of asylum seekers have been plunged into a state of protracted legal liminality. I argue that this contradiction is not accidental, in fact, both the fast-tracking and the legal limbo are two technologies of control that are not in opposition but work conjunctively to aid the Aruban state. As Griffiths (2013; 2014) aptly notes in the context of the UK, "the asylum system is both too fast and too slow" (2013: 6), while some people wait for years for the outcome of their application, others' decisions are made rapidly, particularly in the asylum 'fast track' system. This section will dissect two of the mechanisms by which asylum seekers' conduct is regulated, assuming conditions not to be the arbitrary outcome of structural deficiencies of the asylum system, but as technologies of governmentality which produce outcomes that are of benefit to the state. Dissecting the different temporalities present in the lives of asylum seekers, and questioning the governmentalities of asylum itself, I examine both mechanisms in their functions as technologies of power, situating reverberations of both within the wider Aruban politics of migration.

The previously discussed conflation of Venezuelans in Aruba with 'illegal migrants' and 'bogus asylum seekers' became particularly explicit with the recent adoption by Aruba of the 'Schiphol' policy. This policy was originally devised in the Netherlands under pressure from right wing anti-immigrant politicians there to further restrict asylum, ostensibly to control 'illegal' migration. In Aruba, the Schiphol policy has become a key element in a new regime of immigration policies whose goal is to restrict

Venezuelan immigration, which include the closing of borders with Venezuela in 2019 (Aruba Gobierno, 2019), the introduction of visa requirements for Venezuelans in March, 2020, and recent changes to the issuance of regular work permits for migrants through Aruban guarantors, which were implemented in December, 2020. The Schiphol policy primarily serves to speed up the asylum decision making process, limiting the adjudication period to 28 days (see Article 19(3) in R4V, 2019), and obliges people to request asylum immediately upon arrival at the airport (Article 19). For this period, asylum seekers can be denied entry and detained, during which time DIMAS performs a preliminary adjudication of their cases (Departamento di Integracion, 2018).

The Dutch-crafted Schiphol policy must firstly be understood in the context of increasingly ethnocentric, repressive and reactionary governments around the world that attempt “to reinforce the symbolic and discursive” power of borders, reinforcing the idea of “impenetrable barriers”, elevating “border protection as the ultimate political objective” (Pickering & Weber, 2006: 10). The Schiphol policy allows for the temporary containment of asylum seekers for a designated period of time, and as in other contexts, this represents the spatial containment of people in a situation that appears to be beyond state control. This deterritorialization of asylum seekers is not exclusive to Aruba, and similar measures have been deployed in, for example, the US and Australia, where asylum seekers are extra-territorialized whilst awaiting asylum decisions (Turnbull, 2017) as part of a wider strategy to deter “economic migrants” (Orford, 2007: 205). Yet, as Rose (1999) notes: “To govern, one could say, is to be condemned to seek an authority for one’s authority” (27). Thus, it is the illusion of threatened state sovereignty that requires immediate action against undesired infiltrators; if need be by coercive techniques, including arbitrary detention and forced deportation (Pickering & Weber, 2006: 10; Orr & Ajzenstadt, 2020: 143).

However, in this context the notion of “border temporality” appears to take on more importance as a mode of governmentality, as first investigated by Mezzadra and Neilson (2013) and elaborated on by Walters (2015). Temporality, as Andersson (2014) argued “has become a multifaceted tool and vehicle - even a weapon of sorts - in the ‘fight against illegal migration’” (2). The fast-tracking of asylum cases has been deployed as a technique in numerous contexts; in order to concretely recraft borders by the state, while responding to and disrupting migrants’ autonomous temporalities. The Schiphol policy includes many of the mechanisms revealed in Tazzioli’s (2018) insightful research on the temporality of control, as “strategies for selecting, governing and disciplining migration” within larger migration regimes (14). Analysing the “specific temporalities that are at stake in the techniques and modes of migration governmentality” (14), Tazzioli (2018) notes how fast-tracking mechanisms such as the European Hotspot approach serve to slow down and disrupt “migrants’ autonomous temporalities, while at the same time the channels of deportations and forced returns are hastened” (13). An

accelerated temporality of control thus facilitates reducing the space of protection to the greatest possible extent.

As in the Mediterranean context, if we focus on the long-term effects of the Schiphol policy, we see that, while it hastens some channels of preventive illegalization of asylum seekers, it also functions to slow down migrants' experiences, to the extent of stagnation thereby producing extended situations of legal liminality. Thus, in line with Tazzioli (2018: 14):

the accelerated temporality of control actually concerns the first stage of migration management upon disembarkation [and...] far from resulting in a generalised acceleration of the logistics of migration governmentality, after the phase of identification and first partition of migrants upon disembarkation [...] many remain spatially blocked or are stuck in a legal limbo, or detained indefinitely.

If cases cannot be determined after a period of 28 days, asylum seekers must be released and enter the space of legal liminality and protracted waiting for decisions on their cases. Hence, "preventive illegalization - by an accelerated temporality of control, is not in opposition to nor in contradiction with migrants' legal limbo" (Tazzioli, 2018: 14). Thus the speeding up of the determination of asylum claims works alongside strategies that slow the asylum process down.

Those asylum seekers in Aruba who applied before the Schiphol policy was implemented have been joined by some of the more recent applicants who for unclarified reasons, have not been subjected to the Schiphol policy and are waiting for an indefinite period for their cases to be adjudicated. If the cases are unfinished after 28 days, asylum seekers remain in the asylum seeker limbo – stuck in the same position as many others who, for years, have been in the asylum system without social security, health coverage and the right to work. Asylum seekers commonly report being in a constant state of insecurity and feeling trapped. Lucia, for example, thinks that if she could have legal status in Aruba, she would be able to have a normal life free from these pressures, without feeling like a prisoner (Lucia, personal communication, February 26, 2020). Venezuelan asylum seekers in Aruba often reference captivity and say that they feel stuck in their lives. They say they feel trapped, imprisoned, confined. Lucia says she feels like she lives in a prison. Julio states that he finds himself "caught living in a jail" (Julio, personal communication, February 02, 2020) and Sebastian remarks: "It's ironical, you're like, "great you're free, you came out of a dictatorship to get into a cage"" (Sebastian, personal communication, February 14, 2020).

The production of asylum seekers' precarity and the indefinite temporariness of their existence, has, as Biehl (2015) notes in her research on the governmentalities of asylum in Turkey, "a powerful governing effect", regulating the everyday life of asylum seekers through the "production and normalization of uncertainty" (58). While the asylum system offers no evidence of a possible approval of claims of refugee status, asylum seekers are obliged to report to DIMAS regularly (Departamento di Integracion 2018). The

system is thus deployed as a panopticon-like technique that enhances the state's ability to keep undocumented Venezuelans under surveillance. The deployment of information systems and technologies to manage and control asylum seekers' movements and identities (Ajana, 2013: 577) through a "politics of visibility" (Tazzioli & Walters, 2016: 445) is not a feature unique to the Aruban asylum apparatus, but a prominent form of governing asylum worldwide (Bigo, 2001: 100).

As a result of the current restrictions on the right to work and the perceived threat posed by immigrants to the 'safety and security' of Aruban society, some asylum seekers have been detained. And even those who have succeeded in being released must return to the detention centre daily at 10 am. As the asylum system routinely forces asylum seekers to physically, and since the onset of the global pandemic, virtually, hand in their papers, the system enables the monitoring of where they are, who they are and what they do. Importantly, as Ajana (2013) argues, control strategies in asylum regimes "are not merely a matter of confinement" (590), as achieved by detention, but further an issue of "'knowledge production' in the Foucauldian sense which 'allows selection of thresholds that define [...] forms of inclusion and exclusion'" (Ericson & Haggerty, 1997 in Rose 1999: 263). As Rose (1999) contends in the "circuits of exclusion" present in society, there are particular tactics which "accept the inexorability of exclusion of certain individuals [...] and seek to manage this population" (240).

Relieved state responsibility and commodifiable migrant labour

While the asylum system in France, as Ticktin (2011) notes, has created "a category of people that are neither legalizable nor deportable" (43), in the Aruban context, there is an important distinction to be made. The Aruban state has produced a mechanism that is effective, not only in surveilling people who are otherwise outside the state's visibility, but also in relieving the state of responsibility for deportation by making asylum seekers responsible for their own deportability. In this section, I examine how legislative changes in the right to work for asylum seekers have introduced a mechanism that on the one hand forces migrants to seek a way to survive by selling their labour on the underground informal market, and on the other hand, criminalizes them for doing so, rendering them legally responsible for their own deportation, thus absolving the state from any responsibility for terminating asylum seekers' stay in Aruba.

The legislative changes in July 2019 introduced not only the Schiphol policy but also major changes concerning the right to work for asylum seekers. While asylum seekers cannot be detained unless there is 'good reason', people perceived as a threat to public order, or found working without official permission can be detained and deported. While Article 19(6) of the Admissions decree (R4V, 2019) states that if DIMAS cannot complete the asylum application within 28 days, the person is supposedly to be released, with "no restrictions regarding the performance of work", it also specifies that this is the case unless the criteria of Article 19(d) can be applied. Fundamentally, this change

removed the right to work from asylum applicants, as the criteria defined in 19(d) of the Admissions decree (R4V, 2019) allow for denial of the right to work if “the interests of public order or national security so require”, and “allow for the permit to be subject to further conditions” that are not specified. My interviews with asylum seekers as well as with NGO personnel confirmed that in practice, these provisos have been regularly deployed to deny asylum seekers official permission to work in Aruba.

All of this must be considered in light of the fact that Aruba is embedded in the globalised capitalist economy, which relies crucially on migrant labour, as a form of ‘fast capitalist enslavement’. Like many other states and territories in the Caribbean, Aruba has focused almost exclusively on strategies for economic ‘growth’ that prioritise the expansion of the tourism industry, which results in dependencies that mirror relations of colonial servitude and neo-colonial domination (Wong, 2015; Sealy 2018). In terms of the “coloniality of power” (Quijano, 2007: 171) Aruba, finds itself positioned “in a ‘dependency periphery’”, in its relationships with the Netherlands, and “hemispheric powers”, especially the United States and Venezuela (Jones, 2020: 14). As is the case with other post-colonial/ neo-colonial states, Aruba showcases a strong belief in, what Dussel (1993: 67) has called the “fallacy of Developmentalism”; the Eurocentric perception of a supposed natural progression to European Modernity.

As Lee, Hampton and Jeyacheya (2015: 194) note, governments of small island states such as Aruba “have seemingly put most of their eggs into one development basket – the all-inclusive holiday in a luxury hotel, resort or cruise ship”. Aruba’s development strategy relies heavily on the recruitment of precarious migrant labour for hotel construction, menial tourism-related service jobs and resort-orientated tourism development (Hill, 2019). The vast and expanding tourism-driven informal economy relies on labour conditions that are ‘flexible’: the forms of temporary, insecure types of labour that are only possible with no legal protection. In this respect, the Aruban context is similar to that of France and other industrialized countries, where “undocumented immigrants are desired precisely because they can be denied all rights” (Ticktin, 2011: 43). “I feel like a slave in the 21st century”, says Julio one day. “It’s not a life, is it?” he asks me and is referring to the fact that the lives of undocumented Venezuelans are structured by the slave-like conditions under which they are forced to work in order to survive (Julio, personal communication, March 13, 2020).

Camila is twenty years old and wanted to study medicine. She says, “now my life is just work, and work, and more work” (Camila, personal communication, March 13, 2020). As Aruba’s economy relies on the tourist industry, the need for migrant labour is engrained in Aruba’s economic structure, which depends on underpaid migrants to build hotels, clean hotel rooms, tend gardens, cook and serve food, etc. My interviewees asserted that tourism in Aruba is dependent on the types work that Arubans do not want to do, and on conditions of work, such as low pay, job insecurity and lack of benefits, that Arubans will not accept. While asylum seekers are portrayed and perceived as

“aliens”, they are simultaneously desperately needed as workers (Chavez, 2007: 192) in the economic sector that forms the backbone of Aruba’s economy. Without migrant labour, the entire economy would literally collapse, along with the livelihoods of the majority of Arubans.

Carolina explains that she was a journalist in Venezuela and switched from working with a recorder to working with a shovel. She says, “I was really frustrated. I stayed in college for so many years and I cried almost every day when I was working in construction”. As the only female employee at the site, she felt vulnerable but needed to adapt. She said, “at first it was uncomfortable, but later, what else? You have to move on” (Carolina, personal communication, February 02, 2020). Fast capitalist economies have become entirely dependent on the work of migrants, thus, in Aruba, undocumented Venezuelans have become “a subclass of people” working in jobs with the lowest wages, least security, and most dangerous conditions (Bacon 2008: 243). Lacking the right to work, asylum seekers are deportable, and cannot protest and organise against their slave-like exploitation. In line with De Genova (2002), I argue that deportability has “historically rendered undocumented migrant labour a distinctly disposable commodity” (439).

Deportability ensures a continuous reservoir of labour that is cheap, ‘flexible’ and moveable. Rony, father of two children, one of whom suffers from a heart condition, depends on work in order to send remittances home, but suffers from the ambiguous situation that his status entails, describing it as “you’re 50-50 here; half in, half out” (Rony, personal communication, February 12, 2020). If they don’t work, asylum seekers cannot survive. If they do work, asylum seekers can be detained and, in most cases, detained asylum seekers are asked to withdraw their asylum application voluntarily, after which their detention can be ended and they can be deported. Not providing people with the right to work ultimately serves as an effective mechanism to deny people the right to asylum as they have to act in breach to their asylum claim by working in order to survive. The result of the changes in the right to work is thus to a large extent an effective mechanism to reduce state responsibility in the act of legally terminating Venezuelans’ asylum claims. Disciplinary power has been described by Rose (1999) as “a mode of power that [has] worked through the calculated distribution of bodies, spaces, time, gazes in attempts to fabricate subjects who were simultaneously useful and compliant” (233). Denial of the right to work to asylum seekers thus not only disciplines people into virtually enslaved economic subjects, but also conveniently alleviates state responsibility for a politics of exclusion, all the while contributing to the Aruban economy.

Conclusion

Aruba’s recently introduced asylum system was established couched in the Enlightenment rhetoric of human rights and the protection of persons in need of a safe haven, yet

the narrow definition of ‘refugee’ found in the Geneva Convention to which Aruba stubbornly continues to adhere, still results in the rejection of the applications of the overwhelming majority of Venezuelan asylum seekers. This unacceptable state of affairs has been made much worse since the introduction of the Dutch Schiphol model, with asylum seekers who applied before its implementation (and some who applied thereafter as well) being cast into a seemingly perpetual “asylum-seeker limbo”, a condition of protracted uncertainty, warranting very limited protection, and not granting applicants the right to work. The way the asylum system is structured, I have argued, is imbricated in the dominant securitization rationale, as the restrictions on work facilitate the detention and deportation of asylum seekers whose material needs make it impossible to adhere to one of their asylum petition’s requirements, that is, to refrain from work. The asylum system produces control over the conduct of Venezuelan asylum seekers as it forces people out of material need to become deportable on their own conduct.

This asylum-seeker limbo not only inflicts a state of indefinite temporariness on migrants themselves, but also serves as a useful tool for the Aruban state to control and discipline migrants. Easing state responsibility, asylum seekers are governed in indefinite temporariness, while simultaneously fulfilling the island’s insatiable need for an ‘informal,’ ‘flexible’ and illegal slave-like labour force for the largely European and US multinationals that have a stranglehold over Aruba’s ubiquitous tourism industry. Since people normally do not voluntarily accept enslavement, an extremely vulnerable population of traumatized, demonized, and criminalized migrants has been created by the state and its asylum policies to fit the bill. Rather than enhancing human dignity, I argue that the Aruban asylum system enacts a politics of exclusion, relying on multifarious governmental techniques designed and deployed to control asylum seekers’ conduct, to enhance their vulnerability, and to increase their economic profitability to globalised capitalism. Analysing the asylum system as a form of governmentality, I argue that in Aruba, asylum has been constructed to discipline and control, not to protect and aid.

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STRESS AND RESILIENCE IN TIMES OF MONUMENTAL CHANGE: THE CASE OF ARUBA DURING COVID-19

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Abstract

The study upon which this article is based focused on the impact of COVID-19 on perceived stress and resilience among both students and the general population of Aruba. From May to June 2020, an online survey was administered to 327 study participants. The Perceived Stress Scale (PSS), consisting of 10 statements was used to measure how unpredictable, uncontrollable, and overloaded respondents found their lives to have been over the previous month. Resilience was measured using the Brief Resilience Scale (BRS), a 6-item instrument. Results indicated that participants reported moderate stress and normal resilience. University students reported higher levels of stress when compared with the rest of the sample. The 25-34 age group and respondents who had children younger than 18 years of age reported the highest levels of stress, as did those who had a family member who had contracted COVID-19. Within the general sample, women reported more resilience than men, but among university students, this trend was reversed.

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Key terms: COVID-19 pandemic, perceived stress, resilience, Aruba

Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic changed everyone's lives and livelihood radically and overnight. The rapid spread of the virus forced countries to expeditiously implement strategies to identify and trace infected persons, test, quarantine, manufacture vaccines, close borders, and deal with countless adverse economic, social, and psychological impacts. There have been over 34 million jobs lost because of COVID-19 in Latin America and the Caribbean as labour-derived income declined by 19.3% (International Labour Organization, 2020). The Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC, 2021) estimates that the poverty rate increased several percentage points.

Aruba recorded its first COVID-19 case on 13 March 2020, and on 19 March 2020, the island went into lockdown and closed its borders. As of 24 May 2021, Aruba had 5 new cases, 69 active cases, 10,746 recuperated persons, 10,922 persons who had tested positive, and 107 deaths (Gobierno di Aruba, n.d.). In Aruba, according to the Caribbean COVID-19 Food Security and Livelihoods Impact Survey, 80% of households experienced a job loss or reduced salaries (World Bank Group, 2020b). “The job loss for Aruba was primarily in the administrative and support service activities (-28.0%), entertainment, and recreation (-10.3%), and accommodation and food service activities (-10.0%)” (Central Bureau of Statistics, CBS, 2020: 3). In addition to job loss, total monthly wages in Aruba decreased by 12.3% in 2020, and the average monthly wage decreased by 3.4% (CBS, 2020). It is important to note that 96% of job losses occurred in the private sector (CBS, 2020). To support the population, the government introduced the Funds for Assistance in Social Emergency (FASE) initiative, providing financial assistance to persons who had lost their jobs. During the pandemic, the government instructed landlords not to evict tenants unable to pay rent. While the Aruban economy is sluggishly picking up, the spread of the virus continues to increase in Europe, the US, India, Brazil, and Latin America. Under these circumstances, the question that looms in our minds is how everyone psychologically copes under these unprecedented conditions. The ‘shelter-in-place’ measure was introduced in Aruba on 29 March 2020 to mitigate the spread of the COVID-19 virus. Globally, such ‘shelter-in-place’ measures have resulted in increases in gender-based violence where women and girls are the primary victims (European Commission, 2021; United Nations Women, 2020). Women and girls trapped in homes with their abusers with little access to services contributed another layer of added stress. In Aruba, the Foundation for Women in Difficult Circumstances (FHMDD) recorded that, from January to mid-April 2020, 84 new ambulant cases and 126 other new cases, 3 of whom were males, (Office of the Prime Minister, Aruba, 2020). The increase of violence in the home is cause for concern as there is a plethora of research indicating that violence against women and girls contributes to anxiety, depression, sleep disturbances, and other physical, social, and mental health issues (Bott et al., 2012; Karkurt, Smith & Whiting, 2014; Susmitha, 2016).

The pandemic also impacted all levels of education, with teaching being interrupted at various intervals depending on case numbers and the prevalence of different COVID-19 variants. Having to study from home using varied forms of online educational platforms proved manageable for some students but stressful for others, especially those who simultaneously had to perform multiple roles as parents and caregivers. For example, due to ‘shelter-in-place’ measures and the closure of daycare centers, mothers, who are well known to be disproportionately tasked with childcare, found themselves either working from home or unemployed altogether, while at the same time having to shoulder the additional burden of child care, acting as educators and as playmates for their children (Vanderhout et al., 2020).

The pandemic also disrupted institutions of higher education worldwide. According to the Mena, 2020:

In Latin America and the Caribbean, 97% of tertiary students, roughly 27 million people are now out of school for the bulk of higher education institutions, ... sudden massive closures by early March 2020 have led to ad-hoc distance learning and mitigation strategies (2020a:2).

Students at the University of Aruba suddenly transitioned to online learning, some with very little time to prepare, as not all faculties were actively utilizing the already existing Study Online Environment (StOne) online learning platform. The rapid transition to StOne at the University of Aruba during the pandemic may have negatively impacted students' motivation and learning. In addition, students were abruptly separated from their peer support network due to social and physical distancing. Given the results of the 2018 Student Health and Wellbeing Study, which revealed that the top five impediments to students' academic performance were all associated with stress-related symptoms (54% stress; 43% difficulty concentrating; 41% anxiety; 39% sleep difficulty, and 33% internet/computer games and social media distractions) concern increased regarding the wellbeing of University of Aruba students. The study on which this article is based sought to investigate the impact of COVID-19 on both students' wellbeing as well as that of the general population in Aruba.

Perceived stress and resilience

Stress is defined as "perception of threat with resulting anxiety, discomfort, emotional tension and difficulty in adjustment" (Fink, 2016: 5). There is no denying that the COVID-19 pandemic fits squarely into this definition of stress as the virus is a real threat, associated with a myriad of negative physical health symptoms and psychological distress factors. The COVID-19 virus as a real threat generates anxiety because of the fear of contracting and spreading it, becoming ill and possibly dying, or experiencing a loved one become sick and risk death. The pandemic has interrupted people's everyday routines and has created challenges to the maintenance of social connections at work, school, and social and recreational spaces, all of which are necessary conditions for maintaining optimum good health and wellbeing.

Studies on the impact of COVID-19 conducted by universities worldwide have revealed that the majority of students complained of information and work overload, difficulty adapting to, and unfamiliarity with, the new online learning environment, higher stress levels, feeling unwell, and poor mental health characterized by depression, panic attacks, and other forms of anxiety disorders (Al-Kumaim et al., 2021; Villani et al., 2021; Kostić et al., 2021). Studies from four universities in the Netherlands conducted to measure students' mental wellbeing during the COVID-19 pandemic revealed that 43.3% indicated that taking online courses negatively influenced their studies and 37.3% could not pursue internships (Struijs, 2020). More than half of the students

(56.3%) mentioned their concentration got worse, 51.5% felt lonelier, and 44.6% had a more negative moods (Struijs, 2020). Studies conducted with health science university students in Spain (Marcén-Román et al., 2021) found increased levels of perceived stress due to COVID-19 and students with more stress were associated with being at higher risk of anxiety and depression.

Studies conducted in the US to measure perceived stress soon after the outbreak found that the majority of respondents (60.5%) reported moderate stress, 33.5% reported low stress, and 6% reported high stress (Ferreira, Buttell & Cannon, 2020). The World Health Organization (WHO) declared that the uncertainty of the pandemic and the stress and anxiety created would result in long-term effects on mental health globally (WHO, 2021). Further, the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 74/306 (2020) invites “Member States to establish a comprehensive and coordinated response to the COVID-19 pandemic to address mental health in their response to, and recovery from the pandemic by ensuring the widespread availability of emergency mental health and psychosocial support” (WHO, 2021: 3).

During times of monumental change and threat, it becomes imperative to be resilient. Resilience is defined as “the process of adapting well in the face of adversity, trauma, tragedy, threats or significant sources of stress, such as family and relationship problems, serious health problems or workplace and financial stressors. It means bouncing back from difficult experiences” (American Psychological Association, 2015). Resilience means having the will to bounce back higher and higher after each adversity, thus building our inner resources toward post-traumatic growth, so we can thrive not only with the occasional monumental challenges we experience, but every day of our lives as well (Tedeschi & Calhoun 2004). This is possible because resilience is not an attribute people possess or do not possess, but instead resilience is a behavior, a way of thinking, and an attitude that can be learned and acquired.

Studies about resilience during disasters indicate that resilience is a typical response trajectory, and those socio-demographic variables such as age, gender, employment, socio-economic status impact resilience outcomes (Lightfoot, Lesen & Ferreira, 2020; Ferreria et al., 2020; Raghavan & Sandanapitchai, 2019). At the same time, other studies have shown that critical events exacerbate existing mental and physical health problems (Cutter et al., 2013; Cutter et al., 2007). For example, a study conducted in Italy found resilience to mediate COVID-19 effects related to perceived stress, depressive and anxiety symptoms (Rossi et al., 2021). This study also found that age moderated the effects of resilience, where the resilience of older adults was less influenced by stressful events, which in turn was found to account for better mental health outcomes observed in the respondents of older age (Rossi et al., 2021).

Objectives and methodology of the study

Given the unprecedented nature of the COVID-19 pandemic, and its associated impact on the quality of life and wellbeing of both students and the general population, we conducted a study with the following objectives:

1. To measure the perceived stress and resilience of Arubans during the Covid-19 pandemic;
2. To examine the relationship between the perceived stress and resilience of Arubans during the Covid-19 pandemic; and
3. To make recommendations for managing the stress response and building resilience during and post COVID-19.

Two quantitative online surveys were conducted with students from the University of Aruba and the general public on the island during May and June 2020. Students were recruited via the University of Aruba website, Facebook, and Instagram. Respondents from the general population were recruited via the Center of Life Long Learning at the University of Aruba and social media platforms. The sample size of the University of Aruba students was 90, representing 12.3% of the total student population. The majority of the students were female (83.3%, $n = 75$), 15.6% were males ($n = 14$), and 1.1% ($n = 1$) did not indicate gender. The largest group of students, 60.0%, were in the 18-24 age category, and there were no students from the age groups above 45 years of age. There were 237 other Arubans who participated in the survey. The profile of these respondents was 73.4%, female ($n = 174$), 26.2%, male ($n = 62$), and one who did not specify gender. In terms of the age distribution of the general sample, the age group 45-54 had the most respondents (26.6%), and the least was one person in the 85 and over age group at 0.4%. Two persons did not indicate their age.

The data collection instrument for both groups was identical and consisted of three parts. Part one inquired about the demographic characteristics of the respondents and consisted of 6 questions. The second part of the survey used the Perceived Stress Scale (PSS) designed by Cohen (1988) to measure the respondents' perceived stress. The PSS consisted of 10 statements and measured how unpredictable, uncontrollable, and overloaded respondents found their lives to have been over the previous month on a five-point Likert scale of 0 = never, 1 = almost never, 2 = sometimes, 3 = fairly often, and 4 = very often. Scores on the PSS range from 0-40, with higher scores indicating higher perceived stress. Scores ranging from 0-13 represents low stress, 14-26 moderate stress, and 27-40 high perceived stress. The third part was the Brief Resilience Scale (BRS), consisting of six questions to measure resilience (Smith et al., 2008). A final open-ended question invited respondents to describe their current situation with COVID-19 in one word.

Results

Perceived Stress levels. The PSS responses for the general population indicated that the majority, 70.0%, (n = 166) reported moderate stress, 21.1% (n = 50) reported low levels of stress, and 8.9% (n = 2) reported high stress levels. The results for the University of Aruba students revealed that 63.3% (n = 57) reported moderate levels of stress, followed by 35.6% (n = 32) who reported high levels of stress, with only one student reporting having low stress levels 1.1%, (n = 1). The results indicated that during the COVID-19 pandemic, University students reported higher levels of stress than those reported by the general population.

Perceived Stress and gender. As indicated in Table 1, the results reveal that more male students than female students reported experiencing moderate stress (78.6% M vs. 60.0% F), but more female than male students reported experiencing high stress (38.7% F vs. 21.4% M). Whereas more male university students experienced moderate stress levels than female students, the reverse was evident in the general population (73.0% F vs. 61.3% M). Additionally, whereas more female than male students reported high levels of perceived stress (38.7% F vs. 21.4% M), in the general population of the island, there was only a small difference between the genders (9.7% M vs. 8.6% F).

Table 1 Perceived Stress during the COVID-19 pandemic by gender

	Gender	
	Males %	Females %
General Sample N = 237		
Low stress	29.0	18.4
Moderate stress	61.3	73.0
High stress	9.7	8.6
Student Sample N = 90		
Low stress	0.0	1.3
Moderate stress	78.6	60.0
High stress	21.4	38.7

Perceived Stress and age. As indicated in Table 2, the 25-34 age group in the general sample reported higher stress levels when compared with the other age groups, while the lowest reported stress levels were reported by the one respondent in the 85 and over age cohort. In general, the older the age of respondents, the lower the reported stress levels. In the student sample, the 25-34 age group reported high stress levels more frequently than the other age groups at 46.4%, followed by the 18-24 age group, at 33.3%. Moderate stress was reported most frequently in the 35-44 age group. The age group that reported the highest stress levels was the same for both samples, i.e., those aged 25-34. Meanwhile, respondents in the 35-44 age group in both samples reported moderate stress levels more frequently than the other age groups.

Table 2 Perceived Stress during the COVID-19 pandemic by age

General Sample	Perceived Stress Scale Levels		
Age groups	Low stress %	Moderate stress %	High stress %
18-24	0.0	85.7	14.3
25-34	12.8	69.2	17.9
35-44	3.6	87.3	9.1
45-54	25.4	71.4	3.2
55-64	45.7	48.6	5.7
65-74	72.7	27.3	0.0
75-84	66.7	33.3	0.0
85 and above	100.0	0.0	0.0
Total	21.3*	70.2*	8.5*
Student Sample			
Age groups			
18-24	1.9	64.8	33.3
25-34	0.0	53.6	46.4
35-44	0.0	85.7	14.3
Total	1.1	63.3	35.6

*The numbers do not add up because of missing information on age.

Perceived Stress and having a family member/close associate infected with COVID-19. A minority of the general sample respondents (15.2%, n = 36) reported having a close family member or close associate infected by COVID-19, with a large majority (79.7%), reporting that this was not the case, and 5.1% indicating that they were not sure. Of the 15.2% of the general population who had a close member of their family or close associate infected by the pandemic, the majority (80.6%) reported having moderate stress, 13.9% low stress, and 5.6% high stress. Of those who reported not having family members or close associates infected, the majority (68.8%) reported moderate stress, 21.7% low stress, and 9.5% high stress. Regarding those who were not sure, the majority (58.3%) reported moderate stress category, 33.3% low stress and 8.3% high stress. Of the 10 students who had a family member or close associate infected by COVID-19, seven perceived their stress level as moderate and the remaining three as high. Of the seven unsure students, five perceived their stress as high and two as moderate. The results from both samples indicate that whether respondents from the general population had a close member of their family or close associate infected by COVID-19 or not, or were not sure, their perceived stress levels were generally at the moderate level, with the minority reporting high stress. That said, it appears that the uncertainty in both studied groups about having a family member or a close associate being infected by COVID-19 activated higher stress levels.

Perceived Stress and negative impacts on job/income. A large majority of both the general sample (71.3%) and the student sample (75.6%) indicated that COVID-19 had negatively impacted their job/income. Students whose job/income was not affected by COVID-19 reported slightly lower levels of high stress than those whose livelihoods were negatively affected (28.6% vs. 36.8%), and slightly higher levels of moderate stress (66.7% vs. 63.2%) than those who were negatively affected. In the general sample, the majority (70.4%) of those whose job/income was negatively affected by COVID-19 reported moderate stress levels, with 18.9% reporting low stress levels and 10.7% high stress levels. These figures are similar to those in the general sample amongst respondents whose job or family income were not affected by COVID-19, with 69.1% reporting moderate stress, 26.5% low stress, and 4.4% high stress. These results indicate that in the general sample, COVID-19 generated roughly the same levels of stress, regardless of the impact of COVID-19 on their job/income.

Perceived Stress and having children. Among the students, only 13.3% reported having had children. Of the students who had children, 66.7% reported moderate stress levels and 33.3% high stress levels, with none reporting low stress levels. 31.2% of the respondents in the general sample had children aged less than 18, and 40.5% had children older than 18 years of age. In the general sample, the perceived stress levels of the majority of respondents who had children was moderate (77.0% with children <18 and 62.5% with children >18). However, those with children younger than 18 years reported high stress levels (10.8%) more frequently than those with children over 18 years of age (3.1%). Having children younger than 18 years of age appears to have generated higher levels of reported stress on the island during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Resilience levels. The results revealed that most respondents (67.9% of the general sample and 81.1% of the student sample) reported having normal resilience, with the remaining (32.1% of the general sample and 18.9% of the student sample) reporting low resilience. In both groups, no one reported high resilience levels.

Resilience and gender. In the general sample, more females than males reported being in the normal resilience range (70.1% F vs. 61.3% M) with 29.9% of females and 38.7% of males reporting low resilience. In contrast, in the student sample, fewer males than females students reported low resilience (7.1% M vs. 21.3% F), with 92.9% of males and 78.7% of females reporting normal resilience. Unlike the men in the general sample, male university students appear to be more resilient than their female counterparts.

Resilience and age. As indicated in Table 3, in the general sample from 66% to 72% of all age groups (except the one individual in the 85 and above age group) reported normal resilience levels, with the remaining respondents reporting low levels. In the student sample, however, over 80% of all of the age groups reported normal resilience, with the exception of the 35-44 age group, only 57.1% of which reported normal resilience levels.

Table 3 Perceived Resilience during the COVID-19 pandemic by age

General Sample		Brief Resilience Scale Levels	
Age groups	Low %	Normal %	High %
18 – 24	28.6	71.4	-
25 - 34	30.8	69.2	-
35 - 44	35.4	65.5	-
45 - 54	34.9	65.1	-
55 - 64	31.4	68.6	-
65 - 74	27.3	72.7	-
75 - 84	33.3	66.7	-
85 - 94	-	-	-
95 and above	-	100.0	-
Total	32.3*	67.7*	-
Student Sample			
18 – 24	16.7	83.4	-
25 - 34	17.9	82.1	-
35 - 44	42.9	57.1	-
Total	35.6	63.3	

* The numbers do not add up because of missing information on age.

Resilience and having a family member/close associate infected with COVID-19. In the general sample, of those who had a family member or close associate infected with COVID-19, 63.9% scored normal on the resilience scale and 36.1% low. Of those who did not have any family member or close associate infected with COVID-19, there were slightly more who scored within the normal resilience range (70.4%) and fewer who scored within the low resilience range (29.6%). Of those university students who had a family member or a close associate infected with COVID-19, 80.0% scored normal on the resilience scale and 20.0% low. Of those who were not sure, 83.3% reported normal resilience and 16.7% low resilience. In general, the results indicate that despite having a family member or a close associate infected with COVID-19, respondents' ability to bounce back was not much different from that reported by those who did not.

Resilience and negative impacts on job/income. There were slightly more respondents from the general sample whose job or income was not affected by COVID-19 to report normal resilience (72.1%) than those whose job or income were negatively affected (66.3%). Of the respondents who scored low on the resilience scale, there were slightly more whose job or income were affected by COVID-19 (33.7%) when compared with those not affected (27.9%). In the student sample, of those who reported that their job or income was negatively affected by COVID-19, 77.9% scored normal on the resilience scale, and 22.1% low. Of the students who did not have their job or income affected

by COVID-19, 90.5% fell in the normal resilience range, and 9.5% in the low range. The results suggest that most respondents scored normal on the resilience scale, regardless of the effect of COVID-19 on their job or income.

Resilience and having children. The results revealed that in the general sample, respondents who had children under the age of 18 and those who had children over 18 years did not differ in terms of their resilience levels. For both groups, the majority (63.5%) reported normal resilience and 36.5% low resilience, levels that were similar to those of respondents who did not have any children. Of the 12 University students who had children, 9 scored normal for resilience and 3 low. Of the remaining students who had no children, 82.1% (n = 64) scored normal for resilience scale and 17.9% (n = 14) low. This seems to indicate that there were generally normal resiliency levels among the respondents in both samples, whether they had children or not.

Relationship between Perceived Stress and Resilience. A Pearson correlation test was conducted to measure the relationship between perceived stress and resilience. The results for the general sample revealed that there was no significant relationship ($r = .05$, $n = 237$, $p < .483$). As for the student sample, there was also no significant relationship ($r = .16$, $n = 90$, $p < 1.25$).

One word descriptor. Respondents were asked to describe in one word their experiences with the pandemic. The word cloud in Figure 1 combines the sentiments of both sample groups. The most prominent words (‘stressful/stressed’, ‘overwhelmed’, ‘uncertain(ty)’, ‘blessed’ and ‘grateful’) indicate a mix of both negative and positive emotions.

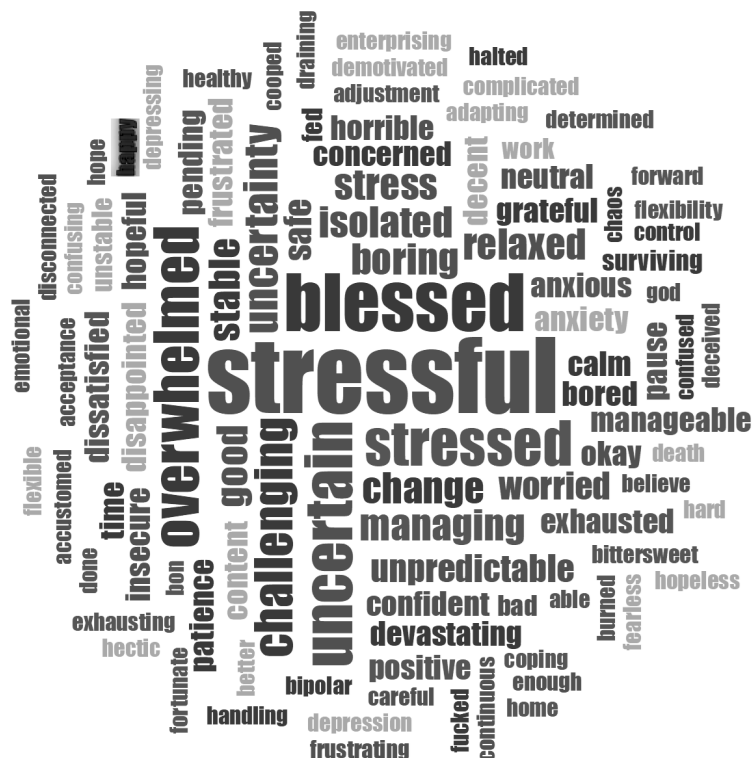


Figure 1 One word descriptors of respondents' experiences with COVID-19

Discussion, conclusion and recommendations

The majority of respondents in both sample groups reported moderate levels of stress and normal resilience. This could be because the survey was conducted during the first four months of the pandemic, and the results thus represent a snapshot of the initial impact, at a moment when it was not clear how much longer restrictive measures were going to be kept in place. After the study was conducted in May and June of 2020, the rate of infection grew and the virus had more devastating effects. While respondents who had children under the age of 18 and those who had children over 18 years did not differ in terms of resilience, respondents who had children younger than 18 years of age reported higher stress levels.

In both sample groups, respondents of the 25-34 age cohort reported the highest stress levels. This finding seems likely, because this is the age group with the maximal number of workers in the productive sectors that were most severely impacted by the loss of jobs and other economic hardships caused by the pandemic. Rathore and Farooq (2020) assert that the stress levels amongst this age group is high because they spend more time on social networks resulting in information overload and the 'infodemic' of stressful fake news and conspiracy theories. This trend seems to be corroborated by the results from the student sample, where more respondents than in the general sample reported high levels of stress, perhaps because of the greater representation among students of these younger age cohorts. Even before the pandemic, however, a 2018 University of Aruba study of student mental health and wellbeing had already revealed stress amongst 54% of the student population. There is a preponderance of studies indicating that stress, if left unattended, can give rise to anxiety, depression, and other mental health disorders (Fink, 2016, Rossi et al., 2020; Salari et al., 2020). Accordingly, the University of Aruba needs to pay attention to this finding, to strengthen its student's mental health and wellbeing services.

None of the respondents from either sample scored high for resilience, while about one-third of the general sample across all age groups reported low resilience. One might have expected that at least some of the respondents in older age cohorts would have scored high for resilience, given that research indicates that because older adults tend to have lived through more stressful events, they have normally acquired a repertoire of inner resources to build their resilience (Rossi et al., 2021). The nature of the pandemic in terms of its highly infectious nature and especially its mortality risk to the older populations may be an explanatory factor here.

The size of the general sample was small, and thus the results are not representative of the entire population of the island. The survey for the students did not include a question to specify if their children were under or over the age of 18, as was the case for the survey administered to the general sample. The student sample was predominantly female (83.3%), and thus not representative of the gender distribution of the university student population. The survey was conducted during the initial stages of the pandemic,

therefore the findings can be used as baseline data to monitor patterns of perceived stress and resilience later on in the pandemic and post-pandemic. Finally, our results add to the global literature on this novel infectious disease.

Given our findings, it is imperative for the governmental and non-governmental agencies that provide social and mental health services to the island's population in general, and to the university population in particular, to redouble their efforts to mitigate the mental health risks associated with moderate and high levels of stress. This should be done in order to support the population to build higher levels of resilience so that they can better cope with pandemic and post-pandemic life changes. It is recommended that Aruba build its human resource capacity to deliver the mental health and social assistance required to respond effectively to the long-term implications resulting from the physical, emotional, social, and economic effects of the Covid pandemic. The University of Aruba needs to strengthen its Shoco Wellness Program to include a help desk for students on campus and an 8 to 12-hour online chat room to ensure that students have immediate access to psychological and counselling support when needed. Further research is necessary to determine the effects of the pandemic on the mental health of students and the general population in the later stages of the pandemic and beyond.

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THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON THE SEXUAL BEHAVIORS OF ADOLESCENTS IN ARUBA

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Abstract

This article explores the influence of social media on the sexual behaviors of adolescents in Aruba, in order to enable Famia Planea Aruba (Family Planning of Aruba) to improve its services. Quantitative research was conducted using an online survey administered to a sample of 312 adolescents of from 15 to 19 years of age, of which 22.8% (n=71) were male and 77.2% (n=241) were female. Results revealed that while 115 adolescents reported not to have engaged in sexual intercourse, 197 reported to have done so. The mean age for their first experience with sexual intercourse was 15.2 years. Watching pornography and sexting were associated with increased likelihood to have engaged in sexual intercourse, while the use of social media to search for information about sex online was associated with decreased likelihood to have engaged in sexual intercourse. Given the amount of time spent by adolescents online and the restrictions on face-to-face modes of information sharing due to the COVID-19 pandemic, a recommendation is made that the Famia Planea Aruba's sex education programs be digitalized.

Key terms: sexual behavior; sexual health, social media, COVID-19, adolescents

Introduction

During adolescence, individuals undergo major developmental changes that have a great impact their sense of identity (Erikson, 1968). According to Woog and Kagesten (2017), adolescence is a period of rapid physical, social, emotional, and cognitive change. As such, it is a critical time for laying the foundation for positive sexual and reproductive health outcomes. Given Aruba's culture and its religious influences,

outward manifestations and discussion of sex and sexual behavior are considered taboo, and there is a lack of research and data on the actual sexual behaviors of young people. Although Aruba is a culturally diverse island where different religions coexist, the dominant religion is Roman Catholic, representing 75.7% of the population (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2012).

Conservative Catholic ideology and substantial church influence over the educational system result in most young adolescents perceiving sex as taboo. They often lack adequate knowledge about sex and their sexuality, which may later have a negative impact on their sexual behavior and health. On the neighboring island of Curaçao, the situation is not much different (Verstraeten, 2015). Nonetheless, in the Netherlands, parents, the educational system, and the general society are more liberal and open to discussing sex-related topics. New electronic media technologies are exposing adolescents to ever greater amounts of information that influence their sexual behavior and health. This means that reliable sources for information on sexual health such as family planning agencies, often find that their messages to adolescents are lost among a cacophony of disinformation and sensationalism online.

Famia Planea Aruba (Family Planning of Aruba or FPA) is a non-profit foundation established for the promotion of responsible parenthood in the 1970s with a focus on reducing socio-economic problems and reducing unwanted pregnancies, which constituted approximately 30% of the total pregnancies at that time. Since then, the percentage has decreased due to the promotion and accessibility of contraceptive methods (Famia Planea Aruba, 2020). Over the past decades, the focus of FPA has shifted more towards information, guidance, and education, and currently, the digitalization of their services. The FPA offers eight services to diverse target groups, ranging from 5 to 55 years of age, including: guidance and support, workshops, school projects, private consultations, delivery services, online counseling, referrals, and provision of contraceptives. In 2019, there were over 3,000 youth client visits, and 150,000 condoms plus 20,000 other contraceptives were distributed. In 2019 more than 8,000 students benefited from the FPA's Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) program at schools (Famia Planea Aruba, Annual Report, 2019). CSE is a school program in which age-appropriate sex education is provided to children and youths to acquire the knowledge, skills, and attitudes required to make healthier choices regarding their sexual and reproductive health.

Problem statement, purpose of the study, research questions, context

The 2012 Youth Health Survey of Aruba (Department of Public Health Aruba, 2012) and the 2015 Global School-based Student Health Survey in Curaçao (Verstraeten, 2015) concluded that the average age of first sexual intercourse was 14 years. This is significantly younger when compared to the Netherlands, where the mean age is 18 (Graaf et al., 2017). The Netherlands has seen an increase in this age over the years, and this is due at least in part to more CSE programs being incorporated into the school

curricula. Dutch parents seem to be very practical and timely when dealing with such issues and topics with their children, because they believe that the more resources young people are equipped with in this area, the better off and/or more responsible they will be (Avery, 2019). Moreover, the teen pregnancy rate in the Netherlands is low compared to that the United States of America, evidently showing that the Dutch approach is working (Avery, 2019).

When children are exposed to sexual activities at a young age with no relevant guidance, information, and education, there may be a number of negative consequences. One negative consequence is teenage pregnancy. In Aruba, there were 179 teen pregnancies in 2000, 131 in 2005, 143 in 2010 and 92 in 2015 (Wit Gele Kruis, 2018). According to the 2012 Aruba Youth Health Survey (Department of Public Health Aruba, 2012), 2.6% of adolescent females 15 years and older have had an abortion, of which doctors performed 39.3%, the adolescents themselves performed 26%, and reproductive specialists performed some 25%. Because abortion is illegal in Aruba, adolescents are often forced to undergo ‘back door’ abortions, which can pose risks to their sexual and reproductive health. Another negative consequence of lack of guidance, information, and education is contracting Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs). The 2012 Aruba Youth Health Survey concluded that only 8% of youths had comprehensive knowledge about HIV, and that 30.6% of adolescents used alcohol or drugs before having sex, which increases risk of contracting STIs (Department of Public Health Aruba, 2012) .

According to the 2017 ICT and Youth of Aruba study (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2017), 80% of young people between the ages of 5 to 24 in Aruba have used the internet, with the principal reasons for their doing so being accessing social media (69%), consulting Wikis/ other information sources (57%), and seeking health information (48%). This indicates that the youth in Aruba have easy access to the internet and use social media. Social media platforms provide varying perspectives concerning sex, sexuality, and reproductive health. Some of these perspectives may be inaccurate and not age-appropriate and can contribute to risky sexual behaviors with medical, social, and public health implications. This new situation calls for new preventive strategies to improve the younger generations’ sexual and reproductive health and behavior. Over the years, the FPA has provided services related to sexual health, contraceptives, and CSE at schools. There is little statistical data available about sexual behavior amongst adolescents for the years following the 2012 Aruba Youth Health Survey (Department of Public Health Aruba, 2012).

The COVID-19 pandemic has had implications for adolescents’ sexual and reproductive health. According to United Nations Family Planning Association (UNFPA, 2020) adolescents may not be able to visit health facilities because of pandemic-related movement restrictions or afraid to do so because of fears about contracting COVID-19. The UNFPA further predicted that if the average lockdown continued for six months, this would leave 47 million women unable to use contraception, and an additional 7 million

unintended pregnancies could result. This may not be the case for Aruba, as the FPA was farsighted enough to introduce their 'Bespoke Healthcare Delivery Service' in 2018. This service provides on-demand home deliveries of contraceptives, and the number of clients who made use of this service significantly increased during the COVID-19 pandemic from 115% in 2019 to 170% in 2020 (International Planned Parenthood Federation Americas and the Caribbean, 2021). Therefore, COVID-19 does not appear to have posed an obstacle to access to sexual health services in Aruba, when compared to other countries.

This study upon which this article is based was designed to assist the FPA in its understanding of the sexual behavior of adolescents on the island, in order to improve its services to the community by formulating innovative strategies to reach adolescents in promoting responsible, safer, and healthier sexual behaviours. The present investigation was inspired by the 2017 joint Rutgers/ Soa Aids Nederland study (Graaf et al., 2017) which focused on the sexual behavior and health of 20,500 youth between the ages of 12 and 25. The two main questions that motivated our research were the following: (1) what are the perceptions of adolescents in Aruba concerning various aspects of their sexual experiences, and (2) what is the influence of social media on the sexual behaviors of adolescents in Aruba?

Aruba is part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and shares with the European and other parts of the Kingdom a number of historical, political, cultural, and social norms and values. In this regard, changes in the sexual behaviours of the adolescent population of the European Netherlands may have implications for Aruba. The 2017 *Sex onder je 25e 2017* [Sex under the age of 25] (all translations are by the present author unless otherwise specified) study was a representative investigation of the sexual health of young people aged 12 to 25 in the Netherlands. It was conducted by Rutgers and Soa Aids Nederland in partnership with regional public health services (Graaf et al., 2017). That research identified several positive trends, including later sexual debut, greater sexual pleasure, decreased sexual coercion, and increased use of contraceptives to protect against unwanted pregnancies. New developments related to sex and sexual health amongst the young people who participated in that investigation were online dating, sexting, and changing norms and relationships. According to the Netherlands study, topics that required more attention by agencies such as FPA in Aruba were the use of contraceptives, STIs control, and body image issues.

The adolescents of Aruba are some of the world's most enthusiastic users of the internet. According to the ICT and Youth of Aruba study of 2017: "The proportion of youths in Aruba that used the internet (84%) surpassed the proportion of the world's youth that were using the internet in 2017, by 14 percentage points (70%)" (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2017: 9). It was also concluded that 69% used the internet for social media, with 86.6% of them on social media daily or almost daily (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2017: 9). Although this trend may have some positive outcomes, there are also some

negative consequences. In the Netherlands, de Buysser (2018) concluded that the social auto-assessment of females who were more active on social media, depended more heavily on their body image and they experienced more feelings of shame about their own bodies when in intimate relationships than did males. However, the interaction between social media and sexual experience itself showed less significant results, although a correlation was found between greater time spent on Facebook and Snapchat and more negative experiences of first-time sex. These new media offer adolescents additional venues to explore, develop, sustain, and experiment with their romantic and sexual relationships. According to the Rutgers-Soa Aids Nederland study, 15% of young male adolescents and 15% of young female adolescents met their last partner through a dating app or social media (Graaf et al., 2017).

Social media has also made it easier to share personal information, and sexting and the sharing of nude or semi-nude photos is widespread, and there is some degree of pressure on young people to participate in these activities (Famia Planea Aruba, 2020). “Seventy percent of adolescents found it fun to receive nude photos or videos from others. However, more than a third of the young people and almost half of the girls disapprove of someone sending a nude photo or sex video of themselves or their partner” (Van den Borne, Meijer & de Graaf, 2017: 48). “Preliminary findings of Youth Sexual Health in the United States of America showed that between 4% and 24% of youth had sent a nude or semi-nude image of themselves via text message, and between 15% and 30% have received such messages” (National Coalition for Sexual Health, 2013: 11). In addition, a small percentage of youth reported forwarding a sexually explicit message to another person. “Youth reported various reasons for engaging in sexting, including someone asking them to; to respond to a sexually explicit message from someone else; to try to impress someone or make someone like them more; to have fun; and peer pressure” (National Coalition for Sexual Health, 2013: 11). “Offline sexual coercion was significantly associated with sending and being asked for a naked image, as well as receiving a naked image without giving permission. The results suggest that sexting could function as an online extension of offline forms of sexual coercion” (Choi, Van Ouytsel & Temple, 2016: 164).

The Rutgers-Soa Aids investigation (Graaf et al., 2017) indicated that three-quarters of males and one-third of females watched pornography during the previous year. Half of the male participants reported viewing pornography at least once a week, and only 5% of females reported viewing pornography videos. A study conducted with young Australians indicated that “87% of the participants reported viewing pornography. The median age at first pornography viewing was 13 years for men and 16 years for women” (Lim, et al., 2017: 440). Peter and Valkenburg (2016) found that adolescents who watched pornography exhibited more permissive sexual attitudes, engaged more frequently in sexual intercourse, had more significant experience with casual sex behaviour, and displayed more sexual aggression.

Methodology, results and discussion

The present study employed a quantitative research methodology to explore the sexual behavior of adolescents in Aruba. The sample consisted of 312 adolescents of 15 to 19 years of age, ($M=17.21$, $SD=1.61$) of which 12.8% ($n=71$) were males, 77.2% ($n=241$) were females. A large majority of the respondents were born in Aruba (85.8%) followed by the Netherlands (4.3%), Colombia (3%) and Venezuela (2%). The participants' religious affiliations included Roman Catholic (40.5%), Protestant (20.8%), and no Religion (20.3%). 36.2% of the adolescents had been tracked by the Dutch education system into general secondary education (MAVO), 23.5% had been tracked into higher secondary vocational education (HAVO), 15.2% had been tracked into secondary vocational education (EPI), while 12.2% were students at the University of Aruba.

Data was collected using an online survey over three weeks during April, 2020. Various social media outlets were used to recruit participants. The online survey was the most convenient data collection method given the fact that, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, access to adolescents in schools was virtually impossible, due to shelter-in-place measures. When conducting research with minors, it is common ethical practice to ask for parental consent. Because this was an online survey distributed through social media platforms, it was assumed that the respondents would have already received parental consent to have access to those platforms and therefore passive consent had been granted. The survey was administered in Papiamentu and English. It consisted of 63 questions divided into sections, including one general section for all participants, six sections for adolescents who had not experienced any sexual encounters, and seven sections for those who had experienced sexual encounters. A preliminary pilot survey was first conducted with a small number of participants, necessary revisions were then made to the survey on the basis of the pilot, and finally the amended survey was administered to all of the participants. Finally, Pearson product-moment correlation analyses were conducted to determine the correlations amongst various factors, such as body image, searching online about sex, sexting, watching pornography through social media platforms, and experience with sexual intercourse.

Factors influencing adolescents' sexual behaviour.

The results revealed that 115 of the 312 adolescents had not experienced sexual intercourse, including 34 males and 81 females. Meanwhile, 197 adolescents reported having had sexual intercourse, including 37 males and 160 females. The mean age for first experience of sexual intercourse was 15.21 years ($M=15.21$, $SD=1.99$), which is higher than the mean age of 14 identified in 2012 when the Youth Health Survey was conducted on the island (Department of Public Health Aruba, 2012), but lower than the legal age of sexual consent in Aruba. Meanwhile, the respondents who had not experienced any sexual activity expressed that the mean age to have sexual intercourse should be 19 years ($M=19$, $SD=3.22$). These respondents also indicated an age range of 15 as

the youngest and 30 as the oldest ideal age for sexual intercourse. Factors influencing the first sexual encounter were the attitudes of the adolescents' partners and parents, watching pornography, sexting, and the perception that sexual intercourse might help determine their gender identity and sexuality.

Adolescents reported that their reasons for having sex were to explore (11.4% of males and 9.2% of females), for pleasure (36.4% of females and 30% of males), and to express love (41.4% of males and 41% of females). The reasons for not having sex were because participants felt too young, had not yet met the right partner, and their fear of contracting STIs. During their first sexual encounter, 47.3% used a condom, while 18.6% used birth control. Less than one-third (27.1%) used drugs and alcohol during sex. Respondents generally were aware of the FPA's Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) program in particular and with the FPA in general, because they had gained access to contraceptives from FPA and/or had participated in FPA workshops. Of the 125 Roman Catholic respondents, 71.2% reported having had sexual intercourse, while among those who belonged to other Christian denominations, this number dropped to around 50%.

Social media and adolescents' sexual behavior.

Our results revealed that virtually all of the participants use WhatsApp (97.8%), followed by Instagram (92.2%), Facebook (87.3%), Snapchat (85.4%), TikTok (58.6%) and Twitter (43.3%). A large majority of the respondents (85.5%) found it easy to talk with other people in person, and a similarly large majority (85.1%) also found it easy to talk with people online. This suggests that for the participants there appears to be no difference, in terms of ease or preference between speaking with others online or in person. The results also showed a small negative relationship between the influence of social media on body image and participation in sexual intercourse ($r = -.18$, $n = 312$, $p < .001$). This means that the stronger the influence of social media on body image, the less likely adolescents were to participate in sexual intercourse. Regarding searching online information about sex, the analysis revealed a negative, medium significant relationship with having sexual intercourse ($r = -.30$, $n = 269$, $p < .001$). This means that the more adolescents used social media to search for information about sex, the less likely they were to participate in sexual intercourse. This suggests that sex education may be helping young people to make informed decisions regarding their sexual behavior.

Respondents were asked about their definitions of sexting. 47.1% defined sexting as sending emojis, sexy messages, and semi-nude and nude pictures and videos, 24.9% indicated that sexting was only sending semi-nude or nude pictures and videos, 6.8% defined sexting as only sending sexy messages, and 1.1% only defined sexting as only sending emojis. The study found that 49.2% of males and 52.4% of females participated in sexting. While more females engage in sexting, the results revealed that more males, (67.2%) reported enjoying sexting than females (52.4%). An almost equal percentage of males (73.8%) and females (76.9%) reported having received semi-nude or nude

pictures and videos. This finding was significantly higher when compared to the study conducted by Sexual Health of Youth study in the US (National Coalition for Sexual Health, 2013), which found that between 15% and 30% of their adolescent respondents has received such messages. This can be due to the fact that the situation on the internet has changed drastically since the US research was conducted in 2013 with sexting becoming more and more prevalent, as well as to the fact that 86.6% of Aruban youth have an online presence on social media daily (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2017).

While 70.5% of males and 58.7% of females reported never to have sent nude pictures and videos, 50.8% of males and 57.2% of females had asked others for semi-nude or nude pictures and/or videos. When a correlation analysis was performed to measure the relationship between sexting and participation in sexual intercourse, the results revealed a large, positive, significant relationship ($r=0.51$, $n=269$, $p<.001$). This means that the more adolescents took part in sexting, the more likely their participation in sexual intercourse. Some studies have indicated that sexting could function as an online extension of offline forms of sexual coercion (Choi, Van Ouytsel & Temple, 2016). Another possible reason for this strong correlation may be that these types of messages heighten adolescents' curiosity about participating in sexual intercourse.

Regarding viewing pornography, the results showed that 67.3% of the respondents had watched pornography. Of all the respondents who had viewed pornography, the age of onset was between 13 and 17 years old for 54.2%, 12 years old or younger for 35.8%, and 18 years old and older for 10%. It was also found that, in general, males started watching pornography before females. Our findings also revealed that 57.4% of males and 30.8% of females found pornography to be educational. There is a significant difference between these results and those obtained in the 2017 Rutgers-Soa Aids investigation of adolescents in the Netherlands (Graaf et al., 2017), which indicated that only 20% of males and 10% of females found pornography educational. This can be due to Aruba having fewer CSE programs in its education system when compared with the Netherlands, where CSE has been institutionalized at all levels of the educational system, beginning in early childhood education. The correlation analysis results revealed a small, positive, and significant relationship between adolescents watching pornography and having had sexual intercourse ($r=.190$, $n=269$, $p=.002$). This means that the more adolescents watched pornography, the more likely they were to have experienced sexual intercourse, reflecting similar correlations found by researchers elsewhere (Lim et al., 2017; Peter & Valkenburg, 2016).

Recommendations and conclusion

The final survey question was open-ended and solicited respondents' recommendations on what Famia Planea Aruba might do in the future to positively influence the sexual behavior and health of adolescents on the island. Some of their recommendations are categorized and listed below:

More online/ social media presence:

“Posting more about it online and on social media.”

“A social media page for youths to ask questions between them and share their experience.”

Breaking taboos and promoting more conversations about sex

“To talk more about this topic with their parents and build confidence and trust.”

“Break the taboo and talk more about the topic.”

“Sex is still considered a taboo, and the best way to influence young adults is by privately helping them.”

“Talk about sex and normalize it. Break the taboo on the island. Once it is normalized and people do not feel ashamed, it will inspire people to practice safe sex.”

More sex education, especially workshops:

“Sex education for the different age group with more videos, prevention, workshops, songs, and art.”

“More sex education at school and on social media.”

“Properly educate them about sex. Teaching them what is true and making sure they do not believe the myths.”

“More sex education and workshop at all levels of education.”

“More workshops with real-life experience.”

More promotion for practicing safe sex and using protection

“Protect yourself and know the person before having sex.”

“Use protection and safe sex.”

“Be safe, use protection, and think about education and your future first.”

Provision of contraceptives at schools

“Sell the pill and condoms in vending machines at school.”

“There should be a classroom in schools where you can easily pick up a condom or a pill without anyone knowing.”

Taking into account both the results of the present investigation in general, as well as the recommendations made by the study participants listed above in particular, our overall recommendation is that FPA create an Online Sex Education Program as its core activity for promoting adolescent sexual awareness and health. Given that our research found that the overwhelming and growing majority of adolescents in Aruba spend increasing amounts of time daily on the internet using various social media platforms, a trend that has accelerated with the advent of the COVID-19 pandemic, an Online Sex Education Program would be readily, immediately, and maximally accessible to young people. With the real possibility that schooling will continue to be virtual or hybrid in the future, even after the threat of COVID-19 subsides, makes it less and less likely that

FPA will be able to continue its school visitations to deliver the CSE program in the coming years. This makes the need for an Online Sex Education Program that can be integrated into all levels of all of the island's schools' online curricula more urgent than ever.

In any case, the establishment of an Online Sex Education Program represents an opportunity to take advantage of a number of the advantages that well-designed online learning programs can have over the existing FPA face-to-face programs. Online programs can be created in such a way as to be more appropriate and appealing to the youth of the 21st century, by focusing directly on breaking taboos about discussing sex with a minimal degree of discomfort on the part of both the person delivering the material as well as the adolescents who interact with it in the privacy of their own workspace. The online modality makes it much easier than the face-to-face modality to include video clips of true stories, games, quizzes, interactive workshops, and podcasts where adolescents can self-educate in private at their own pace and access accurate age-appropriate information. Online materials are more economically and ecologically sustainable than face-to-face materials, because their production reduces the environmental footprint and cost of paper and printing. Moreover, changes can be made quickly to online materials without the cost of printing new materials, and adaptations can easily be made to suit different age categories. Monitoring and evaluation can be more easily done online than face-to-face, becoming a continuous built-in process that does not necessitate repeated visits to countless classrooms. Finally, an online program would reduce the FPA's carbon footprint as well as the current costs of ground transportation for face-to-face workshop facilitators and wear and tear of the agency's vehicle, which could be used instead to make its contraceptive delivery services even more rapid and accessible. It would be useful if the present study could be replicated in Aruba sometime in the next few years, to measure changes in adolescents' sexual behaviours and health. It is our sincere hope that the present investigation will be of assistance to FPA in its constant efforts to improve its services to the community, especially those related to the promotion of healthy sexual behavior and practices amongst adolescents in Aruba.

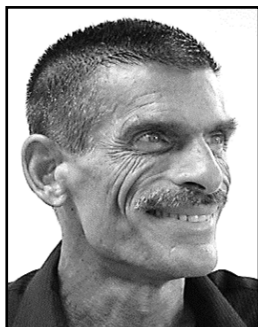
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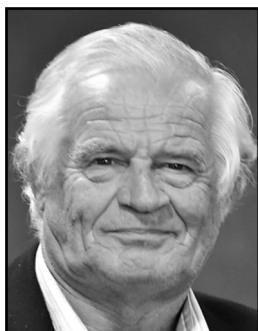
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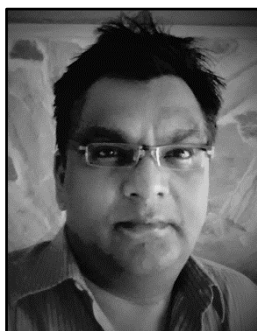


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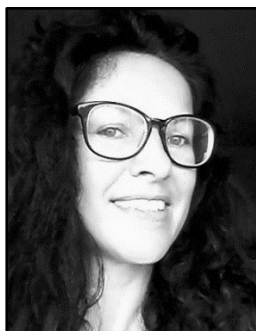
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ABOUT THE COVER ARTIST



Geerdine Kuijpers (Curaçao) studied art at an academy, but she considers nature to be her teacher and creates the most beautiful art with waste materials from her immediate environment. She wants to make the world a better place through the energy and feelings she generates with her work. She has created an unimaginable number of paintings and her special apartment complex, the Art and Nature Inn is furnished and decorated with her mosaic works, including floors, doors, beds, curtains and bedding. The rooms have Papiamentu plant names such as Wabi, Kalbas and Kadushi. Her fascinating style is difficult to classify. skgk1935@gmail.com