

This volume, *Caribbean Convivialities and Caribbean Sciences: Inclusive Approaches to the Study of the Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the Dutch Caribbean and Beyond*, is a collection of peer reviewed articles that present a critical perspective on the languages, literatures, and cultures of the ABC Islands, the rest of the Dutch Caribbean and beyond. The book is part of a two-volume set published annually since 2009, which provides a platform for recent writing from and about the Dutch Caribbean in particular in one volume and about the Greater Caribbean in general in the other. The contributing authors include a wide range of voices old and new from the Caribbean and beyond. The online versions of these volumes and the other 27 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 University of Curaçao at <http://dcdp.uoc.cw/icarplat>.

Caribbean Convivialities and Caribbean Sciences

Faraclas | Severing | Echteld
| Delgado | Rutgers |

Caribbean Convivialities and Caribbean Sciences:

Inclusive Approaches to the Study of 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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and Cultures of the Dutch Caribbean and Beyond

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Volume 1

Edited by

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**UNIVERSITY
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See more at: <https://curacao-art.com/team/doest-richard/>

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Introduction and acknowledgements

The two publications: *Caribbean Convivialities and Caribbean Sciences: Inclusive Approaches to the Study of the Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the Dutch Caribbean and Beyond* together with *Caribbean Cosmopolitanisms and Caribbean Sciences: Inclusive Approaches to the Study of 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 27 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>.

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The Editors

**CONVIVIALITIES AND LANGUAGE POLICY
IN THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND**

NOS POR MIHO KU ‘CHAMBUKA’: RUMBO PA MANEHO I PRAKTIKA DI IDIOMA MULTILINGUAL INKLUSIVO NA BONEIRU

RAPÒRT FINAL DI TIM INVESTIGATIVO DI MANEHO DI IDIOMA, APREL 2022¹

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Resúmen

Before making specific policy recommendations for Bonaire, we need to get a firm understanding of what the people of the island have already achieved, as well as a firm understanding of what they ideally would like to achieve in the future. In other words, policy should reflect the vision that Bonaireans have for the future, and acknowledge and value the accomplishments and strengths of the people of Bonaire as a foundation for making that vision a reality. The results from the survey that was administered as part of the present project show that Bonaireans have already experienced considerable success in creating a multilingual society. As indicated in the quantitative and qualitative results obtained from our research activities, Bonaireans are proud of their considerable achievements as an inclusively multilingual community and they hope for a future where this inclusive multilingualism becomes even stronger. Survey respondents valued their own competences in Papiamentu, Dutch, English and Spanish and wanted the schools on the island to ensure that the next generation becomes become literate in all four languages as well. The question is: Will official policy and practice continue to frustrate and discourage the inclusive multilingual vision of the people of the island, or will it finally begin to support it?

Palabra klave: Language policy, Bonaire, multilingualism, language making, inclusivity

¹ Translated from English and Dutch to Papiamentu by: Nohraya O.M. Godfried, TAO Curaçao and Wernher J. Soares, Linguaes Language Studio, Curaçao

Introdukshon

Despues di un diskushon largu durante un di nos enkuentronan ku e gruponan di foko ku nos tabatin ku trahadó sosial i maestro boneriano, e miembronan di e grupo finalmente a yega na e siguiente konklushon: “*Chambuká. Bon mirá ta esaki nos ta hasi ku idioma den nos trabou. Nos ta saka lo máksimo for di un situashon malu.*” Si tin un palabra na papiamentu ku por resumí e opinionnan general ku a keda ekspresá kada biaha di nobo tokante kon ta dil ku problema di idioma na Boneiru durante práktikamente tur e entrevista- i reunionnan di e gruponan di foko ku nos a realisá durante nos bishitanan na e isla, ta e palabra ‘chambuká’ (‘saka lo máksimo for di un situashon malu’).

Entre e grupo di hende étnikamente, sosialmente, polítikamente i ideológikamente diverso ku a partisipá den nos entrevista- i reunionnan di grupo di foko, literalmente no tabatin niun hende ku tabata haña ku ta atendé ku asunto di idioma na un manera ku ta korespondé ku djis e nesesidatnan di mas básiko di gran mayoria di hende na Boneiru, muchu ménos na un manera ku lo por saka máksimo probecho di nan rekursu i potensial lingwístiko konsiderabel. Konsekuentemente, trahadó sosial, polis, maestro, wes, abogado, atministradó, trahadó den media, empleado den sektor privá i ciudadano komun, for di esun di mas hóben te esun di mas bieu ta haña nan ta lucha tur dia i hasiendo tur loke ta na nan alkanse pa saka lo máksimo for di un situashon malu, ora ta trata dilmentu ku problema serio kousá pa ousensia di un aserkamentu sientífiko i sosialmente konsiente pa maneho di idioma riba e isla.

Dikon un investigashon mas?

Na momentu ku Fundashon Akademia Papiamentu a pidi nos, ku sosten di un fondo di proyekto proveé dor di Entidat Públiko Boneiru, pa diseñá un kuadro pa formulashon di maneho di idioma pa Boneiru, nos tabata bon konsiente ku den pasado a yega di proponé i realisá hopi inisiativa di investigashon i maneho den un òf otro grado, relashoná ku asunto di idioma riba e isla. Desafortunadamente, mayoria di e proyektonan akí, si no ta tur, tabatin impakto mínimo riba solushon di e problemanan mas i mas serio relashoná ku maneho i práktika di idioma ku e habitantenan di e isla ta haña nan konfrontá kuné tur dia. Pa e motibunan akí i mas, hopi boneriano a bira eséptiko ku inisiativa asina.

Tin hopi faktor ku a kondusí na resultadonan ménos adekuá komo konsekuensia di e inisiativanan di pasado akí, pero diferente di e defisiensianan ku ta presentá kada biaha di nobo ta relashoná ku e nesesidat pa un aserkamentu ku ta tantu sosialmente konsiente komo sientífikamente hustifiká. P’esei nos a hasi un esfuerso konsiente pa adoptá un aserkamentu basá riba komunidat ku ta maksimalisá e aporte boneriano den e prosesonan di investigashon i konseho, huntu ku un enfoke riguroso basá riba dato ku ta supstansiá nos resultadonan na un manera ku ta empírikamente bálido, konfiabel,

minusioso i eksakto. Un otro problema ku e proyektonan di pasado ta nan naturalesa limitá òf fragmentario, ku ta neglighá e inmensidat i omnipresensia di e problema en kestion. Pa e motibu akí, nos a adoptá tambe un aserkamentu holístiko, struktural i integral den nos trabou.

Manera demostrá den nos revishon di maneho, hopi kompromiso di maneho anterior tampoko no a hasi un intento konsiente pa kibra ku e patronchi kontraproduktivo, estilo di wega ku un ganadó i un pèrdèdó, ganadó ta bai ku tur kos, ku a establese den kurso di e debatenan eterno i kayente tokante asunto di idioma na Boneiru den pasado; un patronchi ku eróneamente ta asumí ku maneho di idioma ta enserá imponementu di uso di un idioma a kosto di e otro(nan). Manera ampliamente indiká den e resultadonan di e enkuesta ku nos a kondusí komo parti di e investigashon akí, un di e temanan di mas konsistente ku nos a enkontrá kada biaha di nobo den nos trabou na e isla ta e speranza ku Boneiru lo por bira un isla mas multilingual ku e ta kaba, ku su pueblo, spesialmente su hóbennan, atkiriendo un gran kompetensia den tur e kuater idiomanan prinsipal. Mes plamá, sinembargo, ta e miedu ku un maneho ofisial di idioma lo por stroba mas na lugá di yuda den e proseso di hasi e futuro multilingual mehorá akí, un realidat pa e futuro generashonnan. P’esei nos ta spera sinseramente ku e investigashon i konseho ku ta forma base di e dokumento akí, lo start e proseso pa transformá maneho i práktika di idioma den algu ku proaktivamente i integralmente ta sostené e esfuersonan di pueblo boneriano pa forma nan isla ku nan vishon- i interesnan tremendamente diverso pero kolektivo, sin laga niun idioma ni niun boneriano atras.

Tabèl 1 Mito di un edukashon universitario na Hulanda

Boneiru: porsentahe di e kohòrt di studiante aña 3 den kada sektor	VMBO	HAVO	VWO	PO	VWO+ HAVO	VMBO+ PO
2020	66.5	14.7	9.0	9.7		
2019	67.3	17.1	7.6	8.0		
2018	64.0	15.7	7.0	13.2		
2017	58.9	18.4	6.7	16.0		
2016	63.2	14.9	7.3	14.6		
2015	65.4	19.2	5.4	10.0		
2014	71.2	14.6	5.5	8.8		
2017 Promedio (%) di kohòrt pa sektor 2014-2020	65.2	16.4	6.9	11.5	23.3	76.7
Promedio di éksito na èksamen final 2015-2017	x .75	x .61	x .73			
	48.9	10	5		15	

European Netherlands: percentage of the cohort of year 3 students in each track	VMBO	HAVO	VWO	PO	VWO+ HAVO	VMBO+ PO
2020	50.3	23.6	23.1	3.0		
2019	51.4	23.1	22.8	2.7		
2018	52.1	22.6	22.5	2.8		
2017	52.4	22.6	22.1	2.8		
2016	53.4	21.9	21.7	2.9		
2015	53.9	21.8	21.4	2.9		
2014	54.0	21.8	21.2	2.9		
Promedio (%) di kohòrt pa sector 2014-2020	52.5	22.5	22.1	2.9	44.6	55.4
Promedio di éksito na èksamen final 2015-2017	x .93	x .88	x.91			
	48.8	19.8	20.1		39.9	

Nota: Kálkulo basá riba sifra di ofisina sentral di estadístika hulandes (CBS, Cenraal Bureau voor de Statistiek); StatLine - Vo; alumno, tipo di edukashon, grado, edat (cbs.nl) i sifra pa índise di éksito. Pregunta parlamentario (Apéndice) 2018-2019, n.º 2997 | Overheid.nl > Anunsio ofisial (officielebekendmakingen.nl)

Metodologia di investigashon: un aserkamentu basá riba komunidad

Unabes ku a pidi nos pa ofresé un kuadro pa formulashon di maneho di idioma na Boneiru, nos a disidí ku primeramente nos lo mester hasi algun trabou preparatorio, den forma di un proyekto di investigashon basá riba komunidad, diseñá pa brinda un kompromendementu empírikamente verifikabel i statistikamente verifiká di e manera ku ta atendé ku asuntu di idioma na e isla. Apesar di e limitashonnan ku e pandemia di COVID-19 a kousa, nos partnernan na Boneiru a yuda nos akumulá tur e datonan ku nos tabatin mester pa e estudio akí den kurso di tres bishita di investigashon na e isla na 2021 i 2022. Promé ku e bishitanan di investigashon akí, miembronan di nos Tim Investigativo, ku a inkluí Nicholas Faraclas di Universidat di Puerto Rico, Ellen-Petra Kester di Universidat di Utrecht i Eric Mijts di Universidat di Aruba, a realisá dékadananan di involvimentu komunitario di e pueblo di Boneiru i e otro islanan karibense di Reino Hulandes relashoná ku asuntu mará na idioma.

Nos a realisá un enkuesta online bou di públiko general i a laga maestro ehekutá outo-evaluashon di abilidadat lingwístiko i tèst di abilidadat narativo bou di nan studiantenan.

Aunke nos lo tabatin gana di hasi algun opservashon den lès, esaki tabata imposibel pa motibu di e krísis di salú públiko. Pa garantisá ku tabatin sufisiente espasio pa bonerianonan laga nan bos resoná den nos resultadonan i apesar di e restriksionnan di COVID, nos a logra realisá 26 entrevista i 13 enkuentro ku gruponan di foko ku un total di mas ku 70 interesado di tur antesedensia i gremio na Boneiru. Teniendo kuenta ku e echo ku algun hende lo por tabatin reserva pa topa kara kara durante e krísis di salubridat, nos a tuma kontakto virtual tambe ku sentenáres di otro boneriano pa medio

di enkuesta online, di kua 99 di nan a duna nos komentario skirbí relashoná ku asuntunan di idioma na Boneiru.

Ku ehekushon di tur e aktividatnan di investigashon akí, i basá riba nos trabou komunitario anterior den region (Faraclas, Kester & Mijts, 2013, 2019), nos a hasi un esfuerso konsiente pa enfoká riba inklushon di e bonerianonan ku nos no a skucha ainda den transkurso di e hopi debatenan ku a tuma lugá den pasado relashoná ku maneho i práktika di idioma institushonal na e isla. Nos a hasi esaki pa krea espasio pa opinion i punto di bista nobo ku lo por indiká na un mihó manera, e eksperensia-, bista- i reflekshonnan di un sondeo mas representativo di komunitat ku tabata e kaso te ku awor.

Nos tabata spesialmente interesá den inkorporashon di perspektiva di esnan di kua nan aktividatnan diario konstantemente ta hinka nan den situashon kaminda maneho di idioma institushonal (òf falta di esaki) tin e impakto di mas grandi. P’esei nos a sòru pa envolví maestro i atministradó ku ta traha den enseñansa preskolar, básiko, sekundario general, sekundario vokashonal i enseñansa pa adulto, huntu ku un skala amplio di trahadó sosial i komunitario ku ta envolví den promoshon di bienestar di kada gremio di sosiedat, inkluso beibi, hóben, adulto i ansiano, buskadó di trabou, esnan ku ta buska kuido médiko, esnan ku ta buska oportunidat edukashonal i pa entrenamentu, hende ku desafio físiko i emoshonal, esnan ku situashon familiar instabil i esnan ku a bin den kontakto ku e sistemanan legal i penal.

Pa sòru pa nos komprondementu di asuntu relashoná ku maneho i práktika di idioma na Boneiru ta mas minusioso, amplio i profundo posibel, nos a skohe konsientemente pa hasi uso di tres strategia di investigashon kuantitativo i tres strategia di investigashon kualitativo, pa asina por kompará e resultadonan di kada instrumento ku esnan di e otro sinku instrumentonan. E triangulashon di resultado akí ta nifiká ku e deskripshon-, análisis- i rekomendashonnan ku a hasi den e dokumento akí ta firmemente basá riba e realidat diario ku práktikamente henter pueblo di Boneiru ta haña nan konfrontá kuné ki ora ku nan bida keda impaktá pa maneho i práktika di idioma. P’esei nos a hasi uso di un sèt komplementario di resultado kuantitativo statístikamente signifikante ku a optené for di un seri di instrumento investigativo balansá i representativo i un sèt komplementario di dato kualitativo for di un seri di instrumento mes balansá i representativo pa asina brinda un bista minusioso di e situashon na Boneiru pa loke ta trata asuntunan relashoná ku maneho di idioma, uso di idioma i aktitut lingwístiko na e isla.

Nos instrumentonan kuantitativo a inkluí:

- 1) un enkuesta bou di poblashon di e isla realisá na papiamentu, hulandes, spañó i ingles, ku 662 hende a reashoná ariba (402 kontesta na papiamentu, 114 na hulandes, 85 na spañó i 61 na ingles);
- 2) un enkuesta di outoevaluashon bou di studiante di skol sekundario realisá na papiamentu, hulandes, spañó i ingles relashoná ku nan abilidad den e 4

idiomanan, kaminda 124 studiante a partisipá (57 kontesta na papiamentu, 35 na spañó, 18 na hulandes i 14 na ingles); i

3) un tèst di abilidad narativo bou di studiante di skol sekundario realisá na papiamentu i hulandes pa asina evaluá e aspektonan di e abilidad aktual den e 4 idiomanan di e mes studiantenan, kaminda 69 studiante a partisipá (54 kontesta na papiamentu i 15 na hulandes).

Nos instrumentonan kualitativo a inkluí:

1) un total di 26 entrevista individual i den grupo, realisá na papiamentu, hulandes, spañó i ingles, tantu kara-kara komo online;

2) un total di 13 diskushon den gruponan di foko realisá na papiamentu, hulandes, spañó i ingles tantu kara-kara komo online; i

3) un total di 99 komentario skirbí na papiamentu, hulandes, spañó i ingles realisá pa kontestadó riba e enkuesta bou di poblashon di e isla (42 komentario skirbí riba enkuesta realisá na papiamentu, 30 komentario riba enkuesta realisá na hulandes, 18 komentario riba enkuesta realisá na spañó i 9 komentario riba enkuesta realisá na ingles).

Mester remarká ku den e dokumento akí, nos ta usa komia direkto “dòbel” i parafrasiá ‘singular’, ora di indiká deklarashon hasi den e entrevistanan, pa e gruponan di foko i e kontestanan skirbí ku ta forma e kuerpo di datonan kualitativo ku a akumulá durante nos investigashon na Boneiru. Nos a hasi tur esfuerso pa garantisá anonimidad di esnan ku a hasi kualke deklarashon den kuadro di e investigashon akí i ku a sita òf parafrasiá den e rapòrt akí.

Intenshon di nos di tres i último bishita di investigashon na Boneiru tabata pa presentá e resultadonan preliminar di e rapòrt akí na poblashon di e isla i pa risibí nan reashon riba nos interpretashon di nan análisis di problema i e rekomendashonnan. A hasi esaki pa: 1) garantisá ku kontenido di e rapòrt akí ta korespondé mas tantu posibel ku e bonerianonan su pensamentu di e situashon aktual, meskos ku nan rekomendashonnan pa futuro relashoná ku maneho i práktika di idioma den nan komunidatnan; i 2) duna poblashon di e isla un chèns adishonal pa kontribuí na e produkto final di e proyekto ku nan aporte i guia.

Vishon proponé pa maneho di idioma na Boneiru: Multilingualismo Inklusivo

E kuadro general ku nos ta proponé pa maneho di idioma na Boneiru ta lokual esnan ku a partisipá den e investigashon kualitativo i kuantitativo ehekutá pa e proyekto aktual a vosiferá kada bes di nobo: Multilingualismo Inklusivo. Por lo general, práktikamente tur partisipante den nos investigashon a ekspresá un aktitut positivo pa ku papiamentu, hulandes, spañó i ingles, spesialmente ora usa e idiomanan akí komo medio pa laga hende sinti nan mes parti di e isla, manera por mira den e komentarionan skirbí ilustrá den e kuestionarionan di e enkuesta sitá akí.

- Komentario skirbí den e enkuesta: *"Tur 4 idioma mester wòrdu duna na skol i mantene ku nos por sigi por papia tur 4 idioma ... esey ta nos orguyo komo antiano!"*
- Komentario skirbí den e enkuesta: *"I speak to people in the languages that they speak to me. If I am the one starting the conversation then I tend to use whichever language seems like their mother language, for example if they are Latino I'll try speaking Spanish, if they are Chinese, I'll try Chinese, etc. If I do not know the language which I think is their main language then I use English."*
- Komentario skirbí den e enkuesta: *"Tur 4 idioma ta importante pa komunika na Boneiru pasobra nos ta 'multi/culti' i nos tin di aber ku turista ... ku no ta komprende papiamentu at all."*

En realidat, mayoria biaha ku hende ekspresá pensamentu i sintimentu negativo relashoná ku kualke un di e kuater idiomanan prinsipal papiá na Boneiru, ta ora ku ta usa e idiomanan akí pa laga hende sinti nan mes ekskluí na e isla.

Algun meta stratégiko pa formulashon di maneho Multilingual Inklusivo na Boneiru

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Un kuadro Multilingual Inklusivo lo rekerí pa tur e kuater idiomanan prinsipal di Boneiru (papiamentu, hulandes, ingles i spañó) ta ofisialmente rekonosé na e isla, ku papiamentu rekonosé komo e idioma materno ('matrix language') di Boneiru, ku e metanan stratégiko pa:

- Promové un vishon di ku e hendenan di Boneiru ta na vanguardia di inovashon i partikularmente i inklusivamente multilingual, probechando di kada oportunitat pa kultivá, mantené i mehorá nan abilidadat den tur idioma, pero spesialmente e kuater idiomanan prinsipal di e isla (papiamentu, hulandes, spañó i ingles) i kreando asina un forsa laboral eksepsionalmente kalifiká i kosmopolita, ekipá pa partisipashon aktivo den e aktividadnan kultural i ekonómiko ku ta sosialmente konsiente i ekológiko, ku ta konektá e pueblonan di Karibe, Oropa, e kontinente amerikano i Afrika.
- Promové un vishon di e isla di Boneiru komo un lugá inovativo, stratégikamente ubiká i eksepsionalmente inklusivo, multilingual, kosmopolita i ekológiko, ideal pa interkambio internashonal i konferensia, siña tokante idioma i kultura di Karibe i mas leu, turismo di 'niche' dirigí riba interes spesífiko/ekológiko, hospedá trahadónan digital móbil, etc.

E metanan akí di multilingualismo inklusivo tin relevansia partikular pa e área di enseñansa, manera a keda ekspresá hopi biaha klaramente den e datonan kualitativo kompilá den e trayekto di nos investigashon na Boneiru, ilustrá pa e komentarionan akí:

- *Mayor*: “E muchanan ta papia 4 idioma, pero nan talento no ta keda rekonosé i asta ta deskurashá esaki den un sistema ku ta enfoká riba 1 idioma so.”
- *Maestro*: “Mester usa tur e idiomanan huntu den klas for di kuminsamentu pa no deskriminá niun estudiante... Mester instruí hulandes komo L2 en bes di insistí riba inmershon i e abilidadat di un nativo.
- *Otro maestro*: “Maestro ta apliká translanguaging òf translenguahe (red: uso di diferente idioma den un kòmbersashon), kambiando entre hulandes i papiamentu... Bon mirá, en realidat lo mester instruí hulandes komo idioma straño i no komo L1 òf L2.”
- *Trahadó sosial*: “Nos ta biba den un komunidad multilingual ke men nos mester di enseñansa multilingual.”
- *Komentario skirbí*: “Mantené e idioma papiamentu miéntras ta sigui avansá otro idioma.”
- *Komentario skirbí*: “Tur e 4 idiomanan ta importante na Boneiru.”
- *Wela/tawela*: Mester permití pa usa tur 4 idioma ofisialmente na Boneiru pero nos idioma mes ta papiamentu. Boneriano mester ta orguyoso di papiamentu.

Algun prinsipio di formulashon i implementashon di maneho inovativo

A pesar ku formulashon i implementashon di maneho di idioma Multilingual Inklusivo tin un base profundo i bon establese den e estilo di bida kordial i kosmopolita no ofisial i no institushonal na Boneiru, maneho i práktika ofisial i institushonal a, den e mihó kaso, ignorá inklushon i multilingualismo i den e pió kaso, deskurashá inklushon i multilingualismo na e isla. Komo tal, for di un perspektiva institushonal, Multilingualismo Inklusivo den hopi sentido ta representá unambio grandi den direkshon di formulashon i implementashon di maneho inovativo na Boneiru. Tin por lo ménos 3 prinsipio general ku mester sigui na tur momento, ora di formulá i implementá maneho lingwístiko ku ta kibra ku e patronchinan di pasado:

- 1) **Hustisia sosial**: Mester implementá tur maneho di idioma na Boneiru ku un komprendementu integral di e relashon históriko entre e 4 idiomanan na e isla. Por ehèmpel: mester hasi algun ahuste spesial pa papiamentu, debí na su posishon marginalisá den pasado, i e ròl di hulandes na e isla mester kambia di un idioma di eksklushon monolingual pa un idioma ku ta invitá pa un konvivensia kosmopolita.
- 2) **Konsientisashon públiko**: Kada inisiativa di maneho di idioma mester ta kompañá pa un programa di aktividat pa konsientisashon públiko koherente, bon diseñá i kontinuo ku ta komuniká un sèt di mensahe kuidadosamente selektá ku ta kla i bon formulá kada bes di nobo na henter e pueblo di e isla riba un base

kontinuo di término largu, pa por sigurá ku tur e partidonan interesá ta partisipá i ta di akuerdo ku e kambionan.

- 3) **Kreashon di nètwerk:** Kambio integral den maneho di idioma ta rekerí un variedat ámplio di modifikashon di e práktikanan eksistente den área di manera renovashon di prosedimentu, rekapasitashon, produkshon di material, etc. Komo tal, trabou den ekipo i koperashon entre e agensianan na e isla ta esensial i Boneiru mester probechá di kada oportunitat pa siña di e bon práktikanan ku tin otro kaminda, manera e programa multilingual di Scol Arubano na Aruba, produkshon di material na ingles na Saba i Statia, etc.

Kreashon di idioma ('language making') multilingual ta nifiká diferente aserkamentu pa diferente idioma

E kreashon i implementashon di maneho Multilingual Inklusivo lo rekerí diferente aserkamentu pa diferente idioma, komo ku kada idioma tin su mes trayectoria sosial i históriko den e sosiedat boneriano. E aserkamentunan akí ta sigui e konsepto di *Kreashon di Idioma* ('language making'), teniendo na cuenta e prekondishonnan históriko i e desigualdatnan sosial, ekonómiko i polítiko den sosiedat (Krämer, Mijts & Bartens, 2022). Den e siguiente sekshonnan, nos lo trata e diferente aserkamentunan ku lo mester tin pa papiamentu, hulandes, spañó i ingles den un kuadro Multilingual Inklusivo.

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Kreashon di idioma ('language making') multilingual: papiamentu

Papiamentu mester keda rekonosé i mester haña un atenshon spesial komo e idioma materno ('matrix language') di Boneiru, kual ta e idioma inklusivo ku ta asosiá mas fuerte ku e kultura inklusivo ku a proveé e ambiente pa tur e otro idiomanan por a saka rais i krese den e último dos siglonan, i ku ya a permití Boneiru bira un isla supstansialmente multilingual. Pa logra esaki, mester fasilitá oportunitat pa atkerí i mehorá e abilidadnan na papiamentu tantu informal komo akadémiko na tur nivel i pa tur sektor di e isla su poblashon, prinsipalmente esnan ku a bini di eksterior pa traha na Boneiru, manera tin indiká den e sitanan den nos datonan kualitativo akí:

- *Maestro:* "Mester tin mas training na papiamentu pa tur hende. Tur hende mester siña papiamentu, prinsipalmente e registronan mas formal. Semper nos ta keda pegá na vokabulario na papiamentu."
- *Kontesta skirbí:* "Tur persona ku bini pa biba na Boneiru mester ta obligá pa siña e idioma Papiamentu!"
- *Kontesta skirbí:* "For di mi punto di bista, si bo bai biba un kaminda, bo mester siña e idioma i e kultura."
- *Kontesta skirbí:* "Hende straño, manera hulandes, MESTER siña papiamentu. Mi ta haña ku ta un falta di rèspèt ora nan no ke siña nos idioma."

- *Kontesta skirbí*: “Hende ku bin traha aki mester siña papiamentu den 6 luna i esei, obligatoriamente.”
- *Kontesta skirbí*: “Hopi biaha ora un straño bini Boneiru, nan kier realmente siña e idioma papiamentu. Pero ora di bin biba, nan no ta realisá kon importante esei ta. Pa por komuniká ku e pueblo, mester por papia papiamentu.

Papiamentu meresé atenshon spesial tambe pa motibu di su státus komo lenga materno (‘matrix language’) òf idioma di kas prinsipal di mayoria boneriano i su státus komo e promé idioma òf e di dos idioma fuerte di kasi henter e poblashon di e isla. Pa e motibunan akí i mas, e ekspanshon di papiamentu for di un esfera privá marginalisá i fragmentá pa un esfera públiko ta klave pa por hasi e vishon pa futuro ainda mas inklusivo i ainda mas multilingual di e bonerianonan, un realidat.

Komo ku un kantidat desproporshonalmente altu di e minoria di e bonerianonan ku ta usa un òf dos idioma so den nan bida diario ta hasi esaki na papiamentu, ta pone ku papiamentu mester haña un trato spesial pa garantisá ku tur boneriano tin aksesu máksimo na servisio públiko i tin oportunidat pa logro edukashonal. Por ehèmpel, hende ku bin Boneiru for di afó pa traha mester inskribí nan mes den programa pa yuda nan komuniká na papiamentu. Manera por mira den e kuadro ku ta sigui e paragraf akí,

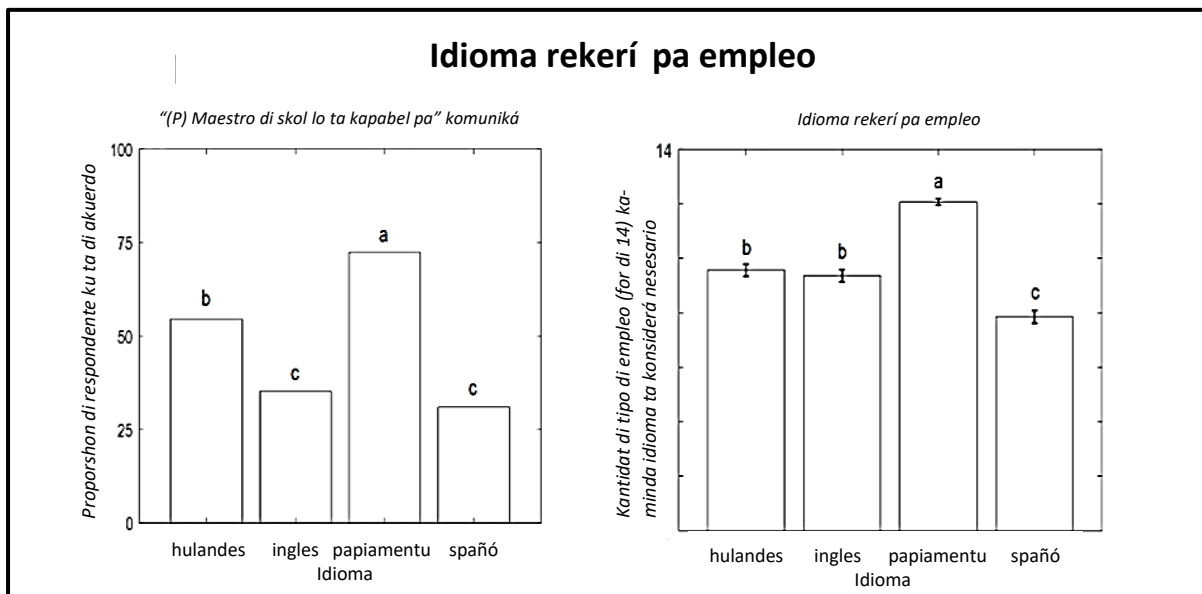


Figura 1 Idioma rekerí pa empleo: “Maestro di skol mester por komuniká na”/ “Kantidat di trabou (for di 14) kaminda ta konsiderá idioma nesesario”

esnan ku a partisipá na e enkuesta a indiká ku lo mester a familiarisá esnan ku bini di eksterior pa traha na Boneiru, ku e práktikanan lingwístiko i kultural di e islanan ABC, inkluyendo un abilidadat básiko pa komuniká na papiamentu.

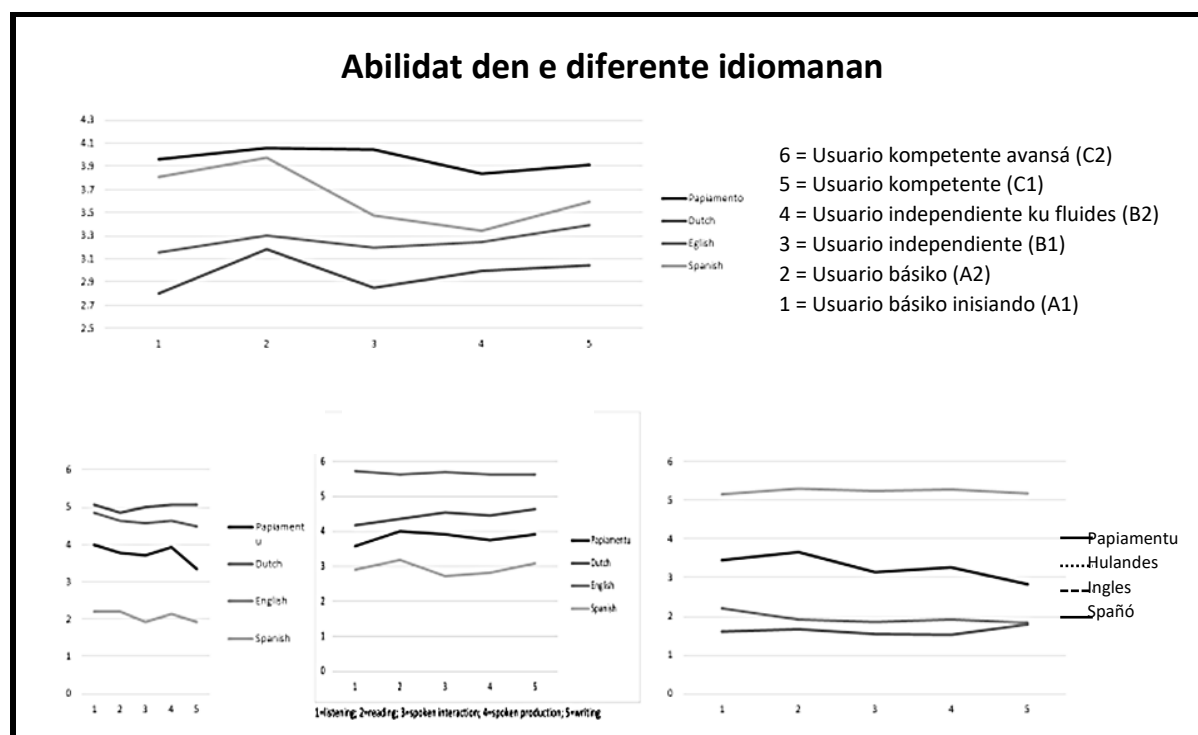
Por lo general, papiamentu mester di mas sosten ku e otro idioma nan pa por ta riba e mes pia ku nan, pasobra, huntu ku e kultura inklusivo di Boneiru, el a keda severamente

marginalisá i fragmentá den e esferanan privá di ‘famia’ i ‘kultura popular’. Mester sòru pa sana herida ku a stroba tantu boneriano di por apresiá diferente idioma, kultura i identidat di nan isla. Esaki ta keda reflehá den hopi di e deklarashonnan hasí pa e partisipantenan den nos entrevistanan i seshonnan di grupo di enfoke, di kua por mira algun aki:

- *Trahadó komunitario*: ‘A primintí nos ku gobièrnu hulandes lo respetá i balorá papiamentu, pero el a keda sin kumpli ku su promesa.’
- *Maestro*: ‘E úniko institushon ku ta respetá papiamentu na Boneiru ta iglesia.’
- *Otro trahadó komunitario*: ‘Ora nos topa òf reuní, nos mester papia hulandes pasobra tin algun hende hulandes presente ku no ta hasi ningun esfuerso pa papia papiamentu, pero di otro banda, e hulandes na Hulanda i aki lo eksigí di nos pa nos papia hulandes manera ku ta nos idioma materno e ta. E peso semper ta riba nos.’
- *Otro maestro*: ‘Tantu mayor komo estudiante mester tin mas outoestima i orguyo pa ku nan propio idioma, kultura, identidat, pa duna balides na nan derechinan. No tin niun insentivo pa hende tin orguyo pa ku papiamentu, niun insentivo pa siña mas papiamentu. No ta usa ni balorá papiamentu na skol, no ta lòbi pa papiamentu, niun curiosidat pa papiamentu i tin un lòbimentu hopi fuerte di hulandes kontra papiamentu.’

Por ehèmpel, miéntas ku por lo general nivel di abilidad informal na papiamentu ta altu na Boneiru, e abilidadnan akadémiko, spesialmente den e áreanan manera di ekspreshon skirbí, ta kasi kompletamente neglighá pa e skolnan i den promedio nan ta hopi mas abou ku pa e otro idiomanan, manera ta ilustrá den e resultadonan di e instrumento di outoevaluashon di e kompetensia lingwístiko inkluí den Figura 2. Den e grafiknan ku ta representá e resultadonan akí, por mira ku esnan ku a kompletá e instrumento di outoevaluashon na hulandes a kalifiká nan mes por lo general komo ‘usuario competente’ ku nivel nativo di hulandes (nivel C1, promedio di mas o ménos 5 for di 6), esnan ku a yena e instrumento di outoevaluashon na spañó a kalifiká nan mes, por lo general, komo ‘usuario competente’ ku nivel nativo di spañó (nivel C1, ku promedio di mas o ménos 5,25 for di 6), esnan ku a yena e instrumento di outoevaluashon na ingles a kalifiká nan mes por lo general, komo ‘usuario competente avansá’ ku nivel nativo di ingles (nivel C2, promedio di mas o ménos 5.75 for di 6), pero esnan ku a yena e instrumento di outoevaluashon na papiamentu a kalifiká nan mes por lo general solamente komo ‘usuario independiente’ di papiamentu na nivel di estudiante no nativo (promedio di mas o ménos 3.5 for di 6), manera ku ta ainda nan ta siñando e idioma en bes di usuario ku un nivel nativo. Esei ke men ku esnan ku a yena e instrumento di outoevaluashon na papiamentu i di ken, por lo tantu, por asumí ku papiamentu ta nan promé idioma, a sinti ku nan tin defisiensia grandi den nan abilidad den e idioma ei;

spesialmente den e registronan akadémiko mas formal, manera ortografia i produkshon oral (presentashon oral formal).



24 **Figura 2** Abilidad den e diferente idiomanan segun outoevaluashon

Komo lenga materno (‘matrix language’) di Boneiru, papiamentu a hunga un ròl klave pa garantisá un ambiente multilingual inklusivo, ku a saka rais i prosperá durante e último dos siglonan riba e isla, a pesar di polítika i práktika ofisial. Sinembargo, tin evidensia ku e standarisashon di papiamentu riba su mes, a introdusí un grado innesesario di eksklusividat den sentido di e kantidat di práktika ku ta rekerí pa por skirbi e idioma, partikularmente e aksèntnan. Na sierto momento, lo mester aserká e outoridatnan relevante ku tabata responsabel pa formulashon di e ortografia, pa wak kiko por hasi pa e lesamentu i, spesialmente, e skirbimentu na papiamentu por ta un eksperensia mas agradabel posibel pa e usuario.

Esaki lo fasilitá e atkisishon di registro mas formal di papiamentu den henter e poblashon enormemente. E partisipantenan den nos entrevistanan i seshonnan di grupo di enfoke tabata keha konstantemente di e difikultatnan ku boneriano ta eksperensiá ora nan purba skirbi papiamentu segun e standartnan vigente aktualmente. Por mira algun di e kehonan akí:

- *Maestro*: ‘Mi tin problema ku aksènt. Mi ta djis laga nan afó ora mi skirbi. Papiamentu ta fásil pa papia pero difísil pa skirbi.’

- *Mayor*: “Ta difísil pa skirbi na hulandes pero ta difísil tambe pa skirbi na papiamentu. E aksèntnan ta un problema. Ta difísil pa sa kon pa skirbi palabra ku ta bini for di otro idioma, manera ingles, na papiamentu.”
- *Wela/tawela*: “Mi ta siguiendo un kurso pero ainda mi tin problema pa skirbi papiamentu”
- *Otro maestro*: “Nos mester di mas material na papiamentu, pero tin problema ku material eksistente tambe; algun tin vokabulario muchu avansá i e muchanan ta haña nan difísil pa komprondé, asta esnan ku ta papia papiamentu na kas.”
- *Otro wela/tawela*: ‘Hopi biaha hende falta vokabulario na papiamentu. Nan ta mustra den direkshon di loke nan ke papia di dje ... ku hopi di e asina yamá “code switching”. Esaki no ke men ku bo no por usa palabra for di otro idioma, pero bo mester kere sufisiente den bo mes idioma pa hasi esaki sin pasa límite.’
- *Atministradó*: ‘Tin biaha, papiamentu ta keda promové komo algu eksótiko òf spesial. Na lugá di esei, mester promov’é komo algu normal.’

Formulashon di idioma (‘language making’) multilingual: hulandes

Mirando ku hulandes tin un historia lamentabel komo ku a impon’é riba e pueblo di Boneiru i den hopi sentido a bira un idioma di eksklushon for di servisio sosial, logro edukashonal, etc., mester reimaginá e ròl di e lenga hulandes na Boneiru kompletamente pa e por sobrebibí na e isla. Por ehèmpel, pa mayoria estudiante boneriano, hulandes ta un idioma straño ku nan ta keda eksponé na dje prinsipalmente den klas, p’esei pa nan, mester usa metodologia apropiá pa enseñansa di idioma straño pa hulandes, na lugá di esnan ku ta usa den enseñansa di L1, òf asta L2. Si adoptá un aserkamentu di translenguahe inklusivamente multilingual den e skolnan, por satisfasé tantu nan nesesidatnan komo esnan di e minoria di estudiante ku ta papia hulandes na kas. En general, pa hulandes no keda efektivamente eliminá pa ingles, mester reinventá hulandes na Boneiru komo un idioma inklusivo i atraktivo, ku lo atraé e hóbenan di Boneiru en bes di duna nan un avershon òf alehá nan di e idioma. Pa logra esaki, mester bandoná e *CITO Toets*, renobá e sistema di inspeksion kompletamente i usa material mas apropiá, adaptá na Karibe, pa instruí hulandes.

Formulashon di idioma (‘language making’) multilingual: spañó

Mirando ku un kantidat desproporshonalmente altu di e minoria di boneriano ku ta usa solamente un òf dos idioma den nan bida diario, ta hasi esaki na spañó, mester duna un trato spesial na e nesesidatnan di esnan di habla spañó, pa garantisá ku tur boneriano por tin aksesu máksimo na servisio públiko i logro edukashonal. Por ehèmpel, programa di enseñansa pa adulto na spañó, papiamentu, hulandes i ingles mester ta disponibel grátis pa tur habitante di Boneiru, a traves di e institutonan eksistente ku ya ta duna e servisionan menshoná riba un base mas limitá. Manera den kaso di papiamentu, spañó mester di mas yudansa ku e otro idiomanan pa e por ta riba e mes pia ku nan, pasobra

den e último dékadan, el a bira kada bes mas marginá, segun ku spañó ta keda identifiká kada bes ménos ku media i ku turista suramerikano riku, i kada bes mas ku e klase di imigrante ku ta ehersé hopi di e trabounan supordiná na e isla.

Formulashon di idioma ('language making') multilingual: ingles

A pesar ku maneho i práktika eksistente den enseñansa i sobrá di e sektor públiko ta neglighá ingles por kompleto òf ta deskurash'é aktivamente, kompetensia den ingles ta subiendo rápidamente bou di e hóbennan boneriano, te ku awor ingles ta representá un riesgo pa otro idioma na e isla, specialmente hulandes. Komo ku skol no ta rekonosé e abilidad informal konsiderabel na ingles di e studentenan, nan no ta usando esaki efektivamente pa por kultivá nan abilidad akadémiko na ingles, kual ta representá un pèrdida di oportunidat trágiko. Pa motibu di e negligensia akí, e hóbennan boneriano di awendia i nan isla, lo sufri innesesariamente pasobra kompetensia den ingles a bira e yabi pa ékxito den e merkado laboral globalisá. Komo kontesta riba un sistema edukativo monolingual di hulandes so ku a alehá nan tantu di papiamentu komo un idioma marginá, komo di hulandes komo un idioma imponé, e hóbennan lo sigui rebeldiá i insistí riba un preferensia monolingual pa ingles. Komo tal, e mihó chèns ku Boneiru tin pa evitá e síndrome di “ingles asesino” i realisá su vision Multilingual Inklusivo pa futuro, ta un enfoke nobo di translenguahe multilingual na skol.

26 Algun punto di salida pa formulashon di maneho di idioma Multilingual Inklusivo na Boneiru

Pa por kuminsá implementá e maneho di idioma Multilingual Inklusivo na Boneiru, lo no ta nesario pa kuminsá na sero. Na promé lugá, e bonerianonan ya a logra hopi a traves di e siglonan den e área di multilingualismo inklusivo. Esaki ta nifiká ku, na lugá di warda pa kada elemento ta na lugá, por tuma akshon inmediatamente den algun área, aki mes, awor aki mes. E siguiente puntonan di salida ta representá ehèmpel di formulashon di maneho i implementashon, ku por kuminsá mes ora:

- rekonosé eksplísitamente i studia e karganan adishonal imponé riba estudiante, trahadó, proveedó di serviso, usuario di serviso, grupo vulnerabel, etc. ku ekspektativa di idioma (kasi) riba nivel di nativo pa hulandes, por ehèmpel, dialogando ku e proveedónan di serviso pa determiná kua dokumento i kua via di serviso tin mayor urgensia pa tradukshon di hulandes pa e otro idiomanan, dialogando ku maestro pa identifiká kua material i kuríkulo tin nesidat mas urgente pa hasi un transishon for di e modèl monolingual hulandes, etc.
- satisfasé e nesidatnan di idioma di e pueblo ku ta kore mayor riesgo, akomodando papiamentu i spañó tantu den sektor públiko komo privá, por ehèmpel, eliminando tur barera lingwístiko pa tur forma di aksesu na e isla.
- apoyá strukturalmente e organisashonnan ku ya ta enfoká riba mantenshon i promoshon di práktikanan multilingual, por ehèmpel, identifikando i

fortalesiendo e inisiativanan relashoná ku idioma di e organisashonnan akí, specialmente den área manera di kampaña di konsientisashon públiko, enseñansa pa adulto, etc.

- apoyá e estableimentu i ekspanshon di kurso di introdukshon i integrashon pa esnan ku yega nobo ku ta deseá pa traha i biba na Boneiru, ku ta enfatisá e herensia i e vishon multilingual inklusivo di e islanan di ABC i ku ta rekonosé i balorá papiamentu komo e lenga materno di Boneiru.
- apoyá i enfatisá atkisishon di specialmente papiamentu i hulandes, pero tambe spañó i ingles pa tur siudadano di Boneiru, por ehèmpel, dunando mas sosten na programa eksistente orientá riba atkisishon di e kuater idiomanan na tur nivel, inkluyendo preeskolar, enseñansa primario, sekundario i specialmente enseñansa pa adulto.
- Sostené desaroyo di enseñansa multilingual, inisialmente den enseñansa primario, adoptando e elementonan di mas fásil pa integrá di modelo manera SAM (Scol Arubano Multilingual) mas lihé posibel, por ehèmpel, dunando tur maestro i studiante pèrmit inmediateamente pa usa i promové e kuater idiomanan prinsipal den tur klas na e isla; totalmente renobando e sistemanan di inspeksion i di evaluashon, etc.
- apoyá strukturalmente i traha eksplísitamente pa yega na uniformidat kolektivo di e maneho di idioma Multilingual Inklusivo na tur nivel di enseñansa, por ehèmpel, adoptando e konseho di e grupo di eksperto di papiamentu (Craane, 2015).
- promové i apoyá e visibilidat di papiamentu komo e lenga materno ('matrix language') di e isla den e esfera públiko, inkluyendo, entre otro, señal di tráfiiko multilingual, topónimo, ergónimo, etc.

Ehèmpel di kon lo por krea i implementá maneho Multilingual Inklusivo na Boneiru

Den e siguiente sekshonnan, nos ta duna ehèmpel di kon lo por krea i implementá maneho Multilingual Inklusivo na Boneiru riba nivel makro, meso i mikro.

Instrukshon pa formulashon i implementashon di maneho Multilingual Inklusivo riba nivel makro:

Mester hasi tur e kuater idiomanan prinsipal di Boneiru (papiamentu, hulandes, spañó i ingles) idioma ofisialmente rekonosí na e isla, rekonosiendo papiamentu komo idioma materno ('matrix language') di Boneiru. Esaki ta nifiká ku:

- Tur e instansianan públiko i privá di e isla mester rekonosé, balorá i promové uso di e kuater idiomanan akí aktivamente, miéntras nan ta rekonosé ku a marginalisá papiamentu den pasado i ku e mester di medida korektivo spesial komo lenga materno ('matrix language') di e isla.

- Den tur kaso, mester hasi esfuerso sistemátiko pa eliminá kualke lei, maneho, prosedura òf práktika na kualke nivel di gobièrnu, den kualke instansia tantu di e sektor públiko komo privá, i den tur esfera di bida públiko na Boneiru ku di kualke manera ta usa kualke un di e kuater idiomanan prinsipal komo medio di eksklushon na lugá di inklushon. Mester hasi esaki rekonosiendo ku a marginalisá papiamentu den pasado i ku e mester di un trato spesial komo lenga materno ('matrix language') di e pais.

Instrukshon pa formulashon i implementashon di maneho Multilingual Inklusivo riba nivel meso:

- Tur servisio di gobièrnu mester ta disponibel pa públiko na tur e kuater idiomanan, tantu den forma oral komo skirbí. Gradualmente mester eliminá hulandes komo e idioma predeterminá usá den e sistema legal, e sistema di salubridat, e sistema di servisio sosial, etc.
- Den enseñansa (tantu públiko komo privá): Mester adoptá un modelo di translenguahe multilingual inklusivo riba tur nivel di enseñansa na Boneiru, ku ta rekonosé papiamentu komo e idioma materno ('matrix language') di e isla. Mester eliminá hulandes gradualmente komo e idioma di instrukshon eksklusivo i asumí den skol, i na su lugá mester ofres'é komo idioma straño.
- Instituto komersial manera banko, mester stòp ku e práktika di insistí riba uso di ingles den nan interakshon ku públiko, i na lugá di esei, nan mester promové aktivamente uso di tur kuater idioma den dokumento i den tur nan atendementu ku trahadó i kliente.
- En general, tur hende ku kaba di yega Boneiru ku tin e intenshon di traha na e isla mester partisipá den aktividat edukashonal i kultural ku ta enfatisá e herensia i vishon inklusivamente multilingual di e islanan ABC, i rekonosé i balorá papiamentu komo Boneiru su idioma materno ('matrix language').

Instrukshon pa formulashon i implementashon di maneho Multilingual Inklusivo riba nivel mikro:

E siguiente rekomendashonnan riba nivel mikro pa ku formulashon i implementashon ku un enfoke partikular riba enseñansa Multilingual Inklusivo, a keda hasí pa e maestronan ku a partisipá den nos entrevista i nos enkuentronan di grupo di enfoke:

- Siña konsepto básiko promé na e idioma ku e studiantenan konosé mihó i despues, siña e mes konsepto na e otro idiomanan.
- Kambia e pruebanan pa reflehá nos propio idioma- i kulturanan.
- Usa translenguahe pa estudiante por pasa e mayoria di nan tempu tratando pa siña nan lès, en bes di lucha ku hulandes.

- Eksperimentá ku forma nobo pa usa idioma den klas, tumando loke ta funshoná i despues, adoptando e den henter e sistema, segurando nos mes ku nos tin tur e medionan na lugá promé ku nos purba kambia tur kos.
- Pèrkurá pa mas ora pa duna lès di idioma i desaroyá material apropiá i enseñansa ‘online’ spesialmente pa papiamentu, pero tambe pa hulandes, ingles i spañó.
- Lanta un organisashon/ret di maestro di papiamentu pa henter e isla pa sostené e Kuadro di Referensia i e liñanan di siñamentu pa papiamentu.
- Hiba kampaña di konsientisashon tokante enseñansa multilingual inklusivo entre mayor i maestro pa kore ku mito i suposishon falsu.
- Promové estudio na nivel tersiario den region di Karibe entre studiante di skol sekundario.
- Enkurashá studiante pa transformá nan aktitut pa ku enseñansa for di unu di resignashon i frustrashon pa unu di kompromiso i éksito.

Konklushon

Nos ta spera sinseramente ku e investigashon i e konseho ku ta forma e base pa e rapòrt akí lo inisiá e proseso di transformá maneho i práktika di idioma den algu ku ta duna respaldo di forma proaktivo i integral na e esfuersonan di e pueblo di Boneiru pa forma nan isla segun nan imágennan i interesnan maraviosamente diverso pero alabes inklusivo, sin laga niun idioma atras, i sin laga niun boneriano atras.

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WE CAN DO BETTER THAN ‘CHAMBUKÁ’: TOWARD INCLUSIVE MULTILINGUAL LANGUAGE POLICY AND PRACTICE IN BONAIRE

Executive summary report of the Maneho di Idioma Research Team, April 2022

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Abstract

Before making specific policy recommendations for Bonaire, we need to get a firm understanding of what the people of the island have already achieved, as well as a firm understanding of what they ideally would like to achieve in the future. In other words, policy should reflect the vision that Bonaireans have for the future, and acknowledge and value the accomplishments and strengths of the people of Bonaire as a foundation for making that vision a reality. The results from the survey that was administered as part of the present project show that Bonaireans have already experienced considerable success in creating a multilingual society. As indicated in the quantitative and qualitative results obtained from our research activities, Bonaireans are proud of their considerable achievements as an inclusively multilingual community and they hope for a future where this inclusive multilingualism becomes even stronger. Survey respondents valued their own competences in Papiamentu, Dutch, English and Spanish and wanted the schools on the island to ensure that the next generation becomes become literate in all four languages as well. The question is: Will official policy and practice continue to frustrate and discourage the inclusive multilingual vision of the people of the island, or will it finally begin to support it?

Key terms: Language policy, Bonaire, multilingualism, language making, inclusivity

Introduction

After a long discussion during one of the focus group meetings that we held with Bonairean social service workers and teachers, the members of the group finally came to the conclusion that: “*Chambuká. This is basically what we do with language in our work. We make the best of a bad situation.*” If there is any single word in Papiamentu that can sum up the general opinions expressed over and over again about how language issues are being dealt with on Bonaire during virtually all of the interviews and focus group meetings that we conducted during our visits to the island, it is *chambuká* (‘to make the best of a bad situation’).

Among the ethnically, socially, politically, and ideologically diverse set of people who participated in our interview and focus group meetings, there was literally no-one who was of the opinion that language matters are being handled in a manner that corresponds even to the most basic needs of the overwhelming majority of the people of Bonaire, let alone in a manner that might take maximum advantage of their considerable linguistic resources and potential. As a result, teachers, social workers, police, judges, lawyers, administrators, media workers, private sector workers, and ordinary citizens from the very youngest to the very oldest find themselves struggling every day and doing everything they can to make the best of a bad situation when it comes to tackling the serious problems caused by the lack of a scientific and socially conscious approach to language policy on the island.

Why another study?

When we were asked by the Fundashon Akademia Papiamentu under the auspices of a project grant provided by the public entity Bonaire to design a framework for the formulation of language policy for Bonaire, we were acutely aware that there had been many, many research and policy initiatives proposed and undertaken to one degree or another in the past in relation to language matters on the island. (For a review of recent policy initiatives, see section 3 of this report). Unfortunately, most, if not all, of these projects have had minimal impact on the resolution of the ever more serious problems linked to language policy and practice which are confronted by the people of the island every day.

For these and other reasons, many Bonaireans have become skeptical of such undertakings. There are many factors that have led to the less than adequate results achieved as a result of these past initiatives, but a number of the major shortcomings that seem to surface again and again have to do with the need for an approach that is both *socially conscious* and *scientifically sound*. We have therefore made a conscious effort to adopt a community-based approach that maximizes Bonairean input into the research and advice processes, alongside a rigorous data driven approach that substantiates our findings in a way that is empirically valid, reliable, precise and accurate. Another problem with past projects has been their limited or piecemeal nature, which ignores the enormity and

pervasiveness of the problem at hand. For this reason, we have also adopted a holistic, systemic and comprehensive approach in our work.

As demonstrated in our policy review in section 3 of the main report, many previous policy undertakings have also not made a conscious attempt to break with the counter-productive, zero-sum game, winner-take-all pattern that has been established during the course of the endless and heated debates about language issues on Bonaire in the past; a pattern that erroneously assumes that language policy is about imposing the use of one language at the expense of the other(s). As amply shown in the results of the survey that we administered as part of the present research which can be found in section 5 of the main report, one of the most consistent themes that we have encountered again and again in our work on the island is the hope that Bonaire can become an even more multilingual island than it already is, with its people, especially its youth, gaining increased proficiency in all four of its major languages.

Just as widespread, however, is the fear that an official language policy might do more to hinder than to help in the process of making this enhanced multilingual future a reality for the generations to come. It is therefore our sincere hope that the research and advice that form the basis for this document will begin the process of transforming language policy and practice into something that proactively and comprehensively supports the efforts of the people of Bonaire to shape their island in their wonderfully diverse yet collective images and interests, with no language left behind, and no Bonairean left behind.

Research methodology: A community-based approach

Once we were requested to provide a *framework* for the formulation of language policy in Bonaire, we decided that we would first need to do some serious *groundwork*, in the form of a community-based research project designed to provide an empirically verifiable and statistically verified understanding of how language matters are being handled on the island. In spite of the limitations posed by the COVID-19 pandemic, our partners in Bonaire helped us to gather all of the data that we needed for this study during the course of three research visits to the island in 2021 and 2022. These research visits had been preceded by decades of community-based engagement with the people of Bonaire and the other Caribbean islands of the Kingdom of the Netherlands concerning language related issues by the members of our Research Team, which included Nicholas Faraclas of the University of Puerto Rico, Ellen-Petra Kester of Utrecht University and Eric Mijts of the University of Aruba.

We conducted an online survey of the general public and had teachers administer language proficiency self-assessments and narrative proficiency tests to their students (see Sections 5, 6 and 7 of the main report as well as annexes 1, 2 and 3 for the results obtained from each of these activities). Although we would also have liked to have done some classroom observations, this was impossible due to the public health crisis. To

make sure that there was ample space for Bonaireans to have their voices reflected in our findings, and despite the COVID restrictions, we were able to conduct 26 interviews and 13 focus group meetings with a total of over 70 stakeholders from all backgrounds and walks of life in Bonaire. Taking into consideration that some people might be reluctant to meet face-to-face during the health emergency, we also reached out virtually to hundreds of other Bonaireans through the online survey, 99 of whom provided us with written comments concerning issues related to language in Bonaire.

In carrying out all of these research activities, and based on our previous community work in the region (Faraclas, Kester & Mijts, 2013, 2019), we made a conscious effort to focus on including Bonaireans whose voices have not yet been heard over the course of the many debates that have occurred in the past concerning institutional language policy and practice on the island. We did so in order to open up the conversation to include new opinions and points of view that might better represent the experiences, understandings and reflections of a more representative sample of the community than has been the case up until the present. We were especially interested in incorporating the perspectives of those whose daily activities constantly put them in situations where institutional language policy (or the lack thereof) has the greatest impact. Thus, we made sure to involve teachers and administrators in pre-primary, primary, secondary academic, secondary vocational and adult education, as well as involving a broad array of social and community workers engaged in the promotion of the well-being of every sector of society, including infants, youth, adults, the elderly, those seeking employment, those seeking medical care, those seeking educational and training opportunities, those with physical and emotional challenges, those who have unstable home situations, and those who interact with the legal and penal systems.

To make sure that our understanding of matters related to language policy and practice on Bonaire would be as accurate, as broad and as deep as possible, we have made a deliberate choice to deploy three quantitative and three qualitative research strategies, so that the results from any one instrument could be checked against the results obtained from the other five instruments. This triangulation of results means that the descriptions, analyses and recommendations made in this document are firmly based in the day-to-day realities faced by virtually all of the people of Bonaire whenever their lives are impacted by language policy and practice.

We have therefore used a complementary set of statistically significant *quantitative* results obtained from a balanced and representative battery of research instruments and a complementary set of *qualitative* data from an equally balanced and representative battery of instruments to provide an accurate picture of the situation on Bonaire in terms of issues related to language policy, language use and language attitudes on the island.

Our quantitative instruments included (see sections 5, 6 & 7 of the main report for detailed results):

- 1) a survey of the island's population administered in Papiamentu, Dutch, Spanish and English to which 662 people responded (402 responses in Papiamentu, 114 in Dutch, 85 in Spanish and 61 in English);
- 2) a self-assessment survey administered to secondary school students in Papiamentu, Dutch, Spanish and English regarding their proficiency in the 4 languages, in which 124 students participated (57 responses in Papiamentu, 35 in Spanish, 18 in Dutch, and 14 in English); and
- 3) a narrative proficiency test administered to secondary school students in Papiamentu and Dutch in order to assess aspects of these same students' actual proficiency in the 4 languages, in which 69 students participated (54 responses in Papiamentu and 15 in Dutch).

Our qualitative instruments included:

- 1) a total of 26 one-on-one and group interviews conducted in Papiamentu, Dutch, Spanish and English in both face-to-face and online modes;
- 2) a total of 13 focus group discussions conducted in Papiamentu, Dutch, Spanish and English in both face-to-face and online modes; and
- 3) a total of 99 written comments in Papiamentu, Dutch, Spanish and English made by respondents to the survey of the island's population (42 written comments on questionnaires administered in Papiamentu, 30 comments on questionnaires administered in Dutch, 18 comments on questionnaires administered in Spanish, and 9 comments on questionnaires administered in English).

It should be noted that in this document, we use direct "double" and paraphrased 'single' quotes in relating statements made in the interviews, focus groups and written responses that constitute the corpus of qualitative data gathered during our research on Bonaire. We have made every effort to ensure the anonymity of those who made any and all statements within the scope of this research quoted or paraphrased in this report. Our third and final research visit to Bonaire was designed to present the preliminary findings included in this report to the people of the island and to receive their feedback on our interpretation of their analyses of problems and their recommendations. This was done in order: 1) to ensure that the content of this report corresponds as much as possible with Bonaireans' understandings of the present situation, as well as with their recommendations for the future regarding language policy and practice in their communities; and 2) to afford the island's population with an additional opportunity to contribute their input and guidance in what has become the end product of the project.

Synthesis of results

From policies and practices based on false assumptions to policies and practices based on Bonaireans' achievements in the past and their hopes for the future

Before making specific policy recommendations for Bonaire, we need to get a firm understanding of what the people of the island have already achieved, as well as a firm understanding of what they ideally would like to achieve in the future. In other words, policy should reflect the vision that Bonaireans have for the future, and acknowledge and value the accomplishments and strengths of the people of Bonaire as a foundation for making that vision a reality. The results from the survey that was administered as part of the present project show that Bonaireans have already experienced considerable success in creating a multilingual society, with the majority of respondents indicating that they use three or more languages in their daily lives, with no significant differences among them related to the fact that they filled out the survey in Papiamentu, Dutch, English or Spanish. The strong traditions of inclusive multilingualism and cosmopolitan conviviality which have enabled Bonaireans to achieve all of this can in many ways be traced to the inclusively multilingual traditions of the Indigenous Caribbean and West African ancestors of the people of the island, which still live on in the lifeways of Bonaire.

When it comes to a vision for language policy in Bonaire, there is not only significant evidence concerning past achievements, but there is also considerable consensus concerning the hopes of the people of the island when it comes to language. As indicated in the quantitative and qualitative results obtained from our research activities that can be found throughout this report, Bonaireans are proud of their considerable achievements as an inclusively multilingual community and they hope for a future where this inclusive multilingualism becomes even stronger. Survey respondents valued their own competences in Papiamentu, Dutch, English and Spanish and wanted the schools on the island to ensure that the next generation becomes become literate in all four languages as well.

The question is: Will official policy and practice continue to frustrate and discourage the inclusive multilingual vision of the people of the island, or will it finally begin to support it?

Our review of recent policy initiatives in Section 3 of the main report indicates that up until the present, in place of well-designed policy, what has prevailed on the island is an ad hoc, improvised, informal, yet strongly coercive and alienating regime of regulations and practices, based on a set of myths and false assumptions.

False Assumption 1: Because the people of Bonaire have been part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands for centuries, they must have near native competence in Dutch.

Fact 1: Both the quantitative and qualitative results of the research reported on

in this report show that a flawed monolingual Dutch approach to the use of language in official contexts (including the schools), has been a major contributing factor to a situation where Dutch is, and has always been, a foreign language for the majority of Bonaireans, and that there is little indication that this will change anytime soon, especially if such a policy approach continues to prevail.

False Assumption 2: Dutch needs to be the main language of administration in order to serve the people in an optimal way.

Fact 2: Our interview and focus group data overwhelmingly indicate that the official insistence on Dutch as the sole language of administration is probably the main obstacle to effective administration and delivery of community services on Bonaire.

False Assumption 3: Dutch needs to be the main language of education in order to prepare Bonairean children to go to higher education in Holland

Fact 3: The statistics in the box below as well as the results on the narrative proficiency tests provide shocking and damning evidence that, even with Dutch being used as the language of instruction on the island, very few Bonaireans succeed in higher education in Holland, with an average of only 5% of all Bonairean students passing their VWO exams (versus 20% in Holland) and an average of only 10% of all Bonairean students passing their HAVO exams (versus 19.8% in Holland). In fact, experience on other islands of the former Netherlands Antilles such as Saba, Aruba and St. Eustatius suggests that teaching Dutch as a foreign language instead would most likely increase the overall number of Bonaireans studying successfully in Holland.

Bonaire: percentage of the cohort of year 3 students in each track	VMBO	HAVO	VWO	PO	VWO+ HAVO	VMBO + PO
2020	66.5	14.7	9.0	9.7		
2019	67.3	17.1	7.6	8.0		
2018	64.0	15.7	7.0	13.2		
2017	58.9	18.4	6.7	16.0		
2016	63.2	14.9	7.3	14.6		
2015	65.4	19.2	5.4	10.0		
2014	71.2	14.6	5.5	8.8		
Average % of cohort per track 2014-2020	65.2	16.4	6.9	11.5	23.3	76.7

Average final exam success rates 2015-2017	x .75	x .61	x .73			
	48.9	10	5		15	
European Netherlands: percentage of the cohort of year 3 students in each track	VMBO	HAVO	VWO	PO	VWO+ HAVO	VMBO + PO
2020	50.3	23.6	23.1	3.0		
2019	51.4	23.1	22.8	2.7		
2018	52.1	22.6	22.5	2.8		
2017	52.4	22.6	22.1	2.8		
2016	53.4	21.9	21.7	2.9		
2015	53.9	21.8	21.4	2.9		
2014	54.0	21.8	21.2	2.9		
Average % of cohort per track 2014-2020	52.5	22.5	22.1	2.9	44.6	55.4
Average final exam success rates 2015-2017	x .93	x .88	x .91			
	48.8	19.8	20.1		39.9	

Table 1 The myth of a university education in Holland. Comparison of the percentages of the cohort of year three students in the VMBO, HAVO, VWO and *Praktijkonderwijs* (PO) tracks of secondary education in Bonaire and the European Netherlands, 2014-2020, adjusted for average success rates on the final examinations in VMBO-tl, HAVO and VWO 2015-2017. Figures for the European Netherlands: Central Bureau of Statistics (2022): StatLine - Vo; leerlingen, onderwijssoort, leerjaar, leeftijd (cbs.nl) and figures for success rates: Kamervragen (Aanhangsel) 2018-2019, nr. 2997 | Overheid.nl > Officiële bekendmakingen (officielebekendmakingen.nl)

Ironically, it could be said that Bonaire has achieved and maintained its inclusive multilingualism through the openness and ingenuity of its own people, with little or no help or support from any official agencies. Even more tragically and counterproductively, most governmental agencies seem to have been promoting policies and practices that not only hinder inclusive multilingualism in the present, but also tend to make Bonaireans feel that their hopes and dreams for an inclusively multilingual future will be impossible to achieve.

In our conversations with Bonaireans from all backgrounds and walks of life, we hear the same myths repeated over and over again as to why Bonaireans can never realize their inclusively multilingual vision:

Myth 1 Practicality: “Yes, multilingualism is a nice dream, but it would be too expensive to produce all of the materials, retrain all of the teachers and other governmental workers and do everything else necessary to make the dream a reality.”

Fact 1: The Dutch government has no problem investing millions of euros for the production and administration of the monolingual Dutch CITO *toets* or for hiring endless consultants, teachers and inspectors from Holland to impose monolingual Dutch education on Bonaire, even though their return on investment in terms of student academic performance on the island has been minimal. Why is that when Bonaireans seek support for their dream of inclusively multilingual education for all, the answer seems always to be “Sorry, too much money, too much work.”? In any case, the enormous losses on educational investment on the island at present that are so graphically illustrated in the box above would more than offset any of the costs involved in remedying the situation

Myth 2 Confusion: “Yes, multilingualism is a nice dream, but children will get confused if we try to teach them in more than one language.”

Fact 2: Bonaireans have been multilingual for centuries, and there is no evidence that this has caused them to be more ‘confused’ in any way than people in less multilingual societies. Inclusively multilingual education is becoming a reality in Aruba and the children in the multilingual schools there are experiencing no problems with ‘confusion’ as a result. In fact, they are performing better than those in the monolingual Dutch schools, even in Dutch.

Myth 3 English: “Yes, multilingualism is a nice dream, but in the future everyone will be speaking English, so it’s a waste of time and money.”

Fact 3: The people of Bonaire have already shown that, even without any official support, new languages like English can be spoken without ‘killing’ other languages like Papiamentu, Dutch or Spanish, English does not have to be a ‘killer language’ on Bonaire. Nevertheless, our survey and self-assessment data suggest that if the current monolingual Dutch education policies continue to make young people reject Papiamentu as an ‘inferior’ language and reject Dutch as an imposed language, there is a great danger that at some point in the future they will begin to refuse to speak any other language but English. So, if at some point English actually does become a ‘killer language’ in Bonaire, it will have been enabled and weaponized by the kind of faulty language policy and practice that prevails on the island at present.

Myth 4 Papiamentu is for the home, Dutch is for school: “Yes, multilingualism is a nice dream, but some languages like Papiamentu are not as ‘developed’ and/or not as ‘big’ as other languages like Dutch, so they should not have the same official status in the government, the classroom, etc.”

Fact 4: By world standards, Dutch is not a ‘big’ language, and there was a time when Dutch was considered an ‘undeveloped’ language and Latin was the language of science and progress. Languages change as they are used in new environments. Besides, our data show that Papiamentu is already sometimes used unofficially as a classroom language despite monolingual Dutch policy. Teachers and students are in desperate need of being granted the permission to use all of the languages and linguistic resources at their command to achieve maximal academic success and to realize their full academic potential. Saying that ‘Papiamentu is for the home, Dutch is for school’ or that ‘Papiamentu is a small language, Dutch is a big language’ is just a cleverly disguised way of perpetuating the old colonial ideology that ‘Papiamentu is inferior, Dutch is superior’ and for ‘compartmentalizing’ Papiamentu by limiting it only to informal domains of use.

In general, whenever an initiative emerges to do something to repair the damage caused to the people of Bonaire and other colonized countries over the past few centuries by colonial ideologies, governments, policies and practices, it is either ignored completely by the colonizing powers, or, if it is impossible to ignore, they take absolutely no responsibility for it, which means that it is the colonized who have to bear the full burden for repairing the damage. In our interviews and focus group sessions, this point was often made.

It is one thing for governments to ignore and avoid taking responsibility for the damage done by misguided policy in the past, but it is another thing altogether to perpetuate those same misguided policies in the present. In our survey of recent policy initiatives in section 3 of the main report, there appears to have been a limited degree of legal recognition of Papiamentu in some official institutional contexts, but those who spoke with us in our interview and focus group sessions made us painfully aware that little has changed on the ground, and in some cases, it is getting worse. This is graphically illustrated by real-life accounts by teachers of the institutional violence that they and their students suffer in classrooms across the island at the hands of the Dutch inspectorate and the Dutch testing system, including the CITO *toets*.

Problem areas

Even though we made a deliberate attempt to maximize the diversity of voices that constituted the corpus of data that we gathered during our research activities on Bonaire, both the qualitative and quantitative data demonstrated that there was a considerable

degree of overall consensus concerning some key problem areas related to questions of institutional language policy and practice on the island, including the following:

- 1) Language matters are not being dealt with adequately on Bonaire
- 2) Inclusive multilingualism is the pride and dream of most Bonaireans, but multilingualism is being discouraged by institutional practices
- 3) Dutch is a foreign language for most Bonaireans, but they are being governed as if they have near native competence in the language
- 4) Workers who provide services to the community spend too much time translating to and from Dutch, instead of providing the services that they were trained to provide
- 5) Many Bonaireans have given up when it comes to how issues of language are handled on the island, and have adopted an attitude of '*Laat maar zitten*'/ '*Laat maar waiien*'
- 6) With no official support, the use of English and competence in English is rising rapidly on the island, especially among the youth, who sometimes insist on using English both as a way of expressing their rejection of Papiamentu as the language that has been most discriminated against at school, and equally as a way of expressing their rejection of Dutch as the language that has been imposed on them at school.
- 7) There will be serious consequences for Bonaire and its people if informed, systematic and concrete efforts are not made to address language policy and practice on the island in a scientific and socially conscious way

In sum, Bonaire has become a society which has become entrapped by flawed institutional language policies and practices into a permanent mode of *chambuká*, that is, even though Bonaireans are trying to do their very best, they seem to always find themselves in the end just managing to make the best of a bad situation.

In this section, we introduce each of these problem areas by providing a platform for the people of Bonaire to articulate their concerns through quotes and paraphrases of statements made in interviews, focus group sessions and the comments section of the survey to present the ways in which people on the island typically view how language matters are being dealt with in their communities. We then use our quantitative data to demonstrate that these understandings are shared in one way or another by most of the rest of the island's population. Our qualitative and quantitative data are thus combined to yield an accurate and representative description of what is actually happening on the ground in Bonaire. Once the situation related to each problem area is described, we use documentary evidence gathered from Bonaire and elsewhere together with our qualitative and quantitative results to analyze the situation on the island, with the aim of constructing a matrix of causal factors that have given rise to the present state of affairs.

Finally, we use this analysis to make recommendations for dealing with each problem area, taking our cue whenever possible from recommendations that have been made by the Bonaireans who participated in this study.

Problem area 1: Language matters are not being dealt with adequately on Bonaire. The prevailing manner in which language matters are being dealt with is precariously ad hoc, woefully inadequate, and represents more of a hindrance than a help to virtually every sector of the island's population, from the least privileged to even some of the most privileged members of Bonairean society. In practice, Dutch is the only language required in most institutional settings and for most workers providing services in those settings. At present, there is no enforced requirement that governmental and other services be made available in Papiamentu or the other most widely spoken languages on the island.

Problem area 2: Inclusive multilingualism is the pride and dream of most Bonaireans, but multilingualism is being discouraged by institutional practices. Despite the fact that the ABC islands in general, and Bonaire in particular, market themselves to tourists, entrepreneurs, investors, digital nomads, etc., as having a pluri-lingual population with enormous linguistic resources and potential, very little is being done on the ground to ensure that those linguistic resources are protected and maintained, and even less is being done to actively cultivate and make the most of those linguistic resources. In fact, it appears that quite the opposite is happening, as prevailing institutional language policies and practices seem to actually be damaging and disabling the linguistic resources and potential of most Bonaireans.

The multilingualism that is found on Bonaire today is an achievement that the people of the island can rightly be proud of. Nevertheless, there is a lot more work to be done in this area. While the majority of the population have high levels of informal competence in three or more languages, they usually lack high levels of academic competence in any language, as shown in our narrative proficiency test results, where only the very highest tracked secondary school students, most of who come from Dutch-speaking homes, have writing skills even approaching what one would expect from young people at the same age in a country where students have the right to education in their home language. For the other students, the fact that their academic training has taken place in a foreign language has effectively barred them from any comprehensive academic competence in any language. In general, the limited academic competence that most Bonaireans have is normally restricted to Dutch, a language which our survey data demonstrate most do not feel very comfortable with. The school system completely ignores the high levels of informal competence of the students in Papiamentu and English (languages that the students feel extremely comfortable with), so that a perfect opportunity to teach academic competences in Papiamentu and English is completely squandered

by the educational system, thus closing the door on countless academic and professional opportunities for the majority of young Bonaireans.

Even more troubling is a fact that emerged from the survey data which indicates that although the majority of the people on the island speak more than three languages in their daily lives, there is a significant minority (a total of some 25% of the island's population) who use only two languages (some 15% of the population) or one language (some 10% of the population) in their daily lives. Among these Bonaireans whose daily linguistic repertoires include only one or two languages, we find speakers of Papiamentu and Spanish proportionately over-represented. Thus, institutional policies and practices that explicitly or implicitly require the use of Dutch and no other language have a disproportionately negative impact on this sector of the island's people, who in many cases find themselves also among the Bonaireans whose socio-economic situation is the most vulnerable and precarious. In this and other respects, Bonaire is at risk of falling into a situation of linguistic *apartheid*, that is, of becoming a linguistically stratified country such as India, where lack of knowledge of the politically dominant languages such as Hindi and English has in more than one sense resuscitated the caste system, with those who speak English becoming the new 'Brahmin' elite caste and those who speak only their regional languages becoming the new 'untouchable' and lowest paid laboring classes. This situation has already resulted in 'language riots' and other forms of civil unrest in India (Kachru, 1986).

As stated above, inclusive multilingualism has been achieved in Bonaire, not because of, but instead *in spite of* official and institutional language policy and practice. The monolingual imposition of Dutch as language of exclusion has not only damaged the multilingual traditions of the island's society, but it has also had a negative effect on Bonaire's inclusive traditions. A good example of this trend toward exclusivity can be seen in the alarming shift in attitudes toward Spanish over the past decades. Only a generation ago, Spanish was considered on the island to be a prestigious language of culture, well-to-do South American tourists, and the media, to be promoted and valued for how it links Bonaire to nearby Venezuela, Colombia and rest of Latin America. Nowadays, Spanish is looked down upon in many ways as the language of working class immigrants and refugees from civil strife in the region. This is demonstrated in the survey results presented in the main report which indicate that although Spanish is still seen as a language that should be promoted, that prepares children for a future on the island, and that should be taught in school, it routinely scores lower than Papiamentu, English, and even in some cases, Dutch for these same rubrics.

Another indication of this increasing devaluation of Spanish is a tendency that we noted in our interviews and focus group meetings for people on the island to underestimate the difficulties experienced by the rapidly growing numbers of Bonaireans who speak Spanish in the home and seek to become permanent residents on an island where the policy and practice overwhelmingly favor Dutch as the only institutional language.

While Spanish speakers are rightly praised for their ability and willingness to learn Papiamentu and adapt to Bonairean lifeways, they are also often talked about as if the real challenges that they experience in the face of the monolingual imposition of Dutch are somehow ‘not a problem’.

Problem area 3: Dutch is a foreign language for most Bonaireans, but they are being governed as if they have near native competence in the language.

Even though most Bonaireans have considerable competence in more than one of the three most widely spoken languages on the island (Papiamentu, English and Spanish), their daily lives are rendered unnecessarily complicated, frustrating and precarious due to the fact that the institutional language policies and practices of the formal sector require competence in a fourth language (Dutch) that is not only a foreign language for more than 80 percent of the island’s population (Bak-Piard, 2010, 2016; Kester & Timp, 2018; Kester & Buijink, 2022, see the main report for a summary of these and other studies), but also, according to the results of our survey, a language that most Bonaireans see as difficult to learn and relatively difficult to express themselves in, as demonstrated in our survey results. It is no accident that Dutch stands out as the language that attracts the most negative attitudes in our data. This can be explained to a large extent by how Dutch has been used as a language of exclusion from colonial times up until the present. The experience of most Bonaireans with Dutch is as a language that invalidates and diminishes traditional Bonairean language, culture and identities. Whether this is expressed as ‘Dutch is a ‘language’, while Papiamentu is a ‘dialect’ or ‘Dutch is the language of knowledge, while Papiamentu is the language of culture’ or ‘Dutch is the language of the classroom, while Papiamentu is the language of the home’ or ‘Dutch is a big language, while Papiamentu is small’ the underlying message is always the same: Dutch is superior to Papiamentu, Dutch culture is superior to Bonairean culture, and Dutch people are superior to Bonaireans.

Some of the most devastating effects of this way of thinking are felt in the education system, where Dutch is the only official language of instruction and assessment at most levels. In our survey data, Dutch is singled out as the language among the 4 main languages that people enjoy least in terms of hearing it spoken and the one that young people choose least to speak, as indicated in our survey results.

There is nothing about Dutch that makes it less likeable or less learnable than other languages, the problem is in the way Dutch has been imposed on Bonaire and used as the only language of instruction in the schools. For the great majority of the people of the island, Dutch is a foreign language, but instead of being taught in the schools as a foreign language, it is being taught as if it were a first language for the majority of the students, as reflected in the interview and focus group comments.

The basic principle of education is to ‘Go from the known to the unknown’ that is, to use what the students already know to introduce new knowledge, so, if we want the

majority of the students to succeed, a foreign language should never be used as the language of instruction in the classroom. Unfortunately, up until now, students have been expected to learn initial literacy and all of their subjects in Dutch in Bonaire, and the result is that the majority of the students perform below their academic potential and acquire negative attitudes toward school in general and toward Dutch in particular. Instead of serving the majority, the schools end up mainly serving the minority of students whose parents speak Dutch as a first language. In general, we were surprised by the lack of publicly available statistics concerning education on Bonaire. For example, there are few statistics available to the public concerning the levels of academic achievement of Bonairean students in the Dutch-only system, but some of the observations made by teachers and school administrators during our interview and focus group sessions can be found in the box following this paragraph.

Dutch as the main/only language of instruction: A recipe for disaster

- Teacher*: 'Repeating grades has become naturalized.'
- Another teacher*: 'Most kids are scoring between 1.5 and 2 years below grade level (especially from *groep 6* onward). Not just in our schools, but in all the schools on the island, even in some of the Dutch ones.'
- Administrator*: 'Functional illiteracy on Bonaire is almost double the rate of the European Netherlands.'
- Another administrator*: 'Most students who go to the Netherlands for study do not succeed, most end up with debts, and most stay in Holland. The few Bonaireans who succeed in further studies leave Bonaire and never come back. It's hard to find the professionals we need here in Bonaire.'
- Teacher*: Parents are not very engaged. We recently organized a meeting for the parents of all the preschools on the island only 10 parents attended.

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The Dutch only school system is often promoted as the only way to assure that Bonairean students can gain access to university education in the European Netherlands. Statistics about the performance of Bonairean students are difficult to come by, but we were able to access the numbers of students in the different secondary school tracks (VWO or university track; HAVO or higher vocational track; VMBO or lower vocational track; and PO or practical track). The results are shocking, as demonstrated in section 2 above:

- 1) VWO (highest-tracked) students in Bonaire made up an average of around 7% of the total third year secondary school student population from 2014 to 2020 vs. 22.1% in Holland and when the success rates on the final examinations from

2015 to 2017 are considered, the averages were Bonaire 5% vs. Holland 20.1%. To make things worse, most Bonairean VWO students come from Dutch-speaking households on the island.

- 2) HAVO (second highest-tracked) students in Bonaire made up an average of 16.4% of the total third year secondary school student population from 2014 to 2020 vs. 22.5% in Holland and when the success rates on the final examinations from 2015 to 2017 are considered, the averages were Bonaire 10% vs. Holland 19.8%.
- 3) PO (lowest-tracked) students in Bonaire made up 11.5% of the total third year secondary school student population from 2014 to 2020 vs. only 2.9% in Holland.

Problem area 4: Workers who provide services to the community spend too much time translating to and from Dutch, instead of providing the services that they were trained to provide. Because Dutch is in most cases the language used by design or by default in formal sector institutions, most of those who work in those institutions as well as most of their clients are spending too much of their time dealing with problems of language and translation, rather than dealing with the substance of what they are supposed to be doing. Over the course of our research, those responsible for providing services to the people of the island gave testimony after testimony about how language policy and practice is a major obstacle that prevents them from doing their job in an optimal way. In the following paragraph can be found a list of just some of their observations. Teachers spend too much of their time struggling to help students understand Dutch, rather than actually teaching their subject content. Students spend too much of their time struggling to perform in Dutch, instead of learning their subject content. Health workers spend too much of their time doing translation and interpretation to and from Dutch, rather than focusing on the well-being of their patients. People with health problems spend too much of their time struggling with Dutch or just avoiding all contact with a health system that ‘doesn’t speak their language,’ rather than gaining adequate access to the health care that they need. Social workers spend too much of their time translating official documents from Dutch into a language that their clients can understand and too much of their time writing reports in Dutch, rather than actually dealing with the actual substance of their clients’ problems, such as access to the social security system, prevention of domestic violence, provision of foster care, etc. People who need social services find themselves constantly at a disadvantage because their benefits depend on a social security system that expects everyone to have high levels of competence in Dutch. Police spend too much of their time struggling to write or translate reports into Dutch rather than ensuring the safety of the community. Lawyers and the courts spend too much of their time doing translation and interpretation to and from Dutch, rather than administering justice. Technical legal language is difficult enough for anyone who

interacts with the courts, even for Dutch people in the European Netherlands. But in Bonaire, most people seeking justice face an even more daunting challenge, because not only do they need to understand and make themselves understood in this technical legal language, but they also need to do so in Dutch, which is a foreign language for them. All of this is summed up in the comments made during our interviews and focus group meetings.

Problem area 5: Many Bonaireans have given up when it comes to how issues of language are handled on the island, and have adopted an attitude of 'Laat maar zitten'/'Laat maar waaien': A tragic but common reaction to the use of Dutch as the predominant institutional language on Bonaire has been one of disengagement, resignation and avoidance. Many Bonaireans have adopted an attitude of 'Laat maar zitten'/'Laat maar waaien' both when they are asked about the language situation on the island, as well as when they are required to understand, speak, read or write Dutch, especially in institutional contexts. Students drop out of the formal system because they cannot cope with Dutch. Parents have disengaged from their children's studies, in part because they cannot cope with Dutch. People who need health care do not access it because they can neither effectively communicate their ailments to a physician, nor can they adequately understand what the physician's diagnoses and prescribes to alleviate their suffering. Many, if not most, of those on the island who might be able to benefit from social and legal services feel reluctant to access those services, at least in part because they are ashamed that their competence in Dutch is less than that which is required by the system, etc.

Disengagement, resignation, and avoidance are extremely dangerous signs that a harmful situation has deteriorated to a point where people can no longer imagine any constructive way to engage in any process to remedy that situation. The hopelessness and desperation expressed by these attitudes are often a recipe for social conflict, when people eventually resort to violence and disruptive behavior as the only way left for them to make their feelings and voices heard. These danger signals are abundantly evident in the statements made during our interviews and focus group sessions, some of which are included in the main report.

Problem area 6: With no official support, the use of English is rising rapidly on the island, especially among the youth. In nearly all of our interviews and focus group meetings, one of the most common themes was the spectacular rise in the use of English on Bonaire, especially among the youth. While Bonaireans themselves are currently making significant additions to their linguistic resources by gaining considerable new skills and competence in English as a language through which they can access greater social, economic and cultural advantages, they almost invariably find themselves doing this

with no official or institutional support whatsoever. In other words, they are accomplishing this not because of, but *in spite of* any institutional language policies and practices, which in most cases do not even acknowledge, let alone cultivate, these new linguistic competences in English. The result is that while informal competence in English is skyrocketing, academic competence in English is lagging behind, as illustrated in the results of the language competence self-assessment instrument and the narrative proficiency test administered as part of the research conducted for this project (see sections 6 and 7 of this report). The lack of any official recognition of students' impressive and growing competence in English is dramatized by the comments made by participants in our survey and focus group sessions.

More alarming than the lost opportunity for providing students with an academic competence in English, however, is a growing tendency for young people to reject both Dutch and Papiamentu in favor of English. This suggests that English may be becoming the language of alienated youth on Bonaire, who not only reject Papiamentu because of all the years of rejection that they have experienced in the school system just because Papiamentu is their home language, but who also reject Dutch as the language that has been violently imposed on them by the same education system. Evidence for an increasing rejection by young people of Dutch language and Dutch identity on the one hand and of Papiamentu and Bonairean identity on the other can be found in both the quantitative and qualitative data gathered for this study.

Problem area 7: There will be serious consequences for Bonaire and its people if informed, systematic and concrete efforts are not made to address language policy and practice on the island in a scientific and socially conscious way. There is general agreement that the present situation is not only flawed, but also untenable. That is, that there will be serious consequences for Bonaire and its people if informed, systematic and concrete efforts are not made to address the manner in which language matters are being handled on the island in a scientific and socially conscious way. For example, if attitudes toward Dutch language and identities are becoming more negative among young people, how long will it take before these same negative attitudes are adopted toward all things Dutch, including people coming to Bonaire from the European Netherlands? These falling levels in positive attitudes toward Dutch language in the face of the rise in preferences for English are also mirrored to a lesser degree in falling levels in positive attitudes toward Papiamentu. As demonstrated in our survey results, when asked the extent to which they like hearing each of the four languages spoken, there was a consistent preference for Papiamentu and Spanish over Dutch across all generations of respondents. The only major generational difference in preferences for hearing any of the four languages spoken was registered for English, with the youngest group of respondents (ages 16-30) showing higher rates of preference than the middle-aged group (ages 31-50), and the middle-aged group showing higher rates of preference for English than

the oldest group (ages 51 and over). When it comes to the extent to which respondents valued their competence in the four languages, levels remained stable and generally high over all of the generations for all of the languages except Papiamentu, where a slight but significant drop in positive responses was registered among the youngest age group, although it still remained higher than for Dutch and Spanish.

As shown in our survey results, this same trend was evident when respondents were asked to rate the extent to which they believed that each of the four languages needed to be promoted more on Bonaire, with the responses remaining positive and stable across the three generational groups for all of the languages except for Dutch, which showed a slight but significant decrease among the youngest age group. When they were asked about the extent to which they felt that children should learn to read and write the four languages, while the very positive results for English and moderately positive results for Spanish remained constant over the three age groups, the very positive results for Papiamentu and Dutch both registered small but significant drops among the youngest respondents, when compared to the responses from the other age groups. The tendency on the part of young Bonaireans to reject Dutch language and identity brings to mind the disastrous consequences of imposing one language to the exclusion of another elsewhere in the Caribbean. For example, US language and education policies in their colony of Puerto Rico from the early to the mid-20th century were very similar to the language and education policies today on Bonaire. Even though Spanish is the first language of the great majority of Puerto Ricans, the US insisted on using English as the main language of instruction in the schools from around 1900. As a result, Puerto Rican students did very poorly in their studies, and they acquired very negative attitudes toward English and English speakers in particular, and toward education in general. The English only policy on Puerto Rico was such a disaster, that the language of instruction was changed from English to Spanish in the 1940s and 1950s, but it has taken until the 21st century to begin to repair the damage: Puerto Ricans still have many negative attitudes toward English, English speakers and education.

Our quantitative and qualitative results indicate that Bonaire may be falling into the same monolingual trap as Puerto Rico with the imposition of Dutch. A major difference that makes the situation on Bonaire potentially even worse than for Puerto Rico is that younger Bonaireans are not only increasingly rejecting Dutch language and Dutch identity, but also Papiamentu language and Bonairean identity. The situation with Dutch and Papiamentu in Bonaire is not yet nearly as bad as with English in Puerto Rico, but frustration is rising and attitudes are deteriorating, and there is no reason why things won't get much worse, unless something is done at the level of policy and institutional practice to prevent it.

With the support of a new framework for language policy on the island, Dutch could be used as a language of inclusion alongside Papiamentu, Spanish and English, rather than an imposed language of exclusion both in governance and in the schools. In multilingual

schools such as the SAM (Scol Arubano Multilingaul) schools in Aruba, Papiamentu is the main language of instruction, but Dutch, English and Spanish are also used together with Papiamentu through a process called translanguaging whereby teachers and students are given permission and are encouraged to use all four languages in a complementary way to achieve learning goals. In these schools, children are doing well in all of the languages, including Dutch, so that their experience with Dutch and with school in general has been transformed from one of pain and failure to one of pleasure and success.

Globally, some people refer to English as a ‘killer language’ because it seems to be rapidly replacing other languages, for example, many of the university courses in the Netherlands itself are now taught in English, and in Bonaire commercial banks already insist on using English as their main language, especially when it comes to contracts and documents. If we remain entrapped in the exclusive, monolingual, winner language/loser language paradigm, it seems to be only a matter of time before the use of English marginalizes the speakers of Dutch, Spanish and Papiamentu in Bonaire.

If we move beyond the old ways of thinking to embrace inclusive multilingualism, however, there is no reason why Bonaireans can’t continue to speak all four languages, making the island and its people very competitive in a global economy. This means, of course, that the existing relationships between these languages will need to be changed from relations of domination to relations of cosmopolitan conviviality, in keeping with Bonaire’s rich multilingual and inclusive traditions.

Proposed vision for language policy on Bonaire: Inclusive Multilingualism

The general framework that we propose for language policy in Bonaire is that which has been articulated again and again by those who have participated in the qualitative and quantitative research carried out for the present project: Inclusive Multilingualism. Virtually all of the participants in our study have expressed generally positive attitudes toward Papiamentu, Dutch, Spanish and English, especially when these languages are used as a means for making people feel included on the island.

In fact, most of the instances where people express negative thoughts or feelings about any of the four main languages spoken on Bonaire is when these languages have been used as tools for making people feel excluded on the island.

Some strategic goals for Inclusive Multilingual language policy making in Bonaire

An Inclusive Multilingual framework would require that all four of the major languages of Bonaire (Papiamentu, Dutch, English and Spanish) be officially recognized languages on the island, with Papiamentu recognized as Bonaire’s matrix language, with the strategic goals of:

- Promoting a vision of the people of Bonaire as being at the forefront of innova-

tion and uniquely and inclusively multilingual, by taking advantage of every opportunity for cultivating, maintaining and enhancing their competences in all languages, but especially the island's four main languages (Papiamentu, Dutch, Spanish and English) and thus creating a uniquely qualified and cosmopolitan workforce equipped for active participation in socially conscious and ecofriendly cultural and economic activities that link the peoples of the Caribbean, Europe, the Americas and Africa.

- Promoting a vision of the island of Bonaire as an innovative, strategically located and uniquely inclusive, multilingual, cosmopolitan and eco-friendly venue for international exchanges and conferences, learning about the languages and cultures of the Caribbean and beyond, niche-/eco- tourism, hosting mobile digital workers, etc.

These goals of inclusive multilingualism have particular relevance for the field of education, as was clearly articulated many times in the qualitative data collected over the course of our research in Bonaire.

Some principles of innovative policy making and implementation

Even though Inclusive Multilingual language policy making and implementation have a deep and well-established foundation in the unofficial and non-institutional convivial and cosmopolitan lifeways on Bonaire, official and institutional policy and practice have at best ignored inclusivity and multilingualism, and at worst actively discouraged inclusivity and multilingualism on the island. As such, from an institutional perspective, Inclusive Multilingualism represents in many ways a major shift toward innovative policy making and implementation in Bonaire. There are at least three general principles that should be followed at all times when formulating and implementing language policies that break with the patterns of the past:

- 1) **Social justice:** All language policy in Bonaire must be implemented with a comprehensive understanding of the historical relationships among the four main languages on the island. For example, special adjustments need to be made for Papiamentu, given its marginalized status in the past, and the role of Dutch on the island must change from a language of monolingual exclusion to a language that invites cosmopolitan conviviality.
- 2) **Public awareness:** Each and every language policy initiative must be accompanied by a consistent, well-designed, and continuous program of public awareness activities that convey a carefully selected set of clear and well-crafted messages over and over again to the entire population of the island on a never-ending, long-term basis in order to assure that all stakeholders are involved and on-board with the changes.
- 3) **Networking:** Comprehensive change in language policy requires a broad range of modifications to existing practices in areas such as revamping procedures,

retraining, materials production, etc. As such, team-work and cooperation among agencies on the island is essential, and Bonaire must take advantage of every opportunity to learn from best practices already in place elsewhere, such as the Scol Arubano Multilingual program in Aruba, English materials production in Saba and Statia, etc.

Multilingual language making means different approaches for different languages

Inclusive Multilingual policy making and implementation will require different approaches for different languages, due to the fact that each language has its own social and historical trajectory in Bonairean society. These approaches follow the concept of *Language Making*, taking into account the historical preconditions and social, economic, and political inequalities in society (Krämer, Mijts & Bartens, 2022). In the following sections, we discuss the different approaches that will be required for Papiamentu, Dutch, Spanish, and English within an Inclusive Multilingual framework.

Multilingual language making: Papiamentu

Papiamentu must be acknowledged and given special consideration as the ‘matrix language’ of Bonaire, that is, the inclusive language that is associated most strongly with the inclusive culture that has provided the environment in which all of the other languages have been allowed to take root and thrive over the past two centuries, and which has already enabled Bonaire to become a substantially multilingual island. To accomplish this, opportunities to acquire and improve both informal and academic competences in Papiamentu need to be made available at all levels and for all sectors of the island’s population, especially those who come from abroad to work in Bonaire.

Papiamentu also deserves special attention because of its status as the ‘mother tongue’ or main home language of the majority of Bonaireans, and its status as a first language or strong second language of almost the entire population of the island. For these and other reasons, the expansion of Papiamentu from the marginalized and compartmentalized private sphere into the public sphere is key to making Bonaireans’ even more inclusive and even more multilingual vision for the future a reality.

Since a disproportionately high number of the minority of Bonaireans who use only one or two languages in their daily lives do so in Papiamentu, Papiamentu should be given special treatment to make sure that all Bonaireans have maximal access to public services and educational achievement. For example, people who come to Bonaire from abroad to work should all be enrolled in programs to help them communicate in Papiamentu. As shown in the box that follows this paragraph, survey respondents indicated that those who come from abroad to work in Bonaire should have been familiarized with the linguistic and cultural practices of the ABC-islands, including a basic communicative competence in Papiamentu.

In general, Papiamentu needs more support than the other languages in order to gain an equal footing with them, because it, along with Bonaire's inclusive culture, has been severely marginalized and compartmentalized into the private spheres of 'family' and 'folk culture'. Care needs to be taken to heal wounds that have alienated so many Bonaireans from an appreciation of their island's languages, cultures and identities. This is reflected in many of the statements made by those who participated in our interview and focus group sessions.

Care needs to be taken to heal wounds that have alienated so many Bonaireans from an appreciation of their island's languages, cultures and identities. For example, while informal competence levels in Papiamentu are generally high on Bonaire, academic competence, especially in areas such as written expression, have been almost completely neglected by the schools and are on average much lower than for the other languages, as illustrated in the results from the language competence self -assessment instrument included in the main report. In the graphs that represent these results, it can be seen that those who completed the self -assessment instrument in Dutch rated themselves on the whole as native-level 'proficient users' of Dutch (Level C1, average around 5 out of 6), those who completed the self -assessment instrument in Spanish rated themselves on the whole as native-level 'proficient users' of Spanish (Level C1, average around 5.25 out of 6), those who completed the self -assessment instrument in English rated themselves on the whole as native-level 'advanced proficient users' of English (Level C2, average around 5.75 out of 6), but those who completed the self -assessment instrument in Papiamentu only rated themselves on the whole as non-native learner-level 'independent users' of Papiamentu (average around 3.5 out of 6), as if they were still learners of the language instead of native speaker-level users. This means that those who completed the self -assessment instrument in Papiamentu, and therefore generally can be presumed to be first language speakers of Papiamentu, felt that they have major deficiencies in their competence in that language, especially in the more formal academic registers, such as writing and spoken production (formal oral presentation).

As Bonaire's matrix language, Papiamentu has played a key role in ensuring that an inclusively multilingual environment has taken root and thrived on the island over the past two centuries, in spite of official policy and practice. There is evidence, however, that the standardization of Papiamentu itself has introduced an unnecessary degree of exclusivity in terms of the amount of formal training that is required in order to be able to write the language, particularly the accents. At some point, the relevant authorities who have been responsible for formulating the orthography should be approached to see what might be done to make reading and especially writing Papiamentu a maximally user-friendly experience. This would greatly facilitate the acquisition of more formal registers of Papiamentu among the entire population. Complaints were constantly raised

by participants in our interview and focus group sessions about the difficulties experienced by Bonaireans when they attempt to write Papiamentu according to the standards in place at the present time.

Multilingual language making: Dutch

Since it has an unfortunate history of being imposed on the people of Bonaire and has become in many ways a language of exclusion from social services, educational achievement, etc, the role of the Dutch language in Bonaire needs to be completely reimagined if it is to survive at all on the island. For example, for most Bonairean students, Dutch is a foreign language that they are mainly exposed to in the classroom, therefore for them, methodologies appropriate to foreign language education should be used for Dutch, instead of those used in L1 or even L2 education. If an Inclusively Multilingual translanguaging approach is adopted in the schools, both their needs as well as the needs of the minority of students who speak Dutch at home can be met. Generally, in order not to be effectively eliminated by English, Dutch needs to be reinvented in Bonaire as an inclusive and ‘cool’ language that will attract young Bonaireans, instead of repelling and alienating them. To accomplish this, the CITO *toets* should be abandoned, the inspection system completely revamped, and more appropriate materials adapted to the Caribbean should be used for teaching Dutch.

Multilingual language making: Spanish

Since a disproportionately high number of the minority of Bonaireans who use only one or two languages in their daily lives do so in Spanish, the needs of Spanish speakers should be given special treatment to make sure that all Bonaireans have maximal access to public services and educational achievement. For example, adult education programs in Spanish, Papiamentu, Dutch and English should be made available free of charge to all Bonaireans through existing institutions that already provide such services on a more limited basis. Just as is the case with Papiamentu, Spanish needs more support than the other languages in order to gain an equal footing with them, because it has become increasingly marginalized over the past few decades, as Spanish has become less and less identified with the media and wealthy South American tourists, and more and more identified with the immigrant classes who do much of the menial labor on the island.

Multilingual language making: English

Despite being either completely neglected or actively discouraged by existing policy and practice in education and the rest of the public sector, competence in English is rapidly rising among young Bonaireans, to the extent that English now poses a risk to other languages on the island, especially Dutch. Because it is not being acknowledged by the schools, students’ considerable informal English competence is not being used effectively to cultivate their academic competence in English, which represents a tragic

missed opportunity. Because of this negligence, today's young Bonaireans and their island will needlessly suffer in the future, given that academic competence in English has become the key ticket to success on the globalized labor market. In response to a monolingual Dutch-only education system that has alienated them from both Papiamentu as a marginalized language and Dutch as an imposed language, the youth will continue to rebelliously insist on a monolingual preference for English. As such, the best chance that Bonaire has to avoid the 'killer English' syndrome and realize its Inclusive Multilingual vision for the future is a new multilingual translanguaging approach at school.

Some points of departure for Inclusive Multilingual language policy making in Bonaire

In order to begin to implement Inclusive Multilingual language policy in Bonaire, it will not be necessary to start from point zero. In the first place, as noted above, Bonaireans have already achieved much over the centuries in the area of inclusive multilingualism. This means that, instead of waiting for every single element to be in place, in some areas immediate action can be taken, right here, right now. The following points of departure represent examples of policy making and implementation that can begin immediately:

- explicitly recognizing and studying the additional burdens imposed on students, workers, providers of services, users of services, vulnerable groups, etc. by (near)-native language expectations for Dutch, for example, by dialoging with service providers to determine which documents and which service pathways are in the most urgent need of translation from Dutch into the other languages, by dialoging with teachers to identify which materials and curricula are in most urgent need of transition away from the monolingual Dutch model, etc.
- meeting the language needs of the most at risk populations by accommodating Papiamentu and Spanish in both the private and public sectors, for example, by removing all linguistic barriers to all forms of access across the island
- structurally supporting organizations that already focus on the maintenance and promotion of multilingual practices, for example, by identifying and strengthening the language-related initiatives of these organizations, especially in areas such as public awareness campaigns, adult education, etc.
- supporting the establishment and expansion of introduction and integration courses for newcomers who wish to work and live in Bonaire that stress the ABC-islands' inclusively multilingual heritage and vision, and which recognize and value Papiamentu as Bonaire's matrix language
- supporting and emphasizing the acquisition especially of Papiamentu and Dutch, but also of Spanish and English by all citizens in Bonaire, for example, by giving further support to existing programs geared toward the acquisition of the four

languages at all levels, including pre-primary, primary, secondary and especially adult education

- supporting the development of multilingual education initially in primary education through the adoption as quickly as possible of the most easily integrated elements of models such as SAM (Scol Arubano Multilingual), for example, by immediately giving all teachers and all students permission to use and promote all of the four main languages in all of the classrooms on the island, totally re-vamping the inspection and testing systems, etc.
- structurally supporting and explicitly working towards collective uniformity of Inclusive Multilingual language policy at all levels of education, for example, by adopting the advice of the Expert Group Papiamentu (Craane, 2015)
- promoting and supporting the visibility of Papiamentu as the island's matrix language in the public sphere, including but not limited to multilingual road signs, toponyms, ergonyms, etc.

Pointers for Inclusive Multilingual policy making and implementation on Bonaire

In the sections below, we provide examples of how Inclusive Multilingual policy could be made and implemented in Bonaire at the macro-, meso- and micro-levels.

Pointers for Inclusive Multilingual policy making and implementation at the macro-levels:

All four of the major languages of Bonaire (Papiamentu, Dutch, Spanish and English) should be made officially recognized languages on the island, with Papiamentu recognized as Bonaire's matrix language. This means that:

- All of the public and private institutions on the island should actively acknowledge, valorize, and promote the use of all four of these languages, while acknowledging that Papiamentu has been marginalized in the past and is in need of special remedial measures as the island's matrix language.
- In every instance, a systematic effort should be made to eliminate any law, policy, procedure or practice at any level of government, in any institutions in both the public and private sectors, and in any and all spheres of public life on Bonaire that in any way use any of the four major languages as a means of exclusion rather than inclusion. This should be done while acknowledging that Papiamentu has been marginalized in the past and is in need of special remedial treatment as the island's matrix language.

Pointers for Inclusive Multilingual policy making and implementation at the meso-levels:

- All governmental services should be made available to the public in all four languages in both oral and written form. Dutch should be phased out as the default

language used in the legal system, the health system, the social services system, etc.

- In education (both public and private): An Inclusive Multilingual translanguaging model should be adopted at all levels of education in Bonaire, which recognizes Papiamentu as the matrix language of the island. Dutch should be phased out as the exclusive and assumed language of instruction in the schools, and instead be taught as a foreign language.
- Commercial institutes, such as banks, should phase out the practice of insisting on the use of English in their interactions with the public, and instead should actively promote the use of all four languages in documents and in all of their dealings with employees and customers.
- In general, all newcomers to Bonaire who intend to work on the island should participate in educational and cultural activities that stress the ABC-islands' inclusively multilingual heritage and vision, and which recognize and value Papiamentu as Bonaire's matrix language

Pointers for Inclusive Multilingual policy making and implementation at the micro-levels:

The following micro-level recommendations for policy making and implementation with particular focus on Inclusive Multilingual education were made by the teachers who participated in our interview and focus group meetings:

- Teach basic concepts first in the language that the students know best, then teach the same concept in the other languages.
- Change testing to reflect our own languages and cultures.
- Use translanguaging so that students can spend most of their time trying to learn their subjects, instead of struggling with Dutch.
- Experiment with new ways to use language in the classroom, taking what works and then adopting it systemwide, making sure that we have all of the means in place before we try to change everything.
- Provide more hours for language teaching and develop appropriate materials and online learning for Papiamentu especially, but also for Dutch, English and Spanish.
- Establish an island-wide Papiamentu teachers' organization/network to support the *Referentiekader* and learning lines for Papiamentu.
- Conduct awareness campaigns about Inclusive Multilingual education among parents and teachers in order to dispel myths and false assumptions.
- Promote tertiary level studies in the Caribbean region among secondary school students.
- Encourage students to change their attitude toward education from one of resignation and frustration to one of engagement and success.

Conclusion

It is our sincere hope that the research and advice that form the basis for this report will begin the process of transforming language policy and practice into something that proactively and comprehensively supports the efforts of the people of Bonaire to shape their island in their wonderfully diverse yet inclusive images and interests, with no language left behind, and no Bonairean left behind

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WE KUNNEN BETER DAN ‘*CHAMBUKA*’: NAAR INCLUSIEVE MEERTALIGHEID IN BELEID EN PRAKTIJK OP BONAIRE

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Samenvatting

Voordat we specifieke beleidsaanbevelingen voor Bonaire doen, moeten we een goed begrip krijgen van wat de mensen van het eiland al verwezenlijkt hebben, evenals een goed begrip van wat de bevolking idealiter in de toekomst zou willen bereiken. Met andere woorden, het beleid moet de visie weerspiegelen die Bonairianen hebben voor hun toekomst, en het moet de prestaties en sterke punten van de bevolking van Bonaire erkennen en waarderen als een uitgangspunt om die visie werkelijkheid te maken. Uit de resultaten van de enquête die in het kader van dit project werd afgenomen, blijkt dat Bonairianen al succesvol zijn in het creëren van een meertalige samenleving. Zoals aangegeven in de kwantitatieve en kwalitatieve resultaten van onze onderzoeksactiviteiten, zijn Bonairianen trots op hun inclusief meertalige gemeenschap en hopen ze op een toekomst waarin deze inclusieve meertaligheid nog sterker wordt. Survey-respondenten waardeerden hun eigen competenties in het Papiaments, Nederlands, Engels en Spaans en gaven aan dat ze willen dat de scholen op het eiland ervoor zorgen dat de volgende generatie ook geletterd wordt in alle vier de talen. De vraag is: zullen het officiële beleid en de praktijk de inclusieve meertalige visie van de mensen op het eiland blijven frustreren en ontmoedigen, of zullen ze eindelijk beginnen om die te ondersteunen?

Kernbegrippen: Language policy, Bonaire, multilingualism, language making, inclusivity

Inleiding

Na een lange discussie tijdens een van de focusgroepbijeenkomsten met Bonairiaanse maatschappelijk werkers en leraren, kwamen de leden van de groep uiteindelijk tot de volgende conclusie: "*Chambuká. Dit is eigenlijk wat we doen met taal in ons werk. We maken het beste van een slechte situatie.*" Als er één woord in het Papiaments is dat de algemene meningen kan samenvatten die keer op keer werden geuit over hoe taalkwesties op Bonaire worden behandeld tijdens vrijwel alle interviews en focusgroepbijeenkomsten die we tijdens onze bezoeken aan het eiland hebben gehouden, dan is het *chambuká* ('het beste maken van een slechte situatie').

Onder de etnisch, sociaal, politiek en ideologisch diverse groep mensen die deelnamen aan onze interview- en focusgroepbijeenkomsten, was er letterlijk niemand die van mening was dat taalkwesties worden behandeld op een manier die zelfs maar overeenkomt met de meest elementaire behoeften van de overgrote meerderheid van de bevolking van Bonaire, laat staan op een manier die maximaal zou kunnen profiteren van hun aanzienlijke talige middelen en potentieel. Als gevolg hiervan worstelen leraren, maatschappelijk werkers, politie, rechters, advocaten, bestuurders, mediawerkers, werknemers in de private sector en gewone burgers van de allerjongste tot de alleroudste hier elke dag mee en doen ze er alles aan om het beste te maken van een slechte situatie als het gaat om het aanpakken van de ernstige problemen die worden veroorzaakt door het ontbreken van een wetenschappelijke en sociaal bewuste benadering van taalbeleid op het eiland.

Waarom een ander onderzoek?

Toen we door de Fundashon Akademia Papiamentu onder auspiciën van een projectsubsidie van het Openbaar Lichaam Bonaire werden gevraagd om een kader te ontwerpen voor de formulering van taalbeleid voor Bonaire, waren we ons er terdege van bewust dat er in het verleden vele, vele onderzoeks- en beleidsinitiatieven waren voorgesteld en ondernomen met betrekking tot taalkwesties op het eiland. (Voor een overzicht van recente beleidsinitiatieven, zie het hoofdrapport). Helaas hebben de meeste, zo niet alle, van deze projecten een minimale rol gespeeld in het oplossen van de steeds ernstiger wordende problemen in verband met taalbeleid en -praktijk waarmee de bevolking van het eiland dagelijks wordt geconfronteerd.

Om deze en andere redenen zijn veel Bonairianen sceptisch geworden over dergelijke initiatieven. Er zijn veel factoren die hebben geleid tot de minder dan adequate resultaten die zijn bereikt als gevolg van deze eerdere initiatieven, maar een aantal van de grote tekortkomingen die steeds weer lijken op te duiken, hebben te maken met de behoefte aan een aanpak die zowel *sociaal bewust* als *wetenschappelijk verantwoord* is. We hebben daarom een bewuste poging gedaan om een community-based aanpak te hanteren die de Bonairiaanse inbreng in de onderzoeks- en adviesprocessen maximaliseert, naast een rigoureuze grondige datagedreven aanpak die onze bevindingen onderbouwt op een

manier die empirisch geldig, betrouwbaar, nauwkeurig en accuraat is. Een ander probleem met projecten uit het verleden is hun beperkte of fragmentarische aard, die de schaal en alomtegenwoordigheid van het vraagstuk negeert. Om deze reden hebben we ook voor een holistische, systemische en alomvattende aanpak gekozen in ons werk. Zoals blijkt uit onze beleidsdoorlichting in het hoofdrapport, hebben voorgaande beleidsbeloften geen doelbewuste poging gedaan om te breken met het contraproductieve, zero-sum game, winner-take-all-patroon dat in het verleden is ontstaan tijdens de eindeloze en verhitte debatten over taalkwesties op Bonaire; een patroon dat er ten onrechte van uitgaat dat taalbeleid gaat over het opleggen van het gebruik van de ene taal ten koste van de andere(n). Zoals ruimschoots blijkt uit de resultaten van de survey die we in het kader van dit onderzoek hebben uitgevoerd en die in het hoofdrapport te vinden zijn, is een van de meest consistente thema's die we keer op keer zijn tegengekomen in ons werk op het eiland de hoop dat Bonaire een nog meertaliger eiland kan worden dan het al is, met een bevolking, vooral de jeugd, die meer vaardigheid krijgt in alle vier haar belangrijkste talen.

Net zo wijdverbreid is echter de angst dat een officieel taalbeleid meer zou kunnen doen om te belemmeren dan om te helpen bij het proces om deze verbeterde meertalige toekomst voor de komende generaties te realiseren. Het is daarom onze oprechte hoop dat het onderzoek en het advies dat de basis vormt voor dit rapport het proces zal starten om taalbeleid en -praktijk te transformeren en dat dit proces proactief en uitgebreid de inspanningen van de bevolking van Bonaire ondersteunt om hun eiland vorm te geven in hun prachtig diverse maar collectieve visies en interesses, zonder een taal achter te stellen, en zonder ook maar één Bonairiaan achter te laten.

Onderzoeksmethodologie: een community-based aanpak

Toen ons werd gevraagd om een kader te bieden voor de formulering van het taalbeleid op Bonaire, besloten we dat we eerst serieus *grondwerk* moesten doen, in de vorm van een community-based onderzoeksproject dat is ontworpen om een empirisch verifieerbaar en statistisch geverifieerd begrip te bieden van hoe met taalkwesties op het eiland wordt omgegaan. Ondanks de beperkingen die de COVID-19-pandemie met zich meebrengt, hebben onze partners op Bonaire ons geholpen om alle gegevens te verzamelen die we nodig hadden voor dit onderzoek tijdens drie onderzoeksbezoeken aan het eiland in 2021 en 2022. Deze onderzoeksbezoeken waren voorafgegaan door tientallen jaren van community-based engagement met de bevolking van Bonaire en de andere Caribische eilanden van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden over taalgerelateerde kwesties door de leden van ons onderzoeksteam, bestaande uit Nicholas Faraclas van de Universiteit van Puerto Rico, Ellen-Petra Kester van de Universiteit Utrecht en Eric Mijts van de Universiteit van Aruba.

We voerden een online enquête uit onder het grote publiek en lieten leraren zelfevaluaties van taalvaardigheid en narratieve vaardigheidstoetsen met hun studenten uitvoeren

(zie secties 5, 6, 7 van het hoofdrapport voor de resultaten van elk van deze onderzoeksactiviteiten). Hoewel we ook graag klasobservaties hadden gedaan, was dit onmogelijk vanwege de volksgezondheidscrisis. Om ervoor te zorgen dat er voldoende ruimte was voor Bonairianen om hun stem te laten horen in onze bevindingen konden we, ondanks de COVID-beperkingen, 26 interviews en 13 focusgroepbijeenkomsten houden met in totaal meer dan 70 belanghebbenden van alle achtergronden en lagen van de bevolking op Bonaire. Rekening houdend met het feit dat sommige mensen wellicht terughoudend waren voor persoonlijke ontmoetingen tijdens de gezondheidscrisis hebben we ook virtueel contact opgenomen met honderden andere Bonairianen via een online enquête, van wie er 99 schriftelijk commentaar hebben toegevoegd over taalkwesties op Bonaire. Bij het uitvoeren van al deze onderzoeksactiviteiten, en op basis van ons eerdere gemeenschapswerk in de regio (Faraclas, Kester & Mijts, 2013, 2019), hebben we een bewuste poging gedaan om ons te concentreren op het opnemen van Bonairianen wier stem nog niet is gehoord in de loop van de vele debatten die in het verleden hebben plaatsgevonden over institutioneel taalbeleid en -praktijk op het eiland. We deden dit om ruimte te maken voor nieuwe meningen en standpunten die beter de ervaringen, inzichten en reflecties van een meer representatieve steekproef van de gemeenschap zouden kunnen weergeven dan tot nu toe het geval is geweest.

We waren met name geïnteresseerd in het opnemen van de perspectieven van degenen wiens dagelijkse activiteiten hen voortdurend in situaties brengen waarin institutioneel taalbeleid (of het gebrek daaraan) de grootste impact heeft. Daarom hebben we ervoor gezorgd dat we bij het onderzoek leraren en medewerkers betrokken die werken in het kleuter-, lager, algemeen secundair, middelbaar beroepsonderwijs en volwassenenonderwijs, evenals een breed scala aan sociale en gemeenschapswerkers die zich bezighouden met de bevordering van het welzijn van alle lagen van de samenleving, inclusief baby's, jongeren, volwassenen, ouderen, werkzoekenden, mensen die medische zorg nodig hebben, degenen die op zoek zijn naar onderwijs- en opleidingsmogelijkheden, mensen met fysieke en emotionele uitdagingen, degenen die instabiele thuissituaties hebben en degenen die te maken hebben met de juridische en strafrechtelijke systemen. Om ervoor te zorgen dat ons begrip van zaken met betrekking tot taalbeleid en -praktijk op Bonaire zo nauwkeurig, zo breed en zo diep mogelijk zou zijn, hebben we er bewust voor gekozen om drie kwantitatieve en drie kwalitatieve onderzoeksstrategieën in te zetten, zodat de resultaten van elk instrument kunnen worden vergeleken met de resultaten van de andere vijf instrumenten. Deze triangulatie van resultaten betekent dat de beschrijvingen, analyses en aanbevelingen in dit document solide zijn gebaseerd op de dagelijkse realiteit waarmee vrijwel de gehele bevolking van Bonaire wordt geconfronteerd als hun leven wordt beïnvloed door taalbeleid en -praktijk. We hebben daarom een complementaire reeks statistisch significante *kwantitatieve* resultaten gebruikt die zijn verkregen uit een gebalanceerde en representatieve reeks onderzoeksinstrumenten

en een complementaire reeks *kwalitatieve* gegevens uit een even gebalanceerde en representatieve reeks instrumenten om een nauwkeurig beeld te verschaffen van kwesties met betrekking tot taalbeleid, taalgebruik en taalattitudes op het eiland.

Onze kwantitatieve instrumenten omvatten (zie sectie 5, 6 en 7 voor gedetailleerde resultaten):

- 1) een enquête onder de bevolking van het eiland in het Papiaments, Nederlands, Spaans en Engels waarop 662 mensen reageerden (402 in het Papiaments, 114 in het Nederlands, 85 in het Spaans en 61 in het Engels);
- 2) een zelfevaluatie afgenomen bij middelbare scholieren in het Papiaments, Nederlands, Spaans en Engels met betrekking tot hun vaardigheid in de 4 talen, waaraan 124 studenten deelnamen (57 in het Papiaments, 35 in het Spaans, 18 in het Nederlands en 14 in het Engels); en
- 3) een narratieve vaardigheidstest afgenomen bij middelbare scholieren in het Papiaments en het Nederlands om aspecten van de werkelijke beheersing van diezelfde studenten in de 4 talen te beoordelen, waaraan 69 studenten deelnamen (54 reacties in het Papiaments en 15 in het Nederlands).

Onze kwalitatieve instrumenten omvatten:

- 1) in totaal 26 individuele en groepsinterviews in het Papiaments, Nederlands, Spaans en Engels in zowel face-to-face als online modi;
- 2) een totaal van 13 focusgroepdiscussies uitgevoerd in het Papiaments, Nederlands, Spaans en Engels in zowel face-to-face als online modi; en
- 3) in totaal 99 schriftelijke opmerkingen in het Papiaments, Nederlands, Spaans en Engels van respondenten op de enquête onder de bevolking van het eiland (42 over vragenlijsten die in het Papiaments werden afgenomen, 30 opmerkingen over vragenlijsten die in het Nederlands werden afgenomen, 18 opmerkingen over vragenlijsten die in het Spaans werden afgenomen en 9 opmerkingen over vragenlijsten die in het Engels werden afgenomen).

Opgemerkt moet worden dat we in dit document directe "dubbele" en geparafraseerde 'enkele' aanhalingstekens gebruiken bij het weergeven van uitspraken die zijn gedaan in de interviews, focusgroepen en schriftelijke antwoorden die het corpus vormen van kwalitatieve gegevens die zijn verzameld tijdens ons onderzoek op Bonaire. We hebben er alles aan gedaan om de anonimiteit te waarborgen van degenen die in het kader van dit onderzoek uitspraken hebben gedaan die in dit rapport worden geciteerd of geparafraseerd.

Ons derde en laatste onderzoeksbezoek aan Bonaire was bedoeld om de voorlopige bevindingen in dit rapport aan de bevolking van het eiland te presenteren en om hun feedback te ontvangen over onze interpretatie van hun probleemanalyses en aanbevelingen. Dit werd gedaan om: 1) ervoor te zorgen dat de inhoud van dit rapport zoveel mogelijk overeenkomt met de opvattingen van Bonairianen over de huidige situatie, evenals met hun aanbevelingen voor de toekomst met betrekking tot taalbeleid en -praktijk in hun

gemeenschappen; en 2) om de bevolking van het eiland een extra kans te geven om met hun inzichten en terugkoppeling bij te dragen aan wat het eindproduct van het project is geworden.

Synthese van de resultaten

Van beleid en praktijk gebaseerd op foutieve veronderstellingen naar beleid en praktijk gebaseerd op de verwezenlijking van Bonairianen in het verleden en hun hoop voor de toekomst

Voordat we specifieke beleidsaanbevelingen voor Bonaire doen, moeten we een goed begrip krijgen van wat de mensen van het eiland al verwezenlijkt hebben, evenals een goed begrip van wat de bevolking idealiter in de toekomst zou willen bereiken. Met andere woorden, het beleid moet de visie weerspiegelen die Bonairianen hebben voor hun toekomst, en het moet de prestaties en sterke punten van de bevolking van Bonaire erkennen en waarderen als een uitgangspunt om die visie werkelijkheid te maken. Uit de resultaten van de enquête die in het kader van dit project werd afgenomen, blijkt dat Bonairianen al succesvol zijn in het creëren van een meertalige samenleving, waarbij de meerderheid van de respondenten aangeeft dat zij in hun dagelijks leven drie of meer talen gebruiken, zonder significante verschillen tussen degenen die de enquête in het Papiaments, Nederlands, Engels of Spaans invulden. De sterke tradities van inclusieve meertaligheid en saamhorigheid die de Bonairianen in staat hebben gesteld om dit alles te bereiken, kunnen in veel opzichten worden herleid tot de inclusief meertalige tradities van de inheemse Caribische en West-Afrikaanse voorouders van de bevolking van het eiland, die nog steeds voortleven in het dagelijks leven van Bonaire.

Als het gaat om de ontwikkeling van een visie op het taalbeleid op Bonaire, is er niet alleen significant bewijs voor verwezenlijkingen uit het verleden, maar ook een aanzienlijke consensus over de hoop van de bevolking van het eiland als het gaat om taal. Zoals aangegeven in de kwantitatieve en kwalitatieve resultaten van onze onderzoeksactiviteiten die in het volledige rapport te vinden zijn, zijn Bonairianen trots op hun inclusief meertalige gemeenschap en hopen ze op een toekomst waarin deze inclusieve meertaligheid nog sterker wordt. Survey-respondenten waardeerden hun eigen competenties in het Papiaments, Nederlands, Engels en Spaans en gaven aan dat ze willen dat de scholen op het eiland ervoor zorgen dat de volgende generatie ook geletterd wordt in alle vier de talen.

De vraag is: zullen het officiële beleid en de praktijk de inclusieve meertalige visie van de mensen op het eiland blijven frustreren en ontmoedigen, of zullen ze eindelijk beginnen om die te ondersteunen?

Onze beoordeling van recente beleidsinitiatieven in het hoofdrapport geeft aan dat wat tot op heden op het eiland geheerst heeft, geen goed ontworpen beleid is, maar een ad hoc, geïmproviseerd, informeel, maar sterk dwingend en vervreemdend regime van

voorschriften en praktijken, gebaseerd op een reeks mythen en **onjuiste** e veronderstellingen.

Onjuiste veronderstelling 1: Omdat de mensen van Bonaire al eeuwenlang deel uitmaken van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden, moeten ze bijna native competentie in het Nederlands hebben.

Feit 1: Zowel de kwantitatieve als kwalitatieve resultaten van het onderzoek waarover in dit rapport wordt gerapporteerd, tonen aan dat een gebrekkige eentalige Nederlandse benadering van het taalgebruik in officiële contexten (inclusief de scholen) een belangrijke factor is geweest die heeft bijgedragen aan een situatie waarin Nederlands een vreemde taal is en altijd is geweest voor de meerderheid van de Bonairianen, en dat er weinig aanwijzingen zijn dat dit snel zal veranderen, zeker als een dergelijk eentalig beleid blijft prevaleren.

Onjuiste veronderstelling 2: Nederlands moet de voertaal zijn om de mensen optimaal van dienst te kunnen zijn.

Feit 2: Uit onze interview- en focusgroepgegevens blijkt in hoge mate dat de officiële nadruk op het Nederlands als enige bestuurstaal waarschijnlijk het grootste obstakel is voor effectief administratief beheer en gemeenschapsdiensten op Bonaire.

Onjuiste veronderstelling 3: Nederlands moet de belangrijkste taal van het onderwijs zijn om Bonairiaanse kinderen voor te bereiden op hoger onderwijs in Nederland

Feit 3: De statistieken in het onderstaande kader, en ondersteund door de resultaten van de narratieve vaardigheidstoets, leveren schokkend en vernietigend bewijs dat, met Nederlands als instructietaal op het eiland, zeer weinig Bonairianen slagen in het hoger onderwijs in Nederland, met slechts 5% van alle Bonairiaanse studenten die slagen voor het VWO-examen (versus 20% in Nederland) en slechts 10% van alle Bonairiaanse studenten die slagen voor het AVO-examen (tegenover 19,8% in Nederland). Ervaring op andere eilanden van de voormalige Nederlandse Antillen zoals Saba, Aruba en Sint-Eustatius wijst erop dat het onderwijzen van Nederlands als vreemde taal in plaats van het te gebruiken als instructietaal, hoogstwaarschijnlijk het totale aantal Bonairianen dat met succes in Nederland studeert, zou vergroten.

Tabel 1 De mythe van een universitaire opleiding in Nederland

Bonaire: percentage van het cohort van jaar 3 studenten in elke opleiding	VMBO	HAVO	VWO	PO	VWO+ HAVO	VMBO+ PO
2020	66.5	14.7	9.0	9.7		
2019	67.3	17.1	7.6	8.0		
2018	64.0	15.7	7.0	13.2		
2017	58.9	18.4	6.7	16.0		
2016	63.2	14.9	7.3	14.6		
2015	65.4	19.2	5.4	10.0		
2014	71.2	14.6	5.5	8.8		
Gemiddeld % van cohort per opleiding 2014-2020	65.2	16.4	6.9	11.5	23.3	76.7
Gemiddelde slagingspercentages eindexamen 2015-2017	x .75	x .61	x .73			
	48.9	10	5		15	
Europees Nederland: percentage van het cohort van jaar 3 studenten in elke opleiding	VMBO	HAVO	VWO	PO	VWO+ HAVO	VMBO+ PO
2020	50.3	23.6	23.1	3.0		
2019	51.4	23.1	22.8	2.7		
2018	52.1	22.6	22.5	2.8		
2017	52.4	22.6	22.1	2.8		
2016	53.4	21.9	21.7	2.9		
2015	53.9	21.8	21.4	2.9		
2014	54.0	21.8	21.2	2.9		
Gemiddeld % van cohort per opleiding 2014-2020	52.5	22.5	22.1	2.9	44.6	55.4
Gemiddelde slagingspercentages voor het eindexamen 2015-2017	x .93	x .88	x.91			
	48.8	19.8	20.1		39.9	

Deze berekening is gebaseerd op cijfers van het Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (2022): StatLine - Vo; leerlingen, onderwijssoort, leerjaar, leeftijd (cbs.nl) en cijfers voor succesratio's Kamervragen (Aanhangsel) 2018-2019, nr. 2997 | Overheid.nl > Officiële bekendmakingen (officielebekendmakingen.nl)

Ironisch zou je kunnen stellen dat Bonaire zijn inclusieve meertaligheid heeft bereikt en behouden door de openheid en vindingrijkheid van zijn eigen mensen, met weinig of geen hulp of ondersteuning van officiële instanties. Nog tragischer en contraproductief

tiever is dat de meeste overheidsinstanties beleid en praktijken lijken te hebben gepromoot die niet alleen inclusieve meertaligheid in het heden belemmeren, maar ook de tendens hebben om Bonairianen het gevoel te geven dat hun hoop en dromen voor een inclusief meertalige toekomst onmogelijk te bereiken zullen zijn.

In onze gesprekken met Bonairianen van alle achtergronden en lagen van de bevolking horen we steeds weer dezelfde mythes over waarom Bonairianen hun inclusief meertalige visie nooit zouden kunnen realiseren:

Mythe 1 praktisch: "Ja, meertaligheid is een mooie droom, maar het zou te duur zijn om alle materialen te produceren, alle leraren en andere overheidsmedewerkers om te scholen en al het andere te doen wat nodig is om de droom werkelijkheid te maken."

Feit 1: De Nederlandse overheid heeft er geen probleem mee om miljoenen euro's te investeren in de productie en afname van de eentalige Nederlandse CITO *toets* of voor het inhuren van een eindeloze reeks consultants, docenten en inspecteurs uit Nederland om eentalig Nederlands onderwijs op Bonaire op te leggen, ook al is hun *return on investment* in termen van academische prestaties van studenten op het eiland minimaal geweest. Hoe komt het dat wanneer Bonairianen steun zoeken voor hun droom van inclusief meertalig onderwijs voor iedereen, het antwoord altijd lijkt te zijn: "Sorry, te veel geld, te veel werk."? In ieder geval zou het beperken van de enorme verliezen op onderwijsinvesteringen op het eiland die worden weergegeven in de bovenstaande tabel, de kosten die gepaard gaan met het verhelpen van de situatie meer dan compenseren.

Mythe 2 Verwarring: "Ja, meertaligheid is een mooie droom, maar kinderen zullen in de war raken als we ze in meer dan één taal proberen te onderwijzen."

Feit 2: Bonairianen zijn al eeuwenlang meertalig en er is geen bewijs dat dit ervoor heeft gezorgd dat ze op enigerlei wijze meer 'verward' zijn dan mensen in minder meertalige samenlevingen. Inclusief meertalig onderwijs wordt een realiteit op Aruba en de kinderen in de meertalige scholen daar ondervinden geen problemen met 'verwarring' als gevolg. Sterker nog, ze presteren beter dan leerlingen op de eentalige Nederlandse scholen, zelfs in het Nederlands.

Mythe 3 Engels: "Ja, meertaligheid is een mooie droom, maar in de toekomst zal iedereen Engels spreken, dus het is een verspilling van tijd en geld."

Feit 3: De bevolking van Bonaire heeft al laten zien dat, zelfs zonder enige officiële ondersteuning, nieuwe talen zoals Engels kunnen worden gesproken zonder andere talen zoals Papiaments, Nederlands of Spaans te verdrrukken. Engels hoeft op Bonaire geen 'killer language' te zijn. Niettemin suggereren onze enquête- en zelfevaluatiegegevens dat als het huidige eentalige Nederlandse onderwijsbeleid ervoor blijft zorgen dat jongeren Papiaments als een

'inferieure' taal afwijzen en het Nederlands als een opgelegde taal afwijzen, er een groot gevaar bestaat dat ze op een bepaald moment in de toekomst zullen beginnen te weigeren een andere taal te spreken dan Engels. Dus als Engels op een gegeven moment daadwerkelijk een 'killer language' wordt op Bonaire, zal dat mogelijk zijn gemaakt door de gebrekkigheid van taalbeleid en de praktijk die op dit moment op het eiland heerst.

Mythe 4 Papiaments is voor thuis, Nederlands is voor school: "Ja, meertaligheid is een mooie droom, maar sommige talen zoals Papiaments zijn niet zo 'ontwikkeld' en/of niet zo 'groot' als andere talen zoals het Nederlands, dus ze kunnen niet dezelfde officiële status hebben in de overheid, de klas, enz."

Feit 4: Naar wereldstandaarden is Nederlands geen 'grote' taal, er was zelfs een tijd waarin Nederlands als een 'minder ontwikkelde' taal werd beschouwd en Latijn de taal was van wetenschap en vooruitgang. Talen veranderen als ze worden gebruikt in nieuwe omgevingen. Bovendien blijkt uit onze gegevens dat Papiaments al soms onofficieel wordt gebruikt als instructietaal, ondanks het eentalige Nederlandse beleid. Docenten en studenten hebben dringend behoefte aan toestemming om alle talen en taalkundige middelen die ze tot hun beschikking hebben te kunnen gebruiken om maximaal academisch succes te behalen en hun volledige academische potentieel te realiseren. Zeggen dat 'Papiaments voor thuis, Nederlands voor school is' of dat 'Papiaments een kleine, Nederlands een grote taal is', is gewoon een slim verholde manier om de oude koloniale ideologie in stand te houden dat 'Papiaments inferieur, en Nederlands superieur is' en voor het beperken van het Papiaments tot informele gebruiksdomeinen.

In het algemeen, wanneer een initiatief opduikt om de schade te herstellen die de bevolking van Bonaire en andere gekoloniseerde landen in de afgelopen eeuwen is aangedaan door koloniale ideologieën, regeringen, beleid en praktijken, wordt dat initiatief ofwel volledig genegeerd door de koloniserende machten, of, als het onmogelijk is om dit te negeren, nemen ze er absoluut geen verantwoordelijkheid voor, wat betekent dat het de gekoloniseerden zijn die de volledige last moeten dragen voor het herstellen van de schade. In onze interviews en in de focusgroepsessies werd dit punt vaak naar voren gebracht.

Het is één ding voor regeringen om de schade die is aangericht door gefaald beleid uit het verleden te negeren en te vermijden, maar het is iets heel anders om datzelfde gefaalde beleid in het heden te bestendigen. In ons overzicht van recente beleidsinitiatieven in het hoofdrapport lijkt er een beperkte mate van wettelijke erkenning van Papiaments te zijn geweest in officiële institutionele contexten, maar degenen die met ons spraken in onze interview- en focusgroepsessies maakten ons pijnlijk bewust dat er in de praktijk weinig is veranderd, en dat er in sommige gevallen sprake is van een verslechtering. Dit wordt geïllustreerd door eerstehands verslagen van docenten over het

institutionele geweld dat zij en hun leerlingen ondergaan in klaslokalen op het eiland door toedoen van de onderwijsinspectie en toetssystematiek.

Probleemgebieden

Hoewel we doelbewust gepoogd hebben om de diversiteit van stemmen te maximaliseren van het corpus dat we verzamelden tijdens onze onderzoeksactiviteiten op Bonaire, toonden zowel de kwalitatieve als kwantitatieve gegevens aan dat er een aanzienlijke mate van algemene consensus is over enkele belangrijke probleemgebieden met betrekking tot kwesties van institutioneel taalbeleid en -praktijk op het eiland, waaronder het volgende:

- 1) Taalkwesties worden op Bonaire onvoldoende geregeld
- 2) Inclusieve meertaligheid is de trots en droom van de meeste Bonairianen, maar meertaligheid wordt ontmoedigd door institutionele praktijken
- 3) Nederlands is een vreemde taal voor de meeste Bonairianen, maar ze worden bestuurd alsof ze bijna native competentie in de taal hebben
- 4) Werknemers die diensten verlenen aan de gemeenschap besteden te veel tijd aan het vertalen van en naar het Nederlands, in plaats van het leveren van de diensten waarvoor ze zijn opgeleid
- 5) Veel Bonairianen hebben het opgegeven als het gaat om de manier waarop op het eiland met taalkwesties wordt omgegaan, en hebben een houding aangenomen van '*Laat maar zitten*'/ '*Laat maar waaien*'
- 6) Zonder officiële steun neemt het gebruik van Engels en competentie in het Engels snel toe op het eiland, vooral onder de jongeren, die er soms op staan om Engels te gebruiken, zowel als een manier om hun afwijzing van Papiaments uit te drukken, de taal die op school het meest is gediscrimineerd, en evenzeer als een manier om hun afwijzing van het Nederlands kenbaar te maken, de taal die hen op school is opgelegd.
- 7) Er zullen ernstige gevolgen zijn voor Bonaire en haar bevolking als er geen geïnformeerde, systematische en concrete inspanningen worden geleverd om het taalbeleid en de taalpraktijk op het eiland op een wetenschappelijk verantwoorde en sociaal bewuste wijze aan te pakken

Kortom, Bonaire is een samenleving geworden die verstrikt is geraakt in gebrekkig institutioneel taalbeleid en in gebrekkige institutionele taalpraktijken, in een permanente modus van *chambuká*, dat wil zeggen, hoewel Bonairianen hun uiterste best proberen te doen, komt het erop neer dat ze het beste proberen te maken van een slechte situatie. In de hier volgende sectie introduceren we elk van deze probleemgebieden door een platform te bieden aan de mensen van Bonaire om hun zorgen kenbaar te maken door middel van citaten en parafrasen van verklaringen die zijn gedaan in interviews, focusgroepsessies en in het opmerkingengedeelte van de enquête. Zo presenteren we de wijze waarop mensen op het eiland doorgaans kijken naar de manier waarop taalkwesties in

hun gemeenschappen worden behandeld. Vervolgens gebruiken we onze kwantitatieve gegevens om aan te tonen dat deze inzichten worden gedeeld door het grootste deel van de bevolking van het eiland. Onze kwalitatieve en kwantitatieve gegevens worden zo gecombineerd tot een nauwkeurige en representatieve beschrijving van wat er daadwerkelijk in de realiteit van Bonaire gebeurt. Als de situatie met betrekking tot elk probleemgebied is beschreven, presenteren we een analyse van de huidige situatie van Bonaire op basis van inzichten uit literatuur- en documentstudie in combinatie met onze kwalitatieve en kwantitatieve resultaten, met als doel een matrix van causale factoren te construeren die aanleiding hebben gegeven tot de huidige stand van zaken. Ten slotte gebruiken we deze analyse om aanbevelingen te doen voor het omgaan met elk probleemgebied, waarbij we zoveel mogelijk de aanbevelingen volgen die zijn gedaan door de Bonairianen die aan dit onderzoek hebben deelgenomen.

Probleemgebied 1: Taalzaken worden op Bonaire onvoldoende aangepakt. De heersende manier waarop taalkwesties worden behandeld, is precair ad hoc, jammerlijk ontoereikend en vormt meer een belemmering dan een hulp voor vrijwel elk segment van de bevolking van het eiland, van de minst bevoorrechte tot zelfs enkele van de meest bevoorrechte leden van de Bonairiaanse samenleving. In de praktijk is Nederlands de taal die vereist is in de meeste institutionele contexten en voor de meeste werknemers die diensten verlenen in die instituten. Op dit moment is er geen dwingend vereiste dat overheids- en andere diensten beschikbaar worden gesteld in het Papiaments of de andere meest gesproken talen op het eiland.

Probleemgebied 2: Inclusieve meertaligheid is de trots en droom van de meeste Bonairianen, maar meertaligheid wordt ontmoedigd door institutionele praktijken. De ABC-eilanden in het algemeen, en Bonaire in het bijzonder, richten zich op de markt voor toeristen, ondernemers, investeerders, digitale nomaden, enzovoorts. Ondanks de enorme talige hulpbronnen en het potentieel van de meertalige bevolking wordt er ter plaatse heel weinig gedaan om ervoor te zorgen dat die talige hulpbronnen worden beschermd en onderhouden, en nog minder wordt gedaan om die talige hulpbronnen actief te cultiveren en optimaal te benutten. In feite lijkt het erop dat precies het tegenovergestelde gebeurt, aangezien het heersende institutionele taalbeleid en de aanverwante praktijk de talige hulpbronnen en het potentieel van de meeste Bonairianen lijken te schaden en uit te schakelen.

De meertaligheid die vandaag de dag op Bonaire te vinden is, is een groot goed waar de mensen van het eiland terecht trots op kunnen zijn. Toch is er op dit gebied nog veel werk aan de winkel. Hoewel de meerderheid van de bevolking een hoog niveau van informele competentie in drie of meer talen heeft, missen ze meestal een hoog niveau van academische competentie in elke taal, zoals blijkt uit de resultaten van de narratieve

vaardigheidstoets, waar alleen de middelbare scholieren in het allerhoogste onderwijsniveau, van wie de meesten uit Nederlandstalige gezinnen komen, over een schrijfvaardigheid beschikken die zelfs maar in de buurt komt van wat men zou verwachten van jongeren op dezelfde leeftijd in een land waar studenten recht hebben op onderwijs in hun eigen taal. Voor de andere studenten heeft het feit dat hun academische opleiding in een vreemde taal heeft plaatsgevonden, hen effectief uitgesloten van elke uitgebreide academische competentie in welke taal dan ook. Over het algemeen is de beperkte academische competentie die de meeste Bonaireanen hebben alleen ontwikkeld in het Nederlands, een taal waarin, zoals onze enquêtegegevens aantonen, de meesten zich niet erg op hun gemak voelen. Het schoolstelsel negeert de hoge niveaus van informele competentie van de studenten in het Papiaments en het Engels (talen waar de studenten zich uiterst comfortabel bij voelen) volledig, zodat een perfecte mogelijkheid om academische competenties in het Papiaments en Engels te onderwijzen door het onderwijsstelsel wordt verspild, waardoor de deur wordt gesloten voor talloze academische en professionele kansen voor de meerderheid van de jonge Bonairianen.

Nog verontrustender is een feit dat naar voren kwam uit de enquêtegegevens waaruit blijkt dat hoewel de meerderheid van de mensen op het eiland in hun dagelijks leven meer dan drie talen spreekt, er een aanzienlijke minderheid is (in totaal ongeveer 25% van de bevolking van het eiland) die slechts twee talen (ongeveer 15% van de bevolking) of één taal (ongeveer 10% van de bevolking) gebruikt in hun dagelijks leven. Onder deze Bonairianen van wie het dagelijkse taalrepertoire slechts één of twee talen omvat, vinden we sprekers van het Papiaments en Spaans verhoudingsgewijs oververtegenwoordigd. Zo hebben institutioneel beleid en praktijken die expliciet of impliciet het gebruik van het Nederlands, en geen andere taal, vereisen, een onevenredig negatieve impact op dit segment van de bevolking, dat in veel gevallen ook bestaat uit de Bonairianen wier sociaaleconomische situatie het meest kwetsbaar en precair is. In dit en andere opzichten dreigt Bonaire in een situatie van talige apartheid terecht te komen, dat wil zeggen een gesegregeerd land te worden op basis van taal zoals India, waar gebrek aan kennis van de politiek dominante talen zoals Hindi en Engels in meer dan één opzicht het kastensysteem heeft gereanimeerd, waarbij degenen die Engels spreken de nieuwe 'brahmin' elitekaste zijn geworden en degenen die alleen hun regionale talen spreken, de nieuwe 'onaantastbare' en laagstbetaalde arbeidersklassen worden. Deze situatie heeft al geleid tot 'taalrellen' en andere vormen van burgerlijke onrust in India (Kachru, 1986).

Zoals gezegd is inclusieve meertaligheid op Bonaire bereikt, niet dankzij, maar *ondanks* het officiële en institutionele taalbeleid en de praktijk. Het eentalig opleggen van het Nederlands als taal van uitsluiting heeft niet alleen de meertalige tradities van de eilandsamenleving geschaad, maar heeft ook een negatief effect gehad op de inclusieve tradities van Bonaire. Een goed voorbeeld van deze trend naar exclusiviteit is te zien in de alarmerende verschuiving in de houding ten opzichte van het Spaans in de afgelopen

decennia. Amper een generatie geleden werd Spaans op het eiland beschouwd als een prestigieuze taal van cultuur, welgestelde Zuid-Amerikaanse toeristen en de media, om te worden gepromoot en gewaardeerd voor de waarop het Bonaire verbindt met het nabijgelegen Venezuela, Colombia en de rest van Latijns-Amerika. Tegenwoordig wordt op Spaans in veel opzichten neergekeken als de taal van immigranten uit de arbeidersklasse en vluchtelingen uit burgeroorlogen in de regio. Dit wordt aangetoond in de enquêteresultaten in het hoofdrapport, die aangeven dat het Spaans, hoewel het nog steeds wordt gezien als een taal die moet worden geleerd, die kinderen voorbereidt op een toekomst op het eiland, en die op school moet worden onderwezen, systematisch lager scoort dan Papiaments, Engels en zelfs in sommige gevallen Nederlands voor dezelfde vaardigheden.

Een andere indicatie voor deze toenemende devaluatie van het Spaans die we opmerkten in de interviews en focusgroepgesprekken is een tendens om de moeilijkheden te onderschatten die worden ondervonden door het snelgroeiende aantal Bonairianen die thuis Spaans spreken en proberen permanente bewoners te worden, op een eiland waar het beleid en de praktijk overwegend de voorkeur geven aan het Nederlands als enige institutionele taal. Hoewel Spaanstaligen terecht worden geprezen om hun vermogen en bereidheid om Papiaments te leren en zich aan te passen aan de Bonairiaanse levensstijl, wordt er ook vaak over hen gesproken alsof de echte uitdagingen die ze ervaren in het licht van de eentalige oplegging van het Nederlands op de een of andere manier 'geen probleem' zijn.

Probleemgebied 3: Nederlands is een vreemde taal voor de meeste Bonairianen, maar ze worden bestuurd alsof ze bijna native competentie in de taal hebben. Hoewel de meeste Bonairianen een aanzienlijke competentie hebben in meer dan een van de drie meest gesproken talen op het eiland (Papiaments, Engels en Spaans), wordt hun dagelijks leven onnodig ingewikkeld, frustrerend en lastig gemaakt door het feit dat het institutionele taalbeleid en de praktijken van de formele sector beheersing vereisen in een vierde taal (Nederlands) die niet alleen een vreemde taal is voor meer dan 80 procent van de bevolking van het eiland (Bak-Piard, 2010, 2016; Kester & Timp, 2018; Kester & Buijink, 2022, zie het hoofdrapport voor een samenvatting van deze en andere onderzoeken), maar ook, volgens de resultaten van ons onderzoek, een taal die de meeste Bonairianen zien als moeilijk te leren en relatief moeilijk om zich in uit te drukken, zoals blijkt uit onze enquêteresultaten.

Het is geen toeval dat het Nederlands opvalt als de taal die de meest negatieve attitudes in onze gegevens aantrekt. Dit is voor een groot deel te verklaren door hoe het Nederlands tot op heden is gebruikt als een taal van uitsluiting van de koloniale tijd. De ervaring van de meeste Bonairianen met het Nederlands is als een taal die de traditionele Bonairiaanse taal, cultuur en identiteiten ontkracht en vermindert. Of dit nu wordt uitgedrukt als 'Nederlands is een 'taal', terwijl Papiaments een 'dialect' is' of 'Nederlands is

de taal van kennis, terwijl Papiaments de taal van cultuur is' of 'Nederlands is de taal van de klas, terwijl Papiaments de taal van 'thuis' is' of 'Nederlands is een grote taal, terwijl Papiaments klein is', de onderliggende boodschap is altijd hetzelfde: het Nederlands is superieur aan het Papiaments, de Nederlandse cultuur is superieur aan de Bonairiaanse cultuur en Nederlanders zijn superieur aan de Bonairianen.

Enkele van de meest verwoestende effecten van deze manier van denken zijn voelbaar in het onderwijssysteem, waar Nederlands op de meeste niveaus de enige officiële instructie- en beoordelingstaal is. In onze enquêtegegevens wordt Nederlands aangewezen als de taal die mensen het minst waarderen in termen van het horen spreken en de taal die jongeren het minst kiezen om te spreken, zoals aangegeven in onze enquêtere-sultaten.

Er is niets aan het Nederlands dat het minder sympathiek of minder leerbaar maakt dan andere talen, het probleem zit hem in de manier waarop het Nederlands op Bonaire is opgelegd en als enige onderwijstaal op de scholen wordt gebruikt. Voor de overgrote meerderheid van de mensen op het eiland is Nederlands een vreemde taal, maar in plaats van dat het op de scholen als vreemde taal wordt onderwezen, wordt het onderwezen alsof het een eerste taal is voor de meerderheid van de studenten, zoals blijkt uit onze interview- en focusgroepcommentaren.

Het basisprincipe van onderwijs is om 'van het bekende naar het onbekende te gaan', om te gebruiken wat de studenten al weten om nieuwe kennis te introduceren, dus als we willen dat de meerderheid van de studenten slaagt, mag een vreemde taal nooit worden gebruikt als de instructietaal in de klas. Helaas werd van studenten tot nu toe verwacht dat ze initiële geletterdheid en al hun vakken in het Nederlands leren, met als resultaat dat de meerderheid van de studenten onder hun academische potentieel presteert en een negatieve houding krijgt ten opzichte van school in het algemeen en ten opzichte van het Nederlands in het bijzonder. In plaats van de meerderheid van de bevolking te bedienen, bedienen de scholen uiteindelijk vooral de minderheid van leerlingen van wie de ouders Nederlands als eerste taal spreken.

In het algemeen waren we verrast door het gebrek aan openbaar beschikbare statistieken over het onderwijs op Bonaire. Zo zijn er bijvoorbeeld weinig statistieken beschikbaar voor het publiek over het niveau van academische prestaties van Bonairiaanse studenten in het Nederlandse systeem, maar sommige observaties die leraren en schoolbestuurders tijdens onze interview- en focusgroepsessies hebben gedaan, zijn te vinden in het kader na deze paragraaf.

Het enkel Nederlandstalige schoolstelsel wordt vaak gepromoot als de enige manier om ervoor te zorgen dat Bonairiaanse studenten toegang kunnen krijgen tot hoger onderwijs in Europees Nederland. Statistieken over de prestaties van Bonairiaanse studenten zijn moeilijk te verkrijgen, maar we hadden toegang tot de aantallen studenten in de

Nederlands als voornaamste/enige voertaal: recept voor mislukking

- *Leraar*: 'Doubleren is normaal geworden.'
- *Een andere leraar*: 'De meeste kinderen scoren tussen de 1,5 en 2 jaar onder het niveau (vooral vanaf groep 6). Niet alleen op onze scholen, maar op alle scholen op het eiland, zelfs enkele Nederlandse.'
- *Bestuurslid*: 'Het laaggeletterdheidsniveau op Bonaire is bijna twee keer zo hoog als in Europees Nederland.'
- *Een ander bestuurslid*: 'De meeste studenten die naar Nederland gaan om te studeren, halen het niet, de meesten komen in de schulden en de meesten blijven in Nederland. De weinige Bonairianen die slagen voor een vervolgstudie verlaten Bonaire en komen nooit meer terug. Het is moeilijk om de professionals te vinden die we hier op Bonaire nodig hebben.'
- *Leraar*: Ouders zijn niet erg betrokken. We hebben onlangs een bijeenkomst georganiseerd voor de ouders van alle kleuterscholen op het eiland. Slechts 10 ouders namen daaraan deel.

verschillende middelbare schooltrajecten (VWO of universitair voorbereidend traject; HAVO of hbo voorbereidend traject; VMBO of lager beroepstraject; en PO of praktisch traject). De resultaten zijn schokkend, zoals aangetoond in het kader in hierboven):

- 1) In de periode van 2014 tot en met 2020 vormen VWO-studenten op Bonaire ongeveer 7% van de totale middelbare scholierenpopulatie versus 22.1% in Nederland, en wanneer de resultaten van de eindexamens van 2015 tot 2017 worden beschouwd, zijn de gemiddelden voor Bonaire 5% versus Nederland 20.1%. Tot overmaat van ramp komen de meeste Bonairiaanse vwo-studenten uit Nederlandstalige huishoudens op het eiland.
- 2) In de periode 2014 tot 2020 vormen HAVO-studenten op Bonaire ongeveer 16.4% van het totaal aantal studenten in het derde jaar versus 22.5% in Nederland en wanneer de resultaten van de eindexamens worden beschouwd, zijn de gemiddelden 10% voor Bonaire versus 19.8% voor Nederland.
- 3) PO (praktijkonderwijs) studenten op Bonaire vormen in dezelfde periode ongeveer 11.5% van de totale studentenbevolking in het derde jaar versus 2.9% in Nederland.

Probleemgebied 4: Werknemers die diensten verlenen aan de gemeenschap besteden te veel tijd aan het vertalen van en naar het Nederlands, in plaats van het leveren van de diensten waarvoor ze zijn opgeleid. Omdat Nederlands in de meeste gevallen de taal is die standaard wordt gebruikt in formele contexten, besteden de meeste van degenen die in die instellingen werken, evenals de meeste van hun cliënten, te veel van hun tijd aan het omgaan met taal- en vertaalproblemen, in plaats van zich bezig te houden met de inhoud van wat ze zouden moeten doen. In de loop van ons onderzoek hebben degenen die verantwoordelijk zijn voor het verlenen van diensten aan de mensen van het eiland getuigenis na getuigenis afgelegd over hoe taalbeleid en -praktijk een groot obstakel is dat hen ervan weerhoudt hun werk op een optimale manier te doen. In de volgende alinea is een lijst te vinden van enkele van hun observaties.

Leraren besteden te veel van hun tijd in aan de strijd om studenten te helpen Nederlands te begrijpen, in plaats van hun vakinhoud daadwerkelijk te onderwijzen. Studenten besteden te veel van hun tijd aan de worsteling om in het Nederlands te presteren, in plaats van hun vakinhoud te leren. Gezondheidswerkers besteden te veel van hun tijd aan vertalen en tolken van en naar het Nederlands, in plaats van zich te concentreren op het welzijn van hun patiënten. Mensen met gezondheidsproblemen besteden te veel van hun tijd aan het worstelen met het Nederlands of vermijden zelfs elk contact met een gezondheidssysteem dat 'hun taal niet spreekt', in plaats van voldoende toegang te krijgen tot de gezondheidszorg die ze nodig hebben. Maatschappelijk werkers besteden te veel van hun tijd aan het vertalen van officiële documenten uit het Nederlands naar een taal die hun cliënten kunnen begrijpen en te veel van hun tijd aan het schrijven van rapporten in het Nederlands, in plaats van zich daadwerkelijk bezig te houden met de feitelijke inhoud van de problemen van hun cliënten, zoals toegang tot het socialezekerheidsstelsel, preventie van huiselijk geweld, het verlenen van pleegzorg, enzovoorts. Mensen die sociale voorzieningen nodig hebben, zijn voortdurend in het nadeel omdat hun uitkering afhankelijk is van een socialezekerheidsstelsel dat van iedereen een hoge competentie in het Nederlands verwacht. De politie besteedt te veel van haar tijd aan het schrijven of vertalen van rapporten in het Nederlands in plaats van de veiligheid van de gemeenschap te waarborgen. Advocaten en de rechtbanken besteden te veel van hun tijd aan vertalen en tolken van en naar het Nederlands, in plaats van aan rechtspraak. Technisch juridisch taalgebruik is al moeilijk genoeg voor iedereen die met de rechter in contact komt, ook voor Nederlanders in Europees Nederland. Maar op Bonaire staan de meeste mensen die gerechtigheid zoeken voor een nog grotere uitdaging, omdat ze niet alleen deze technisch-juridische taal moeten begrijpen en zich daarin begrijpelijk moeten maken, maar bovendien ook in het Nederlands, wat voor hen een vreemde taal is. Dit alles wordt samengevat in de opmerkingen tijdens onze interviews en focusgroepbijeenkomsten, die te vinden zijn in het hoofdrapport.

Probleemgebied 5: Veel Bonairianen hebben het opgegeven als het gaat om de manier waarop op het eiland met taalkwesties wordt omgegaan, en hebben een houding aangenomen van 'Laat maar zitten' / 'Laat maar waaien'. Een tragische maar veel voorkomende reactie op het gebruik van het Nederlands als overheersende institutionele taal op Bonaire is er een van onthechting, berusting en ontkenning. Veel Bonairianen hebben een houding van 'Laat maar zitten' / 'Laat maar waaien' aangenomen, zowel wanneer hen wordt gevraagd naar de taalsituatie op het eiland, als wanneer ze het Nederlands moeten begrijpen, spreken, lezen of schrijven, vooral in institutionele contexten. Studenten verlaten het formele onderwijsstelsel omdat ze het Nederlands niet aankunnen. Ouders hebben zich onthecht van de studie van hun kinderen, deels omdat ze het Nederlands niet aankunnen. Mensen die gezondheidszorg nodig hebben, hebben er geen toegang toe omdat ze hun kwalen niet effectief aan een arts kunnen communiceren, noch voldoende kunnen begrijpen wat de diagnoses en voorschriften van de arts betekenen om hun lijden te verlichten. Veel, zo niet de meeste, van degenen op het eiland die misschien kunnen profiteren van sociale en juridische diensten, zijn terughoudend in het verkrijgen van toegang tot die diensten, deels omdat ze zich schamen dat hun competentie in het Nederlands lager is dan het niveau dat door het stelsel wordt vereist, enzovoort.

Onthechting, berusting en ontkenning zijn uiterst gevaarlijke tekenen dat een schadelijke situatie is verslechterd tot een punt waarop mensen zich geen constructieve manier meer kunnen voorstellen om deel te nemen aan een proces om die situatie te verhelpen. De hopeloosheid en wanhoop die door deze houdingen worden uitgedrukt, zijn vaak een recept voor sociale conflicten, wanneer mensen uiteindelijk hun toevlucht nemen tot geweld en ontwrichtend gedrag als de enige manier die hen nog rest om hun gevoelens en stemmen te laten horen. Deze signalen van gevaar zijn overduidelijk aanwezig in de verklaringen die zijn afgelegd tijdens onze interviews en focusgroepsessies, waarvan sommige zijn opgenomen in het hoofdrapport.

Probleemgebied 6: Zonder officiële steun neemt het gebruik van het Engels snel toe op het eiland, vooral onder de jeugd. In bijna al onze interviews en focusgroepbijeenkomsten was een terugkerend thema de spectaculaire toename van het gebruik van het Engels op Bonaire, vooral onder de jeugd.

Terwijl Bonairianen zelf momenteel hun talige middelen verrijken door aanzienlijke nieuwe vaardigheden en competentie in het Engels te verwerven, waardoor ze toegang hebben tot grotere sociale, economische en culturele kansen, merken ze bijna altijd dat ze dit doen zonder enige officiële of institutionele ondersteuning. Met andere woorden, ze bereiken dit niet vanwege, maar *ondanks* elk institutioneel taalbeleid en -praktijk, die in de meeste gevallen deze nieuwe taalvaardigheden in het Engels niet eens erkennen, laat staan cultiveren. Het resultaat is dat terwijl de informele competentie in het Engels

omhoog schiet, de academische competentie in het Engels achterblijft, zoals geïllustreerd in de resultaten van de zelfevaluatie voor taalvaardigheid en de narratieve vaardigheidstoets die werd afgenomen als onderdeel van het onderzoek dat voor dit project is uitgevoerd. Het ontbreken van officiële erkenning van de indrukwekkende en groeiende competentie van studenten in het Engels, wordt geïllustreerd door de opmerkingen van deelnemers aan onze enquête en focusgroepsessies.

Erger dan de gemiste kans om studenten een academische competentie in het Engels te bieden, is echter een groeiende tendens onder jongeren om zowel het Nederlands als het Papiaments af te wijzen ten gunste van het Engels. Dit suggereert dat Engels misschien de taal wordt van vervreemde jongeren op Bonaire, die niet alleen Papiaments afwijzen vanwege alle jaren van afwijzing die ze in het schoolsysteem hebben ervaren, alleen al omdat Papiaments hun thuistaal is, maar die ook het Nederlands afwijzen als de taal die hen met geweld is opgelegd door hetzelfde onderwijssysteem.

Bewijs voor een toenemende afwijzing door jongeren van de Nederlandse taal en Nederlandse identiteit enerzijds en van de Papiamentse en Bonairiaanse identiteit anderzijds is te vinden in zowel de kwantitatieve als kwalitatieve gegevens die voor dit onderzoek zijn verzameld.

Probleemgebied 7: Er zullen ernstige gevolgen zijn voor Bonaire en haar bevolking als er geen geïnformeerde, systematische en concrete inspanningen worden geleverd om het taalbeleid en de taalpraktijk op het eiland op een wetenschappelijk verantwoorde en sociaal bewuste wijze aan te pakken. Men is het er algemeen over eens dat de huidige situatie niet alleen gebrekkig is, maar ook onhoudbaar. Dat wil zeggen, dat er ernstige gevolgen zullen zijn voor Bonaire en haar bevolking als er geen geïnformeerde, systematische en concrete inspanningen worden geleverd om de manier waarop taalkwesties op het eiland worden behandeld op een wetenschappelijk verantwoorde en sociaal bewuste wijze aan te pakken. Als bijvoorbeeld de houding ten opzichte van de Nederlandse taal en identiteit onder jongeren negatiever wordt, hoe lang duurt het dan voordat diezelfde negatieve houding wordt aangenomen ten opzichte van alles wat Nederlands is, inclusief mensen die vanuit Europees Nederland naar Bonaire komen?

Deze dalende positieve houding ten opzichte van de Nederlandse taal, in combinatie met de stijgende voorkeur voor Engels wordt ook in mindere mate weerspiegeld door de afnemende positieve attitudes ten opzichte van het Papiaments. Zoals blijkt uit onze enquêteresultaten, was er op de vraag in hoeverre respondenten elk van de vier gesproken talen graag horen, een consistente voorkeur voor Papiaments en Spaans boven Nederlands bij alle generaties respondenten. Het enige grote generatieverschil in voorkeur voor het horen van een van de vier gesproken talen werd vastgesteld voor Engels, waarbij de jongste groep respondenten (16-30 jaar) hogere voorkeurspercentages vertoonde dan de groep van 31 tot 50 jaar, en deze groep vertoonde dan weer hogere voorkeurspercentages voor Engels dan de oudste groep (leeftijd 51 en ouder). Als het gaat om de

mate waarin respondenten hun competentie in de vier talen waardeerden, bleven de niveaus tussen de leeftijdsgroepen stabiel en over het algemeen hoog onder alle generaties voor alle talen behalve Papiaments, waar een lichte maar significante daling van positieve reacties werd vastgesteld bij de jongste leeftijdsgroep, hoewel deze nog steeds hoger bleef dan voor Nederlands en Spaans.

Zoals blijkt uit onze enquêteresultaten, was er duidelijk consensus tussen leeftijdsgroepen wanneer respondenten werd gevraagd om te beoordelen in hoeverre zij van mening waren dat elk van de vier talen meer op Bonaire moest worden gepromoot, waarbij de antwoorden positief en stabiel bleven in de drie generatiegroepen voor alle talen, behalve voor het Nederlands, dat een lichte maar significante daling laat zien bij de jongste leeftijdsgroep. Toen hen werd gevraagd in hoeverre zij vonden dat kinderen de vier talen moesten leren lezen en schrijven, bleven de zeer positieve resultaten voor Engels en gematigd positieve resultaten voor Spaans constant in de drie leeftijdsgroepen, maar lieten de zeer positieve resultaten voor Papiaments en Nederlands beide kleine maar significante dalingen zien bij de jongste respondenten in vergelijking met de oudere groepen.

De neiging van jonge Bonairianen om de Nederlandse taal en identiteit af te wijzen, doet denken aan de desastreuze gevolgen van het opleggen van de ene taal met uitsluiting van de andere elders in het Caribisch gebied. Het Amerikaanse taal- en onderwijsbeleid in hun kolonie Puerto Rico van het begin tot het midden van de 20e eeuw leek bijvoorbeeld sterk op het huidige taal- en onderwijsbeleid op Bonaire. Hoewel Spaans de eerste taal is van de overgrote meerderheid van de Puerto Ricanen, drongen de VS aan op het gebruik van Engels als de belangrijkste instructietaal op de scholen vanaf ongeveer 1900. Als gevolg hiervan deden Puerto Ricaanse studenten het erg slecht in hun studie en verwierpen ze een zeer negatieve houding ten opzichte van Engels en Engelssprekenden in het bijzonder, en ten opzichte van onderwijs in het algemeen. Het Engelse beleid op Puerto Rico was zo'n ramp, dat de voertaal in de jaren 1940 en 1950 werd veranderd van Engels naar Spaans, maar het heeft tot de 21e eeuw geduurd om de schade te herstellen: Puerto Ricanen hebben nog steeds een negatieve houding ten opzichte van Engels, Engelssprekenden en onderwijs.

Onze kwantitatieve en kwalitatieve resultaten geven aan dat Bonaire mogelijk in dezelfde eentalige val trapt als Puerto Rico met het opleggen van het Nederlands. Een groot verschil dat de situatie op Bonaire potentieel nog erger maakt dan voor Puerto Rico is dat jongere Bonairianen niet alleen de Nederlandse taal en Nederlandse identiteit steeds meer afwijzen, maar ook de Papiamentse taal en de Bonairiaanse identiteit. De situatie met Nederlands en Papiaments op Bonaire is nog lang niet zo slecht als met Engels in Puerto Rico, maar de frustratie neemt toe en de houding verslechtert, en er is geen reden waarom het niet veel erger zou kunnen worden, tenzij er op het niveau van beleid en institutionele praktijk iets wordt gedaan om dit te voorkomen.

Met de steun van een nieuw kader voor taalbeleid op het eiland zou het Nederlands

kunnen worden gebruikt als een taal van inclusie naast Papiaments, Spaans en Engels, in plaats van een opgelegde taal van uitsluiting, zowel in het bestuur als op de scholen. In meertalige scholen zoals de SAM (Scol Arubano Multilingual) scholen op Aruba is Papiaments de voertaal, maar Nederlands, Engels en Spaans worden ook samen met het Papiaments gebruikt via een proces dat translanguaging wordt genoemd en waarbij docenten en studenten toestemming krijgen en aangemoedigd worden om alle vier de talen op een complementaire manier te gebruiken om leerdoelen te bereiken. Op deze scholen doen kinderen het goed in alle talen, inclusief het Nederlands, zodat hun ervaring met het Nederlands en met school in het algemeen is getransformeerd van een ervaring van pijn en falen naar plezier en succes.

Wereldwijd noemen sommige mensen Engels een *killer language* omdat het snel andere talen lijkt te vervangen, zo worden bijvoorbeeld veel universitaire cursussen in Nederland nu in het Engels gegeven, en op Bonaire staan commerciële banken erop om Engels als hun belangrijkste taal te gebruiken, vooral als het gaat om contracten en documenten. Als we gevangen blijven in het exclusieve, eentalige, winnaar-taal/verliezer-taal paradigma, lijkt het slechts een kwestie van tijd totdat het gebruik van het Engels de sprekers van het Spaans, Papiaments en Nederlands op Bonaire verder marginaliseert en discrimineert.

Als we echter verder gaan dan de oude manieren van denken om inclusieve meertaligheid te omarmen, is er geen reden waarom Bonairianen niet alle vier de talen kunnen blijven spreken, waardoor het eiland en kan de bevolking zeer competitief zijn in de wereldeconomie. Dit betekent natuurlijk dat de bestaande relaties tussen deze talen moeten worden omgevormd van relaties van overheersing naar relaties van kosmopolitische saamhorigheid, in overeenstemming met de rijke meertalige en inclusieve tradities van Bonaire.

Voorgestelde visie op het taalbeleid op Bonaire: Inclusieve Meertaligheid

Het algemene kader dat wij voorstellen voor het taalbeleid op Bonaire is datgene wat keer op keer is verwoord door degenen die hebben deelgenomen aan het kwalitatieve en kwantitatieve onderzoek dat voor het huidige project is uitgevoerd: Inclusieve Meertaligheid. Vrijwel alle deelnemers aan onze studie hebben over het algemeen een positieve houding ten opzichte van Papiaments, Nederlands, Spaans en Engels geuit, vooral wanneer deze talen worden gebruikt als middel om mensen zich deel te laten voelen van de eilandgemeenschap.

In feite zijn de meeste gevallen waarin mensen negatieve gedachten of gevoelens uiten over een van de vier belangrijkste talen die op Bonaire worden gesproken, gerelateerd aan het gebruik van deze talen als hulpmiddel om mensen zich buitengesloten te laten voelen op het eiland.

Enkele strategische doelen voor inclusieve meertalige taalbeleidsvorming op Bonaire

Een inclusief meertalig kader zou vereisen dat alle grote talen van Bonaire (Papiaments, Nederlands, Engels en Spaans) officieel erkende talen op het eiland worden, waarbij Papiaments wordt erkend als Bonaires matrixtaal, met de volgende strategische doelen:

- Het bevorderen van een visie van de bevolking van Bonaire als innovatief, uniek en inclusief meertalig, door gebruik te maken van elke gelegenheid voor het cultiveren, onderhouden en verbeteren van hun competenties in alle talen, en vooral in de vier belangrijkste talen van het eiland (Papiaments, Nederlands, Spaans en Engels). Zo wordt een uniek gekwalificeerde beroepsbevolking van wereldburgers gecreëerd die klaar staat voor actieve deelname aan sociaal bewuste en duurzame culturele en economische activiteiten die de volkeren van het Caribisch gebied, Europa, Amerika en Afrika met elkaar verbinden.
- Het promoten van een visie op het eiland Bonaire als een innovatieve, strategisch gelegen en uniek inclusieve, meertalige, kosmopolitische en duurzame locatie voor internationale uitwisselingen en conferenties, leren over de talen en culturen van het Caribisch gebied en daarbuiten, niche- en ecotoerisme, het hosten van digitale nomaden, enzovoort.

Deze doelen van inclusieve meertaligheid zijn van bijzonder belang voor het onderwijsveld, zoals vele malen expliciet werd verwoord in de loop van ons onderzoek op Bonaire.

Enkele principes van innovatieve beleidsvorming en -uitvoering

Hoewel inclusieve meertalige taalbeleidsvorming en -implementatie een diepe en verankerde basis hebben in de onofficiële en niet-institutionele verbondenheid en levensstijl van Bonaire, hebben officieel en institutioneel beleid en praktijk inclusiviteit en meertaligheid in het beste geval genegeerd en in het slechtste geval actief ontmoedigd. Als zodanig vertegenwoordigt inclusieve meertaligheid vanuit een institutioneel perspectief in veel opzichten een belangrijke verschuiving naar innovatieve beleidsvorming en -implementatie op Bonaire. Er zijn ten minste drie algemene principes die te allen tijde moeten worden gevolgd bij het formuleren en implementeren van taalbeleid dat breekt met exclusieve patronen en praktijken uit het verleden:

- 1) **Sociale rechtvaardigheid:** Al het taalbeleid op Bonaire moet worden uitgevoerd met een uitgebreid begrip van de historische verhoudingen tussen de vier belangrijkste talen op het eiland. Zo moeten er speciale aanpassingen komen voor het Papiaments, gezien zijn gemarginaliseerde status in het verleden, en moet de rol van het Nederlands op het eiland veranderen van een taal van eentalige uitsluiting naar een taal die uitnodigt tot saamhorigheid.
- 2) **Bewustmaking van het publiek:** elk taalbeleidsinitiatief moet gepaard gaan met een consistent, goed ontworpen en continu programma van bewustmakingsacti-

viteiten voor het publiek dat een zorgvuldig geselecteerde reeks duidelijke boodschappen op structurele basis overbrengt aan de hele bevolking van het eiland om ervoor te zorgen dat alle belanghebbenden betrokken worden en aan boord zijn bij veranderingen.

- 3) **Netwerken:** Een alomvattende verandering in taalbeleid vereist een breed scala aan wijzigingen in bestaande praktijken op verschillende gebieden zoals het vernieuwen van procedures, omscholing, materiaalproductie, enzovoort. Als zodanig is teamwerk en samenwerking tussen instanties op het eiland essentieel, en moet Bonaire elke gelegenheid aangrijpen om te leren van *best practices* die elders al van kracht zijn, zoals het Scol Arubano Multilingual-programma op Aruba, Engelstalige materiaalproductie op Saba en Statia, enzovoort.

Meertaligheid en language making: verschillende benaderingen voor verschillende talen

Inclusieve meertalige beleidsvorming en -implementatie vereist verschillende benaderingen voor verschillende talen, vanwege het feit dat elke taal zijn eigen sociale en historische achtergrond heeft in de Bonairiaanse samenleving. Deze benaderingen volgen de aanpak van *Language Making*, met inachtneming van de historische achtergronden en de sociale, economische en politieke ongelijkheden in de maatschappij (Krämer, Mijts & Bartens, 2022). In de volgende secties bespreken we de verschillende benaderingen die nodig zijn voor Papiaments, Nederlands, Spaans en Engels binnen een inclusief meertalig kader.

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Meertaligheid en language making: Papiaments

Papiaments moet worden erkend en speciale aandacht krijgen als de 'matrixtaal' van Bonaire. Dat wil zeggen: de inclusieve taal die het sterkst wordt geassocieerd met de inclusieve cultuur die de voedingsbodem heeft geboden waarin alle andere talen de afgelopen twee eeuwen wortel hebben mogen schieten, en die Bonaire in staat heeft gesteld een substantieel meertalig eiland te worden. Om dit te bereiken, moeten voor alle segmenten van de bevolking mogelijkheden worden geboden om zowel informele als academische competenties in het Papiaments te verwerven en te verbeteren op alle niveaus, met name ook voor degenen die uit het buitenland komen om op Bonaire te werken.

Papiaments verdient ook speciale aandacht vanwege zijn status als de 'moedertaal' of belangrijkste thuistaal van de meerderheid van de Bonairianen, en zijn status als eerste taal of sterke tweede taal van bijna de hele bevolking van het eiland. Om deze en andere redenen is de uitbreiding van Papiaments van de gemarginaliseerde privésfeer naar de publieke sfeer de sleutel tot het realiseren van een nog inclusievere en nog meertaligere Bonairiaanse visie voor de toekomst.

Een substantieel deel van de minderheid van Bonairianen die in hun dagelijks leven

slechts één of twee talen gebruiken, gebruikt het Papiaments. Daarom moet Papiaments speciale aandacht krijgen om ervoor te zorgen dat alle Bonairianen maximale toegang hebben tot openbare diensten en onderwijs. Mensen die bijvoorbeeld vanuit het buitenland naar Bonaire komen om te werken, moeten allemaal toegang hebben tot programma's om hen te helpen communiceren in het Papiaments. Onze respondenten gaven aan dat degenen die uit het buitenland komen om op Bonaire te werken, vertrouwd moeten zijn met de taalkundige en culturele praktijken van de ABC-eilanden, inclusief een basiscompetentie communicatie in het Papiaments.

Over het algemeen heeft het Papiaments meer steun nodig dan de andere talen om op gelijke voet met hen te komen, omdat het, samen met de inclusieve cultuur van Bonaire, de afgelopen eeuwen ernstig is gemarginaliseerd en verwezen naar de privésfeer van 'familie' en 'volkscultuur'. Het leed dat zoveel Bonairianen heeft vervreemd van waardering voor de talen, culturen en identiteiten van hun eiland moet geheeld worden. Dit komt tot uiting in veel van de verklaringen van degenen die hebben deelgenomen aan onze interview- en focusgroepsessies.

Terwijl de informele competentieniveaus in het Papiaments over het algemeen hoog zijn op Bonaire, is de academische competentie, met name op gebieden zoals schrijfvaardigheid, bijna volledig verwaarloosd door de scholen en gemiddeld veel lager dan voor de andere talen, zoals geïllustreerd in de resultaten van de zelfevaluaties voor taalvaardigheid in het hoofdrapport. In de grafieken die deze resultaten weergeven, is te zien dat degenen die de zelfevaluatie in het Nederlands hebben voltooid, zichzelf over het algemeen beoordeelden als vaardige gebruikers van het Nederlands (niveau C1, gemiddeld ongeveer 5 van de 6), degenen die de zelfevaluatie in het Spaans voltooiden, beoordeelden zichzelf over het algemeen als vaardige gebruikers van het Spaans (niveau C1, gemiddeld ongeveer 5,25 van de 6), beoordeelden degenen die de zelfevaluatie in het Engels voltooiden zichzelf over het algemeen als zeer vaardige gebruikers van het Engels (niveau C2, gemiddeld ongeveer 5,75 van de 6), maar degenen die de zelfevaluatie in het Papiaments voltooiden, beoordeelden zichzelf over het algemeen veel lager, als niet vaardige maar wel onafhankelijke gebruikers van het Papiaments (gemiddeld ongeveer 3,5 van de 6), alsof ze nog steeds leerlingen van de taal zijn in plaats van gebruikers op het niveau van een moedertaalspreker. Dit betekent dat degenen die de zelfevaluatie in het Papiaments hebben voltooid, en daarom in het algemeen kunnen worden verondersteld eerste taalsprekers van het Papiaments te zijn, aannemen dat ze grote tekortkomingen hebben in hun competentie in die taal, vooral in de meer formele academische registers, zoals schrijven en gesproken productie (formele mondelinge presentatie).

Als matrixtaal van Bonaire heeft het Papiaments een sleutelrol gespeeld in het waarborgen van een inclusief meertalige omgeving die de afgelopen eeuwen wortel heeft geschoten op het eiland, ondanks het officiële beleid en de praktijk. Er zijn echter aanwijzingen dat de standaardisatie van het Papiaments geleid heeft tot een onnodige mate van

exclusiviteit in termen van de hoeveelheid formele training die nodig is om de taal te kunnen schrijven, met name het gebruik van accenten. De relevante autoriteiten die verantwoordelijk zijn voor het vastleggen van de spelling van het Papiaments zijn aanzet om het lezen en vooral schrijven van Papiaments een maximaal gebruiksvriendelijke ervaring te maken. Dit zou de verwerving van meer formele registers van Papiaments onder de gehele bevolking aanzienlijk vergemakkelijken. Deelnemers aan onze interview- en focusgroepsessies klaagden herhaaldelijk over de moeilijkheden die Bonairianen ervaren wanneer ze proberen Papiaments te schrijven volgens de normen die op dit moment van kracht zijn.

Meertaligheid en language making: Nederlands

De rol van de Nederlandse taal op Bonaire moet volledig worden heroverwogen als de taal in de toekomst een rol van betekenis moet blijven spelen. De taal heeft een ongelukkige geschiedenis als taal die werd opgelegd aan de bevolking van Bonaire en in veel opzichten een taal is geworden van uitsluiting van sociale voorzieningen, onderwijsprestaties, enzovoort. Voor de meeste Bonairiaanse studenten is Nederlands een vreemde taal waarmee ze vooral in de klas in contact komen, daarvoor moet dan ook een methode gevolgd worden die geschikt is voor vreemdetalenonderwijs, in plaats van de methodes die worden gebruikt in L1- of zelfs L2-onderwijs. Als in de scholen een inclusieve meertalige translanguaging-aanpak wordt gehanteerd, kan aan de behoeften van alle studenten worden voldaan, inclusief de behoeften van de minderheid van studenten die thuis Nederlands spreken. Over het algemeen moet het Nederlands, om niet effectief door het Engels te worden uitgeschakeld, op Bonaire opnieuw worden uitgevonden als een inclusieve en 'coole' taal die jonge Bonairianen zal aantrekken, in plaats van hen af te stoten en te vervreemden. Om dit te bereiken, moet de Nederlandstalige toetssystematiek, inclusief de CITO-toets, worden afgeschaft, het inspectiesysteem volledig worden vernieuwd en moeten meer contextueel geschikte materialen worden gebruikt voor het onderwijzen van Nederlands als vreemde taal in het Caribisch gebied.

Meertaligheid en language making: Spaans

Een substantieel deel van de minderheid van de Bonairiaanse bevolking die in hun dagelijks leven slechts één of twee talen gebruiken, gebruikt het Spaans. Daarom moeten de behoeften van Spaanstaligen speciale aandacht krijgen om ervoor te zorgen dat alle Bonairianen maximale toegang hebben tot openbare diensten en onderwijs. Zo moeten programma's voor volwasseneneducatie in het Spaans, Papiaments, Nederlands en Engels gratis beschikbaar worden gesteld aan alle Bonairianen via bestaande instellingen die dergelijke diensten al op beperkte basis aanbieden. Net als het geval is met Papiaments, verdient het Spaans meer steun dan de andere talen om gelijkheid te garanderen omdat het de afgelopen decennia steeds meer gemarginaliseerd is geraakt. Het Spaans wordt steeds minder geïdentificeerd met de media en rijke Zuid-Amerikaanse toeristen,

en meer en meer met de immigrantenklassen die veel van het ondergeschikte werk op het eiland doen.

Meertaligheid en language making: Engels

De competentie in het Engels neemt snel toe onder jonge Bonairianen, in die mate dat Engels nu een risico vormt voor andere talen op het eiland, met name het Nederlands. Dit gebeurt ondanks het feit dat de taal volledig wordt verwaarloosd of actief wordt ontmoedigd door bestaand beleid en de praktijk in onderwijs en in de rest van de publieke sector. Omdat deze talige competentie niet wordt erkend door de scholen, wordt de aanzienlijke informele Engelse competentie van studenten niet effectief ingezet om hun academische competentie in het Engels te cultiveren, wat een gemiste kans is. Vanwege deze nalatigheid zullen de huidige jonge Bonairianen en hun eiland in de toekomst onnodig achtergesteld blijven, aangezien academische competentie in het Engels het belangrijkste toegangsbewijs is voor succes op de geglobaliseerde arbeidsmarkt. Als reactie op een eentalig Nederlandstalig onderwijssysteem dat hen heeft vervreemd van het Papiaments als gemarginaliseerde taal, en ook van het Nederlands als opgelegde taal, zal de jeugd rebels blijven hameren op een eentalige voorkeur voor het Engels. De beste kans die Bonaire heeft om het 'killer English'-syndroom te vermijden en een inclusieve meertalige visie voor de toekomst te realiseren, is dan ook een nieuwe meertalige translanguaging-aanpak op school.

Enkele uitgangspunten voor inclusieve meertalige taalbeleidsvorming op Bonaire

Om te beginnen met het implementeren van inclusief meertalig taalbeleid op Bonaire, is het niet nodig om volledig opnieuw te beginnen. In de eerste plaats hebben Bonairianen, zoals hierboven opgemerkt, door de eeuwen heen al veel bereikt op het gebied van inclusieve meertaligheid. Dit betekent dat, in plaats van te wachten tot elk afzonderlijk element op zijn plaats is, op sommige gebieden onmiddellijk actie kan worden ondernomen, hier, op dit moment. De volgende uitgangspunten zijn voorbeelden van beleidsvorming en -uitvoering waarmee onmiddellijk kan worden begonnen:

- het expliciet erkennen en in kaart brengen van de extra werklast voor studenten, werknemers, dienstverleners, gebruikers van diensten, kwetsbare groepen, enzovoort die voortkomen uit (bijna)moedertaalverwachtingen voor het Nederlands. Dit kan onder andere bereikt worden door in overleg te gaan met dienstverleners om te bepalen welke documenten en welke voorzieningen het meest dringend behoefte hebben aan vertaling vanuit het Nederlands naar de andere talen, door in gesprek te gaan met docenten om in kaart te brengen welke materialen en curricula het meest dringend behoefte hebben aan een overgang van het eentalige Nederlandse model naar een meertalig model, enzovoort.
- tegemoetkomen aan de taalbehoeften van de meest kwetsbare bevolkingsgroepen door Papiaments en Spaans in zowel de particuliere als de publieke sector te

accommoderen, en daarmee alle taalbarrières voor alle vormen van toegang op het eiland weg te nemen.

- het structureel ondersteunen van organisaties die zich al richten op het behoud en de bevordering van meertalige praktijken, bijvoorbeeld door het identificeren en versterken van de taalgerelateerde initiatieven van deze organisaties, vooral op gebieden zoals bewustmakingscampagnes, volwasseneneducatie, enzovoort.
- het ondersteunen van de oprichting en uitbreiding van introductie- en integratiecursussen voor nieuwkomers die op Bonaire willen werken en wonen, met nadruk op inclusieve meertaligheid als erfgoed en visie van de ABC-eilanden en met erkenning en waardering voor het Papiaments als de matrixtaal van Bonaire.
- het ondersteunen en benadrukken van de verwerving van met name Papiaments en Nederlands, maar ook van Spaans en Engels door alle burgers op Bonaire, onder andere door verdere ondersteuning te geven aan bestaande programma's gericht op de verwerving van de vier talen op alle niveaus, inclusief kleuter-, basis-, secundair en vooral volwassenenonderwijs
- het ondersteunen van de ontwikkeling van meertalig onderwijs, in eerste instantie in het basisonderwijs, door zo snel mogelijk de gemakkelijkst te integreren elementen van meertalige modellen zoals SAM (Scol Arubano Multilingual) over te nemen, onder andere door alle docenten en alle leerlingen onmiddellijk toestemming te geven om alle vier de hoofdtalen in alle klaslokalen op het eiland te gebruiken en te promoten; dit betreft ook het volledig vernieuwen van de inspectie- en testsystemen, enzovoort.
- het structureel ondersteunen en expliciet werken aan collectieve uniformiteit van inclusief meertalig taalbeleid op alle onderwijsniveaus, onder andere door het advies van de Expertgroep Papiaments (Craane, 2015) over te nemen.
- het bevorderen en ondersteunen van de zichtbaarheid van het Papiaments als matrixtaal van het eiland in de publieke sfeer, inclusief maar niet beperkt tot meertalige verkeersborden, toponiemen, ergoniemen, enz.

Aanwijzingen voor inclusieve meertalige beleidsvorming en -implementatie op Bonaire

In de onderstaande paragrafen geven we aanwijzingen voor de ontwikkeling en implementatie van inclusief meertalig beleid voor Bonaire op macro-, meso- en microniveau.

Aanwijzingen voor inclusieve meertalige beleidsvorming en -implementatie op macro-niveau:

Alle vier de belangrijkste talen van Bonaire (Papiaments, Nederlands, Spaans en Engels) moeten officiële erkenning als landstalen krijgen, waarbij Papiaments wordt erkend als de matrixtaal van Bonaire. Dit betekent dat:

- Alle publieke en private instellingen op het eiland moeten het gebruik van alle

vier deze talen actief erkennen, valoriseren en bevorderen, terwijl ze erkennen dat Papiaments in het verleden is gemarginaliseerd en speciale ondersteunende maatregelen nodig heeft als de matrixtaal van het eiland.

- In alle gevallen moet een systematische inspanning worden geleverd om elke wet, beleid, procedure of praktijk op elk niveau van de overheid, in alle instellingen in zowel de publieke als de private sector, en op alle gebieden van het openbare leven op Bonaire die op enigerlei wijze een van de vier belangrijkste talen gebruikt als een middel tot uitsluiting in plaats van inclusiviteit, te elimineren. Hierbij moet rekening gehouden worden met het feit dat Papiaments in het verleden is gemarginaliseerd en behoefte heeft aan een speciale ondersteunende behandeling als de matrixtaal van het eiland.

Aanwijzingen voor inclusieve meertalige beleidsvorming en -implementatie op meso-niveau:

- Alle overheidsdiensten moeten in alle vier de talen zowel mondeling als schriftelijk ter beschikking van het publiek zijn. Het Nederlands moet worden afgebouwd als de *de facto* standaard die wordt gebruikt in het rechtssysteem, het gezondheidssysteem, het sociale dienstensysteem, enzovoort.
- In het onderwijs (zowel publiek als privaat): Op alle onderwijsniveaus op Bonaire moet een inclusief meertalig translanguaging model worden aangenomen dat het Papiaments erkent als de matrixtaal van het eiland. Het Nederlands moet worden afgebouwd als de exclusieve en veronderstelde onderwijstaal in de scholen, en in plaats daarvan als vreemde taal worden onderwezen.
- Commerciële instellingen, onder andere banken, moeten geleidelijk afstappen van de praktijk om aan te dringen op het gebruik van het Engels in hun interacties met het publiek, en in plaats daarvan het gebruik van alle vier de talen in documenten en in al hun omgang met werknemers en klanten actief bevorderen.
- Over het algemeen moeten alle nieuwkomers op Bonaire die van plan zijn om op het eiland te werken, deelnemen aan educatieve en culturele activiteiten die inclusieve meertaligheid als erfgoed en visie van de ABC-eilanden benadrukken en die Papiaments erkennen en waarderen als de matrixtaal van Bonaire.

Aanwijzingen voor inclusieve meertalige beleidsvorming en -implementatie op micro-niveau:

De volgende aanbevelingen op microniveau voor beleidsvorming en -uitvoering met bijzondere aandacht voor inclusief meertalig onderwijs werden gedaan door de leraren die deelnamen aan onze interview- en focusgroepbijeenkomsten:

- Leer eerst basisbegrippen in de taal die de studenten het beste kennen en leer vervolgens hetzelfde concept in de andere talen.
- Contextualiseer toetsen om onze eigen talen en culturen te weerspiegelen.

- Gebruik translanguaging zodat studenten het grootste deel van hun tijd kunnen besteden aan het leren van hun vakken, in plaats van te worstelen met het Nederlands.
- Experimenteer met nieuwe manieren om taal in de klas te gebruiken, behoud wat werkt en neem het vervolgens systeembreed over, zorg ervoor dat we alle middelen op orde hebben voordat we alles proberen te veranderen.
- Reserveer meer uren voor talenonderwijs, en ontwikkel geschikt materiaal en online leermiddelen voor Papiaments in het bijzonder, maar ook voor Engels, Nederlands en Spaans.
- Opzetten van een eilandbrede docentenorganisatie/netwerk Papiaments om het werk aan *Referentiekader* en leerlijnen voor Papiaments te ondersteunen.
- Voer bewustmakingscampagnes over inclusief meertalig onderwijs onder ouders en leerkrachten om mythes en onjuiste veronderstellingen te bestrijden.
- Promoot hoger onderwijs in het Caribisch gebied onder middelbare scholieren.
- Moedig studenten aan om hun houding ten opzichte van onderwijs te veranderen van een houding van berusting en frustratie naar een van betrokkenheid en succes.

Conclusie

Het is onze oprechte hoop dat het onderzoek en het advies dat de basis vormt voor dit rapport het proces zal starten om taalbeleid en -praktijk te transformeren en dat dit proces proactief en breed gedragen de inspanningen van de bevolking van Bonaire ondersteunt om hun eiland vorm te geven in hun prachtig diverse maar tegelijk inclusieve visies en interesses, zonder een taal achter te stellen, en zonder ook maar één Bonairiaan achter te laten.

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CONVIVIALITIES AND THE LANGUAGES OF THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND

SEVEN NEWLY DISCOVERED 18th AND 19th CENTURY VIRGIN ISLANDS DUTCH CREOLE TEXTS

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Abstract

Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (VIDC), the extinct Dutch-lexifier creole of the former Danish West Indies and current US Virgin Islands, is among the most extensively early documented creole languages of the circum-Caribbean region, having been described first by missionaries and later by fieldworkers for a period of around 250 years. However, although sources containing textual evidence on the structural history of VIDC abound, some historical stages of the language are better documented than others, and some outstanding issues remain in the study of the language. There are relatively few texts available from the earliest period of documentation (roughly, the 1730s–1750s) and from the 19th century compared with the latter part of the 18th century and the 20th century. In this article, we present and discuss a set of newly discovered short VIDC texts from archival sources, recorded on St. Croix and St. Thomas, the earliest from 1757 and the latest from 1818, which, we argue, add to our knowledge of the historical sociolinguistic situation in the territory. The study illustrates some ways in which examination of archival material can shed new light on topics in Virgin Islands language history.

Key terms: Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, historical texts, historical sociolinguistics, language variation, Danish West Indies.

Introduction¹

Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (ISO 639-3 code: dcr; henceforth VIDC) is the extinct Dutch-lexifier creole language formerly used as a lingua franca in the former Danish West Indies and current US Virgin Islands, i.e., the three northeastern Caribbean islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix. VIDC was spoken in the Danish West Indies and later US Virgin Islands for roughly three centuries. The creole emerged as a contact language distinct from Dutch in the late 17th or early 18th century, when the islands were in the process of being taken over as an overseas colony under the Danish flag. VIDC survived until the late 20th century, with the last known speaker passing away in 1987. By that time, the now US-controlled islands' population had long since shifted to varieties of Virgin Islands English or Virgin Islands Creole English (ISO 639-3 code: vic) as the main vernacular. For studies of the social and documentary histories and linguistic features of VIDC, see, for instance, Van Rossem and Van der Voort (1996), Sabino (2012), Van Rossem (2017), and Van Sluijs (2017). For additional information on Virgin Islands language history, see also Bakker and Bøegh (2021), Bøegh (2021, forthcoming), and Bøegh and Bakker (2021), among other references. VIDC is one of only three historically recorded Dutch-lexifier creoles; for comparative studies of these varieties, see Robertson (1989), Bruyn and Veenstra (1993), and Bakker (2014, 2017). VIDC is among the most extensively diachronically documented creole languages which emerged from European-driven colonialism in the circum-Caribbean region. It was the first creole in the world to be described in a printed grammar (Magens, 1770; for a partial English translation of this grammar, originally in Danish, see Bakker and Van der Voort, 2008). The language was documented and described by missionaries (e.g., Oldendorp, 2000–2002 [1777]) and then later also by fieldworkers (e.g., De Josselin de Jong, 1926; Nelson, 1936, in Den Besten and Van Rossem, 2013, Van Rossem, 2017). For an anthology of VIDC texts spanning some 250 years, see Van Rossem and Van der Voort (1996), and for supplementary information, see also the regularly updated website <https://www.diecreoltaal.com> (last accessed 22 August 2022), maintained by Cefas van Rossem. However, although sources containing textual evidence on the structural history of VIDC abound, some historical stages of the language are better documented than others, and consequently, some outstanding issues remain in the study of the language.

¹ We are grateful to Gunvor Simonsen, PI of the University of Copenhagen-based ERC project *In the Same Sea: The Lesser Antilles as a Common World of Slavery and Freedom* (<https://inthesamesea.ku.dk/>, accessed 22 August 2022), for sharing the texts by Mackeprang with us. We also thank Aske Stick who provided us with some useful references about runaway notices in historical newspapers.

Abbreviations used in glosses: 1SG = first person singular; 2SG = second person singular; 3PL = third person plural; 3SG = third person singular; DEM = demonstrative; DET = determiner; FOC = focus; FOR = complementizer, purposive conjunction; FUT = future; GEN = genitive; INDF = indefinite article; LOC = locative; PL = plural; POSS = possessive; PRF = perfect; REL = relative.

The earliest known sources for VIDC date back to the late 1730s, and they are labelled “slave letters” (Stein, 1989; Van Rossem and Van der Voort, 1996, p. 74ff.) since they were written by enslaved African descended people in the Caribbean. These texts are unique in the sense that they were written by the few members of the enslaved population who were afforded the opportunity to learn to read and write, under missionary supervision. For the purpose of their religious education, and the conversion of other enslaved individuals, the German Moravian and the Danish Lutheran missionaries used VIDC, and there is no shortage of material for around 100 years thereafter. Around 25 printed religious books in VIDC were printed between 1765 and 1834, and there are also many manuscript sources (cf. Van Rossem, 2017). Generally speaking, however, the “slave letters” tend to be very similar in style (i.e., of a religious nature and mostly formulaic), and they are clearly influenced by uncreolized, ecclesiastic Dutch, in terms of both lexical and grammatical choices.

When it comes to the extant documentation from the 19th century, the main issue at hand is that this material is somewhat fragmentary compared to that produced in both the 18th and the 20th centuries. This is noteworthy, in particular, because there are considerable differences between VIDC as documented in older (18th century, 19th century) and newer (20th century) sources (see, e.g., Muysken, 1995; Bakker, 2014, 2017; Van Rossem, 2017). Because of this, Sabino (2012) argues that only the materials from the 20th century should be accepted as genuine records of VIDC. Another possibility is that different varieties, used by different subsets of the population, were represented in the older and newer periods of documentation. In this scenario, the older material is assumed to reflect more acrolectal, or Dutch-like, varieties, whereas the later material is viewed as reflecting the basilect, which is to say the least Dutch-like form of the creole. Alternatively, the language would have developed by moving from a variety close to Dutch to one far removed from Dutch in structural terms.

From the perspective of Virgin Islands language history and creole studies, thus, it would be useful to have more VIDC texts brought to light and examined, especially texts from the earliest period of documentation (i.e., roughly, the 1730s–1750s) and from the 19th century, and which in one way or another are of a different type than the material that is already available, such as, for example, everyday non-religious texts. Following this lead, in this article we present and discuss a set of newly discovered VIDC texts from archival sources, all of them quite brief. The texts, we argue, add to our knowledge of the historical sociolinguistic situation in the territory.

The oldest manuscript of a VIDC hymnbook is kept in the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem PA, USA. The Moravian Brethren were missionaries operating from Herrnhut, Germany, with overseas missions on St. Thomas and St. Croix since the 1730s. This booklet was written between 1749 and 1753 and contains hymns in VIDC, translated by the Moravian Brethren Samuel Isles and George Weber, assisted by one Brother Johann, whom we believe is Johann Böhner. The latter turned out to become the most

productive translator into VIDC (Van Rossem, 2017). The first of the recently discovered texts, found in a manuscript written by a German botanist, naturalist, and medical doctor named Julius von Rohr, dates from 1757, and is the oldest known fragment of a religious hymn in VIDC included in a secular text and context. Since it is unclear whether the above-mentioned hymnbook was translated on St. Thomas or St. Croix, the newly discovered text is important as it is perhaps the earliest VIDC text documented from St. Croix. We have significantly fewer VIDC texts preserved from St. Croix than we do from St. Thomas, from which almost all sources from before the 20th century were collected, and so this newly discovered text allows us to explore the varieties of VIDC used on St. Croix, based on direct linguistic evidence.

The other texts presented and discussed in this article are examples of short messages featured in colonial-period Virgin Islands newspapers, intended for a local audience, notably the inhabitants of European descent and the free population. Provided our interpretation of the texts is correct, then we have here examples of texts in VIDC written by members of the dominant population (including a missionary/educator, an enslaver, and a seemingly ordinary citizen) aimed at the public at large (but not the enslaved population, i.e., the speech community usually associated with VIDC) and hence of value in relation to shedding new light on the historical sociolinguistic situation in the Danish West Indies. These newspaper texts, which will be introduced individually on an ongoing basis in the article, were originally published between 1804 and 1818, in St. Croix and St. Thomas.

The rest of the article is structured as follows. The next section offers a brief general overview of the historical and linguistic background of the Danish West Indies/US Virgin Islands, providing some additional context for the texts and discussion that follow. The hymn recorded by Von Rohr (1757) and the various newspaper texts are then presented and discussed in the following sections. The final section consists of some concluding remarks. Facsimiles of each of the texts discussed in the article are presented in the appendix.

Historical and linguistic background

The Virgin Islands archipelago is located in the Leeward Islands of the Lesser Antilles. The first European sighting of these islands was by Christopher Columbus, in 1493, who gave the Virgin Islands the Spanish versions of what eventually became their present-day names. In the 17th and 18th centuries, following a period of contacts and short-lived settlements by various European nations and the decimation of the indigenous Amerindian population, the Virgin Islands came to be divided into two geopolitical units, i.e., the British Virgin Islands and the Danish West Indies. The latter eventually became part of the USA, as the US Virgin Islands, in 1917. Economically speaking, the Danish West Indies were characterized by trade and shipping in St. Thomas, settled by the Danes in 1672, and by agriculture and large-scale sugar plantations in St. Croix,

purchased from France in 1733 and settled from 1734 onward. The colonization of St. John, settled in 1718, had proceeded rapidly until 1733, but when the island then became the scene of a large-scale slave insurrection, this acted as a break on further colonial economic exploitation there. For an overview of the social history of the Danish West Indies/US Virgin Islands, see, for example, Olsen (2017); for an in-depth discussion of some aspects of the development of the colonies, see also R. Christensen (2021), J. Christensen (1983), and Larsen (1980), and for an example of a contemporary account from the perspective of the colonizing power, see Highfield and Bøegh (2018).

The process of turning the Danish West Indies into full-scale plantation and trade colonies required a workforce that was larger than what could be offered by the Europeans who were initially involved in the Danish colonial enterprise in the Virgin Islands. The solution chosen to meet this demand was to import enslaved people into the colony. Consequently, the islands soon became dominated numerically by people of diverse African ancestry, and thus of many different ethnolinguistic backgrounds, via the transatlantic and local slave trade (see, e.g., Hall, 1992; Bøegh, forthcoming). The European population was also diverse. Based on analysis of census data from the 1690s, Van Rossem (2017, pp. 52–53) shows that the early colonists in the Danish West Indies originated, among other places, from Britain, France, Spain, the German principalities, and Denmark; however, it was people of Dutch extraction that were both numerically and culturally dominant in the colony's early years, in that as much as 42% of the European founder population had roots in Dutch-speaking Europe.

Already from the beginning, the Danish West Indies emerged as a multilingual colonial society. The many languages spoken in the islands during the colonial period included Spanish, French, Dutch, Danish, German, English, various contact languages lexically based on European colonial languages, more than 25 different African Niger-Congo languages, and more (Bakker and Bøegh, 2021; Bøegh, 2021, forthcoming). Most of these languages are no longer in active use in the US Virgin Islands. Today, the main languages spoken in the US Virgin Islands are varieties of English and, secondarily, Spanish, in both localized and standardized forms (CIA, 2022).

As suggested by the strong early Dutch demographic influence in the Danish West Indies, the Dutch language was widely used in the first century of the colony's existence. Most researchers hold that VIDC arose locally, on St. Thomas, from contact between Dutch-speaking colonists and enslaved peoples of African descent, probably around 1700 (cf. Sabino, 2012, p. 199). Another possibility is that it was imported with its speakers from St. Eustatius, along the lines of the scenario proposed by Goodman (1985). VIDC then gained currency as a *lingua franca* in the extended colony, flourishing between the 1730s and 1830s (Van Rossem and Van der Voort, 1996, p. 32). This final date coincides with the moment when anglophone varieties were becoming increasingly important in the Danish West Indies, overtaking the role of VIDC in the islands (cf. Sabino, 2012, pp. 71ff.; Bøegh, 2021).

In contact linguistics, including creole studies, the systematic gathering and analysis of historical textual evidence to uncover clues as to the structural diachrony and sociohistorical context of contact languages has become a vibrant area of research over the past few decades (for an overview, see, e.g., Huber, 2020). There is a long tradition, going back to the colonial period, for contact linguistic research focusing on the Virgin Islands, in particular research based on historical sources. As already noted, we have documentation and studies of VIDC spanning a period of around 250 years. The length and scope of this research reflect, among other things, that VIDC already early on was recognized as a special form of language in the context of the wider northeastern Caribbean dialect and variety landscape, where otherwise it was generally the case that more or less closely related Caribbean English-lexifier creoles predominated (for an overview, see, e.g., Schneider and Hickey, 2020; Bøegh and Bakker, in press). A case in point is that VIDC was included in the first ever comparative creolist study (Van Name, 1869–1870), and it has since been represented in all major reference surveys in creole studies (e.g., Van Sluijs, 2013, Michaelis et al., 2013). For further, in-depth discussion of the VIDC research tradition, see Van Rossem (2017) and Van Sluijs (2017).

Having outlined some of the key points pertaining to the historical and linguistic background of the Danish West Indies and US Virgin Islands, we will now turn to presenting and discussing seven newly discovered VIDC texts, proceeding chronologically. Three of the texts were discovered by Christensen, in connection with his archival research for the University of Copenhagen-based ERC project *In the Same Sea*, led by historian Gunvor Simonsen. The remaining texts (those undersigned “Mackeprang”) were unearthed and then shared with us by Simonsen (gratefully acknowledged). In what follows, we will concentrate first on the Von Rohr (1757) text and then, in turn, on the various newspaper texts. In each case, the focus will be on presenting the text itself and contextualizing it and offering a brief linguistic analysis of salient features that surface in it. In the case of the Von Rohr (1757) text, we also provide a comparative analysis which considers several other versions of the same hymn, for which reason the discussion of this first text is relatively extensive compared to the subsequent, in each case shorter discussions.

Von Rohr (1757): A hymn in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (St. Croix)

Julius von Rohr (1737–1793) was a German-born botanist, naturalist, and medical doctor, who was employed in the Danish colonial service. He was born in Prussia, studied natural history and medicine in Halle, and then emigrated to Denmark. In 1757, he was appointed municipal buildings inspector and government land surveyor of the Danish West Indies by the Danish Crown. On the same occasion, he was commissioned to study the natural history and botany of the islands. Von Rohr remained active as a colonial administrator and scientist in the Danish West Indies for more than 30 years. Von

Rohr's life and work in the Danish West Indies is detailed in a study by Hopkins (2016), which forms the basis for the remarks about him presented here.

When Von Rohr came to the Danish West Indies, the Crown had recently taken over the administration of the colony from the Danish West India and Guinea Company. Christiansted on St. Croix had been made the new center of the colonial administration, and this is where Von Rohr came to live and work. The plantation economy of St. Croix, consolidated some two decades prior to Von Rohr's arrival, was beginning to boom, and the island was effectively transformed during Von Rohr's time there. In 1750, perhaps half of the island's acreage was covered with woods and bush, whereas 35 years later, the island was cultivated essentially from end to end (for further details, see also Hopkins, 1987). This was accompanied by a population turnover, specifically by a large increase in the size of the enslaved workforce. In 1742 the enslaved population on St. Croix consisted of fewer than 2,000 people, whereas by the early 1770s, that number had risen to more than 20,000, and it would continue to grow further until reaching more than 27,000 by the early 1800s (cf. Hall, 1992, p. 5).

St. Croix under Danish rule developed as a primarily anglophone island, but there is evidence that VIDC gained ground there as well, albeit to a lesser degree than it had on St. Thomas and St. John half a century earlier. There is evidence, especially in the form of metalinguistic commentaries from missionaries, indicating that VIDC was used by at least some of St. Croix's enslaved population, existing in a sort of complementary distribution with (what was developing into) Virgin Islands Creole English, and resulting in cross-influences between these varieties. This is reflected in the fact that Virgin Islands Creole English contains hundreds of words derived from VIDC (Bøegh and Bakker, 2021). According to the Moravian missionary Oldendorp (2000, p. 608) writing in the late 1760s, VIDC could be used with "most Black people on St. Croix," who "mostly learn both [VIDC and Creole English], and can express themselves in one as well as in the other" (this and all other translations in this work are by the authors). That said, Oldendorp (e.g., 2002, pp. 441, 823) repeatedly comments on the prevalence of (Creole) English in western St. Croix, which may be taken to imply that VIDC was most strongly represented in eastern St. Croix, including Christiansted where Von Rohr was based. VIDC remained in use for quite long on St. Croix. Nelson was able to collect VIDC data on the island as late as 1936 (Nelson, 1936; Den Besten and Van Rossem, 2013; Van Rossem, 2017).

From a documentary linguistic perspective, the fact that Von Rohr was based in St. Croix is noteworthy because he recorded a text in VIDC. As already mentioned, there are not many historical sources from St. Croix which shed light on VIDC. Indeed, before the fieldnotes recorded by Nelson (1936) came to light, containing evidence of VIDC-Creole English bilingualism among older people on St. Croix in the 1930s, VIDC was generally believed to be indigenous only to St. Thomas and St. John, serving only as an auxiliary language on St. Croix. Against this background, the text found in Von

Rohr's manuscript is clearly of interest to the study of Virgin Islands language history, as it may be the earliest VIDC text recorded on St. Croix.

Von Rohr's manuscript, with the German title *Natur-Historie von St. Croix, erste Sammlung* [Natural History of St. Croix, First Part], is kept in the Royal Danish Library in Copenhagen.² It was written in the late 1750s and consists of seven parts, containing a journal of the author's voyage to the Danish West Indies in 1757, a description of the plants, insects, fishes, shells, corals, and minerals of St. Croix as well as a very short historical outline for the island. The historical account is limited to a description of the islands' soil conditions and its fruits, with a specific and detailed discussion of the bread made from cassava, followed by a longer description of trade, and then concluded by a few comments on the habits and religion of the islands' inhabitants as well as on VIDC. Based on comments in the manuscript, the VIDC text in it can be dated to 1757. The manuscript has never been published, but according to an anonymous observer writing in the mid-1760s who mentions von Rohrs' work explicitly, von Rohr was at that point planning to publish his writings on the botany of St. Croix.³

In addition to offering an example of a hymn in VIDC, presented below as examples (1–8) with interlinear glosses, Von Rohr also wanted to give an impression of the language of the island. To this end, he commented thus on the creole language: "What if I gave you a little idea of the local language, Creole? The Herrnhutters have as yet only translated a few German songs. Here is the beginning of the song *Von Himmel hoch da komm ich her* [I come here from heaven high]."⁴ Von Rohr commented further: "How would Virgil sound in this language?"⁵ These quotes suggest that Von Rohr viewed VIDC as a language separate from uncreolized Dutch.

- (1) *Van hemmel hoch da mi komm nu*
from heaven high FOC/there 1SG come now
'from Heaven above to here I come now'
- (2) *en bring vell goeje neuws na yu*
and bring much good news LOC 2SG
'and bring many good tidings to you'
- (3) *De heel frey neuws mi bring so viel,*
DET very good news 1SG bring so much/many
'the wonderful tidings, of which I bring so many'

² The complete manuscript is digitally available at the library's online collection:

<http://www5.kb.dk/manus/vmanus/2011/dec/ha/object93426/da/> (last accessed 22 August 2022).

³ Anonymous, "Beretninger om De Danske Westindiske Sukker-Eylande St. Croix, St. Thomas og St. Jan," Danish National Archives, Joachim Godske Moltke 05979, Sager vedr. J.G. Moltkes embedsvirk-somhed 17: D.5.b.7. This manuscript is currently being prepared for publication in Christensen (forthcoming).

⁴ Original: "Kreolische Sprache. Wie? wenn ich Ihnen hier einen kleinen Begriff von der hiessigen Landes Sprache, des Kreolischen, machte? Die Herrenhuter haben noch nichts wie einige deutsche Lieder übersetzt. Hier ist der Anfang von den Liede: *Von Himmel hoch da komm ich her.*"

⁵ Original: "Wie möchte wohl der Virgil in diese Sprache klingen?"

- (4) *Van di mi zing en praaten will*
 from DEM 1SG sing and speak want
 ‘of them I wish to sing and speak’
- (5) *Vor yu de heylig Froun Mari*
 FOR 2SG DET holy lady Mary
 ‘to you the holy Virgin Mary’
- (6) *En kind van dag hem ha parri*
 INDF child of day 3SG PRF bear
 ‘a child today is born’
- (7) *En kind so tür en zuut da di*
 INDF child so fragile and sweet REL 3SG
 ‘a child so fragile and sweet like him/it’
- (8) *Zal maak jender yu mutchi bli*
 FUT make 2PL 2SG much glad
 ‘shall make everyone happy’

Without a doubt this text is written in VIDC, and not an approximation of Dutch, based on the following observations. The text contains a number of salient features with diagnostic value in terms of distinguishing Dutch and VIDC. For example, we can note the locative element/preposition *na* (discussed as a shibboleth for genuine VIDC in Van Rossem, 2017, pp. 157ff.), as seen in (2), the first person subject pronoun *mi* (< Zeelandic Dutch *mi*, Standard Dutch *mij*, a non-subject form), seen in (1) and (3–4), and lexical items such as *parri* ‘to bear’ (< Spanish/Portuguese *parir* ‘to give birth’), seen in (6), not found in uncreolized Dutch.

The Von Rohr (1757) text appears to be the second-oldest version of a hymn of which three other versions are known, all from Moravian sources (Isles and Weber, 1749–1753, pp. 81f.; Anon., *Gebeden en Liederen*, 1765, p. 27; Anon. *Psalm-boek*, 1774, p. 32). Unfortunately, the Moravian hymnbook from 1784 (Anon., 1784) does not contain this hymn, nor another with the same melody “*Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her*,” originally written by Martin Luther in 1534. In what follows, in order to make it possible to evaluate how the Von Rohr (1757) version fits into the larger picture and assess whether the text was simply copied directly from another source or represents original work, we compare the four versions of the hymn on the basis of the use of grammatical features and lexical choices but ignoring differences in spelling. Presented below, as examples (9–16), is a line-by-line comparison of the four versions, arranged in chronological order as follows: a) Isles and Weber (1749–1753, pp. 81f.); b) Von Rohr (1757); c) Anon. (1765, p. 27); d) Anon. (1774, p. 32).

- (9) a. *Van boov ut hemel mi kom nu*
 b. *Van hemmel hoch da mi komm nu*
 c. *Van Hemel hoog da mi kom noe*
 d. *Van Hemel hoog da mi le kom,*

- (10) a. *en bring ook goe Niews na joe*
 b. *En bring vell goeje neuws na yu*
 c. *En breng goei Nuws, Gemeent na Joe:*
 d. *En mi breng goeje Nieuws na jen;*
- (11) a. *di heel vrij Niews mi bring so veel*
 b. *De heel frey neuws mi bring so viel,*
 c. *Die heel fraai Nuws so veel mi breng,*
 d. *Die heel fraai Nieuws soo veel mi breng,*
- (12) a. *Van di mi zing en praaten will*
 b. *Van di mi zing en praaten will*
 c. *Van die mi le praat en le sing.*
 d. *Van die mi will praat noe, en sing.*
- (13) a. *Voor joe di heilig Vrouw Mari*
 b. *Vor yu de heylic Froun Mari*
 c. *Voor jen die heilig Meid Marie*
 d. *Voor jend'r die skoon Jongvrouw Marie*
- (14) a. *een Kind van dag hem ka parri*
 b. *En kind van dag hem ha parri*
 c. *Een Kindje van daag ka pari,*
 d. *Van Dag een Kindje ka parri,*
- (15) a. *een Kind so teer en zoet da di*
 b. *En kind so tür en zuut da di*
 c. *Een Kind so teer en soet, da die*
 d. *Een Kindje mooi en soet, da die*
- (16) a. *zal maak jender goe moeschi bli*
 b. *Zal maak jender yu mutchi bli.*
 c. *Sal maak jender goe moeschi bli.*
 d. *Sal maak jend'r Hert goe moeschi bli.*

The different versions are quite similar overall, yet one can point to variation in a number of instances, including the occurrence of both more Dutch-like and non-Dutch-like features.

The following differences across the different versions of the text can be noted. In (9), we see variation in the use a preverbal particle *le* (possibly from Dutch *leggen* ‘to lay’, cf. Van Rossem and Van der Voort, 1996, p. 14) as a marker of durative aspect. In the same example, we note the occurrence of two locative constructions, viz. *van boov ut N* and *van N hoog* ‘from above’. In (10), we see variation in the use of the second person pronoun forms *joe/ju* (used by Von Rohr) and *jen*; the uninflected adjective *goe/goei* and inflected *goeje* (used by Von Rohr); and in terms of presence or absence of the personal pronoun *mi* (included by Von Rohr). In (11), we see variation in basic word order, where there is SVO order in *mi bring so viel* (selected by Von Rohr), and OSV

order in *so viel mi bring* ‘I bring so much’. In (12), we can point to variation between the infinitive form *praaten* (used by Von Rohr) or root form *praat*; the presence of preverbal *le* or not (Von Rohr here avoids preverbal tense-mood-aspect marking); and the presence of adverbial *noe* ‘now’ or its absence (Von Rohr does not include it). In (13), we see *joe/ju* (the latter used by Von Rohr) or *jen(der)* for the second person plural; and there is a lexical choice between *vrouw/froun* ‘woman’ (the latter used by Von Rohr), *meid* ‘young woman’, or *jongvrouw* ‘lady; young woman’. In (14), we see *kind* ‘child’ (used by Von Rohr) without diminutive or *kindje* with diminutive ending; *van dag* ‘today’ fronted or not (Von Rohr has it unfronted); and the third person singular pronoun *hem* present (as in Von Rohr) or absent. In (15), again we see *kind* ‘child’ (again used by Von Rohr) without diminutive or *kindje* with diminutive ending; and there is a lexical choice between *teer/tür* ‘fragile’ (used by Von Rohr) or *mooi* ‘beautiful’. In (16), finally, we see variation in the use of *hert* ‘heart’ or not (Von Rohr omits it).

The differences are of such a nature that the text is clearly not merely copied directly, but reflects different interpretations and different translations of the same template and the same German text. It is unlikely that Von Rohr translated the text himself; he must have received it from one of the local Moravian missionaries. This corroborates that VIDC was in use on St. Croix, and likely prevalent in and around Christiansted in the 1750s, which until now has not been demonstrated directly by means of contemporary linguistic evidence. As for the quality of the textual evidence, another point that can be made is that the language in the different versions of the same hymn appears to reflect a genuine register of speech, rather than, as suggested by Sabino (2012), a contrived, constructed artificial use of language. As such, the Von Rohr (1757) hymn represents an important new addition to the full corpus of known VIDC texts.

Newspaper texts in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (1804–1818)

We will now turn to presenting and discussing a set of texts which appeared in Virgin Islands newspapers between 1804 and 1818. The newspapers are predominantly in Danish and English, with only a few snippets in VIDC (for comments on language use in newspapers and the colonial administration, see Liebst, 1996). Older newspapers are often used as a source to uncover new textual evidence in creole studies, for example in the study of English-lexifier varieties (e.g., Huber, 2020). There is a body of newspaper texts from the Danish West Indies written in (approximations of) historical varieties of Virgin Islands Creole English (analyzed in Bøegh, 2021), so the idea of finding VIDC used in a similar context is not without precedent. The use of VIDC in newspapers has not previously been dealt with in the literature, but as we will show, there is good reason for drawing upon this type of source to cast new light on the use of VIDC and thus the historical sociolinguistic situation in the territory. One advantage of drawing upon newspapers for textual evidence is that the period during which we find newspaper texts

is different from the period during which we normally come across texts in VIDC, reflecting a time when VIDC was beginning to, or would soon begin to, decline in the territory. The texts we will consider originate from St. Croix and St. Thomas.

Mackeprang (1804, 1805a, b, 1806): Reminders concerning religious instruction (St. Croix)

In this section, we will present and discuss a set of short newspaper advertisements in VIDC, four in total, for pupils doing a course of religious education to prepare them for confirmation as members of the Lutheran Church. Whereas the different versions of the hymn compared in the previous section came from the hands of members of the Moravian Brethren, the advertisements considered here (Mackeprang, 1804, 1805a, 1805b, 1806) have a Danish Lutheran source. The Danish Lutherans had started their proselytizing activities in the Danish West Indies in the mid-1750s, following the takeover of the colony by the Danish Crown, as a response to the King's stated wish that a Lutheran overseas mission be established in the colony (Larsen, 1950). The texts, signed by Mackeprang, presumably the Lutheran missionary Hans Jørgen Mackeprang (1764–1821) who came to St. Croix in 1799 and stayed until 1813 (Lose, 1891, p. 31), were published in *Dansk Vestindisk Regierings Avis* [Danish West Indian Government's Newspaper] between 1804 and 1806.

The first text, published on 17 February 1804, was intended for locals who had not been able to get the religious teaching necessary to become members of the Lutheran Church, requesting that they register with the schoolteacher or with the priest. This text is presented in (17).

(17) *Die Sender van de creols af van die ander Gemeinden, die mankeer na dees Jaer vor kom onderwiest na Confirmarie [SIC: Confirmatie], sender believ vor maek teeken sender Naem voor die Ytgang van die Maent na mie of na die Skoolmeester Oistermann.*

MACKEPRANG.

'Those of the Creoles from the other parishes, who have missed out this year to be taught in the Confirmation, they are requested to have their name signed before the end of the month with me or with the schoolmaster Oistermann.

MACKEPRANG.'

A year later, on 4 February 1805, an almost identical text was published in the same newspaper:

(18) *Die sender van die creols Gemeinde, die mankeer na dees jaer voor staen na Confirmasie, sender believ vor maek teeken sellie Naem sender voor die Ytgang van die chaent [SIC: maent] na mie of na die Skoollevaer [SIC: Skoolleraer] Oistermann.*

MACKEPRANG.

‘Those of the Creole congregation who have not yet/who failed this year to pass in the Confirmation, they are requested to sign their name before the end of the month with me or with the schoolteacher Oistermann.

MACKEPRANG.’

One further advertisement from 1805 in the Danish government newspaper by the same person, dated 13 June, was a text in which he announced the time at which religious services would start in Christiansted and Frederiksted, the two towns in St. Croix. Although the subject matter is similar, this text is not simply another version of the message shown above. The text also appeared in a Danish version, in the same newspaper, likewise signed Mackeprang. The text is presented in (19).

(19) *Die Godts Dienst voor die Mission vang an hie after ewen soo wel na Frederikstæd as hiesoo, na twee Yer after Middag.*

MACKEPRANG.

‘The religious service of the Mission starts from now on, both in Frederiksted as well as here, at two o’clock in the afternoon.

MACKEPRANG.’

Finally, around a year later, on 8 September 1806, Mackeprang advertised again in the same newspaper for the same reason, in a text similar to that of the first two examples:

(20) *Die Sender van die Creols Gemeinden, die mankeer vor loop na Confirmasie na dees Jaer, sender believ vor maek teeken sellie Naemen voor die Ent van die Mont, na die Mission sie Skoolleraers hie na die Stadt en na Westend.*

MACKEPRANG.

As is the case with the Von Rohr (1757) text, the texts shown above are clearly in VIDC. To substantiate this, we present below an interlinear glossing of the text already presented under (20), illustrating that the grammar is distinct from uncreolized Dutch. In (21) we present a translation of the text into modern Dutch, and in (22–25) the original in VIDC with glosses.

(21) *Degenen van de Creoolse gemeente die dit jaar nog niet hun Confirmatie hebben doorlopen, worden verzocht voor het einde van de maand hun naam te ondertekenen bij de onderwijzers van de missie hier in de stad en in Westend [Frederiksted].*

(22) Die Sender van die Creol-s Gemeinde-n,
3PL.REL 3PL of DET Creole-GEN congregation-PL
‘those of them of the Creole congregations’

(23) die mankeer vor loop na Confirmasie na dees Jaer,
REL.3PL lack FOR go LOC Conformation PREP DEM year
‘who lack preparing for Confirmation this year’

- (24) *sender believ vor maek teeken sellie Naem-en voor die Ent*
van
 3PL request FOR make sign 3PL.POSS name-PL before DET end of
die Mont,
 DET month
 ‘they are requested to sign their names before the end of the month’
- (25) *na die Mission sie Skoolleraer-s hie na die Stadt en na*
 LOC DET mission 3PL schoolteacher-PL here LOC DET town and LOC
Westend.
 Westend
 ‘with the schoolteachers of the mission here in the town [i.e., Christiansted] and in
 Westend [i.e., Frederiksted]’

A number of features with diagnostic value make an appearance in the text, including some also mentioned in relation to Van Rohr’s text, for example locative/prepositional *na*. An example of a feature not previously touched upon is the third person plural pronoun *sender*, based on a third person plural subject form found in Flemish dialects of Dutch (Hinskens and Van Rossem, 1995), seen in (22) and (24). In addition, we observe that there are also Dutch-like features, for example a plural suffix *-(e)n*, as seen in (22) and (24), and the genitive suffix *-s* in (22). This also applies to later texts, and is therefore a point we will return to and elaborate upon somewhat. Also, the use of *vor* (from a preposition meaning ‘for’) as a complementizer in (23) and (24) is a creole construction.

The Danish Lutheran missionaries working in the Danish West Indies were actively using VIDC to reach the enslaved population, and to this end they published a considerable number of religious texts, but the fact that they also used VIDC to communicate to the wider public, as the reminders of religious instruction from Mackeprang show, is something that has not previously been discussed in the literature. In addition, the set of Mackeprang texts represents another example of textual evidence of VIDC being used on St. Croix, in this case in the early 19th century.

Hansteen (1817): Advertisement concerning an escapee (St. Thomas)

The text we will present and discuss next is seemingly quite unique, as it is a newspaper advertisement from 23 January 1817, published in the St. Thomas-based newspaper *St. Thomæ Tidende* [St. Thomas Times], in which an enslaver, signing the text as Bodo Hansteen⁶, asks newspaper readers to be on the lookout for an escapee. This genre of text is well known to historians (e.g., Schneider, 2018), but as far as we know, this is

⁶ We have not been able to ascertain the precise identity of this person. Census data from 1817 show that there was a free colored branch of the Hansteen family on St. Thomas, including two free women of color named Frederica A. Hansteen and Maria Magd. Hansteen. In the 1820s, there was also one Secretary Hansteen, presumably a man. According to census data in the Danish National Archives, by the 1840s and 1850s a total of 14 persons had the family name Hansteen in St. Thomas, all of them female (cf. <https://www.danishfamilysearch.dk/search/>, last accessed 22 August 2022).

the only instance of such a text written in a creole language. In several newspapers from the Danish West Indies, such as *The Royal Danish American Gazette* or *St. Thomæ Tidende*, ads were placed to search for runaways. Corneiro (2018) is an anthology of such texts, but it only includes advertisements written in English. Usually the ads mention names, physical features, gender, age, and special skills of the runaways, and a request to return them to their claimed “owner” if found. Occasionally, remarks were also included about the language repertoires of these enslaved individuals who had attempted to regain their freedom. In the *Royal Danish American Gazette* of 6 November 1776, for instance, we read: “Run away from the estate of Cancellie Raad Beck, a mulatto fellow, Carpenter and Whellright by trade; he is of a meagre complexion, speaks English, French, Spanish and Creole Dutch” (for further examples, see Corneiro, 2018). Even in a period in which VIDC was, or soon would be, in decline, the following ad, Hansteen (1817), was published in this language, rather than the usual English:

(26) *NOTICHI.*

Maaro fan mi en klein jung naam Paaty: hem ben negen jaar met negen dag hou, eneste folk de wal kan bring hem na bene de Fort na di underskrivne, me sal giv hem drie patakoon!!! Me hor hem ben na de bobo saban walplek the mustis-blanku sendu lo uphow hem.

BODO HANSTEEN.

‘NOTICE.

Escaped from me a small youngster/boy named Paaty. He/she is nine years and nine days old. Any person/people who are able to bring him/her inside the Fort [i.e., Fort Christian in Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas] to the undersigned, I will give him/her three dollars!! I have heard that he/she is in the higher grasslands where the mestizo-whites are keeping him/her.

BODO HANSTEEN.’

A number of linguistic features of interest can be pointed out in this text. For instance, *maron* (here written <maaro>) is a verb meaning ‘to escape/to run away’, and *hou* ‘old’ contains the West-Flemish/Zealandic initial *h-*. VIDC only has pronouns for the third person singular which are derived from the Dutch masculine pronoun *hem* ‘him’, which is used in the creole for personal pronouns in subject and object functions; it is therefore unclear whether Paaty is a boy or a girl. *Patakon* is the common word for ‘dollar’ in the language, also attested in De Josselin de Jong’s fieldwork (De Josselin de Jong, 1926, p. 76). *Patakon* is derived from Spanish *patacón* or Portuguese *patacão*.

As a creole text, Hansteen (1817) is exceptional in that it deals with communication between enslavers, and it is probably unique for the Caribbean world that this happened in a creole language. It must be stressed, however, that it was not rare for the creole language of the enslaved to be learned by overseers and enslavers. If they could not speak it, there were also people who understood it. Cassidy (1961, pp. 21–23) observed

that historical sources indicated that Jamaican Creole was also, regularly or occasionally, used by people of European descent. Herlein (1718) included learning materials for Sranan in his description of the Dutch slave colony in Suriname. This text is an additional example that shows that not only enslaved people, but also the elite of the island used the creole language. Magens (1770), the first grammar of a creole language, was written by a native speaker, from the Danish West Indian elite. He mentions the existence of differences in the varieties of VIDC used by African descended and European descended people. Magens also included dialogues between “masters” and “slaves” in his pedagogical grammar.

The reason for writing the text in VIDC could be that the author wanted to reach both the Europeans and the local emancipated population of African descent, who shared VIDC but no European language, or because the author wanted to aim the advertisement at “mestizo-whites,” apparently speakers of VIDC.

Crusser (1818): Warning for traders (St. Thomas)

The final text we will discuss, published 3 July 1818 in *St. Thomæ Tidende*, likewise in the advertisements section, is a short notice aimed at traders, in which one H. Emanuel Crusser warns salesmen not to sell goods on credit to his wife, and if they do, he will not pay for them. Like the preceding text, it is a text written by a member of the propertied colonial classes aimed at a wider readership, specifically traders, rather than the enslaved population, and is hence of historical sociolinguistic interest, especially because of this unusual choice of language. The text is presented in (27).

(27) *Notiche ben hier Gemah.*

Na allemael Kopmand en her koopers no for crediet ma Md. Maria Francisk Crusser, wont die onderskrever no wel exsepteer fan die en oop [SIC: ook] nit betale for die.

H. Emanuel Crusser.

‘Notice has been made here

to all salespeople and their buyers not to give credit to Md. Maria Francisk Crusser, because the undersigned does not want to accept them and will not pay for them either.

H. Emanuel Crusser.’

As with the other texts, we note the presence of a number of features which identify the language as VIDC. Again, *na* occurs as a locative element (where Dutch speakers would have used *aan* ‘to’); there is a preverbal negator *no* rather than Dutch *niet*; and *for* (rather than Dutch *om*) occurs as a purposive complementizer. At the same time, however, we can also identify some Dutch-oriented features, marking off this text as reflective of a different, more Dutch-like variety than, for example, the Hansteen text, which comes across as further removed from Dutch, indicative of sociolinguistic variation. These features include a form of the passive participle *gemah* ‘made’ (cf. Dutch *ge-maak-t*,

German *ge-mach-t*); *her* for the third person plural possessive, from Dutch *haar* (in Modern Dutch *haar* is only used for female singular nouns, but in earlier stages it was also used for masculine and feminine plural); the plural marker *-s* on *koopers* ‘buyers’, rather than the postnominal plural marker *sender*; and the verb *betale* ‘to pay’, which seems to be more Dutch than VIDC, the infinitive in Dutch being *betalen*, but *betaal* in VIDC. The text also includes two words which appear to reflect Danish influence: The word *onderskrever* is probably influenced by Danish *underskrive* ‘to sign’ (cf. Dutch *onderschrijven*), and *kopmand* is probably influenced by Danish *købmand* ‘merchant’ (cf. Dutch *koopman*). Finding *allemael* ‘all, everybody’ as a plural marker is somewhat idiosyncratic, as plurality is generally indicated with a postnominal marker *sender*, or the Dutch suffixes *-en* or *-s*. The following words remain unclear: *ma*, probably *na* ‘to’; *wont*, probably from Dutch *want* ‘because’; *oop*, probably from Dutch *ook* ‘also’.

The person who allegedly submitted the advertisement is probably Henr. Emanuel Creutzer, baptized on 4 November 1781 in St. Thomas, and still present on the island in 1817 according to census data in the Danish National Archives.⁷ His mother was Maria Cathrina belonging to the King of Denmark, so probably an enslaved or freed African descended person. Garde (1960) mentions a Maria Cruse, who got married in 1763 to one Jacob Larsen, a plantation owner on St. Thomas, possibly the father. There was also a branch of the Crusser family (also spelled Cruser, Cruse) located in Christiansted on St. Croix, and present in census data from 1841 and 1901. Some 60 people are registered with this name, all of them from the Christiansted records. As such, it is reasonable to assume that the Crus(s)e(r) family had been present in the Danish West Indies for several generations at the time of the advertisement.

Concluding remarks

In this article, we have presented and discussed a set of newly discovered VIDC texts, all quite short. Even very short texts can shed new light on the historical sociolinguistic situation, notably in terms of who used VIDC with whom and in which contexts. We have considered an early religious text, Von Rohr (1757), of interest because it is so early, and it is known in several versions, which allows for more in-depth regional and diachronic comparison, which some of the present authors will undertake elsewhere. The different newspaper texts confirm that VIDC was used by broad segments of the population of the Danish West Indies, including people of European extraction, and that it was even used for communication among enslavers. The newspaper texts also show that VIDC was still in use in the 1800s, not only in missionary texts, but in day-to-day interactions in the Danish West Indies. That VIDC was used by broad segments of the population is thus confirmed by the texts discussed in this article. It is difficult to say, however, how exceptional the Virgin Islands were in this respect. The presence of lectal

⁷ Cf. Rigsarkivet [Danish National Archives], Reviderede Regnskaber, Vestindiske Regnskaber 571:83.21, Matrikel for St. Thomas og St. Jan 1817.

differences between colloquial creole and creole used for missionary purposes has been attested in Suriname as well (cf. Voorhoeve, 1971).

In Van Rossem and Van der Voort (1996: 224–230), several texts are mentioned which are not related to missionary activities. For instance, the so-called *Politiprotokoller* (police reports), which are archived in the Danish National Archives in Copenhagen, have not been studied for language use, but they are of potential interest as they will include literal quotes, which can shed light on the development of the creole, and its sociolinguistic differences (for an example of a verbatim quote, cf. Van Rossem and Van der Voort, 1996, p. 227). Additional colloquial, non-religious texts may surface in further research on historical texts from local newspapers and the judiciary system.

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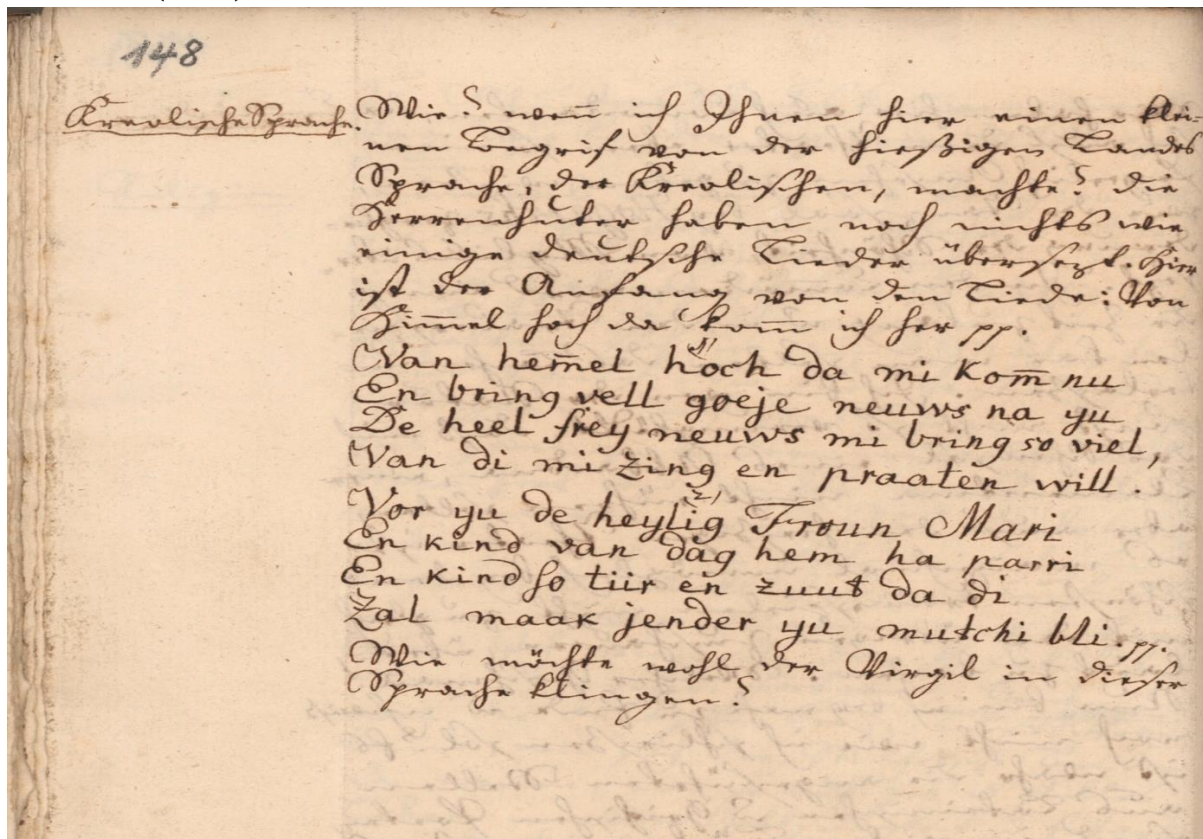
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Appendix

Facsimiles of the texts discussed in the article are presented below. The complete Von Rohr (1757) manuscript is digitally available at the Royal Danish Library's online collection (<http://www5.kb.dk/manus/vmanus/2011/dec/ha/object93426/da/>, last accessed 19 August 2022). The newspaper texts can be accessed via the Royal Danish Library's online database *Mediestream* (<https://www2.statsbiblioteket.dk/mediestream/>, last accessed 19 August 2022). Direct permanent links are provided in the reference list.



New Advertisements.

Die Sender van de creols af van die ander Gemeinden, die mankeer na dees Jaer vor kom onderwieft na Confirmatie, fender believ vor maek teeken fender Naem voor die Ytgang van die Maent na mie of na die Skoolmeester Oistermann.
MACKEPRANG.

Die Godts Dienst voor die Mission vang an hie alter, ewen soo wel na Frederickstad as hieloo, na twee Yer after Middag.
MACKEPRANG.

Mackeprang (1805b)

Die fender van die creols Gemeinde, die mankeer na dees Jaer vor slaen na Confirmasie, fender believ vor maek teeken sellie Naem fender voor die Ytgang van die chaent na mie of na die Skoellevaer Oistermann.

MACKEPRANG.

Mackeprang (1806)

Die Sender van die Creols Gemeinden, die mankeer vor loop na Confirmasie na dees Jaer, fender believ vor maek teeken sellie Naemen voor die Ent van die Mont, na die Mission sie Skoelleraers hie na die Stadt en na Weltend.

MACKEPRANG.

Hansteen (1817)

NOTICHI.

Maaro van me en klein jung naam Paaty: hem ben negen jaar med negen dag hou, en este folk de wal kan bring hem na beno de Fort na de underskrivne, me sal giv hem drie patakou!!! Me hor hem ben na de bobo saban walplek the mustis-blanku sendu lo uphow hem.

BODO HANSTEEN.

Crusser (1818)

Notiche ben hier Gemah.

NA allemael Kopmand en her koopers no for crediet ma Md. Maria Francisk Crusser, wont die onderskrever no wel exsepteer fan die en oop nit betale for die

H. Emanuel Crusser.

THE SECRET HANDSHAKE OF DUTCH: HOW THE DUTCH HAVE SYSTEMATICALLY DENIED ACCESS TO THEIR LANGUAGE IN THE CARIBBEAN

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Abstract

Despite recent decades of intervention, the Dutch language remains inaccessible to the non-Dutch speaking populations of the Caribbean. Dutch colonialism ushered in multi-cultural development, yet also maintained Dutch as the *de facto* language of power. This article examines how the Dutch advanced their linguistic ideology throughout history and how currently, Dutch remains the language of exclusion and failure for the English creole speaking populations of Saba and St. Eustatius, maintaining European control over the public entities of the islands. This study analyses the relevant histories within the framework of historical persistence (Nunn, 2012) and identifies some of the underlying ideologies using ethnological methodology (McCarty, 2015), highlighting the dichotomy between the coloniser and the colonised. In sum, the study upon which this article is based points toward the Dutch people's reluctance to share their language with people of other cultures, preferring to maintain sole proprietorship of the language of power. Addressing this underlying dogma is vital to any attempts to equalise the language playing field for the islands' inhabitants.

Key terms: language planning and policy, Dutch Caribbean, inequality

“Perhaps we have become especially interested over time in uncovering the indistinct voices, covert motivations, embedded ideologies, invisible instances, or unintended consequences of language policy emergent in context.” (Hornberger, 2015, p.13)

Introduction

Policy under the Dutch seems to be guided by two opposing principles: the head and the heart, or the conscious and the subconscious. Intellectually, the Dutch are keen to guide, fund, support and aid their Caribbean counterparts, but under the surface, perhaps even unbeknownst to the Dutch themselves, dark currents of the vestiges of colonialism and discrimination run strong. This article arises out of the research and subsequent language planning and policy formulation which were meant to address the polemic surrounding Dutch education on the Caribbean islands of Saba and St. Eustatius, where students receive an average of twelve years of instruction in the Dutch language, yet very few ever achieve even a basic level of proficiency.

Saba and St. Eustatius, both *bijzonder gemeenten* or special municipalities (all translations in this article are by the author, unless specified otherwise) which currently form a part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, are English lexifier creole speaking islands which have been dominated by Dutch colonialism since the 17th century. These two islands, located 32 km from each other in the Lesser Antilles, fall mostly under the shadow of their larger and more populous neighbour, St. Maarten, another English creole speaking island nation in the Dutch Kingdom. Saba and St. Eustatius have experienced a history of linguistic colonisation, from education systems in which the language of instruction, Dutch, is a unknown language for the students, to governmental, legal and judicial systems which operate in a language barely known by their residents, to an insistence on fluency in the Dutch language for governmental employment. Education in the European Netherlands should be an attractive option for island students, yet very few choose this path and even fewer are successful. What for many Netherlandsers is a subconscious dedication to hegemonic sovereignty combined with a conscious veneration of their own public image has permitted the implementation of *de facto* Dutch language policies which institutionalise failure for the majority of students on the islands. The reader is invited to explore two foundational arguments which are only briefly explained within the confines of this article: the first is Nathan Nunn's concept of historical persistence, elaborated upon both in his paper "Culture and the historical process" which appears in *Economic history of developing regions* (Nunn, 2012) as well as in "Historical development" in the *Handbook of economic growth* (Nunn, 2014). The second is the concept of Dutch colonialism and hierarchical citizenship highlighted by Guno Jones (2016) in his study "What is new about Dutch populism? Dutch colonialism, hierarchical citizenship and contemporary populist debates and policies in the Netherlands."

Culture and historical persistence

Nunn's question "Does culture even exist?" (2012, p. 111) is answered with empirical evidence demonstrating that "different societies make systematically different decisions when faced with the same decision with exactly the same available actions and pay-

offs.” This decision-making process is deeply ingrained and operates on a subconscious level. The next step in understanding the process of culture is understanding that past events permanently affect our norms, behaviour, and rules of thumb or heuristics. Boyd and Richardson (1985) recognised that societies can adopt different cultural beliefs, and that our emotions can and do evolve, but, in general, this is an extremely slow-moving process and spans long periods of time. This is what is termed *historical persistence* (Nunn, 2012, p. 109). The evolution of our cultural norms is like the movement of a glacier: just as imperceptible and just as forceful.

Dutch Colonialism

Dutch hegemony held sway to varying degrees on the two Caribbean islands under discussion in this article. St. Eustatius, more commonly called Statia by the locals, has had a long history with the Dutch and Dutch colonisation, whereas Saba, dubbed *isla inútil* (useless island) by the Spanish, saw minimal interaction with the Dutch. Saba is a volcano of 13 km², whose cliffs plummet straight to great depths and offer no easy access by boats to the land. Saba saw a few Englishmen – its first European visitors – wash ashore from a shipwreck in 1632, a few Dutch settlers arriving around 1640 (who were expelled a few decades later by the English), and Irish and Scottish farmers, boat builders and fishermen who, along with a few enslaved people, formed the ancestry of the current population. The plantation economy could never take hold given the harsh geography, and class distinctions were relatively limited. The Sabans were primarily governed by local officials. From the early years of the Dutch *Gouden Eeuw* (Golden Age) until very recent times, Saba was primarily ignored by the Europeans.

Statia, on the other hand, became the crown jewel of the Dutch Caribbean. A big island according to Saban standards at 21km², Statia offered great geological advantages to the European traders arriving in the 17th century: a harbour free of navigational hazards which was directly approachable from the sea, easily defended from the high cliffs surrounding the sea, and a beach length of shoreline for storage of goods for trade. Statia also offered the early colonists a trade port free from yellow fever and malaria, killers which were rampant in many Caribbean outposts (Enthoven, 2012, p. 246). Statia offered little in terms of arable land, and the scarcity of water made a plantation economy difficult, but it was identified early on for its advantages for commerce.

Dutch Heuristics

Dutch decision-making has developed along the lines of making choices which seem progressive, forward-thinking, and emblematic of Dutch goodwill, while the anchoring principles of those decisions are based in an adamant insistence on preserving the power and status of the ruling class. The following historical decisions highlight the heuristics which have governed the historical ideology of the Dutch nation.

The Dutch profited greatly from the commerce that prevailed under their system of free trade. This challenge to the Spanish and British system of mercantilism was an economic advantage for the Dutch, as it opened up Dutch ports to highly profitable commerce deemed illegal by many European powers. St. Eustatius had a particularly vital place in this enterprise, including Dutch profit in the trade of enslaved Africans. From a distance, the concept of *free* trade resonates in ways similar to *liberty* and *democracy*. The details, however, include illicit trade, contraband and a flexible view on legality. The motivating factor has far less to do with freedom, and far more to do with profit. The doctrine of conversion is central in the teaching of the Reformed Church, and “enslavement of the infidel was justified in order to make him a Christian” (Sheeler, 1957, p. 67). The foundations of the Dutch policies of subjugating the enslaved were rooted in theological, ethnic, and social arguments of their inferiority. An added bonus in converting the uncivilised African to the *one true faith* was the opportunity to teach the enslaved or formerly enslaved that they deserved their fate on earth - or at least were destined to endure it - but, if they were good, obedient, and submissive, they could earn their reward in the afterlife. Nevertheless, saving the barbaric infidels gleamed in the Dutch treasure chest of altruism.

The concept of the Dutch as saviour went far beyond the church doors. The Dutch ideology of the saviour had evolved into “a curious enthusiasm for performing good deeds - these good deeds must be imposed on the poor and the oppressed, if necessary” (Pollman, 2000, p. 102). In the War of Indonesian Independence (1945-1949), the Dutch could much more easily endorse a mission to the East in which they could play the hero, rather than face their role as colonisers battling oppressed indigenous populations fighting for their rights and their independence. The Indonesians’ crushing defeat of their Dutch colonisers did not fit into the dominant Dutch ideology. The Dutch responded to this defeat by ignoring and silencing it, including the experiences of the returning Dutch troops, stunned by a bloody and violent war. Today most Dutch people don’t understand their country’s role in Indonesia.

Over 70 years later, the Dutch continue to arrive on the islands of Saba and Statia in substantial numbers, buttressed by their sense of mission to *fix* the islands and the islanders themselves. The locals, knowing they cannot flourish as independent nations of only 2000 and 3000 inhabitants, sigh deeply and are forced to endure the patronising salvation delivered to them by the European Dutch.

The doctrine of tolerance has a long history in the Netherlands. It began following the wars with Spain in 1579. Boogman states:

The political elite in Holland revealed themselves, in the crisis years of 1572 and 1573, as masters in the art of compromise and accommodation [which] would later in the Dutch Republic become a characteristic feature of the entire political system. (1979, p. 379)

As a result of this approach, the majority of the regents in Holland were able to at least maintain, and in many cases, strengthen, their power. In 1848, the King of the Netherlands, in a supposed attempt to give the people more say in government, instituted a constitution which curtailed the powers of the king. This democratic constitution was a new and radical idea, and it still took a long time for the societies of Europe to grasp the meaning of representation for the people and by the people. In reality, this constitution most likely arose as an attempt to avert the political upheavals raging at that time across Europe and toppling the status quo.

Education for all

When the Dutch lost the legal right to own and exploit the non-European descended populations of their colonies through coercive force, they maintained control by means of discursive force, through religion and just enough education so that the formerly enslaved could read the Bible. By reading the scriptures, the non-Dutch could access for themselves the church's domesticating messages of suffering and submission to authority in this life for redemption in the next. Literacy could potentially also give them to problematic texts which encourage freedom of thinking, but in the closed circular system of religion and education, the church could denounce such texts as sinful, and discredit them.

Thus, education policy and practice which began to include the 'less desirable members of society', followed a very similar trajectory to that described in Guno Jones' hierarchy of citizenship. The Dutch political ideals of accommodation and compromise, whilst still maintaining the status quo, are clearly visible in the education system. Michael Merry and Willem Boterman, in their article "Educational inequality and state-sponsored elite education" (2020) lay out the history of the policies and practices designed to make sure that the highest levels of education in the Netherlands are reserved for preservation of the country's elites. Even when, often against all odds, diverse students manage to gain acceptance into the 'hallowed halls' of elite education, the cultural chasm that they encounter there leads those students to a profound disconnect. This "hostile environment" (Merry & Boterman, 2020, p. 525) is very familiar to Caribbean students. Even those with academic preparation and a high level of Dutch find that the only way to survive in this new environment is to completely reject their Caribbean identity and conform as much as possible to the norms of European Dutch society.

The *CITO Toets* (Central Institute for Test Development test) in this system becomes a Charon-like mechanism, guarding the entrance of the esteemed edifices of Dutch Academia. Everyone has the right to an education, but many are *more suited* for a vocational trade, which clearly falls short of the first-class education of the VWO (*Voorbereidend Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs*: often translated as 'pre-university education' but which literally means 'Preparatory Scientific Education') and Gymnasium, similar to, but far more elitist and exclusive than the German Gymnasium (Merry & Boterman, 2020).

Holy Dutch

Our language is part of our identity, and language mutually propagates and creates culture. Even more than our history and geography, language and culture symbiotically feed each other. During the *Gouden Eeuw* (Golden Age) and the sovereignty of the GWC (Dutch West India Company) and VOC (Dutch East India Company) the Dutch gained power, prestige and vast economic holdings. Nevertheless, the Dutch language was still seen as a poorly spoken and bastardised form of German. Dutch is closely related to German, but diverged from it in the time of the *Lautverschiebungen* or consonant shifts (there were actually two phases) which began in about the third century and became cemented in the Germanic languages around the eighth century CE. The analysis of Germanic languages in later centuries eventually led to a major identity crisis for the Dutch.

Germanic languages are linguistically divided according to this consonant shift, which began in the area of southern Germany and Austria - located in the Alps. The mountains, being tall, led to a designation of *high* to refer to that language, and *low* to label the form spoken in the north, the area at sea level. The Dutch are thus saddled with speaking a *low* form of the language, which no matter how well you know your linguistic geography, sounds less worthy than a *high* form. The connotations of these topographic distinctions infer a painful inequality (Geurts, 2019).

Another issue the Dutch language faced was the division between the vernacular and the official language. In the south, the area of *High German*, where the population was greater, cities grew up and the language of the people began to be used increasingly in official capacities, religious writings and in literature, such as the *Hildebrandslied*. The north, sparsely populated and with currently inhabited land still underwater, had few cities and extremely limited writing in the vernacular. This lack of written literature in a language tends to create an ideology of inferiority. Folk languages often carry a stigma of being less valuable than the elite, metropolitan languages (Geurts, 2019). As Geurts mentions in his article “Our pride is easily hurt,” *real* languages at the time were French, High German and English, because these languages were used in literature, scholarship and the law. Dutch was *merely* a spoken language.

Very likely because of these situations, the Dutch had a deep-seated need to defend their language and elevate its status. Perhaps this is the origin of the myth of *Holy Dutch*. The 16th century Dutch humanist Jan van Gorp (Johannes Goropius Becanus) from Hilvarenbeek fabricated an intricate argument that Dutch was, basically, the language of Adam and Eve. Bechanus, by way of a number of fallacies of reasoning, concluded that Dutch was the oldest language in the world, which in his argument equalled the best. Despite his doctrinal shortcomings, Becanus’ ideas satisfied a need for the Dutch people to elevate the status of their language, and gave rise to ideologies which wreak havoc to this day.

Neocolonialism goes underground

Having lost the war with Indonesia, the option of further humiliation in the Caribbean needed to be addressed and avoided. The same policies that worked in the sixteenth century - accommodation and compromise whilst maintaining the status quo - seemed to fit well into this new context. It would be better for the Dutch to be free of these troublesome colonial children, and the European Netherlands could push the agenda of independence for the colonies as a demonstration of their progressive thinking. Shields explains:

In the Hague, the revolt of May 1969 [at the oil refinery in Curaçao - a protest against overtly racist practices] troubled the new centre-left governing coalition, whose members grew concerned that the perpetuation of ‘neo-colonial’ ties would frustrate an increasingly progressive Dutch self-image and foreign aid policy agenda. (2016, p. 620).

Rumblings of independence across the colonies began, but most had their origin in den Haag. The Caribbean nations were pushed to become independent, and the gate to migration to the European Netherlands was being pulled shut.

The communities of the Dutch Antilles and Suriname were painted as “victims of Dutch citizenship.” The movement of Surinamese Dutch to the Netherlands in 1975 (an exodus which provided the only way for the Surinamese population maintain their Dutch citizenship) was represented as constituting “irreparable uprootedness” while South America and the Caribbean were represented as the “proper socio-cultural habitat for Surinamese Dutch citizens” (Jones, 2016, p. 611). “Dutch political debates on Suriname demonstrate how a seemingly progressive political agenda of decolonisation became connected with an exclusionary citizenship agenda” (p. 605). The colonised could not rise above their social status and be permitted to assimilate: “all efforts of the colonialist are directed towards maintaining the social immobility, and racism is the surest weapon for this aim” (Memmi, 1957, p. 74).

Dutch as the language of exclusion and failure

In the 18th century, the *lowly* status of Dutch brought about a need for the Dutch to elevate this primal part of their identity, even to the level of holiness. Another concern for the Dutch was that no one was learning their language, likely as a consequence of its perceived status and the lack of literature in the language. French and German were international languages used across Europe and beyond, yet almost no one spoke *Nederlands* beyond the Dutch borders. This might normally have represented a setback for the public image of Dutch, but, as I theorise, in the spirit of typically Dutch spin, the Dutch reimagined this status issue as a result of other populations not having the capacity to learn Dutch. This concept seems to hold steady to this day. Dutch is the most closely related language to English, and, grammatically and syntactically speaking, is really quite easy to master. It is very reasonable for speakers of other languages, especially

Germanic languages, to acquire and speak Dutch proficiently. Yet the Dutch cast their own language as “The European Chinese,” impossible to pronounce (“*zeg maar ‘Scheveningen’ en ‘Schiphol’*”) and a language that no one beside the Netherlanders will ever really be able to learn. Language learning websites explode with chats about learning the Dutch language, where most comments discuss the impossibility of getting a Dutch person to speak Dutch with you if you are just learning the language, as well as observations about the Dutch need to exaggerate how difficult it is to learn their language.

In order to maintain the myth of language complexity and unlearnability, the Dutch need to uphold the exclusionary practice of not speaking their language with outsiders. This is a flagrantly offensive ideology which never seems to even warrant a second thought: the Dutch are doing everyone else a favour by speaking to them in English, right? The vastly pervasive, and, as quoted above, universal unwillingness to share the Dutch language, is spun as the Dutch being helpful and polite to foreigners. I maintain that, whilst most of the Dutch do believe they are being helpful to foreigners, they are guided by a deep-set, less generous and possessive, ideology.

Those who do master Dutch are viewed as prodigies or geniuses who have managed to unlock the secret code. Foreigners are constantly warned that they will never have any luck learning the language. This ideology, without any doubt, runs deep in teachers, administrators, and Dutch bureaucrats who never actually expect Caribbean children to have any success in learning their language.

Language of Instruction

The Dutch colonists had a strict policy of exclusion regarding education in the Dutch language. The Dutch believed the enslaved workers were unworthy to be educated, to be treated like Dutchmen, or to be allowed access to their language. As a result, Dutch was reserved for the white colonisers, and creoles became the lingua franca on the islands: Papiamentu on Curaçao, Aruba and Bonaire, and English Lexifier Creoles on St. Maarten, Saba and St. Eustatius.

The Dutch were adamant to maintain the *purity* of their language, i.e., adamant to repel any influences from the *non-Dutch*. Authorities in Aruba in the late 19th century lamented that “not even the Dutch children raised in Aruba were learning to speak Dutch correctly” (Wagner Rodriguez, 2014, p. 142). In the late 19th century, there was an expansion of access to formal education, allowing those of *lower status* to be educated. The Dutch reaction to this was to require the Dutch language to be used in all official government proceedings and to implement education policies that recognized Dutch as the sole, valid medium of instruction. Once a public commitment to the value of *education for all* developed, the hierarchy was maintained by allowing only those who spoke *pure, correct, or true* Dutch to have access to higher education. This maintained

the status quo power structure on the islands, and severely limited infiltration by Antilleans into Europe.

In recent decades, the Dutch government has demonstrated a public commitment to providing instruction in the mother-tongue of the students, in line with resolution adopted at the 30th Session of UNESCO's General Conference in 1999 (30 C/Res. 12) which supports the use of at least three languages in education: the mother tongue(s), a regional or national language and an international language. Nevertheless, the ingrained hierarchy is still clearly visible on the islands. On Curaçao, the language of instruction has been changed to Papiamentu in many primary schools. The dedication to the UNESCO ideal of instruction in one's mother tongue is shining bright at the surface, however, students still sit the EFO examination at the end of the primary school which examines their achievement in Papiamentu, Dutch and Mathematics. Students who pass the Dutch section may continue to schools designed to prepare them for university level education, but even students who pass the Papiamentu and Mathematics sections with flying colours, but fail in Dutch, are sent to vocational education schools. Only four out of the 60 primary schools on the island regularly send students to continue to the higher tracked schools, and those are ones whose main populations consist of children of European Dutch nationals (H. Senior, personal communication, February 24, 2020). The Dutch language is the gatekeeper, and the status quo is upheld.

On the English lexifier Creole speaking island of Saba, the local community took matters into its own hands and changed the language of instruction to English in 1986. Sabans applaud this change. Most who went through the prior system suffered from issues of self-esteem and frustration. Nevertheless, Sabans are proponents for multilingualism and want to learn Dutch. The students express an interest to learn, and frustration that they never gain proficiency. Following intensive studies commissioned by the Dutch Ministry of Education, St. Eustatius made the change to English as the language of instruction in 2015. This is a positive change, and supported by all but the most vocal advocates for the status quo. However, most Statians now lament that Dutch is no longer learned to a proficient level, and most would like to see some level of bilingual education.

Desired outcomes for Language Planning and Policy

The Dutch government and the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (OCW) are dedicated to improving education on the islands, and improving the levels of Dutch. In order to reach goals set by, among other agreements, the Education Conference of 2011, the OCW have poured a great deal of energy, time and funding into solving the problem, commissioning an intensive project of Language Planning and Policy development for Saba and for St. Eustatius. Unfortunately, those commissioning the project of language planning and policy on the islands also don't have a full understanding of what that means. The OCW desires to have someone determine the necessary achievement levels

at particular mileposts in the education system, help to devise an examination to test that system, such as the CITO *toets* in the European Netherlands or the EFO test in Curaçao, and determine the sanctions for students not reaching those levels, maintaining the exact pattern of elitism and exclusion in education that has existed, and exists to this day, in the Netherlands and the Dutch Caribbean.

The purpose of language planning and policy development, however, should be to serve the interests of the students and their communities, so that the expressed goal of the projects on St. Eustatius and Saba is to identify the underlying ideologies of the islanders and the European Netherlands, examine these beliefs, identify areas of inherent bias in order to plan a more egalitarian approach, define hopes for the future, and turn these hopes into practice.

Why can't the students on the islands learn Dutch?

In the first section of this article, I examined the historical persistence which has led the Dutch to specific cultural heuristics. At this point, it is important to also examine the culture of the islands to best understand the cultural dynamics at play.

Caribbean Heuristics

Saba, the *isla inútil*, whose inhabitants have mostly been isolated and ignored, has become a home for those who have learned to be successful despite incredible odds. With no harbour for landing boats, the Sabans built steep stone steps to the sea, carried all cargo, including a piano, up and down those steps, built boats and lowered them over the cliffs to launch. When the Dutch determined no road could be built on the steep slopes to connect the few villages, the Sabans studied road engineering and built their own road. Sabans are capable, very hard-working, and want to just get on with things and get the job done. The former Saban harbourmaster, after watching a crashed plane sink outside the harbour while waiting in vain for a Dutch decision to launch a rescue, summed up the Saban mindset, “We don't need no *overleg* [deliberation, consultation]” (Mulder, 2018, p. 21). Dutch bureaucracy, a revolving door of experts deliberating the issues, and a lack of measurable action are at great odds with the Saban spirit.

Sabans are annoyed that employees are brought in from Bonaire or Curaçao to occupy administrative positions on their island due to Dutch language requirements. Most Sabans want to have access to all positions based on a variety of qualifications, rather than having to comply with an inflexible insistence on competence in one specific language. Not only do Sabans have qualifications that would allow them to fill such positions, they also feel they do not need interference from transient Dutch meddlers and prefer to take matters into their own hands. However, Sabans also *want* to learn Dutch. They value multilingualism as well as the relationship they have with the Netherlands. They want to learn Dutch because learning another language is never a bad idea and it could be useful and provide opportunities as well.

St. Eustatius was a former powerhouse for the Dutch West India company, and has experienced wealth and prosperity as part of the Dutch nation. Stadians have a broad and cosmopolitan understanding of the world. Their island was once at the crossroads of the Caribbean, and their very language developed as a result of the need for communication in a period of intense and multicultural trade. At the same time, the Stadian population was founded on the backs of enslaved Africans. Statia, from its founding, was developed into three distinct sectors, geographically, economically, and socially. The countryside was the territory of the enslaved populations, the Lower Town the domain of the middle-class merchants, and the Upper Town the realm of the white, ruling, Dutch-speaking oligarchy. Economic and political life was dominated by a few Dutch families, and it was almost impossible to gain admission into this closed elite circle (Enthoven, 2012, p. 248). Dutch was the language of the Upper Town, and long after the emancipation of the enslaved, the language divide has continued the system of discrimination.

Stadians are adamant that they should learn Dutch. They feel a far more passionate force at work than do Sabans. Given their historical situation, Dutch has always been the mark of power and success for Stadians. Stadians are strong and capable people, but they recognise that the Dutch language holds a key to advancement and acceptance in the inner circle. On Statia, most Dutch nationals are primarily long-term residents and form an integral part of the community. Interestingly, a person of European descent on Statia is assumed to be Dutch or at least have proficiency in the language.

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Dutch language on the islands

Language, along with faith and ethnic ancestry, form the pillars of sovereignty, and the Dutch seem keen to hold on to that sovereignty, no matter how their actions may appear on the surface. A pervasive Dutch ideology, one that is ever-present in the minds of the residents in the European Netherlands, is that of autochthony and allochthony. These pervasive terms present a “racialised idea of true Dutch-ness” and imply that “in the end, there is a core original Dutch nation that is as such entitled to the full fruits of Dutch citizenship” (Jones, 2016, p. 613).

Again, with an understanding of the Dutch dedication to their public image, we can see that they will admit that racism is terribly *passé*. However, “linguicism has taken over from racism as a more subtle way of hierarchizing social groups” (DeGraff, 2019, p. 15). The Dutch, with an ingrained acceptance of autochthony and the core Dutch nation, find it a simple shift from racially based apartheid to an obsession with preserving the *purity* of the Dutch language and maintaining linguistic apartheid.

Dutch is not spoken in everyday life in the communities on the islands. This reality, however, becomes an excuse for why the students can’t learn Dutch and is repeated in all the research, educational discourse and by the Dutch teachers themselves. Nevertheless, students study Dutch in 45 minute-long classes, four times a week, for twelve

years. That equals about 1300 hours of Dutch lessons. The US Foreign Service Institute has determined that it takes about 480 hours to achieve basic fluency in many languages. In my own experience, five years of classes with such a schedule will lead students to intermediate level fluency. So what is happening on Saba and Statia?

Dutch teachers

Many school administrators on the islands hold a deeply ingrained view of dedication to the purity of the Dutch language. Dutch teachers are recruited from the European Netherlands, since the administrators want the students to learn only the *correct* forms of Dutch. The Dutch spoken in Suriname, accepted by the Taalunie (n.d.) as an admissible variety of Dutch, is not afforded the same status in hiring practices. When questioned, these administrators can only cite a few lexical or syntactic variations between the two varieties, but are utterly convinced that they are right in their conviction that only speakers from the true, core Dutch nation should be hired. There are Dutch teachers from Suriname on the islands, but they are often the second-choice candidates, even though they are more likely than European Netherlands to become invested long-term in the local community.

It is very difficult to find qualified *language acquisition* teachers of Dutch from the European Netherlands. Most teachers are used to teaching children whose mother tongue is Dutch. These teachers may be eager and keen, but they have no training to teach Dutch language acquisition, and usually do not receive any once on the islands. As a demonstration of their lack of training in language acquisition practices, most teachers rely on grammar drills, worksheet exercises, textbook explanations and computer practice. There is virtually no spoken interaction for students. Some teachers will try to speak Dutch, but then give up when students answer in English or not at all. There is no systematic approach to teach spoken proficiency.

Teachers hired from the European Netherlands follow the same pattern as most Dutch employees on the islands: they come for the *adventure* and the nice weather. They are not committed to the island, and those who fulfil even a two-year contract to the end are very few. The culture shock often drives them away quickly. This creates a revolving door of teachers. Additionally, since there is no appropriate curriculum, each new teacher who arrives starts the learning process from point zero. Students lament that they are forced to learn the same material over and over and never advance.

Teachers from the European Netherlands are more likely to hold the ideology of the core nation, the dedication to Holy Dutch, and the tiered view of citizenship. Many Dutch teachers on the islands have said, in some form or another, that Caribbean children are simply not capable of learning Dutch. The same essentialism that justified enslavement fills the gaping chasms in the efficacy of teachers, curricula or programs.

Experts from the European Netherlands arrive in constant droves and waves to *fix* the poor Caribbean teachers. They ask the teachers to do additional work, make changes,

attend extra meetings, and then these experts disappear back to Europe, never to be heard from again. The next month a new expert arrives and the cycle begins anew. This is a clear demonstration of the ‘Dutch as saviour’ attitude, and the island teachers, particularly locals or those who do stay for any length of time, are frustrated, devalued, and disillusioned.

Dutch materials and curriculum

In the past, Dutch materials were simply shipped across the ocean, and students had to learn about ice skating on the canals, tulips, and commuting on the train. Even the examinations were culturally biased. Since this is a visible and obvious discriminatory practice, the Dutch government and other organisations, such as the Taalunie (n.d.), are working to create materials that are more oriented toward life in the Caribbean, and that include characters who are more representative of Caribbean children. These materials also offer progressive and pedagogically sound learning. This is a positive initiative, but still functions as a superficial bandage on an extensive ideological wound.

The Dutch government, along with the islands, appropriately decided that the language of instruction should be the children’s mother tongue, or at least a language that is similar, rather than Dutch. But at that point, the pendulum swung in the exact opposite direction, and Dutch was determined to be a foreign language. This is an outdated and biased term, and has fed into an absolute dumbing down of the entire program.

Rather than viewing Dutch language acquisition as an integral part of a multilingual society and curriculum, the knee-jerk reaction was that, if Caribbean children cannot master their entire curriculum in the Dutch language, then the expectations should be lowered to absolute minimal levels. This makes sense in view of the ideology of maintaining Dutch as the language of power. In the one system, students were faced with impossible levels of Dutch and most - those with no *Dutch core nation* connections - failed miserably. The flip side, the vision of Dutch as a foreign language, means that the Dutch language can still be the gatekeeper to power, because the students learn Dutch at such low levels, and with such low expectations, that they will never be able to actually do anything in the language.

Currently, there is no actual Dutch curriculum on the islands. The Dutch experts will disagree, pointing out that there are *leerlijnen* (learning strands) written - at considerable levels of investment in terms of time, energy and money - for all levels of Dutch instruction. The problem is that these learning strands do not demonstrate an understanding of current knowledge and practice in the field of language acquisition, and are, in effect, simply a list of activities that students should perform (act out a role play to buy an item of clothing in a store), offer no opportunity for students to advance their language proficiency, and maintain extremely low expectations. The very pinnacle of expectation for students, after 1300 hours of study, is that they should be able to order a meal in a restaurant and mention a food allergy they have. Any language acquisition

teacher should be able to ensure students' success at this task after a few months of study in the language. None of the Dutch experts see any issues with the current learning strands and see no reason to change them or develop a more challenging program.

Is there a way forward?

Throughout their history, the Dutch promoted a certain public image and either camouflaged or ignored any evidence to the contrary. There is very little understanding among Dutch people about their past offenses. We cannot judge history based on current ideologies and understandings, but this article is not concerned with assigning blame. The ideal is to find breakthroughs and opportunities for growth, and it is impossible to heal wounds that are not acknowledged.

"It is evident that there can be no meaningful resolution of problems without a profound analysis of the complex historical, political and social factors which caused them in the first place" (Faraclas et al., 2013, p. 112). The goal of the language policy for each island is to initiate open, honest conversations about the situation. Faraclas, Kester, and Mijts' example on St. Eustatius shows us a road that we can follow. These difficult discussions, while uncomfortable and even threatening, "can play a pivotal role in healing community divisions by prying community members loose from ... [counterproductive] discourses and bringing them back to their own common interests based in their own experiences" (Faraclas et al., 2013, p. 112).

The Sabans and Statians are eager to build even more inclusive multilingual and multicultural societies, and Dutch can play an integral role in those societies. There can be a world beyond colonialism and neo-colonialism, and hopefully the kinds of discussions and approaches advocated for in this article can be among some of the first steps in that direction.

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COMPENSATING FOR LEXICAL ATTRITION AS A CHILD IMMIGRANT IN CURAÇAO

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Abstract

Cook (1991; 2002; 2003) introduces the notion of multi-competence, positing that the languages to which an L2 user is exposed exist in a state of competition within the L2 user's mind. Implicit here is the notion that the L2 user is unable to maintain autonomy for any one language. This results in a crossing of language boundaries, where, as one language develops, it begins to impose on the other. L2 users may begin to incorporate compensatory strategies to compensate for loss or reduced proficiency in the affected language. This article explores compensatory strategies for lexical attrition used by a Jamaican child immigrant to Curaçao. Classifications of changes are made and compensatory strategies applicable to first language attrition are examined.

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Key Terms: lexical attrition, compensatory strategies, intralingual strategies, dis-course strategies, interlingual, language attrition, Jamaican Creole

Introduction

As a child immigrant navigates life in new surroundings, adjusting to a new country, a new home, a new school, and forming new relationships and new bonds, the child often has to further contend with acquiring a new language. Such a task may not be considered an impossible one for the child, as mastering a new language is one that, for children, seems effortlessly done. A child who is given adequate exposure to a language will normally achieve native speaker competence. This applies to any number of languages to which the child is sufficiently exposed.

In such situations of language contact, however, a naturally occurring phenomenon is language attrition, which Bee Chin and Wigglesworth (2007) define as the process by which there is a reduction in an individual's ability to speak and understand a language

that was formerly one of the main languages that they used in daily life, as they begin to use new languages more frequently in their new environment. Montrul (2004) proposes that the use of the term attrition should be restricted to cases in which an L1 is completely acquired and linguistic ability later lost. Köpke and Schmid (2004, p. 5) also assert that a strict interpretation of the term includes a non-pathological decrease in proficiency. Non-pathological lexical attrition and the strategies used to compensate for such a loss constitute the focus of this article.

Bialysok (1983), in her investigation of adult and high school L2 users, proposes a two-pronged classification of L1-based and L2-based compensatory strategies. L1-based strategies include language switching, foreignizing and transliteration. In the case of transliteration, lexical forms for which there are no equivalents in an L1 are directly translated from an L2 into an L1. Word coinage, semantic contiguity, and circumlocution constitute L2-based strategies. In the case of semantic contiguity, L1 forms are substituted by L2 lexical forms with related meanings. Similar strategies were identified by Haastrup and Phillipson (1983) in their study on Danish high school L2 users of English, who also classified borrowing as an L1-based strategy and generalization as an L2-based strategy. Galvan and Campbell (1979) include circumlocution and paraphrasing as L2-based strategies used by the children in their study, who also transferred L1 syntactic structures into their L2 usage.

Poulisse (1984) makes a distinction between interlingual, intralingual and discourse strategies, which is later adopted by Turian and Altenberg (1991). The interlingual strategies identified by Turian and Altenberg (1991) involve the intertwining of languages by such means as code-switching, lexical borrowing and syntactic transfer. Intralingual strategies are not tied to a linguistic form in either an L1 or an L2, but may be considered strategies used by an L2 learner to solve linguistic problems, such as analogical leveling (Andersen, 1982), lexical innovation (Andersen, 1982) and approximation (Poulisse et al., 1984). Discourse strategies focus on the interaction between the interlocutors rather than on the manipulation of linguistic structures. These are noted by the authors to include overt comments, appeals for assistance, deliberate wrong answers and avoidance.

The study

At the time of the study upon which the present article is based, Sherida (the pseudonym that has been assigned to the subject to protect her identity) was a 13-year old Jamaican girl residing in Curaçao with her mother, who was a housekeeper and hairdresser. Sherida migrated from Jamaica at the age of 8, and had been residing in Curaçao for 6 years. She was attending a primary/all age school and considered herself quite versed in speaking five languages, including Papiamentu, Dutch, English, Jamaican Creole and Spanish. She was a native speaker of Jamaican Creole, which she referred to as *Kriyol* rather than *Patwa*, the vernacular of her native country. Upon her arrival in Curaçao, she acquired Papiamentu, which she spoke quite fluently. She communicated with her friends

in Papiamentu, which was the primary language that she used in school with her teachers and in her everyday life in Curaçao.

Jamaican Creole is normally spoken only by Jamaican immigrants in Curaçao, and Sherida was still conversing in her native language with her mother, who since opening her hair salon had found greater motivation to communicate in Papiamentu. Sherida had proficiency in English as well, as it is the official language of Jamaica. She claimed to use this language with her English teacher. It may be assumed that she would have used English upon her arrival in Curaçao, as she would not have had proficiency in Papiamentu at that time. Sherida was exposed to Dutch at school and claimed to have learnt Spanish through watching the television; and spoke it with her best friend. Sherida had never been back to Jamaica since arriving in Curaçao and hoped to someday be able to visit her island home.

Over a period of approximately three-months, Sherida was visited by the present investigator at her school in Curaçao, where research sessions were held in a secluded environment. Five types of data were gathered from the subject using such tasks as picture sequencing, picture description, and translation (from Papiamentu to Jamaican Creole): 1) natural use, 2) clinical elicitation, 3) experimental elicitation, 4) metalinguistic judgments and 5) self-report data. Natural use data was first gathered, where Sherida could speak in a setting and manner in which she could feel comfortable. Possible divergences in speech were then identified and targeted for elicitation in later sessions to confirm the stability of their use in her speech. The recurring compensation strategies present in the data were then categorized, and included the following.

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Lexical Borrowing

Instances of full transfer, where an L2 lexical item is adapted into L1 without translation, were minimal in Sherida's use of Jamaican Creole, and was found to be limited to *abogado* 'lawyer', for which the Jamaican equivalent would have been *laaya*. This may be tied to attrition, in light of the subject's use of the foreign item when conversing with an interlocutor who is not known to be a speaker of Papiamentu or Spanish, the languages from which the borrowing may have been done. Knowing this, Sherida attempted to prevent a breakdown in communication by asking if the researcher knew what an *abogado* was rather than opting to use the lexical item with which she knew the interlocutor would have been familiar. Upon prompting Sherida, by asking what *abogado* means, rather than then providing the researcher with the appropriate term in Jamaican Creole, she sought to explain the meaning as in (1):

- (1) *Laik wen yu in koot tu difen somwan*
 Like when you in court to defend someone
 "Like when you are in court to defend someone."

The item *abogado* continued to be used invariantly on multiple occasions during the session.

Lexical borrowing (with full transfer) as a compensation strategy was found to be used together with exemplification and paraphrasing. As she did in her explanation of *abogado*, Sherida resorted to illustrations in making reference to other concepts for which there was no equivalent readily accessible to her in the L1. An interesting case in point was Sherida's apparent inability to retrieve a lexical item for the concept *sleepover party* or *pyjama party* from either Jamaican Creole or Papiamentu, in which case she invented the term *tijamara party* that she explained was the appropriate term in Spanish.

Word Coinage

This use of *tijamara* suggests a scenario in which Sherida produced a lexical item that is close to the L1 item, but which incorporates features that she associates with Spanish and perhaps Papiamentu as well, given the fact that Papiamentu is an Iberian lexifier creole. Clearer instances of the production of novel lexical items that can be ascribed to the compensation strategies of word coinage and lexical innovation in language attrition (Andersen 1982) were evidenced in Sherida's speech, such as the use of *kasilon* for 'hair salon' (*kapsalon* in Papiamentu) in (2):

- (2) *Nou shi ahm opn a *kasilon*
 Now she (fill) open a hair salon
 "She has opened a hair salon."

As was the case with *abogado*, Sherida sensed that *kasilon* might not be understood by her interlocutor, but in this instance she offered the alternate form *ierjresa* 'hair dresser' in Jamaican Creole, which again indicates a compensation strategy for difficulties in word retrieval.

Metonymy

When Sherida used *ierjresa* as an alternative for *hair salon*, she deployed the compensation strategy of metonymy, whereby she used the term for the person who operates a hair salon or who provides services in a hair salon to refer to the business itself. This is exemplified in (3), which was in response to the researcher's prompt, and is further reinforced in (4):

- (3) *Uopn a *ier jresa*
 Open a *hairstylist
 "Open a hair dresser."
 (4) *Shi a go uopun wahn *ierjresa bai ahn bai wi yaad...*
 she PROG go open a *hair dresser at (fill) at our yard
 "She is going to open a hairstylist at our home..." (PROG = progressive)

Conversion

In the case of *ierjresa*, Sherida replaced the appropriate term with a noun that is closely associated with the target. In this instance, the word class of the lexical item remained

unchanged. Sherida's use of conversion, a similar compensation strategy in which there is a change of word class is exemplified in (5):

- (5) *mi aalwiez *soluushan dehn problem*
 I always *solution their problem
 "I always solve their problems."

The appropriate Jamaican Creole verb here would be *salv* 'solve' but the nominal form *soluushan* 'solution' is used instead in a verbal capacity, which is a common morpho-syntactic pattern in Papiamentu.

Semantic Contiguity

Both metonymy and conversion overlap with semantic contiguity as attrition compensation strategies, because semantic contiguity involves the selection from one's accessible L1 repertoire lexical items that are similar in meaning to the inaccessible L1 item, as demonstrated by Sherida's use of *wach* 'watch' in (6)-(9):

- (6) *Shulandi dii a *wach wahn flouwaz wi diihn faada...*
 Shulandi PAST PROG *watch a flower with her father
 "Shulandi was watching (looking for) flowers with her father [for her mother]."
- (7) *Shulandi tanop a *wach wahn vaaz we she did laik*
 Shulandi stand up PROG *watch a vase that she PAST like
 "Shulandi is watching (looking at) a vase that she had liked."
- (8) *Shulandi a *wach sohn buk*
 Shulandi PROG *watch some book
 "Shulandi is watching (looking through) some books."

In these examples, a single form *wach* is used to convey three distinct meanings, all related to the semantically contiguous Jamaican Creole verb *luk* 'look'. In (6), Shulandi and her father are *looking for* or *looking at* flowers to give to her mother; in (7), Shulandi is now *looking at* a vase that she has admired before; and in (8), Shulandi is *looking through* the pages of some books.

Remarks

In this study, the subject made use of interlingual strategies such as lexical borrowing, intralingual strategies such as word coinage, metonymy, conversion and semantic contiguity, and discourse strategies such as explanation, illustration/ exemplification and providing further clarification after the use of interlingual and intralingual strategies. This complementary use of discourse strategies makes it clear that attriters are at least at times aware of the reduced proficiency they are experiencing and thus make conscious efforts to control for breakdowns in communication. The subject of the present study consistently attempted to naturally produce Jamaican Creole as L1, while accepting the fact that there had been some change in her ability to do so. Rather than using avoidance strategies, such as changing the topic or not attempting to produce structures

requiring the use of the inaccessible term, the subject tried her best, while making an extra effort to ensure that her interlocutor understood what she was saying.

The subject's use of compensatory strategies such as metonymy, conversion and semantic contiguity may be categorized under Poulishse et al.'s (1984) adaptation of the notion of 'approximation', which they define as "The use of a single target language vocabulary item or structure, which the learner knows is not correct, but which shares enough semantic features in common with the desired item to satisfy the learner" (p. 74). Debatable in the present study was whether the attriter always knew that the selected item was in fact incorrect. What was abundantly clear in the data, however, was that a number of diverse compensatory strategies were implemented in an aim to compensate for L1 word retrieval difficulties brought about by lexical attrition.

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CONVIVIALITIES, SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND

EARLY JAZZ IN CURAÇAO: AN INTRODUCTION (1920-1960)¹

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Abstract

This article attempts to provide an overview of the Curaçaoan jazz scene before the 1960s. The study upon which it is based is a work in progress and will identify issues for further research into this musical form in Curaçao. The sources of information used for this article are newspaper articles that make reference to jazz or contain testimony and other traces left by jazz musicians and others. This introductory study also aims to place Curaçao within the global 20th century mapping of jazz as a musical genre.

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Key terms: jazz, early jazz, Curaçao, 20th century music, Afro-Atlantic, Netherlands Antilles

Introduction

In Curaçao, jazz is generally seen as a music genre that began to gain popularity in the mid-1960s. The local jazz historiography usually starts by mentioning the Salsbach Jazz Trio, a band formed in the early 1970s which consisted of Angel Salsbach, Etzel Provence, and Ramon Penzo.² It was indeed one of the first local bands that identified itself with jazz, which is reflected in the band's name. In Curaçao, the roaring 1960s, with the labor revolt of May 30, 1969 as its highpoint, initiated a collective search for identity that drew upon both traditional, pre-20th century Curaçaoan culture and contemporary resistant cultural expressions. As part of the lively youth culture of the 1970s, the Salsbach Jazz Trio consisted of young, critical and assertive musicians who used their art to

¹ This article is an adapted English version of the lecture, titled "*Historia di jazz na Kòrsou, 1920-1950*" presented as part of The Future of Jazz in Curacao Unsung Legends Jazz Lecture and Concert Series on October 29, 2021.

² <https://salsbachjazztriocuracao.yolasite.com/ans>

spark discussion about Curaçao's societal problems. This paralleled the role that jazz music played in the USA as an artistic expression by which African Americans protested against and sought to triumph over racial discrimination. The Salsbach Jazz Trio was followed by jazz musicians such as the late saxophonist John James Willekes Jr. (1957-2019),³ Dave Mathew, Igor Atalita, Arnell Salsbach, Randall Corsen, Uti Girigorie, Roy and Elmer Louis, John Willekes, Konky Halmeyer, Walter Wout, Rudy Emerenciana, Hershel Rosario, Marlon Conradus, and Bibi Provence.⁴

The few scholarly publications on jazz in Curaçao concentrate mostly on the Curaçao North Sea Jazz Festival, a yearly event that started in 2010, but has been halted temporarily because of the COVID-19 pandemic. Studies conducted along other lines include Nanette de Jong's 2005 PhD thesis, titled *Chosen identities and musical symbols: the Curaçaoan jazz community and the Association for the Advancement of Creative Musicians* (1997) and her article, titled "We are who we believe ourselves to be": Curaçao Jazz and the Expression of Identity (2005), which examine the close relationship between Curaçaoan jazz and Curaçaoan identity with a focus on the popular local jazz group called The Blue Apple Trio which she interviewed from 1995 to 1997. Other interesting facts to be mentioned about jazz in Curacao are the formation of the 1st Curacao Jazz Foundation in 1988 by Rob deLanoy, Jacque Royer and John James Willekes, Jr, aka "JJ COOL", and the first 1st Jazz Lecture and Jazz Concert at the university of Netherlands Antilles (now UoC) in 1986 by Edna Monifa Willekes with a performance by John James Willekes & the Jazz Ensemble. Edna Monifa Willekes, was also a co-founder in 2015 of the DOJACMC (Development of Jazz and Creative Music Curaçao) Foundation).

There are indications that jazz was present in Curaçao as a musical form as early as in the 1930s. However, it is difficult to ascertain the official date of its arrival on the island. This in itself is not strange. Jason Borge argues that jazz generated discussions on new/modern identities versus authentic/national culture in Latin America, but states that the music genre has not been widely studied in this region. In other regions, the international spread and diversification of jazz have been the subject of several studies (2018).

This article attempts to fill this gap in the musical historiography of Curaçao by providing an overview of the Curaçaoan jazz scene before the 1960s. The present study is a work in progress and will identify issues for further research into this musical form in Curaçao. Documentation of the development of jazz on the island in the 20th century is not an easy task, as it requires an intensive search of unexplored, scattered sources. The sources of information used for this article are newspaper articles that make reference to jazz or contain testimony and other traces left by jazz musicians and others. This

³ <https://jazzday.com/listing/the-john-james-willekes-jr-jj-cool-permanent-collection-ceremony/>

⁴ <https://salsbachjazztriocuracao.yolasite.com/>

introductory study also aims to place Curaçao within the global 20th century mapping of jazz as a musical genre.

Jazz is not merely a form of artistic expression; it also has a societal dimension, as its combined elements of rhythm, melody, harmony, color and ideas do not circulate spontaneously but require the purposeful work of cultural actors, the establishment of distribution networks, and the involvement of public institutions and/or private organizations (Dorin, 2012). Music is not an isolated expression, but is connected to cultural, social, economic and political contexts (Merriam, 1964). The present article therefore also attempts to answer the question: How does one locate the emergence of jazz, as an imported musical genre, within the wider field of music of the island of Curaçao?

From the USA to Curaçao

Nowadays, jazz is a standard term used to refer to various streams of popular and art music that originated in the southern USA, primarily within the African American community, around the turn of the 20th century.⁵ Jazz categories include Dixieland, swing, bebop, cool jazz, hard bop, free jazz, third stream, jazz-rock, and fusion (Wheaton, 1994). The 1920s are considered the start of the global expansion of this music form, as it first spread throughout the USA, and then from there to other places around the world. According to Carol Muller (2007), one must look at how jazz traveled to each place and adapted itself there because it took on distinct forms wherever it went.

The music sociologist Stéphane Dorin (2016) states that it is difficult to determine the history of jazz prior to World War II outside the USA and especially in peripheral cultural areas, because most early jazz music was not recorded. The early dispersal of the music took place primarily through live performances of traveling groups.

Several factors explain the arrival of jazz in Curaçao. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the island was a major transit port connecting North and South America and Europe, thus satisfying a necessary condition for the spread and development of new music forms. For example, in 1932 the local *Amigoe* newspaper contained an announcement about a pleasure trip from Curaçao to Puerto Cabello, Venezuela, with entertainment to be provided by a jazz band named Full of Pep.⁶ It is not clear whether this was a local or a foreign band, but its name, which means ‘full of energy’, seems to have been frequently used for jazz groups in the USA and in the Netherlands at that time. This announcement also suggests that in the beginning, jazz was entertainment for the elites on the island. Members of the local working classes could not afford such pleasure trips to Venezuela. It also suggests a certain musical connection between the island and

⁵ file:///C:/Users/User/Downloads/Beyond_Modern_Jazz_The_Evolution_of_Post.pdf

⁶ Advertentie. "Amigoe di Curacao : weekblad voor de Curacaosche eilanden". [Willemstad, 12-03-1932, p. 4. <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010281037:mpeg21:p004> Advertentie. "Amigoe di Curacao: weekblad voor de Curacaosche eilanden". [Willemstad, 05-03-1932, p. 3. Geraadpleegd op Delpher op 20-08-2022, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010281036:mpeg21:p003>

the nearby South American mainland, Venezuela in particular, but more research into this connection is required.

In a series of articles titled “*Willemstadsche wandeling met Pieter Pot*” [Walking through Willemstad with Pieter Pot] (all translations in this article are by the author, unless specified otherwise) in the *Soerabaijasch Handelsblad* [Surabaya Commercial Newspaper], the author Pieter Pot mentions the presence of local jazz musicians on the island and the role that the Curaçaoan capital city of Willemstad played in the dispersion of this musical genre. Pot, a Dutchman, had been surprised by the German invasion of the Netherlands in 1939 while he was somewhere in the Americas, and together with his wife he had hastened to Curaçao, the nearest and most accessible Dutch territory. His choice to write for the *Soerabaijasch Handelsblad*, a Dutch-language newspaper in Surabaya, a city in what at the time was called the Dutch East Indies (modern-day Indonesia), was a conscious one, as for Pot, the two parts of the Dutch global empire outside Europe ought to know about each other’s life and endeavors.

Pot extensively describes his experience of living in Willemstad and how he, while walking on its streets, would hear all types of music, including jazz. Notably, he mentions at one point that certain local musicians were rehearsing jazz music to play at a wedding party.⁷ This information begs questions about the social background and perhaps also the age of those who wished to have jazz music at their wedding. Race too emerges as an aspect of Pot’s articles. He attributed the talent of local black musicians in relation the genre of jazz and other, more traditional genres to their race. For example, in an article in the *Soerabaijasch Handelsblad* of April 25, 1941, he writes about the different ethnic groups in Curaçaoan society in this way:

We need not tell you that the area in which the Negro has the pre-eminent opportunity to develop his gifts is music. The Curaçao Negro is no exception to this. In addition to being excellent jazz players, several Curaçaoan colored people have excelled as composers of Curaçao waltzes, ‘dansas’, etc.⁸

Pot furthermore mentions the cosmopolitan character of Willemstad, where one could hear a variety of music genres. In an article of July 19, 1941, he writes:

I love my street because it is Willemstad with its modernity and its old atmosphere. With calculators and guitars, refrigerators and rocking chairs, radio and glowing artificial flowers, wealth and poverty, jazz and rumba, piety and debauchery, Maduros and elderly, wrinkled, black aunts under the Southern Cross. [...] And the sounds of an American jazz band, an Italian opera, Venezuelan lottery lists, Colombian congas and Willy Derby.⁹

⁷ “Soerabaijasch handelsblad”. Soerabaja, 14-12-1940, p. 1. Geraadpleegd op Delpher op 27-08-2022, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011121526:mpeg21:p005>

⁸ Curacaosche brieven Nog iets over de Curaçaosche bevolking. “Soerabaijasch handelsblad”. Soerabaja, 25-04-1941, p. 1. <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011122262:mpeg21:p005>

⁹ Soerabaja, 19-07-1941, p. 1. <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011121695:mpeg21:p005>. y

Will Derby was an alias for one of the most popular artists of the Netherlands: Willem Frederik Christiaan Dieben.¹⁰

Some indication concerning who the colored musicians that Pot might be referring to can be found in *Muziek en musici van de Nederlandse Antilles* [Music and Musicians of the Netherlands Antilles] by Edgar Palm (1978) which provides detailed examples from the music history of the island. Here, it is important to mention the name of Alberto Telesforo Palm (1903-1958), the son of the famous Rudolf Palm (Shon Dòdò Palm), who began to play the piano in his father's orchestra at the age of 13 (Palm, 1978, p. 157).

Additional information about the identity of the musicians can be derived from *Kòrsou musikal: un dokumentashon di nos historia musikal popular entre 1930 i 1989* [Musical Curaçao: A Documentation of the History of Our Popular Music between 1930 and 1989] by S. Japi Martijn (2002). This source mentions the name of a local group, Concordia Band, specifically as a jazz band. In addition to jazz, Concordia Band played traditional music genres such as waltz, mazurka, dansa and tumba.¹¹ The band was established on April 30, 1927 by its leader Virgilio S. de Lannoy, later also known as Fio Pianista Fio the Piano Player].¹²

It is also of interest to mention that De Lannoy was about 16 years old when he started the band. This fact might connect jazz in Curaçao to youth culture in a way similar to the Netherlands. In Europe, jazz music was an expression of youth culture, in particular when it first arrived there (Kleinhout, 2006, p. 7). For example, a magazine in the Netherlands called *De Jazzwereld* [The Jazz World] was established in 1930 by Red Debroy (the alias used by Ben Bakema) who was 16 years of age at the time (van Gelder, 2013). More in-depth research should be conducted to find out whether the early appearance of jazz was indeed tied to youth culture in the case of Curaçao as well.

In any case, the Concordia Band seems to have been very popular. Martijn (2002) writes that members of the band would perform dressed in tuxedos in, among others, Cinelandia Theater, which in 1932 replaced Salon Habana theatre, which had burned down in 1916.¹³ Concordia Band also performed internationally, as it toured Aruba and Bonaire as well as the cities of La Guayra, Coro, and Maracaibo in Venezuela.¹⁴ This again suggests a Curaçaoan connection with Venezuela as far as jazz and other genres of music are concerned.

¹⁰ For more information about Willy Derby: https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Willy_Derby

¹¹ Concordia Band Jubileert... Amigoe di Curaçao: weekblad voor de Curacaosche eilanden". [Willemstad, 29-04-1942, p. 3. <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010987131:mpeg21:p003>.

¹² Fio Pianista overleden. "Amigoe di Curaçao: weekblad voor de Curacaosche eilanden". [Willemstad, 16-02-1974, p. 5. Geraadpleegd op Delpher op 11-07-2022, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010998640:mpeg21:p005>

¹³ Film Cinelandia Bestaat 20 Jaar. "Amigoe di Curaçao". Willemstad, 29-03-1952. Geraadpleegd op Delpher op 11-08-2022, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=KBDDD02:000210023:mpeg21:p004>

¹⁴ Concordia Band Jubileert... Amigoe di Curaçao: weekblad voor de Curacaosche eilanden". [Willemstad, 29-04-1942, p. 3. <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010987131:mpeg21:p003>.

Jazz and the oil company

In addition to the island's role as an important international port, the arrival and dispersal of jazz music in Curaçao can be attributed to the arrival of the petroleum company – which later became an oil refinery – at the beginning of the 20th century. The growing oil industry had profound and complex consequences for the island. It brought about the influx of a large number of immigrant workers of various ethnicities and musical tastes. In this context, there also arose a demand for jazz. The large group of immigrants from the Netherlands, who worked especially at the oil company and refinery but also as military police officers and teachers, were familiar with European jazz. This likely explains why the orchestra of the local military police had a significant jazz component within its musical repertoire.

Jazz as a musical form was introduced in the Netherlands as a new American dance genre in the late 1910s. In 1920 the dance instructor James Meijer founded the first professional Dutch jazz ensemble in Amsterdam, James Meijer's Jazz Band, under the direction of the pianist Leo de la Fuente (Amsterdam, 28 March 1902 – probably Auschwitz, 30 April 1944).¹⁵ In the beginning, there were two opposing views of jazz in the Netherlands, which Gerrit Willem Hendrik Kleinhout explains in his seminal 2006 PhD dissertation *Jazz als probleem. Receptie en acceptatie van de jazz in de wederopbouwperiode van Nederland 1945-1952* [The Problem of jazz: Reception and Acceptance of Jazz in the Reconstruction Period of the Netherlands 1945-1952]. Some saw jazz as a valuable modern expression, whereas others saw it as contributing to a deterioration of Dutch values and norms.

These opposing views did not affect the standing of jazz among Dutch immigrants on the island of Curaçao. People who traveled from the Netherlands to Curaçao on KLM Airlines in 1937 were entertained with jazz music during their flight.¹⁶ Dutch jazz musicians would come from Europe to provide entertainment at the parties of top managers of the oil refinery and Dutch military officers. During World War II, the Dutch Antilles became a strategic supplier of petroleum from the refineries in Aruba and Curacao, while Suriname became a strategic supplier of bauxite. For example, the newspaper *Het nieuws: algemeen dagblad* mentions the trip of a jazz band from The Hague to Curaçao in 1948. The Hague was once called the New Orleans of the Netherlands.¹⁷

Upon the initiative of the CPIM [Curaçao Petroleum Industrie Mij.] employees club called Asiento, the eight-man orchestra [jazz band] The Ambassadors has

¹⁵ Kees Wouters, the introduction of jazz in the Netherlands

<https://keeswouters.files.wordpress.com/2015/12/the-introduction-of-jazz-in-the-netherlands.pdf>

¹⁶ Cura,cao. Klassieke- en jazzmuziek in de lucht. Fritz Kreisler en Nat Gonella reizen met de K.L.M. "Amigoe di Curaçao: weekblad voor de Curacaosche eilanden". [Willemstad, 14-07-1937, p. 3. <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010281493:mpeg21:p003>

¹⁷ Arie van Breda, "100 jaar" Jazz in Den Haag. Het New Orleans van de lage landen

arrived in Curaçao from The Hague. They will perform in various clubs in Curaçao; hence there will be plenty of opportunity during the upcoming holidays to enjoy the wonderful music of this orchestra.¹⁸

In the late 1940s, an often-mentioned local bandleader in Curaçao was Herman 'Toffie' Hofland who traveled often to the Netherlands to give jazz performances.¹⁹ He had been born in the Netherlands in 1911, but after fighting for the Dutch resistance in World War II, he left for Curaçao in 1947 with only the proverbial 'shoe and flipflops and a bunch of good luck'. He later became a well-known entrepreneur in Curaçao and the rest of the Netherlands Antilles and was also known as a jazz violist. Another common name was that of Jan Doedel, the leader of The Blue Jam Guys, the orchestra of the military police that played jazz in addition to other musical genres.²⁰ Very few people knew that the well-known local photographer Fred Fischer had arrived in Curaçao as a jazz musician by ship and then decided to stay on the island. He played in the various clubs, as is mentioned in an In Memoriam text written upon his death in 1981.²¹

Another well-known jazz leader, though not related to the oil refinery, was the pianist Newborn Ivelaw Patrick (also known as Mister Patrick), who was born in Guyana in 1904 and arrived in Curaçao in 1930, the year of the Great Depression that caused severe economic problems in Guyana, as the prices of the territory's principal exports of sugar, rice and bauxite dropped. Patrick did not come to work for the oil refinery like many migrants from all over the English-speaking Caribbean, but came to work as a tailor. He had taught himself to play the piano in Guyana. In the 1940s and 1950s he and his band, initially called the Patrick's Piscaderabaai Club Orchestra, played in different clubs in Willemstad, drawing upon the sound of the American big bands such as the Glenn Miller Orchestra.²² Kleinhout (2006) places the Glenn Miller Orchestra in the category of the big bands that were very popular in the so-called swing era (approximately from 1935 to 1950). During World War II, Glenn Miller's renowned Army Airforce Band became the showpiece of the BBC and AFN; it was formed specially to

¹⁸ file:///E:/2021%20jazz/1948_Het%20nieuws%20jazz.pdf

¹⁹ Uit „Onder onsjes” groeide een Zaanse Jazz-Studieclub Vijf jaar Swing Society Zaanstreek. "De Zaanlander". Alkmaar, 10-12-1949. Geraadpleegd op Delpher op 29-10-2021, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMGAZS01:000123061:mpeg21:p00005> Zeemansdag, feest der zeevarenden. "Amigoe di Curaçao". Willemstad, 03-10-1949. Geraadpleegd op Delpher op 29-10-2021, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=KBDDD02:000212713:mpeg21:p001>

²⁰ Amigoe 7 juli 1947 tiende radio-uitvoering landmacht Curaçao. "Amigoe di Curacao: weekblad voor de Curaçaosche eilanden". [Willemstad, 07-07-1947, p. 2. Geraadpleegd op Delpher op 28-10-2021, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010985266:mpeg21:p002> and <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMGAZS01:000123061:mpeg21:p00005>

²¹ Ingezonden F. Fischer (In memoriam). "Amigoe". Curaçao, 28-12-1981, p. 2. Geraadpleegd op Delpher op 29-10-2021, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010640844:mpeg21:p002>

²² Curaçaose musici huldigen hun meester Piano-leraar Patrick 90 jaar. "Amigoe". Curaçao, 14-07-1994, p. 2. Geraadpleegd op Delpher op 22-10-2021, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010644202:mpeg21:p002>

perform live and on radio for the American troops in England and France (Kleinhout, 2006, p. 58).

In an interview that Patrick gave on his ninetieth birthday to the local anthropologist Ieteke Witteveen, he said that after his arrival in Curaçao, he went to live in Otrobanda, the western part of the capital of Willemstad. He earned a living as a pianist in several clubs, including one run by man called *Enrique “Kachete”* in the Keukenstraat in Punda, one run by Son Coco at the Café Suisse in Punda, and in the club of De Gezelligheid Society. After a year he started his own band called *Patrick and his Piscaderabaai Club Orchestra*. In the interview, he specifically mentioned that his band would play for people of the elite class as well as for the American soldiers stationed on the island.²³ For the development of jazz in Curaçao, it is important to also mention the presence of the American soldiers who replaced the British soldiers on the island during World War II: they had a preference for jazz and contributed to the local development of this musical genre.²⁴ It is also interesting to note that Patrick gave piano lessons to many people who became well-known musicians, both locally and internationally, including Rignald Recordino (of the Doble R band), Norman Moron, Enrico Enrique, Ivan (Nifio) Samson, and the internationally known Harold Martina, to mention just a few.²⁵

Modern technology

The advancement of modern technology and mass-oriented cultural commodities such as movies, audio recordings, and radio programs facilitated the dispersal and development of jazz. Immigrant workers from Europe wanted to keep abreast of what was happening in the Netherlands. One of the first radio stations that catered to that need was the Philips Omroep Holland-Indië (PHOHI), a radio station of the Philips company founded in 1927. It was the first Dutch radio station that was able to broadcast to Curaçao and the other Dutch colonies. The station broadcast from 1927 to 1930 and from 1933 until the German occupation of the Netherlands in 1940 (Moerheuvél, 1937)²⁶ Even though it is not clear whether it broadcast jazz music as part of its international music entertainment programs, it is known that jazz music was already present in the

²³ Curaçaose musici huldigen hun meester Piano-leraar Patrick 90 jaar. "Amigoe". Curaçao, 14-07-1994, p. 2. Geraadpleegd op Delpher op 22-10-2021, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010644202:mpeg21:p002>

²⁴Amigoe, 8 maart 1944

²⁵ Curacaoose musici huldigen hun meester Piano-leraar Patrick 90 jaar. "Amigoe". Curaçao, 14-07-1994, p. 2. Geraadpleegd op Delpher op 22-10-2021, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010644202:mpeg21:p002>

²⁶ radionieuws. De Phohi-uitzendingen uit Eindhoven. "Haagsche courant". 's-Gravenhage, 30-10-1936. Geraadpleegd op Delpher op 12-08-2022, https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB04:0001_49018:mpeg21:p00606

Netherlands in the late 1910s.²⁷ The local radio station Curaçaose Radio Omroep (Curom) did feature jazz programs regularly.²⁸ It started broadcasting in the 1930s and in the beginning had only programs in Dutch, as it was mostly directed at the Dutch workers of the oil company.

Theaters were important venues for entertainment through films and musical shows. The relation between jazz and film dates from the period of silent movies at the beginning of the 20th century, when pianists provided the accompanying music in the so-called nickelodeons (Kleinhout, 2006, p. 10). The jazz-film connection is also apparent in a 1943 advertisement by the local Cinelandia Theater for a film called *Orchestra Wives*. This was a well-known 1942 American film by 20th Century Fox that featured musicians such as Glenn Miller, George Montgomery, Ann Rutherford, Carole Landis, Cesar Romero, and Lyn Bery.²⁹ Hit songs such as *I got a girl in Kalamazoo*,³⁰ *At Last*, *Serenade in Blue*, and *People Like You and Me* were mentioned prominently in the advertisement, which is an indication that they were also popular on the island.³¹ Cinelandia was also the venue for a show in 1960 featuring famous American jazz saxophonist Louis Armstrong, who after performing in Aruba, was on transit to Guyana.

Some conclusions and research questions

This article has attempted to provide an overview of the jazz world in Curaçao before the 1960s, a period that has not been studied before. Our findings give rise to certain questions about the position of jazz on the island in this early gestation period. Advertisements suggest that the focus of the local jazz scene was much more on European descended jazz musicians from the USA. African American musicians from the USA were hardly mentioned and very little is known about their role in the early period of jazz in Curaçao. This begs the question as to whether the lack of attention to African Americans in the advertisements and/or on the local jazz scene is related to the racialized underrepresentation and neglect of a large part of the island's population at the time.

However, the article has also pointed to the role of local black musicians in the early evolution of jazz in Curaçao. This warrants closer examination of their influence on the early local variants of jazz music and gives rise to questions related to whether, even at these early stages, local style and esthetics could be considered particular Afro-Curaçaoan variants within international jazz, as Nanette de Jong (1997) asserts with regard to jazz on the island after 1960, and as Marcel Weltak (2021) asserts with regard to

²⁷ <https://www.jazzhelden.nl/action/front/history?start=1920>

²⁸ <https://library.oapen.org/handle/20.500.12657/30265> the domination of the local recording industry

²⁹ Advertentie. "Amigoe di Curaçao: weekblad voor de Curacaosche eilanden". [Willemstad, 24-07-1943, p. 2. <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010987356:mpeg21:p002>

³⁰ [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/\(I%27ve_Got_a_Gal_In\)_Kalamazoo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/(I%27ve_Got_a_Gal_In)_Kalamazoo)

³¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Serenade_in_Blue

Paramaribo a World War II era musical fusion between North American bebop on the one hand and Surinamese kaseko and kawina music on the other.

Early jazz in Curaçao seemed to be present in particular in the island's urban setting which was able to accommodate and absorb this new music genre. Willemstad was an international port for ships to and from the USA, South America and Europe. It also harbored a large and diverse group of immigrants. A topic for future research would be the way in which this urban jazz culture did or did not get dispersed to the rural areas. Another question for future study is whether early Curaçaoan jazz was elitist in its form and distribution and how this affected its popularization on the island.

These and other issues warrant more in-depth research into the early period of jazz in Curaçao. The availability of data is hampered by the lack of specific archives on popular music. In this regard, it is valuable and significant that in April 2022, the local Mongui Maduro Library acquired the collection of recordings, music scores, and other documents of John James Willekes, one of Curaçao's leading jazz musicians who passed away in 2019. Hopefully, this marks the beginning of a new era where the work and legacies of jazz performers and other working class musicians in Curaçao are acknowledged, valorized and preserved for posterity.

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TRACING AFRO-ATLANTIC LANGUAGE AND CULTURE: MANIFESTATIONS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN JAMAICA, PUERTO RICO AND CURAÇAO

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Abstract

British, Spanish and Dutch colonization of the Caribbean shared some similarities, but also developed many differences, especially with regard to the ways in which African-descended people participated in the society of each colony. Such factors crucially impacted the linguistic and cultural legacy of enslaved Africans and their descendants. In the context of the other European plantation colonies, the Dutch Caribbean produced anomalies such as the slave trade entrepôt Curaçao, which may be one reason why scholars such as Groenewoud (2021) complain about the perceived neglect of the Dutch Caribbean in Caribbean studies. This essay will consider the islands of Jamaica, Puerto Rico and Curaçao and how Afro-Caribbean language and culture have become markers of national identity in each.

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Key terms: colonial Caribbean, national identity, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Curaçao

The Caribbean has often been defined as one cultural area divided by a history of colonisation by different states with each leaving its own cultural legacy, yet drawn together by a shared past of plantations, slavery and indentured labor, and subsequently mass migration [however] there are substantial differences in the weight of the cultural and particularly linguistic legacy left by the former colonisers. (Oostindie & Klinkers, 2003, p. 212)

Introduction

Colonialism in various forms has been a feature of Caribbean life from the late fifteenth century up to today, whether on the ‘Taíno’ islands where Columbus first planted the Spanish flag or in the modern Caribbean territories and *départements* still governed by

European and North American politics. During the colonial period, a radical demographic shift ensued in which, on the whole, distinctly recognizable indigenous populations in the islands did not survive European rule, transported Africans and their descendants became the dominant population in many of the colonies, and Europeans from various backgrounds attempted to impose their languages and cultures in this new Caribbean space. Nonetheless, the African captives, their descendants and members of subsequent Afro-European communities subverted dominant colonial narratives by asserting their linguistic and cultural uniqueness in ways which still resonate today. Yet in the twenty-first century Caribbean islands still struggle with colonial and postcolonial challenges.

To exemplify aspects of this struggle, this essay will examine issues surrounding language and culture in Jamaica, Puerto Rico and Curaçao. Living in a former colony of Britain, Jamaica's population contests neocolonial language attitudes towards British English. Living in a former colony of Spain, and currently a "territory" of the United States, Puerto Ricans combat North American colonial cultural pressure. Living in a former colony of the Netherlands, currently a "constituent country" of the Dutch kingdom, Curaçaoans assert their distinctive non-European linguistic and cultural heritage. These three islands exemplify the ways in which Caribbean peoples choose to use aspects of Afro-Caribbean language and culture to respond to colonial and neocolonial influences.

British vs. Spanish colonies in the Caribbean and the anomaly of Curaçao

Spain was not only the first European power to create colonies in the Americas, but also sent the first slave voyage across the Atlantic, to Hispaniola in 1505. However, as Borucki, Eltis and Wheat (2015) note, Spain's early focus on mining, which largely used Amerindian labor, over plantations, which largely used African labor, meant that there were significant differences in the demographics in the Spanish colonies as compared to the British Caribbean colonies. After the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804) and the demise of its plantation economy, Spanish colonies, especially Cuba, and on a smaller scale, Puerto Rico, took up large-scale sugar and coffee production in plantations which resulted in the importation of thousands of enslaved Africans.

Although, as Borucki, Eltis and Wheat have argued, Africans and African-descended people were also shipped to Spanish colonies from other European colonies in the Greater Caribbean (and this was also true for Jamaica), their research, nonetheless, corroborates the sharp spike in Africans disembarked in Puerto Rico and Cuba from the African continent after the islands introduced large scale plantations. One of the arguments for why Spanish colonies such as Puerto Rico currently have no creole languages, and appear never to have developed any during the colonial period, rests on the fact that the largest number of Africans brought to Puerto Rico arrived much later than to colonies such as Jamaica. Moreover, in the large plantations introduced early in Jamaica,

the African experience was more isolated from the general society of the colony as a whole, which was more conducive to the development of a mixed Afro-European creole.

Faraclas et al (2007) explore in detail the differing political economies of the European colonies in the Caribbean arguing that British and Spanish colonial policy put them at opposite poles in a typology of colonization as it relates to creole language formation. Table 1 below illustrates a few of the differences between the British colonial and Spanish colonial regimes which Faraclas et al include in their matrix of social and economic factors relevant to whether creole languages evolved in the colonies held by the two powers. And although this is not the main focus of Faraclas et al, these factors also predict the extent of cultural integration. In evaluating the factors in the table below, it is important to note that, in the words of Faraclas et al. (2007, p. 230), “we are not talking about who were the ‘kinder, gentler, slavemasters’ but rather about identifiable, systemic interactional patterns.”

Table 1 also includes a consideration of the ways in which the Dutch colony of Curaçao shared similarities and exhibited differences with regard to the relevant social and economic factors found in British Jamaica and Spanish Puerto Rico.

Table 1 Comparison of British vs. Spanish Caribbean Colonies and Curaçao: Factors in Creole Genesis and Cultural Integration

BRITISH COLONIES	DUTCH COLONIAL ENTREPÔT	SPANISH COLONIES
JAMAICA	CURAÇAO	PUERTO RICO
Protestantism/Calvinism/ notion of ‘God’s lite/elect’	< Small Protestant elite; *Small Jewish elite* Catholicism among Afro-Curaçaoans >	Catholicism/universalism
Big sugar established well before 18 th Century	*Non-sugar economy*	Big sugar established just before 19 th Century
Large plantations	*Entrepôt, focus on trade* Some smaller plantations >	Smaller plantations, individual blocks/plots
Greater ratio Africans to others	< Greater ratio Africans to others	Lower ratio Africans to others
Most slaves field hands on large plantations	Most slaves domestic and craftspeople >	Most slaves domestic and craftspeople
Less interaction between Africans and others	More interaction between Africans and others >	More interaction between Africans and others
Fewer interracial families	More interracial families >	More interracial families

Runaways, maroon republics	Massive subsistence ‘squat- ter’ peasantry >	Massive subsistence ‘squat- ter’ peasantry
Long struggle for emancipa- tion and land	Early manumission and ac- cess to land >	Early manumission and ac- cess to land
Creoles as markers of differ- ence/resistence	*Linguistic creolization is- land wide* cultural creolization island wide >	Creolization of entire cul- ture
Creation of ‘Black’ lan- guage (‘creole’)	< Creation of ‘Black’ lan- guage (‘creole’)	Africanization of colony- wide [European] language
Creation of cultures of iden- tity and resistance	Africanization of colony- wide culture >	Africanization of colony- wide culture

British/Spanish Sources: Faraclas et al. (2007, pp. 235-237), Main Curaçao sources: Severing et al. (2018), Roe (2016), Allen (2007), Oostindie and Klinkers (2003), Klooster (1994).

“Nation Language” and Jamaican English-lexifier Creole

Patois serves to express people’s identity. It gradually started to gain ground in the early 1960s, around and after independence. Jamaicans expressed pride in their culture and their language. Patois was increasingly recognised as a “nation language”, representing the hybrid culture of the island, with its English vocabulary, West African grammar, occasional indigenous words and a particular, definitely non-British pronunciation. (Devonish, 2017, para. 2)

Jamaica was first claimed by Spain in 1494, and although the Spanish who settled Jamaica in 1509 brought the first enslaved Africans to the island, a creole language developed in Jamaica after the British took over and introduced a plantation economy. The plantations were numerous; James Robertson’s *Maps of Jamaica* identified 814 in 1804 (Robertson, 1804). Moreover, recent data indicate that hundreds of thousands of African captives were shipped to Jamaica; the Slave Voyages database (The Slave Voyages Consortium, 2021) estimates some 940,000 Africans who were captured in the trans-Atlantic and intra-American slave trades were disembarked in Jamaica between 1576 and 1875.

Farquharson (2013, para. 2) claims that the African slaves arriving in Jamaica who had been imported from other British colonies were likely “already familiar with some sort of English-based interlanguage.” Farquharson notes that he and linguists such as Kouwenberg (2009) believe that the late seventeenth century was crucial in the development of Jamaican (Creole) or Patois, and “reports by Europeans about the language used by (white and black) creoles and enslaved Africans in the eighteenth century” indicate that Jamaican had become established among the population, citing, for example,

Edward Long's account of 1774 (Farquharson, 2013, para. 4). This Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier creole is still spoken by a majority of Jamaicans.

Jamaica achieved independence from Britain in 1962, and a number of Jamaicans prominently supporting the use of Jamaican Creole in the twentieth century were born when Jamaica was still a colony. First and foremost among these is Louise Bennett (1919-2006). Below is a poster created for the 100th anniversary of her birth promoting the campaign to make Jamaican an official language of the country alongside English.



Figure 1 Profile image for the “Make Jamaica Official” Facebook page (Make Jamaican Official - Miss Lou 100, n.d.)

A poet and performer, according to her official website, “Miss Lou”, was said to be the “only poet who has really hit the truth about her society through its own language” (Rt. Hon. Dr. Louise Bennett Coverley, n.d., para. 3).

Known in her lifetime as a comedienne, a serious purpose underlay Bennett's use of Jamaican Creole and her research into Jamaican culture. Mervyn Morris (2014, p.2) asserts that Bennett was always more than an observant entertainer:

‘I believe in laughter’ [Bennett] declared. But she generated laughter of many kinds and for various purposes: corrective laughter, laughter as tolerant recognition, laughter as a coping mechanism - survival laughter She told Dennis Scott, ‘I have found a medium through which I can pretend to be laughing.’ When he asked her, ‘Is your work “angry”?’ she replied, ‘Not obviously. Not *obviously* angry.’

Morris (2014, p. 3) stresses Bennett's importance to Jamaicans' sense of identity during the long fight for independence and in the present:

Colonial education had induced in many Jamaicans—more than ninety per cent of us black and descended from Africans brought to the New World as slaves—a tendency to undervalue African elements in Jamaican culture. It became the lifelong project of Louise Bennett, working in a variety of modes, to increase the recognition of these elements Her life and work have contributed greatly—and continue to contribute—to Jamaican self-discovery and self-acceptance.

Jamaicans still hold Bennett in deep regard and say they will never forget what Miss Lou did to “big up” Jamaican culture, or in the words of Cooper (2015, para. 1): “Bot wi naa figet weh shi do fi big up fi wi Jamaica culture”.

The British influence in Jamaica did not end with independence, and in response, since the 1970s, Jamaican performers of reggae and dancehall music have continued to use Jamaican Creole in ways which carry on the tradition of Louise Bennett. Famous reggae stars such as Bob Marley and Peter Tosh composed lyrics in Jamaican Creole, and both reggae and dancehall music have continued the tradition. In an analysis of dancehall music, Cooper quotes Jamaican DJ Anthony B: “talk like Miss Lou, mi no talk like a foreigner” (2004, p. 6). This, Cooper maintains:

acknowledges the DJ’s affiliation to an indigenous performance tradition that is articulated in ‘nation language,’ to cite the work of the Barbadian griot, Kamau Brathwaite. Anthony here pays respect to national icon, Miss Lou ... the most celebrated advocate of the reclamation of the Jamaican mother tongue from the condition of barbarism contemptuously assigned to the language and its habitual speakers. (Cooper, 2004, p. 6)

A Caribbean poet and intellectual who was working for the British colonial service in the Gold Coast when it became the independent Ghana in 1957, Brathwaite (1971) would go on to write *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica 1770-1820* and subsequently coin the term ‘Nation Language,’ referred to above. Brathwaite’s 1984 book *History of the Voice: Development of Nation Language in Caribbean Anglophone Poetry* celebrates the importance of creole language to its speakers, in juxtaposition to the ‘imperial language’ of the European colonizers.

Whether by writing Jamaican Creole newspaper columns, like Cooper, or testing bilingual curricula in the schools like Carpenter and Devonish (2010), academics have added their voices and expertise to the efforts of popular artists to counter the oppression of a British colonial linguistic legacy. Martis (2016, para. 15) proclaims: “But [Jamaican] patois is a language built through exploitation, death, and enslavement as much as it’s now a permanent symbol of community, healing, and resistance – and it should be spoken with the understanding that it’s a language of freedom.”

Puerto Rican cultural nationalism and bomba

In spite of more than 500 years of colonialism and limited democratic participation, Puerto Ricans have been able to develop and maintain a strong sense of cultural national identity. (Font-Gúzman, 2015, p. 2)

First claimed by Spain in 1493, Puerto Rico remained a Spanish colony until 1898 when the United States acquired the island after the Spanish American War, subsequently declaring it an ‘unincorporated territory.’ As Font-Gúzman (2015, p. 4) points out: “In essence, the concept of being an ‘unincorporated territory’ became a euphemism for being enmeshed in a colonial relationship.”

Duany (2003) claims that, in fact, the ongoing migration of Puerto Ricans to the US mainland has itself contributed to both the strength of cultural nationalism on the island and the fact that most Puerto Ricans do not favor independence.

Reflecting the recent goals of Puerto Rican nationalism, Power (2020, p. 6) states:

Today, the nationalist movement is at once broader and yet more diffuse, lacking a single organization or unified goal. Instead of focusing primarily on the establishment of an independent nation, the agenda of today’s nationalist movement incorporates environmental issues, demands for women’s and LGBT rights, and anti-racism. However, instead of calling clearly for independence, it now upholds the vaguer demand of sovereignty.

Duany (2003, p. 427) maintains that “the majority of Puerto Ricans do not want to separate themselves politically from the United States, but they continually assert their national identity in cultural, largely symbolic terms.” In her research on a group of Puerto Ricans who requested a “certificate of Puerto Rican citizenship,” Font-Guzmán (2015, p. 3) examines the construction of citizenship and national identity “at the margins of the US nation.” Font-Guzmán states, that in so doing, she:

strive[s] to move people away from the story of Puerto Ricans as either lacking agency and being docile or favoring independence and being dangerously subversive, to an alternative story of Puerto Ricans exercising agency and resiliency within their available options. (Font-Guzmán, 2015, p. 3)

As Dávila (1997, p. 10) and others since have pointed out, cultural identity has taken on increased significance in Puerto Rico in the absence of an independent national identity: “Cultural nationalism in Puerto Rico is a direct result of the limits imposed by colonialism on the development of a politically defined nation-state, which led to the emphasis on culture as Puerto Rico’s ‘domain of sovereignty.’” While continued use of the Spanish language is obviously one way in which Puerto Ricans resist the cultural dominance of the US, Puerto Ricans notably also assert aspects of their Afro-Caribbean heritage in the face of perceived US pressure to culturally assimilate.

As with the creolization process which created new hybrid languages in British colonies such as Jamaica, a similar creolization process created new hybrid cultural objects and practices in Spanish colonies such as Puerto Rico. Among the most salient of these

Afro-European cultural hybrids are the music and dance which are found throughout the Caribbean, and are culturally significant in Puerto Rico.

Just as linguists place Jamaican Creole on a continuum, Daniel (2011) places dances in the Caribbean on a dance continuum ranging from most African, to almost equally mixed, to most European in form. Daniel places variations of the Puerto Rican *bomba* dancing (and drumming), pictured below, toward the African end of her continuum.



Figure 2 Bomba dancing and drumming in La Plaza de Armas, the main colonial square in Old San Juan, by members of the Escuela de Bomba y Plena, Doña Caridad Brenes de Cepeda, San Juan, Puerto Rico, May 6, 2017. (Photo by author.)

Quintero Rivera (2009) extols the virtues of ‘*músicas mulatas*’ *salsa*, jazz, *bomba*, the Cuban *rumba*, Brazilian *bosanova*, etc., and their African polyrhythm which he contrasts with the, in his view, non-democratic Western musical tradition. In reviewing Quintero Rivera’s discussion of ‘*músicas mulatas*,’ Daniel applauds his perspective that “The dance becomes a composite of individual expressions that jointly yield community solidarity; the music initiates a ritual between musical sound and dancing bodies, a ritual of belonging, of cultural citizenship” (Daniel, 2012, p. 199).

Research such as that of Nancy Morris (1995) supports the importance of Afro-Caribbean dance to Puerto Ricans. Morris conducted surveys and in-depth interviews of Puerto Rico’s political elite from the three main political parties, pro-statehood, commonwealth, and independence, to assess their attitudes toward their identity as Puerto Ricans within the context of the continuing concern over North American cultural domination. She found that “overall, the interviews and questionnaires reveal substantial agreement on the main points among the majority of respondents across party affiliation, geography and other variables” (Morris, 1995, p. 70) and that among the customs most identified as “quintessentially Puerto Rican” were *bomba* dancing and another

African-influenced music/dance form called *plena* (p. 99). As Rivera (2007 p. 218) reiterates:

Curaçaoan national identity: Papiamentu and tambú

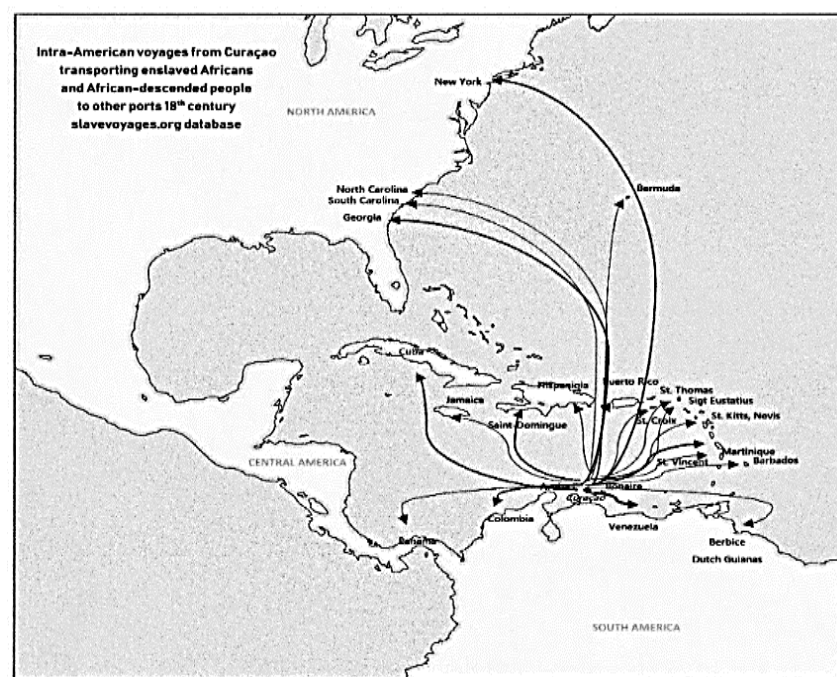
The identity marker, Yu di Kòrsou, literally *child of Curaçao* in the Papiamentu language is [defined by Rosalia (2001, p. 1)] ... as someone who speaks and understands Papiamentu ... [and] accepts that Afrocuraçaoan elements generally dominate the culture of Curaçao. (Allen & Guadeloupe, 2016, pp. 1, 8)

Originally claimed by Spain in 1499, Curaçao was taken over by the Dutch in 1634, but unlike Jamaica and Puerto Rico, or the Dutch colony of Suriname, Curaçao was never destined to become an early or late plantation economy. As Oostindie and Klinkers (2003, p. 58) point out:

The natural environment of the [Dutch] Antilles did not lend itself to development as a plantation economy. Instead, the Dutch islands of Curaçao and St. Eustatius, in particular, fulfilled a vital function as points of connection for trade – both legal and illegal – within the Caribbean regions. The islands were populated by a minority of free Europeans and a majority of African slaves.

For example, Maurer (2013) cites the Curaçao census of 1789 reporting a total population of just under 20,000, of which approximately 75% were Africans.

Curaçao became an important entrepôt during the trans-Atlantic slave trade playing “a key role in what Gilroy (1999) calls the routing of black cultures within the Americas” (Allen, 2012, p. 53). Map 1 from Albuyeh (2019, p. 41) below shows the range of 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, p. 41)

Citing research by Rupert (2012), Oostindie (2002) and Hoetink (1958), Roe (2016) asserts that although Curaçao's trade networks spanned most of the Americas, the trade between the island and the Netherlands was quite modest. The Dutch Republic offered less support to such colonies and was less involved in their administration. "The Dutch elites that ruled the island [of Curaçao] became more focused on the Latin American mainland in their culture, language and trade relations than the Netherlands" (Roe, 2016, p. 55).

In addition, among the Europeans who settled in Curaçao were Sephardic Jewish immigrants with Iberian roots who began arriving in 1651. One reason for this migration was the Inquisition, another was the expulsion of the Dutch and Jews in Recife (Brazil) when the Portuguese recaptured it in 1654. Freitas et al (2019, p. 12) report that:

The Dutch had been more tolerant than the Portuguese and Spaniards, so after these events, many Jews who lived in the Iberian Peninsula and later in the Netherlands and in Pernambuco [Brazil] decided to migrate to Curaçao along with their slaves.

While noting various assertions and controversies about both the identity of the Sephardic Jews and whether they brought slaves from Brazil, for example, Freitas et al. conclude that both the Jews and their slaves, who spoke some variety of Portuguese, "certainly contributed to the diffusion and incorporation of Portuguese elements into Papiamentu" because they were "in constant movement within the island" (2019, p. 13). Freitas et al. note that numerous scholars have argued that, in fact, the multilingual Jews adopted Papiamentu as a first language not long after their arrival (2019, p. 22).

Unlike other Caribbean creoles, such as Jamaican, in which the European base or lexifier language is that of the predominant group of colonizers, (in this case British English), Papiamentu notably does not directly reflect the fact that it is spoken in a former Dutch colony. Although Dutch may be said to be an important source of loan words in Papiamentu, the language is regarded as an "Ibero-Romance based creole" (Maurer, 2013, see Maurer 2013 also for a brief outline of the controversies regarding Papiamentu's Ibero-Romance origin.)

Roe (2016) reports evidence that while the two European groups, the Protestant Dutch and the Jewish migrants, interacted in the Curaçaoan economy, socially and linguistically they tended to maintain a separation. Eckkrammer (2007, p. 75) states that: "Given the fact that the two most prestigious [European] social groups lack a common language, the emerging Creole language ... spoken by the black population and fully established around 1700 - is quickly adopted." For example, Severing et al. (2018, pp. 61-62) report on evidence from the early 18th century diary of Father Alexius Schabel that the people of Curaçao spoke their own language, "presumably Papiamentu, or a precursor to Papiamentu."

Citing various sources (e.g., Hoetink, 1958; Oostindie, 2002; Allen, 2007; Rupert, 2012) Roe maintains that the small plantations which provided food for local consumption also encouraged inter-racial contact. She further notes:

Because of the small scale of Curaçao's plantations, black and white people co-habited in far closer proximity than on the big plantations that characterized most of the Americas. This absence of large-scale plantation economy also meant that the Afrocuracaoan population did not predominantly do agricultural-related work ... Afrodescendants—both slaves and freedmen—often worked in and around the harbor as construction workers, artisans, sailors, traders, musicians and military personnel ... often work[ing] side by side with the poor white population. (Roe, 2016, p. 61)

Thus, the opportunities to use the creole as a lingua franca between the African-descended and European-descended populations were numerous. In addition, Severing et al. (2018, p. 64) attest to evidence showing the use of Papiamentu by e.g. European Jewish correspondents later in the 18th century. Describing a motivation to use Papiamentu as more than a contact language, Eckkrammer (2003, p. 97) asserts: "Thus, adopting the creole language as one's mother tongue always presupposed the exercise of a strong desire to integrate oneself in a new community, hence participation in the formation of an identity directly linked to the new territory."

On the other hand, religious differences among the populations would seem to enhance, not hinder, the development of Papiamentu. Severing et al. (2018, p. 61) report that:

while the [Dutch-speaking] Protestants of the Dutch Reformed Church had largely ignored directives to convert the non-European descended population of the island to Christianity, the Catholics took a proactive role in converting the enslaved Africans on Curaçao to Catholicism. The conversion of these Africans and their descendants reinforced the Latinization of the Curaçaoan population, as many Spanish-speaking and even some French-speaking priests were sent to the colony for this purpose.

While the Catholic church can be seen to have supported the Afro-Curaçaoan creole language Papiamentu, not so other manifestations of Afro-Curaçaoan culture. Both the Dutch authorities and the Catholic clergy engaged in the suppression of the variations of what in their eyes were the 'uncivilized' Afro-Caribbean drumming, dancing and spiritual traditions covered by the name *tambú*. De Jong (2010, 2012) outlines the evolution of *tambú* and the ways in which Curaçaoans adapted to attempts to suppress this celebration of their Afro-Curaçaoan culture. "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, p. 204). As with Puerto Rican *bomba*, variations of *tambú* have thus survived into the 21st century, the adaptations of *tambú* illustrate just one of the ways in which Africans and their descendants were able to ensure that aspects of their cultures survived in the face of colonial repression (e.g.

Albuyeh, 2021). De Jong (2012, p. 2) outlines the many changes that *tambú* customs have undergone up until the present day:

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 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.

Ansano (2017) names *tambú* and Papiamentu as important elements belonging to “a cultural heritage canon as a tool for national identity, nation-building and nation-branding” (p. 2). Moreover, Ansano attests that both *tambú* and Papiamentu have been identified in Curaçao and in the Netherlands as important intangible Curaçaoan heritage.

Conclusion

Despite their economic and political vulnerabilities in both a global context and in their continuing connection to their respective ex- and current colonial metropolises, Jamaicans, Puerto Ricans and Curaçaoans exercise agency in the face of ongoing pressure to assimilate to European and North American norms. On the islands proper, and throughout their respective diasporas, Jamaicans, Puerto Ricans and Curaçaoans use their linguistic and cultural Afro-Caribbean heritage to express and symbolize their separate national identities. The continued significance of Afro-Caribbean language and culture in various forms in Jamaica, Puerto Rico and Curaçao highlights, in the words of Brathwaite, “A recognition of the African presence in our society not as a static quality, but as a root – living, creative, and still part of the main” (Brathwaite, 1974, p. 99).

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MEDARDO DE MARCHENA: SUBVERSIVE IN COLONIAL CURAÇAO

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Abstract

Medardo de Marchena (Curaçao, 1899–Bonaire, 1968) published an exceptionally ferocious anticolonial, anti-Catholic and anti-racist pamphlet in Papiamentu, entitled *Ignorancia ó Educando un pueblo* [Ignorance or Educating a People] on Curaçao in 1929. He wrote this and the articles he published in local newspapers under the influence of the ideas of Marcus Garvey and other African American activists. It would cost de Marchena dearly. At the outbreak of World War II, he was interned on Bonaire to prevent him from continuing to spread seditious publications.

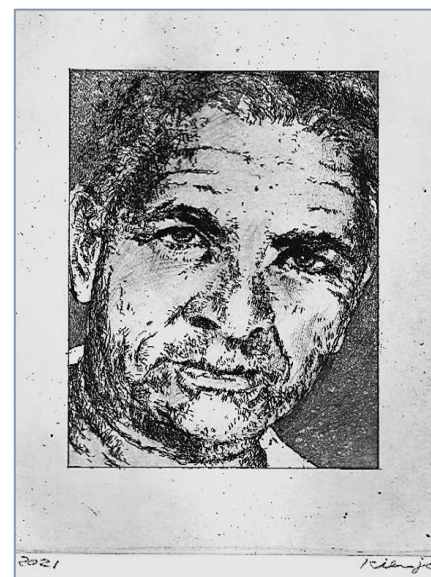
171

Key terms: Medardo de Marchena, Curaçao, Bonaire, internment, Marcus Garvey

Figure 1 Etching of Medardo de Marchena (Curaçao, 1899–Bonaire, 1968) by Bert Kienjet, reprinted with permission of the artist, whose etchings include – besides portraits and masks – the landscape of Curaçao. (14.5 x 20cm).

Internment camp

A song in Papiamentu emerged on the island of Bonaire in World War II, which would prove more popular than any other one in that language. Nor was any other song lyric able to become as widely known as the one Medardo de Marchena had authored: *Esta dushi!* [How delicious!] (all translations in this article are by the author, unless otherwise specified) (de Marchena, 2021). In the free rendition of the Puerto Rican singer Daniel



Santos and under the title *Bula waya* [Jump the Fence] it was performed for decades throughout the Caribbean region.

In this song, de Marchena (2021) graphically expressed his desire to be fully embraced in the arms of a charming Bonairean woman. The chorus pounds home her beauty: “Esta dushi, esta dushi / esta dushi bo ta!” [Delicious, delicious / how delicious you are.] The intended union was not easy to realize. The police guard and barbed wire of the internment camp in which de Marchena was imprisoned constituted impregnable obstacles to the embrace that he longed for. The original manuscript of the song ‘Esta dushi’ can be found in the Abraham family archives in Bonaire. When exactly the song was written is not known, but 1943 seems a fair guess.

When the Second World War actually broke out in the Kingdom of the Netherlands on May 10, 1940, scores of people with a ‘wrong’ (i.e., supposedly ‘disloyal’) background were arrested in Aruba and especially in Curaçao. A letter from the then governor G. J. J. Wouters (1944) to the Dutch minister of Colonies in London, relates with some satisfaction that “Within the space of three hours on the night of 9 to 10 May the police were able to apprehend ... a total of 202 people in the overseas territories.” These included people who had long since found a place in island society, such as the photographer Fred Fischer and the physician Dr. J. Benesch, but both born in Austria which had recently been annexed by Germany, and Father Paul Brenneker, who was believed to have been born in Berlin; for details see Sint Jago (2007). German and Austrian Jews who resided on the island were also roused from their beds that night. Likewise, the Curaçaoan Medardo de Marchena, although not because of his country of origin but because of the seditious ideas that it was feared he might purportedly spread.

Like most of the others who had been arrested, de Marchena spent the next five years in the internment camp on Bonaire. In 1939 the first preparations were made for setting up the camp near the capital of the island, Kralendijk, directly on the coast. Until just before the outbreak of war, the police on Bonaire had consisted of a dozen field guards. From May 10, 1940, the guarding of the internment camp was entrusted to the Korps Militaire Politietroepen (KMP; Military Police Force). The corps remained there until the end of September 1942, after which the Antillean conscripts – ‘gunners’ – took over until the end of February 1945. After that, the KMP returned until the last internees had left following the end of the war (for details on the island police during World War II, see Broek, 2011, p. 99-152).

“By the time the war broke out, the lists of persons to be interned were already nicely ready,” recalls H. Kromhout, the secretary of the Public Prosecution Service at the time, headed by attorney general Mr. Th. van der Laan. “The intelligence service had done a good job,” Kromhout recalled in a conversation I had with him (Broek, 1996, p. 15):

We also knew that the war for the Netherlands was about to break out. The coded messages from the German consulate in Caracas to the German diplomatic representative here, Mr. C. Fensohn, were intercepted and could be deciphered.

From these messages we had been able to conclude that the invasion of the Germans in the Netherlands had been postponed a few times. (p. 15)

This enthusiasm concerning the investigations conducted by the police and the intelligence service should be tempered where de Marchena is concerned. Given the documents that are now accessible, the case for his five-year internment looks decidedly flimsy.

Ignorancia ó educando un pueblo

Pedro Pablo Medardo (Dada) de Marchena was the illegitimate son of the Afro-Curaçaoan woman Anna Delphina Wiel, who was also registered with the surname Martina. She was born on August 1, 1875, in the western part of Curaçao, in the fifth district, possibly on the plantation Savonet. She would die at the young age of 31, on September 7, 1906. Medardo was born on June 29, 1899, and initially grew up under the care of his mother. She ensured that he received a Roman Catholic upbringing, which also brought him into service to the church as an altar boy. His upbringing was supported emotionally and financially by his Jewish father Abraham de Benjamin de Marchena y Levy Maduro (born in Curaçao, September 27, 1850). As a young adult man, Medardo was given that surname by Abraham, which was not a matter of course and underscored a certain affinity between the father and his wife and children.

Medardo attended the Roman Catholic St. Thomas College, which had to be paid for and where education was dispensed by the Dutch Order of the Brothers of Zwijzen. They provided primary education up to and including a Mulo [advanced elementary education] diploma; at that time the school incorporated an eight year sequence of grades. There Medardo acquired knowledge of Dutch and increased his proficiency in English and Spanish. After leaving St. Thomas College, Medardo joined the Bonanza trading company owned by the Capello merchant family on the island. He gained trading experience there, with which he could advance their interests into far flung regions. In 1919, Medardo was in New York for at least two months and – judging from a reference in his pamphlet – stayed in Harlem. It is very likely that Medardo took note of the ideas of the activist Marcus Garvey, who had been causing quite a stir. Garvey was born in Jamaica but became active in the United States in the fight for equal civil rights for African Americans. Medardo was also “an ardent reader of the *American Freeman*”, as he himself wrote in a letter to the government psychiatrist Dr. Willem W. de Regt dated November 8, 1943 (de Marchena, 1943). This oldest illustrated African American newspaper was for de Marchena “an organ for the man who (dares) to know, and the only paper independent from the advertisers’ will and wishes, so far I have ever seen” (Geheim Archief, 1935-1975).

In 1929, de Marchena published a ferociously anticolonial, anti-Catholic and anti-racist pamphlet: *Ignorancia of Educando un Pueblo* [Ignorance or Educating a People] (de

Marchena, 1929). It was self-published and printed on the island. The ideas in this Papiamentu-language pamphlet and the courage to write and publish it were undoubtedly nurtured by exposure to Garvey and the *American Freeman*. De Marchena continued his criticism in another pamphlet, entitled *Muher i bida moderna* [Woman and Modern life] (de Marchena, 1934), in two, possibly three *Carta pastoral* - loose sheets of 'pastoral writing' - and in articles in the newspaper *de Onpartijdige* [The Impartial Observer]. The fervor of these pieces is on a par with his pamphlet *Ignorancia*.

Criticism of colonial dominance

In addition to the Catholic mission and the colonial administration, de Marchena also took on the power of the Dutch oil company CPIM – a precursor to Royal Dutch Shell. He also defended anti-militarism. On behalf of the Attorney General, a member of the intelligence service Constan Casiano translated de Marchena's article *Entre pueblo i gobiernu* [Between the People and Government], which appeared in the February 15, 1933, edition of *de Onpartijdige*:

What people - basing itself on a principle of liberty - can tolerate that a company [i.e., the oil refinery] does not pay any taxes, pays the workers a miserable wage and continues to sell its oil at high prices ...? What people of ambition can be satisfied, who see that ignorant strangers [from the Netherlands] are enjoying generous privileges while they themselves must endure hunger or lead a highly inadequate existence? Who can claim otherwise than that planes, cannons, rifles, revolvers, bombs, grenades, and poison gases are not defensive or resistance weapons of civilization? (de Marchena, 1933, p. 7)

The texts were exceptionally fierce swipes at the island society of the time and reached more people than the administrative and ecclesiastical elite would have preferred.

In a note to the Minister of Colonies, Governor van Slobbe (1933) noted that:

a part of the colored population is very sensitive to the position it occupies. Especially among the young, there is a highly adept spirit of self-awareness. When the occasions present themselves irresponsible elements, which possess immature ideas about racial questions and social relations, seek to get a grip on the masses.

These developments were closely followed by the Dutch Governor, the Attorney General and the small intelligence service of the police force. The experiences de Marchena encountered as an outspoken critic are indicative of the way in which the elite severely suppressed political threats to their power. There was no place for dissonant voices in the island societies of the mid-twentieth century, certainly not during World War II with the refineries on Aruba and Curaçao providing substantial quantities of oil for the Allies (van Soest, 1977).

De Marchena did not praise the Catholic mission's contributions to the development of the Afro-Antillean people. On the contrary, the pamphlet states, among other things:

Who is to blame for the lack of our Afro-Curaçaoan people in the higher social positions [i.e., as doctors, lawyers, judges, engineers and so on], who are so desperately needed to give the black race prestige? Those white men with blue eyes, who look like women by the way they dress, who have both Rome and the Netherlands as their fatherland. They are guilty of the backward state of Curaçao, while the colored population has been enjoying the abolition of slavery for almost four generations now. (de Marchena, 1929, p. 7)

At the time practically unheard of on the island, de Marchena leveled undisguised accusations against Dutch colonial domination. This manifested itself toward the Catholic mission, government administration and toward the industrial superpower embodied in the CPIM refinery. On the Dutch Caribbean islands de Marchena's criticism would acquire wider resonance only after World War II (Broek, 2006, p. 129-184; Groenewoud, 2017).

In 1933, serious consideration was given to criminal prosecution of de Marchena in response to the article in *de Onpartijdige* from which the quotation above was taken. This initiative was eventually abandoned, since "the criminal provisions currently at their disposal are of such a nature," the Attorney General told the governor, "that the chances of success of a criminal prosecution must be considered quite small, while failure from the point of view of Authority must certainly be avoided" (Geheim Archief, 1935-1975).

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Querulant and wayward

Nevertheless, the positions de Marchena adopted were not forgotten. On the contrary, he continued to be under surveillance of the Intelligence Service and when the war broke out, he was on the list of people who had to be interned. Kromhout (Geheim Archief, 1935-1975) stated that:

The internees were also extensively interrogated on Bonaire by the Attorney General, in which [interrogation sessions] I, as secretary, was present. Dutch nationals were released after the interrogation, but the majority of those who were arrested spent all those years on Bonaire.

De Marchena belonged to this latter group, since he was "indifferent to the outcome of the war up until May 10th, 1940," as Attorney General L.C. Kwartz underlined in his account of de Marchena's internment at the end of the war (Geheim Archief, 1935-1975).

No priority seems to be given to de Marchena's defense, even though the intelligence service quoted him as saying:

A war between Germany on the one hand and England, Poland, Norway, and France on the other does not interest me, so long as the Netherlands is not involved. After May 10, 1940, things were a bit different; then we became directly

involved and then, of course, it could no longer leave me indifferent. (Geheim Archief, 1935-1975)

In the documents that have been preserved, de Marchena is not accused of any outspoken pro-German sympathies.

Therefore, the information provided by members of the intelligence service was given a different spin by the Attorney General:

De Marchena is like a machine that rattles, constantly jabbering on, mixing everything up, who criticizes everyone and everything, always making appeals to other countries where everything can be said and written ... who is difficult for his immediate environment because of this hopeless chatter. It was therefore understandable that De Marchena was expelled from this society at the outbreak of war, since this man was to be regarded as a threat to peace and general security. (Geheim Archief, 1935-1975)

An inspector and a superintendent had qualified de Marchena as “querulent and wayward” and “a braggart and a windbag”, a man “who does not realize how much harm he can cause by his chatter” (Geheim Archief, 1935-1975).

The Attorney General concurred with these disqualifications that he readily quoted, but omitted a psychological evaluation made by a specialist in the government medical service from his report. The psychiatrist in question, dr. Willem de Regt, took an altogether different view of de Marchena. He could only conclude that de Marchena “is not neurotic, but nervous, if there are no reasons other than those mentioned in the document for his internment, this accounts for and justifies his increasing irritability” (Geheim Archief, 1935-1975). The relativizing words of the medical specialist were insufficient to allow de Marchena to freely leave behind the confines of the camp during the war.

Applications for release made by interned Dutch nationals were dealt with through the proper channels, but not granted. The slightest suspicion of NSB (Dutch National Socialist) sympathies or a German background ensured that release was ruled out. The threat that de Marchena supposedly posed to peace and general safety condemned him to similar fate, which he shared even with Jews who happened to have been born on hostile soil!

Kromhout (Geheim Archief, 1935-1975) noted that:

The German and Austrian Jews, about 50 in total, were in a separate part of the camp. At a later stage, in August 1941, the Jews were transferred to plantation Guatemala on Bonaire, where they enjoyed greater freedom than the internees in the camp. As far as I remember, there have never been legitimate grounds for complaints for the residents in the actual camp.

This is confirmed by some reports made by representatives of the International Red Cross after visits to the internment camp. The conditions under which the internees lived were described, among other places, in a report from 1943 (Geheim Archief, 1935-1975), as ‘*très bonnes*’ [very good]. The hygiene in the camp ‘*ne laisse rien à désirer*’

[left nothing to be desired]. It did turn out however that there was a need for a dentist, but that might have applied to the whole of Bonaire. The food was also qualified as ‘bonne’ [good] and as being “more than enough.” In addition, there was quite some opportunity to relax, after all, the camp was close to the coast.

When the state of war was lifted in May 1945, it was soon concluded that the internees “pose[d] no real danger to the security of the state, or to public order and peace” (Geheim Archief, 1935-1975) and could therefore be released. Some settled on Bonaire for good (on post-war society in Bonaire see Klomp, 1986). De Marchena was one of them. It was there that he married his Bonairean lover, Ana Thodé.

Inflammatory writings no longer appeared from his pen. However, his critical ideas would influence politicians, including Jopie Abraham. This politician would not only make himself heard on Bonaire – his native island – but also on the other Dutch Antillean islands and all the way to The Hague. Echoes of de Marchena can be heard frequently in Abraham’s words, as the journalist Trix van Bennekom (2018) managed to find out. For de Marchena himself, internment had apparently to some degree achieved its intended effect. His personal experiences seem to be evidenced in the song *Bula waya* in which the fight for social justice also gives rise to a desire to taste something of personal freedom. De Marchena died on May 15, 1968, but never received a penny for his Caribbean hit song.

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TROUWPORTRETten: FOTOVERTELLINGEN UIT HET SURINAAMSE VERLEDEN: 1868-1950

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Samenvatting

Een in boekvorm verschenen verzameling van trouwportretten (fotomateriaal) uit Suriname, gemaakt vanaf de tweede helft van de negentiende tot en met de eerste helft van de twintigste eeuw, biedt een schat aan informatie over zeden en gewoonten uit die tijd. Hierbij onderstreept Lucia Nankoe, de samensteller ervan, het belang van het fotografisch cultureel erfgoed.

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Kernbegrippen: Historische trouwportretten, Suriname, fotografisch cultureel erfgoed

Abstract

A collection of wedding portraits from Suriname (photo material), from the second half of the nineteenth to the first half of the twentieth century offers a lot of information about mores and customs from that period. Lucia Nankoe, who collected this photo-material, underlines the importance of photographic cultural heritage.

Keywords:

Historical wedding portraits, Suriname, photographic cultural heritage

Inleiding

Op allerlei vakgebieden berichten steeds meer onderzoekers over aspecten van de geschiedenis van Suriname, waarover nog relatief weinig is opgetekend. Het is van wezenlijk belang om ook gebruik te maken van andere uitingen om het onuitgesprokene van een verborgen geschiedenis weer te geven. Geïnspireerd door een afbeelding op het boek *Die Braut* [De Bruid] (Völger, Von Welck, et al. 1985), trachtte ik met veel zorg trouwfoto's tot en met 1950 te verzamelen. Op deze manier ontstond gaandeweg sinds

2014 een collectie en verscheen in 2019 het boek *Trouwportretten - Surinaamse voorouders in Beeld; Album 1846-1950*¹.

De verzameling is de afgelopen jaren uitgebreid met tientallen foto's die in een expositie in 2022 in museum Foam in Amsterdam en in een nieuwe publicatie zijn opgenomen. Het zal hopelijk niet lang meer duren, voordat de betekenis van het fotografisch cultureel erfgoed duidelijk wordt. Op welke manier wordt het (foto)verhaal van een echtpaar verteld en geïnterpreteerd? Het idee om trouwfoto's op te nemen in een boek met een verwijzing naar de periode waarin de foto werd genomen, sprak nazaten met uiteenlopende achtergronden aan. Dit leidde tot een plezierige samenwerking.

Een historische terugblik

Uit de koloniale periode is beeldtaal beschikbaar, zoals tekeningen, diorama's, schilderijen en foto's. Deze uitingen zijn een weergave waarin de historische achtergrond van kolonisatie, genocide, slavernij en contractarbeid openlijk en soms latent te zien is. Aan de hand van deze visuele weergaven wordt voor elke generatie een wereld opgeroepen en keer op keer opnieuw geïnterpreteerd. Lagen van betekenis worden opnieuw ontcijferd, omdat er telkens bevindingen worden toegevoegd en er een gekanteld beeld kan ontstaan. Elk onderwerp wordt op deze manier levend gehouden.

In veel Surinaamse fotostudio's lagen allerlei gebruiksvoorwerpen zoals handschoenen, of hoeden die een deftig voorkomen geven aan de echtparen, wat wil zeggen: volgens de Europese mode. De rijke families konden zich dergelijke accessoires zelf permitteren.

Het is opvallend hoe 'strak' de geportretteerden in deze fotoselectie de camera in kijken. Werd dit consequent en streng opgelegd door de fotograaf, of waren de echtparen het lange poseren beu en keken ze daarom zo streng de camera in? Het huwelijkspar poseerde langdurig en we betrappen de echtelieden meestal niet in een intieme sfeer. Mochten ze trouwens wel lachen? Het perspectief en de inscenering van de fotograaf voelen dikwijls ongemakkelijk aan. De beelden zijn gemaakt vóór een Hollywood- en sprookjesachtig decor. Het bruidspaar, door de fotograaf geplaatst in een waarschijnlijk door hem zelf voorgestelde mise en scène, kijkt ons aan. Wij, op onze beurt, blijven naar deze voorouders kijken.

Fotomateriaal als Cultureel Historisch Erfgoed

Foto's dienen niet alleen maar ter verfraaiing van familiealbums, of als privé archiefmateriaal in weggestopte schoenendozen op zolder of in de kelder, maar zijn vooral van cultuurhistorisch belang. Hoe kijkt men terug op deze beelden? Lange tijd werden foto's over het hoofd gezien en ten onrechte deden jongere generaties soms lacherig bij het

¹ Een inzichtelijk overzicht van de periode van vóór 1950 wordt ons aangereikt door de Surinaamse historicus André Loor in: *André Loor vertelt.... Suriname 1850- 1950*. Vaco, 2013.

bekijken van de foto's van hun voorouders. Thans, doordrongen van het belang en geboeid door het verleden waarvan veel weggestopt werd, imponeert de herkomst. De zoektocht naar het verleden is ingezet en er waait een geest van betrokkenheid bij de nakomelingen. Het is een sensatie te beseffen dat de voorouders altijd bij ons zijn. Het fotografisch cultureel erfgoed krijgt aanzien en wordt als waardevol gezien. Als je huis in brand zou staan, neem je kostbare schatten mee naar buiten en daar horen ongetwijfeld foto's bij.

Rondreizende fotografen afkomstig uit de Verenigde Staten en Europa kenden Suriname amper, kenden de verlangens en de gewoonten niet en ze geven desondanks hoogtepunten in het leven van geportretteerden weer. De fotograferende passanten reisden vervolgens naar een ander gekoloniseerd land. Bij het verzamelen van trouwfoto's van voorouders tot en met 1950- is het belangrijk de nakomelingen te betrekken bij deze intieme fotoweergave en de daarmee samenhangende sociale geschiedenis. Kunnen deze afbeeldingen de volgende generaties enthousiasmeren en kunnen zij deze interpreteren?

Uit de anonimiteit

De stilte en de ontkenning rondom de afbeeldingen worden in ieder geval doorbroken. De gefotografeerde echtparen hebben een naam en zijn deel van ons leven. In de kolonie Suriname werden voorheen individuen of koppels gefotografeerd die meer dan eens anoniem bleven, tenzij het om Europeanen ging. Foto's van werklieden of dorpelingen in het oerwoud die geen naam meekrijgen, zijn talrijk. Zowel de persoonsnaam als de locatie waar vele foto's werden gemaakt, blijft vaak achterwege. Zelfs de beroemde en fantastische Surinaamse fotografe Augusta Curiel (1873- 1937) maakt zich daaraan schuldig. De foto van de meisjes en vrouwen, de Kuku-dames, getuigt hiervan.

De keuze van de foto's in dit boek is niet alleen gevallen op Surinaamse partners, maar ook op bruiden of bruidegoms uit andere landen. Met deze afbeeldingen wordt het zonneklaar dat migratie naar alle delen van de wereld van alle tijden is. Het huwelijk of het concubinaat met een 'inheemse' persoon is vanzelfsprekend en begrijpelijk.

Dit geldt bijvoorbeeld voor de bruid Corsilda Jane Wilson (1911) van het Caribische eiland Saba, die haar Surinaamse bruidegom Ludwig Johan Willy Venloo (1899) in 1936 in Curaçao trouwde. Hun oudste dochter Marie is, met een angisa (een hoofd-doek), afgebeeld op het biljet van tweeënhalve Surinaamse gulden. In de loop van de 20^{ste} eeuw verdwijnen de afbeeldingen van het Nederlands koningshuis steeds meer en is de Surinamisering van onder meer bankbiljetten en postzegels op gang gekomen.

Dit geldt ook voor een Belgisch-Surinaams echtpaar. Johanna Charlotte Wilhelmina Biervliet werd in Paramaribo geboren en zij was de kleindochter van Christiana, die in slavernij leefde. De Belg Leonard Hubert Arpots migreerde naar Nederland en werd dienstplichtig, omdat hij de Nederlandse nationaliteit wilde aannemen. Hij was musicus

en werd in 1909 uitgezonden naar Suriname waar hij dirigent van de militaire kapel werd.

In 1937 in Azië voltrok zich in Soerabaja, in indertijd Nederlands Indië genoemd, het huwelijk tussen Fenna Charlotte Everhardine Swart (1919 Bandung) en Eduard Henri Brudet (1901 Paramaribo).

Op de geselecteerde foto's zijn alle rangen en standen van de samenleving te zien. Als we de balans opmaken zijn de standsverschillen wel op te merken. Een goed voorbeeld is het chique bruidspaar dat in een koets voortgetrokken door een paard, een rondrit door de hoofdstad Paramaribo maakt. We kunnen de locatie traceren, omdat de Grote Stadskerk op de achtergrond te zien is. Geen opgesmukte koets met allerlei tierlantijntjes. Maar om welk echtpaar gaat het? Wie was de koetsier en was er een bedrijf dat rijwagens verhuurde? Deze vragen worden hopelijk in de toekomst beantwoord.

Zicht op Sociaal-Culturele achtergronden

Er valt nog meer te onthullen, bijvoorbeeld welke lekkernijen, of maaltijden op een huwelijksfeest werden geserveerd. Waren bijvoorbeeld de vegetarische maaltijden op de hindoe- huwelijksfeesten gelijk aan de huidige? Eetgewoonten en tafelmanieren zijn cultureel bepaald. Sommige bruiloftsgasten aten met mes en vork en anderen aten hun maaltijd met de hand, omdat de etiquette dat gebod. Een conversatie voeren tijdens deze maaltijd hoorde niet in elk gezelschap bij de heersende tafelmanieren.

182 Foto's werden niet alleen in fotostudio's, maar ook op erven gemaakt en zo vangen we een glimp op van de houten huizen die dankzij het voortreffelijke vakmanschap van de werklieden gemaakt zijn. Het is niet ongebruikelijk foto's aan te treffen die gemaakt zijn op het erf van de ouders van het bruidspaar. Op de achtergrond noteren we de decors van de houten huizen die de hoofdstad sierden. Paramaribo, ooit de houten stad genoemd, werd in de loop van de twintigste eeuw steeds meer bedolven onder wanstaltige gebouwen en de binnenstad is in verval geraakt onder meer door toedoen van speculanten. De timmermannen en de bouwmeesters van de oude stempel draaien zich om in hun graf bij het zien van deze constructies.

Naarmate de tijd verstreek werden steeds meer foto's gemaakt. Burgers stegen gestaag op de maatschappelijke ladder, beschikten over meer financiële middelen en lieten zich vereeuwigen, maar het platteland en het binnenland blijven grotendeels achterwege.

Vanaf 1950, in de opbouwjaren in Suriname, gedijen de fotostudio's en komen steeds meer Surinaamse fotografen in het vizier. De fotografen T. Amatsoleman en R. Singh zijn daar een voorbeeld van. Een andere fotograaf, Charles Pickering, is in de literatuur nog tamelijk onbesproken gebleven. Meer fotografen uit de periode van vóór 1950 zijn onderbelicht en zouden gememoreerd moeten worden.

Sommige bruiden hadden een opleiding genoten en werkten, maar vaak werden ze in navolging van de regels in het moederland Nederland na de huwelijksvoltrekking ontslagen. Dit betekende enerzijds kapitaalverspilling en anderzijds achterstelling van

vrouwen. Pas in 1981, zes jaar na de onafhankelijkheid van het land, werd in Suriname per decreet de handelingsonbekwaamheid van gehuwde vrouwen opgeheven.

De kracht van de fotovertelling

De kracht van de fotovertelling intrigeert mij. Wat zegt de kleding van het bruidspaar, of de gigantische hoeveelheid bloemen die de bruid en de bruidegom omringen? Elk beeld heeft ontegenzeggelijk een diepere betekenis, mede door de etnische achtergrond en de subtiele variaties in stijlen die meedeinen met het modebeeld van de jaren waarin het bruidspaar werd gefotografeerd. Deze informatiewaarde is kostbaar, omdat hiermee de nadrukkelijke invloed van West-Europa en de Verenigde Staten op een indirecte manier wordt weergegeven.

De rol van de missie

De rol van sommige Europese zendelingen en missionarissen is meer dan bedenkelijk en soms zonder scrupules. Het traditionele huwelijk van de oorspronkelijke bevolking van Suriname werd verfoeid en het concubinaat van alle groepen werd afgewezen door zowel de rooms-katholieken als leden van de Evangelische Broedergemeente (EBG). Een bamboesie² huwelijk, dat vaak op het platteland plaatsvond, werd verworpen. Het devies van de machthebbers was dat men zich moest bekeren tot het christendom. Het ging er niet eens zozeer om om de bevolking te kerstenen, maar om de instandhouding van een repressief koloniaal systeem. Beloning voor een kerkelijk en wettelijk ingezegend huwelijk werd in het vooruitzicht gesteld, vaak in de vorm van een betere opleiding voor de kinderen. Deze politiek is niet uniek voor Suriname en in vele Caribische en andere gekoloniseerde landen was deze manier van controle in zwang. Het kwam ook voor dat echtparen die in concubinaat leefden, na jaren op aandrang van de dominee of de priester toch trouwden volgens de Nederlandse burgerlijke wet, die ook in Suriname gold.

Vervolgstappen

Veel fotomateriaal is vergaan in het tropische klimaat, of door onoplettendheid van fotobezitters. Huwelijksgedichten, teksten van huwelijksgezangen of dagboeken zijn vermoedelijk aanwezig in musea, bij particulieren of bij verwoede verzamelaars en worden wellicht op een dag openbaar gemaakt. Levert het inkleuren van zwart-witfoto's en *vogue* in 2022, meer informatie op?

² In een bamboesiehuwelijk wordt het Nederlandse huwelijksrecht zoals opgenomen in het burgerlijk wetboek niet nageleefd. Bamboesie of Bambusi is een inheems dorp in het district Marowijne in Suriname. Het was eerst Karaïbisch en werd later Arowaks. Het ligt aan de Marowijnerivier, met stroomopwaarts eraan vastgegroeid respectievelijk de dorpen Pierrekondre, Marijkedorp en Albina.

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CONVIVIALITIES AND THE LITERATURES OF THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND

LOS RECUERDOS DE CURAZAO: EL LEGADO DEL POLIFACETICO JOHN DE POOL

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Resumen

Este artículo se centra en el escritor John de Pool (1873-1947) y su obra *Del Curaçao que se va. Páginas arrancadas de "El libro de mis Recuerdos"* (1935). Se trata de tener una mejor imagen de John de Pool y su obra, a la luz del ambiente de la época, enfocando en los lazos de De Pool con el mundo de habla hispana circundante. Esto puede proporcionar nuevos hechos y perspectivas en el campo histórico literario cultural, con una idea más amplia de la historia de la migración de Curazao con un enfoque especial en el flujo migratorio a Panamá, a finales del siglo XIX y durante la primera mitad del siglo XX.

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Términos clave: John de Pool, literatura curazoleña, estudios bolivarianos, Caribe de habla hispana, Antillas Neerlandesas

Introducción

John de Pool (Johan Joseph de Pool Danies), nació en la isla de Curazao en 1873 como el menor de una familia de seis hermanos, y se murió en Panamá en 1947. En el curso de su vida polifacética se manifestó como narrador, ensayista, historiador, político, pintor, grabador fotográfico, atleta y como hablante de cinco idiomas (*La gran familia de Pool*, 2017).

Cuando John de Pool creció, Curazao estaba fuertemente entrelazado con el mundo circundante de habla hispana en términos políticos, económicos y socioculturales. Esto también es visible en su obra en español *Del Curaçao que se va. Páginas arrancadas de "El libro de mis Recuerdos"* (1935) que John de Pool escribió en la Ciudad de Panamá (Panama City) y que fue publicada en Santiago de Chile en 1935.

El contenido interesante de la obra en español es un motivo para traducirla en 1960 en neerlandés y hacerla accesible a un público de habla holandesa.



Figura 1. De Pool recibió muchas medallas de honor durante su vida.



Figura 2. De Pool era un esgrimista talentoso.



Figura 1. La Orden al Mérito Artístico "Francisco Hung Bracho" honor póstumamente otorgado en 2011 por la Universidad del Zulia en Venezuela.

Imágenes de: *La gran familia de Pool*, 2017

Ineke Phaf nos informa en cuanto a la salida y distribución de la obra en su artículo "Acerca de la lengua escrita en papiamentu – Rodolfo Lenz y John de Pool" (2020). Ella hace referencia a una correspondencia de cartas entre John de Pool (desde Panamá) y Rodolfo Lenz (desde Chile). El hecho de que el científico Rodolfo Lenz (1863-1938), originario de Alemania y radicado en Chile desde hace muchos años, lingüista con un interés especial en el papiamentu¹, tuviera un intercambio de cartas con De Pool, ya vale la pena mencionar. El artículo de Phaf nos informa que De Pool escribe en una de sus cartas, que imprimieron quinientos ejemplares de *Del Curaçao que se va. Páginas arrancadas de "El libro de mis Recuerdos"*, de los que sobran unos 250 ejemplares. Según De Pool, los que compraron el libro en Venezuela, Colombia y Cuba fueron principalmente personas originariamente de Curazao.

En 1960 se publicaron partes de la obra traducida al neerlandés, repartidas en cuatro volúmenes de *Antilliaanse Cahiers* (véase De Pool, 1960) una revista editada por Cola Debrot (1900-1981). Cola Debrot, caracterizado con razón como pionero de la historiografía literaria antillana neerlandesa (Rutgers, 2007), menciona en varios estudios a De Pool y su obra. Debrot hace esto, entre otras cosas, en la introducción a una reedición de la versión holandesa publicada en 1985.² Observa que De Pool viajó mucho como

¹ Rodolfo Lenz publicó, *El papiamentu, la lengua criolla de Curazao*, en 1928 en Santiago de Chile.

² Tanto esta edición, como la versión de la obra en español de 1935, contiene esporádicamente palabras o frases en papiamentu. La ortografía de los fragmentos en papiamentu es anticuada, pues en aquellos días todavía no había una ortografía oficial de este idioma.

perteneciente a un grupo especial en América Latina y en el Caribe de ‘los exilados’, que se establecieron por diferentes motivos por corto o largo plazo en el extranjero, sintiendo con el tiempo una creciente falta a la tierra natal. Según Debrot, en el caso de De Pool este sentimiento de nostalgia, como residente de Panamá, resultó en el libro de recuerdos de Curazao, sin que decidiera establecerse de nuevo en la isla donde nació (1985, pp.4-5).

Más información de trasfondo sobre la obra y el autor

El marco para la gran variedad de temas que De Pool menciona y elabora, lo da en la breve introducción a los 74 capítulos en que consiste la obra, mencionando que por un lado se esforzó por proporcionar momentos de lectura agradables y por otro lado tenía en mente dar una buena imagen de la sociedad curazoleña de su juventud. Confiando en su memoria en combinación con datos y material fáctico obtenido de su círculo de amigos, De Pool no solo da una descripción de muchas costumbres y menciona a personas importantes del pasado y del presente para el desarrollo de Curazao, sino que también se refiere a eventos históricos importantes para la isla.³

En todos los capítulos resuena claramente la opinión propia de De Pool. En la última parte de la obra, ‘Dos palabras finales’, la juventud es elogiada como agente del progreso en Curazao. Luego, se alienta a los jóvenes a continuar los desarrollos positivos en todo tipo de áreas, causados no en lo más mínimo por los logros de los miembros de la familia De Pool, a los que dedica unas palabras especiales en el fragmento titulado ‘Curaçao y el apellido de Pool’. Se refiere a su padre Alejandro de Pool, quien en términos de versatilidad no era menos que su hijo. Según John de Pool, habría traído el hielo artificial, el teléfono y la primera iluminación eléctrica a Curazao alrededor de 1871, y también fue el fundador de un cuerpo de voluntarios y de la brigada de bomberos. De Pool también menciona en las páginas finales de su obra a su homónimo, John (Juan) de Pool, de quien dice que desarrolló un método de enseñanza como maestro en una de las escuelas más importantes de la época, el Colegio Santo Tomás [St. Thomas College]. Además, se presta atención a Jacobo Carlos de Pool, fundador de una empresa de alpagatas (originalmente iniciada en Venezuela); a una hermana suya, trabajando en la central telefónica y a otro hermano, trabajando como electricista y bacteriólogo. También se refiere a Juan Jacobo de Pool, un violoncelista importante, que se estableció en los Estados Unidos. Por estas últimas oraciones de la obra, el lector no sólo tiene una idea del círculo social a que los De Pool pertenecían. El lector también se puede formar una idea de las actividades importantes que tuvieron lugar para el desarrollo y prosperidad del Curazao de antaño (de los años ochenta y noventa del siglo XIX). De Pool, al

³ La reedición de 1985 tiene extensos registros con referencias a personas o cosas o acontecimientos históricos importantes, lo que facilita al lector clasificar la gran cantidad de temas que se discuten en la obra.

presentar sus recuerdos, a menudo se refiere a “familias civilizadas”, a las que parece contar explícitamente a los De Pool.

De Pool, al describir sus propias actividades multifacéticas y las de su familia tiende a la exageración, pero lo cierto es que los honores y distinciones que recibió durante su vida y póstumamente son numerosos.⁴

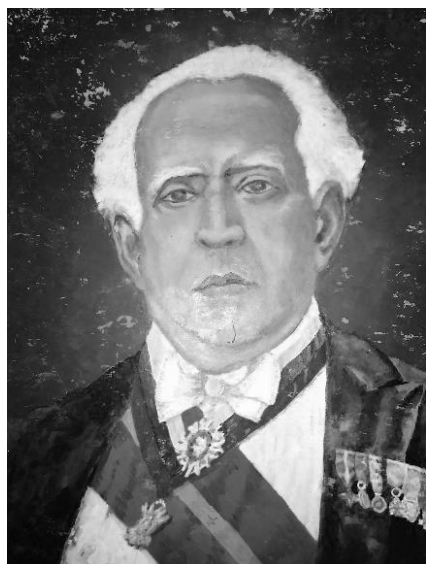


Figura 4. Un retrato de John de Pool con medallas. *La gran familia de Pool*, 2017.



Figura 5. Un dibujo de John de Pool por Delevante, insertado en la versión de la obra en neerlandés de 1985.



Figura 6 Una estampilla de 1990 de John de Pool. Stamp catalog: Stamp. John De Pool (1873-1947). (s.f.).

Los muchos temas de *Del Curaçao que se va*

La gran cantidad de temas que De Pool aborda en los diversos capítulos se puede dividir en diferentes categorías. Hay descripciones de costumbres y hábitos que están relacionados con diferentes ciclos de vida. Por ejemplo, se presta atención a la Primera Santa Comunión con una referencia al llamado (en papiamento) *pikidó di poenta* ‘los recolectores de migajas’ (todas las traducciones de fragmentos en papiamento que aparecen en este artículo se hicieron por la autora), invitados que iban de una fiesta de comunión a la otra y se entregaban exuberantemente a la comida y la bebida; compromisos y matrimonios; funerales; vigilia nocturna y ritual de muerte con una descripción de la vigilia nocturna con lamentos junto al ataúd, que podría continuar durante ocho días según el

⁴ “Bolivariano por excelencia, fue miembro honorífico de la Sociedad Bolivariana de Venezuela, Ecuador y Costa Rica, presidente de la Sociedad Bolivariana de Panamá, representante de la Sociedad Bolivariana de Caracas en Panamá y comendador en la Orden del Libertador en Venezuela. Por la suma de todas estas valiosas aportaciones a la historiografía hispanoamericana (y, en especial, a los estudios bolivarianos) John de Pool fue condecorado por los gobiernos, las universidades y las academias de numerosos países de América Latina (Colombia, Cuba, Haití, Panamá, Ecuador, Venezuela, etc.)” (*La gran familia de Pool*, 2017).

capítulo que describe los ritos de Ocho Días; la celebración de la Navidad; Santa Misa en la capilla; y el Zeu (un festival de la cosecha, con una referencia a las costumbres africanas después de cosechar el maíz).

Los capítulos sobre los hábitos alimenticios y de bebida del pasado forman la segunda categoría. Platos y bebidas favoritos que se mencionan son, por ejemplo, la comida local típico *funchi* ‘funche’ con *funchi cu giambo* ‘funche con oca’; y *funchi koe cadusji* ‘funche con cactus columnar’, *bonchi* ‘frijoles’; y sopas como *sopi di tamarein* ‘sopa de tamarindo’ y *sopi di guayaba* ‘sopa de guayaba’. Los capítulos sobre la manera de vestirse y sobre la moda de la época forman una tercera categoría, con atención especial al *lenzoe di cabez* ‘pañuelo para la cabeza’, que se dio forma tras un complicado proceso de plegar y endurecer con almidón, y que era en aquellos tiempos una prenda de vestir muy popular para muchas mujeres en la isla.

Otra categoría que se puede distinguir es la de educación. De Pool menciona a maestros importantes del pasado como el Dr. Miguel Antonio Baralt, originario de Maracaibo, quien trabajó por un período en el Colegio Concordia [Concordia College] y Maikel Römer, quien fue maestro en Venezuela durante mucho tiempo y después también era maestro en Curazao. De Pool menciona las escuelas privadas (con español o inglés como idioma de instrucción). En un capítulo separado, se presta atención al Colegio Santo Tomás (arriba mencionado), con estudiantes del mundo de habla hispana circundante, que vinieron a Curazao especialmente para seguir clases de buena calidad en Curazao. En el capítulo sobre el *Civilisadó* (1871-1875), un periódico casi completamente en papiamento, De Pool también menciona en el mismo capítulo que se fundó la *School di Civilisadó* ‘Escuela de Civilisadó’ para los pobres con el papiamento como idioma de instrucción.

La vida cultural se puede considerar como una quinta categoría, con referencias a la literatura local; la vida musical y músicos; y el mundo de los periódicos, revistas y libros locales. De Pool se enfoca en uno de sus capítulos en la importancia de Agustín Bethencourt, originario de las Islas Canarias, redactor de periódicos y semanarios, impresor y músico, que ha significado mucho para el desarrollo de la vida cultural de Curazao. También presta atención a Rebecca Cohen Henríquez, que fundó la asociación social *Entre Nous*.

Los acontecimientos históricos de importancia y las figuras históricas claves forman una sexta categoría. Hay palabras de elogio para personas importantes para el Curazao de antaño a los que dedica algunas palabras específicas en capítulos separados, por ejemplo al médico y ensayista David Ricardo Capriles; a Abraham Chumaceiro, abogado y ensayista; a Salomón (Lou) E. L. Maduro, negociante y filántropo; a Cornelis (Nene) B. Gorsira, que descubrió la presencia de fosfato de calcio en Curazao. Otras referencias se relacionan a obispos y gobernadores importantes (con la adición de De Pool “... que recuerdo”, evitando el posible reproche que excluyera a otras personas importantes, cuya mención era digna).

De Pool se refiere a dos curazoleños que jugaban un papel importante durante las guerras de Independencias en el mundo hispano circundante, Manuel Carel Piar (1782-1817) y Pedro Luis Brion (1782-1821). En uno de los capítulos hay una referencia a la estancia (en 1812) en Curazao del héroe de la libertad sudamericano Simón Bolívar (1783-1830), cuyas hermanas se quedaron en Curazao por un tiempo determinado. El interés de De Pool en el mundo de habla hispana que rodea a Curazao no solo resultó en fragmentos en *Del Curaçao que se va*, sobre Simón Bolívar, Manuel Carel Piar y Pedro Luis Brion.

También escribió trabajos o estudios separados: *La trilogía psíquica del Libertador* (Panamá, 1942), *Bolívar y los proyectos de gobierno del General Carlos Manuel Piar, conquistador de la Guayana* (Panamá, 1946), y *Alejandro Petion y la independencia de Colombia* (1941). Además, recopiló varios de sus artículos y conferencias en el volumen titulado *Ensayos de divulgación histórica* (Panamá, 1938) (*La gran familia de Pool*, 2017).

Una obra sorprendente de De Pool es *El primer chispazo de genio* (1935). Esta novela corta, publicada en una revista semanal como novela de entregas en 1944, era reeditada en 1988 con el título *Bolívar en Curazao* (1988, véase también Broek, 1989; 2020) Esta obra tiene como tema central, la influencia del curazoleño Mordechay Ricardo (1771-1842), abogado y después procurador en Curazao, en el desarrollo político de Simón Bolívar durante la breve estancia de éste en la isla.

Resulta que Simón Bolívar, tras su salida de Curazao, escribió el *Manifiesto de Cartagena* (2005[1812]) y se convirtió en el líder militar más importante en las guerras de liberación contra España. ¿Habría sido decisivo el papel de Mordechay Ricardo para las convicciones políticas de Simón Bolívar? Ese es el hilo rojo de la novela corta de De Pool.

De Pool y Panamá

En cuanto a la esgrima, John De Pool es considerado como:

el fundador en Panamá de este deporte y por seis años consecutivos impartió instrucción gratis a los aficionados que causaron tan grandes sorpresas en los Cuartos Juegos Deportivos Centroamericanos y del Caribe y que luego obtuvieron una espléndida victoria, de tres medallas de oro en esgrima en los Primeros Juegos Olímpicos Bolivarianos de Bogotá, en 1938. (*La gran familia de Pool*, 2017, para 20)

La versatilidad de De Pool también es evidente en la siguiente cita del artículo, “La memoria de un migrante en Panamá” (Pulido Ritter, 2019), cuando el escritor e investigador de este artículo, Luis Pulido Ritter, se refiere a De Pool en relación con Panamá: “(...) vivió entre nosotros, un caribeño, que fue periodista, historiador, fotógrafo, escritor, ensayista, comerciante, viajero, profesor de esgrima” (no page).

De Pool mismo dedica un capítulo *Del Curaçao que se va a Panamá*, comenzando de tal manera:

Panamá tuvo siempre para mí un atractivo especial. El solo nombre evocaba maravillosas relaciones que oía en boca de muchos que vivieron en el istmo, tanto en aquellos días de perpetuas revoluciones, como en la época posterior de la tentativa francesa de hacer el canal. Era como un país encantado en donde sucedían cosas extraordinarias, que se fijaron en mi imaginación de niño de ocho años. (1935, p. 219)

El tío de De Pool, que trabaja alrededor de 1860 en la ciudad de Colón en Panamá para los hermanos Maal, agentes en Curazao de la empresa francesa que tenía la licencia para construir el canal en Panamá, despierta el entusiasmo de su sobrino por Panamá con sus relatos fascinantes. Rose Mary Allen, en su estudio sobre la emigración de Curazao a Cuba a finales del siglo XIX y principios del XX, *Ta Cuba mi ke bai* (2001), presta brevemente atención en el primer capítulo a la emigración a Panamá desde Curazao (pp. 18-19). Se refiere a los anuncios de reclutamiento en periódicos locales con condiciones de trabajo favorables para los eventuales empleados para la construcción del Canal de Panamá alrededor de 1881. Al igual que De Pool, ella menciona en este contexto la casa comercial de los hermanos Maal. Ella se refiere a 46 empleados que en realidad viajaron a Panamá en ese momento para trabajar en la construcción del canal. Como razón para la migración, Rose Mary Allen menciona el hecho de que en esa época había una mala cosecha de maíz en Curazao. De Pool puede estar exagerando cuando indica que se trataba de un gran número de personas que viajaban a un lugar de progreso económico con cualquier tipo de barco disponible. Describe a estos ‘panameños’: “todo el que se embarcaba a Panamá mandaba hacer un flus de bayeta azul, que hasta hoy se conoce con el nombre de esta república. Un flus Panamá es como un pasaporte” (1935, p. 219). De Pool relaciona la salida a Panamá (y también a Costa Rica donde estaban construyendo un ferrocarril) a motivos económicos: “El 30% de derecho adicional de importación, creada por Venezuela sobre los efectos de los procedentes de las Antillas, arruinó a Curazao y obligó a su juventud buscarse la vida fuera de la isla” (1935, p. 219). A pesar del hecho de que muchos de Curazao tuvieron un contrato temporal para trabajar en Panamá, para ellos no siempre era posible regresar a su isla natal, debido a la quiebra de la compañía francesa en Panamá. Sin embargo, algunos sí logran obtener un beneficio económico en Panamá, seguido de un regreso a Curazao.⁵

De Pool concluye su capítulo sobre Panamá con elogios a este país, afirmando que se siente como en casa en su ‘nueva patria’. Sin embargo, no deja de indicar que Panamá solía, a diferencia de Curazao, haber pasado por tiempos tumultuosos en el pasado con, por ejemplo, la muerte en la horca en la ciudad de Colón de Pedro Prestán (1852-1885),

⁵ Rose Mary Allen encuentra otra llamada en un periódico en 1894, seis años después de que la compañía francesa quebrara, para reclutar trabajadores para Panamá (2001).

abogado liberal. Observa que en el momento en que escribe su texto sobre Panamá, este país es políticamente estable, con buenos hospitales, a los que muchos habitantes de Curazao se dirigen para recibir tratamiento médico.

Según Pulido Ritter (2019), De Pool llegó a Panamá por iniciativa de José Dolores Moscote (1897-1956), para que realizara fotografías en el *Diario de Panamá*. En *Del Curaçao que se va*, no hay referencias a este hecho. Cola Debrot menciona en su prefacio en cuanto a las actividades de De Pool en Panamá: “En Panamá, durante los últimos años de su vida, se mantuvo principalmente como propietario de un estudio donde se hacían clichés fotográficos para la prensa diaria” (1985, p. 3). La observación adicional de Luis Pulido Ritter, que De Pool estaba activo en Panamá para *El Diario de Panamá* como invitado de José Dolores Moscote (1879-1956) es información valiosa, que merece más investigación. Esto también se aplica al hecho de que De Pool, ya en el otoño de su vida, fue nombrado codirector del Boletín de la Sociedad Bolivariana de Panamá (Pulido Ritter, 2019).

La descripción de De Pool de la vida musical en Curazao en *Del Curaçao que se va*, permite a Pulido Ritter hacer una conexión con la vida musical en Panamá:

a partir de aquí comprendemos con verdadero asombro que no era nada casual que nuestros primeros concertistas panameños de alcance mundial, como el santanero Roque Cordero 1917 [– 2008]), tuvieran como maestros en la escuela de música a aquellos hijos de migrantes curazaleños (Alfredo de Saint Malo y Herbert de Castro) que se radicaron en Panamá. (Pulido Ritter, 2019, no page)

En el estudio *Honderd jaar muziekleven op Curaçao*, Boskaljon (1958) menciona el hecho de que el músico Alfredo de Saint Malo visitó a Curazao, el país natal de su padre, Rodolfo Bierman de Saint Malo, y dió un concierto en Curazao en 1935.

Este flujo migratorio de transportistas de cultura a Panamá puede correr paralelo o justo después del flujo de emigración que se crea por el inicio de la construcción del Canal de Panamá alrededor de 1881. Aún no está claro cómo se relacionan estos flujos migratorios entre sí. Sin embargo, sí está claro que Panamá tenía una fuerza atractiva para De Pool y muchos de sus compatriotas. En este contexto, Pulido Ritter se refiere al cementerio judío de Colón, con nombres como Cardoze, de Malo, de Castro, Henríquez y Maduro en las lápidas, como restos silenciosos de un flujo migratorio intensivo desde Curazao. (Pulido Ritter, 2019).

Finalmente

Este artículo es un primer paso para ilustrar que vale la pena echar un vistazo más de cerca a la vida de John De Pool, que ejerció una amplia gama de profesiones y tenía un talento inagotable. ¿Qué pinturas, esculturas, fotografías, publicaciones, todavía se pueden localizar y encontrar, especialmente en el mundo de habla hispana que rodea a Curazao? Además, merece la pena hacer un análisis más profundo desde diferentes perspectivas del *Curaçao que se va*. Páginas arrancadas de "El libro de mis Recuerdos"

haciendo más conexiones cruzadas con el mundo de habla hispana circundante. Como siguiente paso de la investigación merece la pena localizar y estudiar las otras obras de De Pool mencionadas en este artículo. No es inconcebible que la información obtenida también proporcione mucha más información valiosa sobre la historia migratoria de Curazao en relación con el Caribe de habla hispana.

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THE PROMOTION, DEMOTION AND EXCLUSION OF ARUBAN AND OTHER DUTCH CARIBBEAN MIGRANT LITERATURE

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Abstract

In this article, a framework is constructed of some situational factors that influence how migrant writers - based on their literary production and themes - are discussed and perceived on the Aruban and Dutch literary landscapes. On the basis of the CPBN lists and those of libraries' most borrowed books, it appears that there is a relatively low level of interest in migrant literature in both parts of the Kingdom. In this article, an attempt is made to explain this phenomenon in a historical context that has seen migrant literature, sometimes promoted, sometimes demoted and sometimes excluded.

Key terms: migrant literature, Aruba, the Netherlands, exclusion, cultural climate, self-restriction, denial

Introduction

The beginning of migrant literature coincides with the arrival of immigrants to a foreign country and the moment they start writing and publishing. Migrant literature is partly the historiography of the emigrant and includes stories about their country of origin and the future. A second characteristic of migrant literature is that it is written either in the language of the destination country or in the language of the country of birth. In order to get a clearer picture of the origins of written Aruban migrant discourse, it is important to provide a brief sketch of the literary life in Aruba, which dates from the poems written by Mosa Lampe in 1824. It is possible to discern at least seven cycles in the blossoming of literary life in Aruba:

1. From the 1830s onward into the 20th century, Aruban literary activity took place entirely on the island instead of also in the European Netherlands;

2. In the late 1930s to the 1950s, Aruban migrant literature emerged, which was mainly produced in English and Spanish;
3. In 1955 the first Aruban *migrantenpublications* in Papiamentu appeared, which until 1968 were followed by more literature in Papiamentu as well as in Spanish;
4. In the 1970s a new generation of writers emerged who mainly used Papiamentu as a literary language;
5. In the 1980s, during and after the period when Aruba attained current its semi-autonomous status within the Dutch Kingdom, works with emphasis on Aruban identity were published, including a revival of English-language migrant literature;
6. During the 1990s, Aruban-Dutch literature regained some prominence;
7. From 2000 onwards, there has been a literary opening-up, which has given rise to traces of mutual influence in terms of literary production in both parts of the Kingdom.

Due to the logic of Dutch colonization, a one-sided approach to cultural development typified the colonial period in the Dutch Caribbean. While a number of music schools were established from 1948 through 1988 by the Foundation for Cultural Cooperation Antilles (STICUSA), little attention was paid – except for the opening of two libraries in Oranjestad and San Nicolas – to literary life in Aruba. Education – in contrast to the situation on some of the English-speaking islands of the Caribbean – was entirely focused on Holland and no interest was in evidence for teaching about Aruban literature (Oostindie & Maduro, 1986; Williams, 2000; Cain, 2017).

The foundations of Aruban literature were laid in 1824, and since then, it has mainly been those who belong to the elite and middle classes of the island who have devoted themselves to literature, and their readers have also been largely limited to that circle. The demographics of the island shifted significantly after the arrival of the oil refinery and its force of immigrant labor from the rest of Caribbean region in 1924, but it was not until 1988 that the output of migrant literature from that source really gained steam. A clear dichotomy has emerged between the Dutch Caribbean, where local literature has historically received little attention in the media and the schools, and the English-speaking islands, where English literature from the Caribbean itself has a much more prominent place.

The literary output of migrants to Aruba and from Aruba to Europe and the U.S.

Migration plays a very important role in Caribbean societies. Besides massive internal migration from one island to another, of all of the regions of the world, the Caribbean has proportionally the largest population that has emigrated to the colonial metropolis. This trend that has only accelerated in recent years, with one million Puerto Ricans emigrating to the U.S. since 2017, effectively reducing that island's population by 25%.

The first major wave of Caribbean emigration to Europe started immediately after the Second World War. Over the past two decades, emigrants from the Caribbean have increasingly settled in the U.S. For example, it is no longer in London where most Anglophone Caribbean writers' work is published, but instead in New York. In the mid-1970s a transition was taking place on Aruba, whereby people from the European Netherlands were being replaced by people from the Dutch Caribbean in government and the public services, as well as in other sectors, such as finance, education, the justice system aviation, and police.

Meanwhile, the mainly English-speaking African descended immigrants who arrived in Aruba after 1924 as part of the industrial labor force at the oil refinery found themselves in lower skilled positions and living a relatively isolated life in the village of San Nicolas. This delayed their integration into Aruban life until the mid-1970s, as formerly exclusively English-speaking Caribbean immigrant children started speaking Papiamentu and establishing friendships with other Aruban children. However, because of the systemic socio-economic marginalization of their English speaking parents in terms of income, education, work, housing and career possibilities, their opportunities have been limited relative to those of other Arubans up until the present day.

In Aruba, there are a few who feel, think and position themselves as a migrant writer. Most are of the second or third generation born on the island, and based on the *ius soli* rule, they can consider themselves to be fully Aruban. This also applies to writers one of whose parents comes from the other islands of the former Netherlands Antilles (Curaçao, Bonaire, St. Maarten, St. Eustasius and Saba). This can mainly be explained by their paths to socialization and connection with the island, which have made them neglect their original identities. Nor do they write much about what they have gone through as members of immigrant families. It is remarkable that migrant authors on Aruba have found so little in common with Aruban and other migrant authors in Holland. Nevertheless, of the 53 book publications published in Aruba from 1986 to 2000, 25 (47%) can be attributed to migrant authors. In the period that followed from 2001 to 2015, 93 book titles –an average literary production of 6.6 books per year – found their way into bookstores. Of these, the proportion of migrant writers - including those from families where one of their parents was born on the other islands of the former Netherlands Antilles - was about 48% (Broek, 2000; Nicolaas 2008, 2012a, 2012b; Rutgers, 2016; Vaessens, 2013).

In migrant literature, the over-riding themes are often economic challenges (poverty, unemployment, etc.) in the country of origin, and social challenges (integration, discrimination, acceptance, etc.) in the destination country. Since the 20th century, migrants have frequently written about specific problems such as uprootedness, homesickness and loneliness, with the themes of racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism becoming ever more salient since the 1970s. In Britain for example, the harsh confrontation between police officers and Caribbean migrants in neighborhoods such as Brixton

in London was the focus of Zadie Smith's novel *White teeth* (2000). Aruban migrant authors in Holland and elsewhere seem to impose a form of self-censorship on themselves in order to avoid writing about the experiences to which they are exposed every day, such as discrimination in the workplace, exclusion, ethnic profiling, crime, and drug abuse. Again, this does not seem to be the case for authors from the Anglophone Caribbean, such as Marlon James, whose Booker Prize winning novel *A brief history of seven killings* appeared in 2014. So far, our authors in both parts of the Kingdom have too often been looking back into the past, rather than confronting the challenges of the present and shaping better futures for ourselves, our societies and our planet.

When speaking of migrant literature in the European Netherlands, various waves of migration need to be considered. During the 1940s and 1950s, most migrant workers in Holland came from southern Europe, whereas during the 1960s, most came from Turkey and Morocco. As the second and third generation of this latter wave came of age, many literary talents emerged, including Hafid Bouazza (1970-2021), Abdelkader Benali and Naima El Bezas. Other groups of migrants have arrived in Holland as refugees, fleeing dictatorial regimes and wars in South America in the 1970s, in Africa in the 1980s, and the Middle East and the rest of Asia in the 1990s. Prominent writers belonging to these groups include Moses Isigawa (Uganda), Kader Abdolah (Iran) and Yasmine Allas (Somalia).

Beside the aforementioned waves of migrants from outside of the former Dutch empire, there have also been waves from within. After the Second World War, significant numbers of migrants arrived in the European Netherlands from Indonesia (the former Dutch East Indies), Suriname, and the Netherlands Antilles (including Aruba). After 1970, a second wave of migrants from Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles followed. Of the Aruban writers living in the Netherlands, Denis Henriquez, Giselle Ecury, Clyde Lo-A-Njoe, Joan Leslie, Olga Orman (1943-2021), Irma Grovell and Quito Nicolaas are the best known.

Aruban and Antillean migrant writers in Holland

For Arubans and Antilleans, the late 1950s and early 1960s marked the beginning of a new wave of emigration to the European Netherlands. As far back as the 1930s, however, the first of the creative works written by Antillean authors in Holland had rolled off the presses. The novella *Mijn zuster de negerin* [My sister the Negro] was published in 1935 by the Bonairean writer Cola Debrot, in which the focus was on the contrast between white and black and between rich and poor. For the Dutch public at the time, these topics were a threat to the collective national ego, and it was a taboo to bring up such subjects. This novella was translated into Papiamentu as *Mi negrita, mi ruman* in 2009 as part of the 'Curaçao reads' island-wide reading promotion campaign. By that time, Debrot's novella had already been translated into English and Spanish.

Elsewhere in the Caribbean, in the 1920s and 1930s new literary movements such as *Negritude* (and later, *Antilianité*) shifted the gaze toward non-European descended people and a critique of the European descended colonial elites. Aside from Debrot's work, however, we see exactly the opposite happening in the work of the most widely known authors from the Dutch Caribbean at the time, such as the literary production of Boeli van Leeuwen in the 1950s and later that of Tip Marugg in the 1980s, where the focus is instead on the position of a person raced as white as an outsider in a society raced as black. *Negritude* and *Antilianité* seem not to have taken root in Curaçao until the late 1960s. In the 1970s, the prolific and successful Holland-based Curaçaoan writer Frank Martinus Arion (1936-2015) entered the spotlight. Despite the fact that Debrot is often excluded from the 'big three' Antillean writers of this era (Martinus Arion, van Leeuwen and Marugg), his work, together with that of Surinamese novelist Albert Helman introduced the people of the European Netherlands of the 1930s to the lived realities of their colonized subjects in other parts of the Kingdom.

The rise of a new generation of Aruban migrant writers in Holland

From the 1960s onward Aruban migrants have had a growing presence in the European Netherlands, especially as workers and students, with writers left behind in the colony often having less access to higher formal education than those who emigrated to Holland. Migrant literature is read, but not by everyone. Many of the potential readers in the Caribbean don't have the opportunity to read or buy a book, and their home environment is often not designed for stimulating reading. While Frank Martinus Arion made Caribbean-Dutch literature very popular for a time, publishing in Dutch has since become less common among post-modern writers.

Aruban and other Antillean writers constantly experience a conflict: on the one hand they want to contribute to the literature written in Papiamentu, but they also want to break out of their isolation within the Caribbean region. Some Aruban writers first opted for writing in Dutch to extend their readership from the Papiamentu-speaking islands in the Caribbean to the larger audiences in Holland, Belgium, and Suriname. An ever-greater number can be expected to turn to publishing in English to reach an even wider audience.

Since the publication in 1978 of the youth-novel *De witte pest* [The white pest] by Angela Matthews, Aruban Dutch-language migrant literature has established its niche. This process was encouraged by the Curaçaoan writers E. Zielinski who made his debut with *De engelenbron* [The well of angels] (2003), followed by Myra Römer with *De verhalen van Fyta* [Fyta's stories] (2005). There have been a few writers such as Jacques Thönnissen, who live both in Holland and on Aruba and devote themselves to writing in the Dutch language, but most of the others live in the European Netherlands. A partial survey of some of the most prominent and promising Aruban migrant writers in the period from the 1990s to the present can be found below.

Denis Henriquez

It was in the 1990s that the Aruban writers Denis Henriquez and Jacques Thönissen took the Dutch-speaking reader market by storm. Henriquez published four novels: *Zuidstraat* (1992); *Delft blues* (1995), *The summer of Alejandro Bulos* (1999) and *The death of Rebecca Lopez Ikario* (2016). His debut novel *Zuidstraat* is about a forbidden love affair between a Portuguese man named Joao and an Aruban beauty named Susana. The story takes place in the 1950s in Zuidstraat, a short street in Oranjestad where the police station is situated. Henriquez paints a vivid picture of life on Zuidstraat, with all its nationalities, ages and religions, perhaps with a note of the nostalgia that is often found in migrant literature. *Delft Blues* is about a student named Bernardo who studies in Leiden and looks at the world through his window. His girlfriend was orphaned by the *shoah* in World War II and was given the new name Katinka Roos by her foster parents who think that if she is told the truth, she will be devastated. She leaves for Israel to discover her roots, in a quest for understanding her identity that echoes themes characteristic of migrant literature. In *The Summer of Alejandro Bulos* the author indirectly focuses on the typical migrant literature topic of the contrast between here and there, since the story is partly set in Italy, Amsterdam and Aruba. *Zuidstraat*, *Delft Blues*, and *The Summer of Alejandro Bulos* seems to form a trilogy, since in all three books the character of Alejandro Bulos surfaces in one way or another.

Giselle Ecury

As the daughter of an Aruban father and a Dutch mother, Giselle Ecury grew up in the richness of two different cultures, which she still remembers with warm feelings. As enriching as it was for Ecury, so confusing is it for Carmen Gonzales, the main character in Ecury's 2005 debut novel *Erfdeel* [Inheritance], in which Carmen spends her first years on one of the islands of the Caribbean before leaving for Holland with her family. In the European Netherlands they build a new life, in which the past is kept silent. Her father does not give an answer to her question as to why he had just left for good. But it soon becomes clear to the reader that the father himself could not get used to the contradictions which he had hoped would merge into one country, one life. The cold polders and the sultry rhythms could not be united in the marriage of Carmen's parents. This novel was followed by two more: *Stained glass* (2009) and *The red apple* (2013).

Joan Leslie

Joan Leslie has thus far published two collections of short stories in Dutch, *De bloeiende flamboyant* (2007) and *Compa Nanzi's capriolen* (2011). The first is a collection full of humorous asides woven into the stories. The second is an account of the cunning schemes of the West African trickster Anansi for adults. Unlike her short stories in Papiamentu, which have more depth, these two publications represent a different genre. In any case she is a writer with a keen eye for detail and a mastery of dialogue.

Rosa Arrendell

Published in Dutch in 2002, Rosa Arrendell's autobiographic fictional work *Dottie, de kleindochter van een oude slavin* [Dottie, the granddaughter of an old slave] gives a good picture of daily life in years past in San Nicolas, the home village of most of the African descended migrant refinery workers on Aruba. It is the first book in Aruban literature that deals with the descendants of enslaved people in San Nicolas, about the English lexifier creole language used there, about how the children learned to bear responsibility at a young age, about the women who worked as maids in the American refinery managers' enclave of The Colony, and about how they spent their free time at The Golden Rock Club. This book certainly has a great significance because of its historical character.

Irma Grovell

Irma Grovell made her debut in 2008 with her collection of stories titled, *Kralen uit de Cariben* [Caribbean Beads] about the district around the Emmanuel Chapel in San Nicolas which is enclosed by the following streets: Weg Rooi Hundo, Diamantbergstraat, and Weg Fontein. As an Aruban reader, it is always nice to recognize certain scenes or historical moments in the book's twenty-one short stories, ranging in length from just a single page to seven pages. In general, the stories are well constructed and that is especially true for the techniques used, such as the switch in several stories from the past to the present. This collection of stories was followed by *Shiny shoes* (2014) and then *Dreams of Holland* (2015) about the practices used to recruit young women for training as nurses in the 1960s. Her latest novel *Be happy* (2018) is about the imaginary understandings of a young girl about the lives of her idols, such as Martin Luther King.

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What's next?

The future of Aruban migrant literary production in the European Netherlands is difficult to predict. It can be said that after a number of regionally focused waves of fascination, first with South American, Antillean and Surinamese literature in the 1970s, then with African and Asian literature in the 1980s, followed by Moroccan and Turkish literature in the 1990s, there has been a decline in interest in migrant literature in Holland. Since the events of September 11, 2001, the political and related cultural climate in Western Europe has become more inward-looking and closed off to anything that is perceived to come from 'outside'. A kind of poisonous nationalism has arisen that is accompanied by fear of the loss of 'one's own' that is fuelled opportunistic political sloganeering and by sensationalist social media platforms. At the government level, subsidies for cultural activities and projects have been abolished, and radio programs and magazines for migrants have disappeared. There has been an alarming shift toward the fascist right in politics, with an increased following not only among the working classes, but also among intellectuals. While the official rhetoric still sometimes gives

the impression of diversity and inclusion, it masks an ugly tendency toward imposed conformity and exclusion.

Most migrant authors do not want to be placed in a separate box with a label ‘migrant literature’ on it. They believe in the caliber of their own work and they all want to be eligible to compete for the most prestigious literary prizes. It was in 1989 that for the first time a novel by an Antillean writer was nominated for the AKO literature prize, namely: *De morgen loeit weer aan* [Morning dawns again] (1988) by Tip Marugg. In 2005, the novel *White love* by Wanda Reisel, which takes place on Curaçao, was also on the list of nominated books. So far, generation-2000 writers such as Erich Zielinsky, Eric de Brabander, Ronny Lobo, Chesley Rach, Clyde Lo Njoe and Denis Henriquez, all of whom write in Dutch, have still not succeeded in matching the successes of F. M. Arion, B. van Leeuwen and T. Marugg.

There are numerous factors that play a role in this. For example, during the primary phase of Aruban literary production, poetry was the most prominent genre and Papiamentu the language of choice, with the motif and structure of their work focused on a small community. The poems and novels that appear at that time mainly concern themselves with inner emotional life, instead of with social or more global themes. Moreover, there has been an increasing interest in non-fiction writing with the history and culture of the island as a theme. Such work includes *Ons eilandje* (1992) and *Perseverancia* (2002) by Laura Wernet, *E Schutter* (2010) by M. Christiaans, *Bart Bremo* (2004) by T. Kock, *Trabou a habri na Cuba* (2012) by J. M. S. Donata, *The torpedo incident at Eagle Beach* (2012) and other works about World War II by D. Kock, *Nos cultura* (2014) by E. Rosenstand, *The history of Aruba until 1816* (2018) by A. Martis, *Colonial myths* (2018) by L. Alofs, and *Civilization, conversion and patronage* (2019) by R. Donk.

If one uses the yearly CPBN list of top-100 Dutch-language novels in the period from 2009 through 2020 as a yardstick, then a picture emerges of exclusion of migrant writers. On this list one can only find *Interpreter of Java (no. 2)* by Alfred Birney ranked at number 2 in 2017, and the novel *Be invisible* by Murat Isik ranked at number 1 in 2018 and at number 6 in 2019. There is no trace of the Aruban or other Antillean authors. On the list of the books most borrowed from the libraries, we only find *Bon Bini Beach* by Suzanne Vermeer at number 66 in 2015 and *Destination Bonaire* by Linda van Rijn at number 54 in 2019. Both are adventure novels set on the island of Bonaire and were good for about 15,000 to 20,000 loans. In the authoritative *History of modern Dutch literature* (Vaessens, 2013) one does not encounter any discussion about Dutch Caribbean authors. While something is said about migrant literature from the Arab world, Caribbean authors such as Albert Helman, Tip Marug, F.M. Arion and C. Debrot are not even mentioned. The conclusion is obvious.

At universities, meagre attention is given to Dutch-language migrant literature, and then only if it is published by a ‘recognized’ publisher. In secondary schools in the new

millennium, book titles by migrant authors are no longer placed on the literature list for the final examinations. A content analysis undertaken by T. Wind in 2017 revealed that Caribbean-Dutch literature does not even appear in the most commonly used literature textbooks. This also applies to the most commonly used digital reference works for literature lessons in the most academically oriented HAVO and VWO secondary education tracks. The work of F. M. Arion was referred to in only one source. This implies that we will be dealing with successive generations of Dutch people who have no meaningful exposure or connection to the islands, to the Caribbean residents of the Netherlands or to their literature. It therefore comes as no surprise that the general readership is not inclined to read a novel by an African, Asian or Caribbean author.

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GENERATIONAL GUILT IN COLA DEBROT'S *MY BLACK SISTER*

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Abstract

This essay examines Cola Debrot's novella, *My Sister the Negro*, or *My Black Sister*, in the context of Critical Race Theory and Charles Mills' idea of a Racial Contract. I posit that both characters in the book, the father as plantation owner and his son who inherits the plantation, participate in a racist system supported by the racial contract governing the island. Debrot as author provides an opening for the son to break the contract, but he does not do so. Instead, his protagonist "consents to whiteness," meaning that he accepts "all the privileges of whiteness with concomitant complicity in the system of white supremacy; it solidifies his position as signatory to the racial contract" (Mills, 1997 p. 107).

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Key terms: Critical Race Theory, racial contract, guilt, whiteness, Cola Debrot

Cola Debrot's 1935 novella first appeared in *Forum* a Dutch journal in 1934, as *Mijn zuster de negerin* (lit. *My sister the negro*) rendered into English as *My black sister* in the 2007 translation by Rojer & Aimone). While initially not well received, with reviewers denouncing the book (Arbino, 2013, p. 72), it is now considered a canonical Dutch-Antillean novel. Daniel Arbino states that Debrot believed it was unpopular because people on the island did not want to admit to interracial incestuous relations. However, a more plausible explanation offered by Aart Broek suggests that because it was written in Dutch and published in the Netherlands, his audience was the very plantocracy that he critiqued.

The story centers mostly on the thoughts of Frits Ruprecht who has returned to the island of his birth, possibly Curaçao although it is not stated. The narrative takes place in one day and an evening. Frits Ruprecht has returned from Europe at the death of his

father to inherit the plantation and as sole heir to his father's estate, he expects to "always be rich now" (Debrot, 2007 p. 17). Uppermost in his mind though is an obsession with blacks on the island and with one woman in particular, a childhood playmate that he wants to seduce, even though he suspects she is his father's child and his sister. It is possible as some critics suggest that he has repressed this unwanted knowledge (see Van Neck-Yoder 2001; López, 2001). In that case, he makes a Freudian slip when he says, "All I want is my black sister. No more empty chatter (referring to time spent with French women). Just black, and tender" (Debrot, 2007, p. 20). His father's act of miscegenation and Frits's incestuous desire form the crux of Debrot's critique of the plantation system.

Generational guilt exists for both father and son. Alexander Ruprecht the father has impregnated a black woman who dies in childbirth. Her daughter, whom Alexander does not claim as his, Maria, is the object of the son Frits' desire. The sins of the father are not visited upon the son unless the son perpetuates the sins of his father. However, generational guilt also results from supporting a system which is unjust and continuing to derive benefits from the corrupt system. Frits has the opportunity to dismantle the decaying plantation that he inherits. Deonne Minto¹ argues that "the final scene of the narrative disrupts the usual terms of the colonial racial contract and opens up a space in which the colonized may acquire agency and gain a voice" (2006, p. 75).

Whether or not the colonized finds agency or her voice is left unclear in the novella, because in the final scene Maria remains silent. What is clear, however, is that Frits "consents to whiteness" (Mills, 1997, p. 77); that is, he conforms to the racial contract. The late philosopher Charles Mills' hypothesis clarifies in the Caribbean what Critical Race Theory (CRT) reveals in the United States. Basically, the racial contract favors whites over non-whites. Moreover, it is an implicit agreement among whites that they support it. The racial contract enables whites to create a world in their image, support laws in their interest, and build and support an economic structure based on the racial exploitation of others. This racial contract produces "a moral psychology (not just in whites but sometimes in nonwhites also) skewed consciously or unconsciously toward privileging them, taking the status quo of differential racial entitlement as normatively legitimate, and not to be investigated further" (Mills, 1997, p.40, also quoted in Minto, 2006, p. 76).

A significant aspect of CRT is the introduction of intersectionality, a term coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw that allows for the interrogation of not just race but gender as well as other forms of oppression that intersect with race. CRT recognizes race as a social construct with no biological basis, yet the construct is used to create institutional/ systemic racism to promote and sustain power structures. In the Antilles the colonial gov-

¹ I am deeply indebted to Minto's (2006) essay, *Breaking through the Silences*, for its use of the concept 'racial contract.'

ernment instituted laws as well as customs that advantaged some people while disadvantaging others. In the United States as well as in the Caribbean these systems favor whites. White people inherit advantage and privilege over nonwhites. White privilege affords advantage in jobs, housing, education, finances, personal relationships, marriage. Because Frits is white, he inherits power and privilege in addition to his family's plantation. Male privilege intersects with his other advantages in a patriarchal society. His white and male privilege and his investment in whiteness cause him to value the woman he desires because of her Eurocentric features. He claims Maria's skin is very dark. "She was of a deep blackness" (Debrot, 2007, p. 34) but she was special because "the shape of her skull, her nose, her lips, were like those of a white person, with nothing negroid" (p. 34). He apparently is fixated on black women and makes clear that Maria is not a mulatto but "a full-blooded black woman" (p. 34), an ironic statement because she is bi-racial.

Frits announces to Karel his childhood friend, "I will have a black woman" (Debrot, 2007, p. 26). His friend reveals that he could have as many as he liked indicating that sexual privilege is part of the racial contract. A plantation system with labor codified by racial contract creates bodies with power and those without. Frits thinks of Maria as a body without power. He reveals this as she prepares his meal. "It gave him a safe feeling, caressing almost, that the housekeeper moved around him continually, like a cat that one hardly notices ..." (p. 35). He is aware that she is around him but refuses to look at her, although he intends to seduce her.

In the darkened house and knowing, even if only subconsciously, that she is his sister he enters Maria's bedroom. Alfred López argues in "Whiteness and the Colonial Unconscious" that the suppression of unwanted knowledge associated with colonialism and slavery is not uncommon. Inside the room once again Frits questions "whether Maria really were his sister" (Debrot, 2007, p. 40). His intoxication with her body denies what he knows is true. Maria does not resist him, which suggests Frantz Fanon's psychological theory of an inferiority complex that results from oppression. In *Black Skin, White Masks* he analyzes Mayotte Capécia's book, *Je suis Martiniquaise*: [where the character states] "I should have liked to be married but to a white man. But a woman of color is never altogether respectable in a white man's eyes" (Capécia, cited in Fanon, 1967, p. 42). Fanon writes, "Mayotte loves a white man to whom she submits in everything," (Fanon, 1967, p. 42) an indication of inferiority not unlike that moral psychological state posited in the racial contract.

Maria seems willing to become Frits' lover, embracing him and saying, "Do you know, Frits, how you always stayed in my memory?" (Debrot, 2007, p. 41) He embraces her, and she allows her body to relax. Then comes a loud knocking at the door to interrupt his plans. He wants to know if Maria has another man. When she assures him that she does not, he exits her room and enters what Hilda Van Neck-Yoder iden-

tifies as a liminal space with Wancho the grounds keeper and Maria's maternal grandfather. Frits is irate that he should be intruded upon and moves to eject Wancho from the threshold of the doorway. But it is here on the threshold that what he has wanted to deny is revealed. Wancho shouts out, "Maria is your father's daughter!" (Debrot, 2007, p. 42). In this space at the threshold of the door Van Neck-Yoder observes that master and servant converse as equals. Both conspire to keep Maria ignorant of her parentage. Her grandfather says, "Better Maria not know anything about this" (p. 42). Maria overhears what her grandfather has said. With the knowledge of her parentage, she enters the liminal space occupied by the two men. But the meaning of her knowledge is unclear.

Van Neck-Yoder states that "At the moment that Maria hears the grandfather's scream and becomes the third listener, the narrative becomes hers," (2001, p. 25); her journey and her rite of passage. Yet after knowing her father's identity, Maria does not speak. The reader can only imagine what she will do with the knowledge. Maria is a motherless daughter. Like generational guilt, generational wisdom passes from parent to child. Maria is bereft of maternal wisdom. She does not know her mother's story. She has received a normal school education and worked in the city as a third-grade teacher. Why she has quit her job and returned to the plantation to become a housekeeper is left to the reader's speculation. Frits tells himself that she became ill in the city. His rationale for her leaving a profession and returning to menial labor is rife with CRT points for understanding the intersections of race and gender oppression. Frits reasons:

When a young black man became a schoolteacher, it was clear what drove him, what he eyed: he wants higher up, no longer to be a servant. But a young woman like Maria, on the other hand, became a teacher because she wanted to comply with the demands made on her, nothing more ... (Debrot, 2007, p. 38).

Maria is thought to be a person of little ambition with no desire to move beyond a servant's station in life, clearly not because she is black but, in this instance, because she is woman.

In keeping with the racial contract, Maria will not be allowed to inherit an equal share of the plantation or any money from the estate along with her half-brother. The novella's ending is ambiguous. Frits upon reentering her room, recognizes that she is now enlightened. He left her in a dark room. When he returns the light is on. Frits tries to console her by rocking her back and forth. However, she is unresponsive, and she does not speak. Instead "The tears rolled slowly from her eyes . . ." (Debrot, 2007, p. 44). We do not know the meaning of her tears.

Olga Rojer and Joseph Aimone in their introduction to the 2007 edition of the novella suggest that Debrot is trying to bridge the gap between blacks and whites, and that he succeeds because Maria and Frits will live together as brother and sister. The taboo against incest stops his sexual advances toward Maria. They quote a passage from Ineke Phaf:

This living together, to be sure, costs him any amount of effort, but he consciously chooses it, and thereby opens new paths for the centuries-old plantation tradition of the Caribbean region. The theme of black woman as the ‘natural lover of the white man is attacked directly by Debrot as the crucial point that best characterizes discriminatory social relationships in the Caribbean context. (Rojer & Aimone, 2007, p. 8)

But we do not know that they will live together as brother and sister. There is nothing in the text to substantiate this statement. In fact, earlier in the narrative Frits has said, “For notwithstanding all expectation of an outrageous adventure, he knew all too well that he would not stay here long and that this short sojourn would be limited to conferences with the old Notary” (Debrot, 2007, p. 34). Furthermore, when Frits returns to Maria’s room, we do not know his intent. He says, “Come what may come” (p. 43) before entering her room. Maria’s knowledge is what stops him. She is no longer responsive to him. What might have transpired if Maria had been kept ignorant? There is a chance that Frits Ruprecht would have disregarded the incest taboo. We can only speculate because the narrative ends without any clear indication of what is to come. Debrot’s final words, “Sad life was to be, but it became filled with a richness of meaning it lacked elsewhere. And this is the only thing of which one cannot rob the children of this earth” (2007, p. 44) obscure meaning. What in fact is the rich meaning to which he refers? What is this thing that cannot be robbed? Could it be love? And if it is, we have no way of knowing if it is familial. Perhaps the ending should read: “The fathers have eaten a sour grape, and the children’s teeth are set on edge” from Jeremiah 31:29 (Bible Hub, 2004).

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LIVING WITHIN MY SKIN: IDENTITY AT THE END OF A TUNNEL IN ASTRID ROEMER'S "THE INHERITANCE OF MY FATHER"

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Abstract

This article explores the identity crisis and coming of age story of a bi-racial girl who navigates several existential journeys at once in Astrid Roemer's "The Inheritance of My Father: A Story for Listening.". The analysis is a close reading that focuses on the textual silences and voids that litter the girl's familial history and symbolize the processes of disremembering Caribbean histories, to the detriment of its peoples. The main characters are interpreted as symbols for the triad: empire, colonized subject, and post-colonial locus. The protagonist's need for engagement with diasporic communities in the metropolis, as well as physical contact with the country of origin are offered as solutions to the protagonist's identity and cultural crisis.

Key terms: identity crisis, diaspora, discrimination, familial and colonial history, silences and voids, symbols

The short story "The Inheritance of My Father: A Story for Listening," by the Afro-Surinamese author, Astrid Roemer, is an identity crisis and exploration tale as well as a coming of age story. In it, a nameless, biracial, twelve-year-old girl, daughter of a White Dutch mother and an Afro-Caribbean father, navigates a physical and emotional journey back to her father's native Suriname, as well as an existential journey through the exploration of the diasporic Caribbean experience. Like her characters – the father and the daughter – Roemer has lived an Afro-Caribbean diasporic experience in the European Netherlands. Through her characters, she explores the prejudice and social rejection

suffered by first and second-generation Caribbean people of color when they relocate into the space that had once been the seat of the empire that colonized them.

Astrid Roemer was born in Paramaribo, the capital of Suriname in 1947. Between 1966 and 1974, she traveled back and forth between Suriname and the Netherlands. A prolific writer of poetry, novels, and drama, she published her first book of poetry *Sasa: Mijn actuele zijn* (Sasa: My actual being) in 1970, and her first novel *Neem mij terug Suriname* (Take me back Suriname) in 1974. Roemer settled permanently in the European Netherlands in 1975. Her big breakthrough novel in Holland was *Over de gekte van een vrouw* (On the madness of a woman) published in 1982. The novel explores female identity and oppression and established Roemer as a feminist writer. She published her autobiography, *Zolang ik leef ben ik niet dood* (As long as I'm living I'm not dead) in 2004 and returned to Suriname in 2006, where she remained until 2009.

In 2016 Roemer received the P.C. Hooft Award, the Dutch language literary lifetime achievement award. In 2021, she received the *Prijs der Nederlandse Letteren*, the most prestigious literary award in the Dutch-speaking world. The jury from the *Prijs der Nederlandse Letteren voor Surinaamse auteur* who awarded her the prize praised Roemer for her literary ability to connect “recent national history, such as corruption, tension, guilt, colonization, and decolonization, with small history, the story on a human scale” (NOSnl-Nieuws, 2021).

Roemer's short story, “The Inheritance of My Father: A Story for Listening,” was translated from Dutch into English by Hilda van Neck-Yoder and it was first published in *Ancestral House: The Black Short Story in the Americas and Europe* (1995) and later in *The Oxford Book of Caribbean Short Stories* (1999, 2001). Neck-Yoder's translation, thankfully, allows readers like me – from the English and Spanish-speaking Caribbean – access to literature from the Netherlands Antilles, often written in Dutch or Papiamentu, which many of us do not read.

Usually, “[t]he literature of the Dutch islands,” like the literature of other Caribbean loci, explores the “Caribbean topoi of history, race, identity and culture” as well as the tensions that existed “between colonizers and colonized” (Rojer & Aimone, 2007, p. 3) and the tensions that continue to exist between their descendants. Traditionally, “this literature is...rooted in the daily life of the Dutch Caribbean ... reflect[ing] the mixed culture, [as] a multicultural, multiracial and multilingual mosaic” (Rojer & Aimone, 2007, p. 3). Roemer's contemporary story goes beyond this construction, as if to show that the harmful legacy imposed on the colonies' inhabitants did not remain encapsulated there, in the faraway exotic, Caribbean locus. Instead, her story shows that the very same harmful colonial legacy is still prevalent in the ‘motherland,’ the ex-empire, in the late 20th century, where many ex-colonial subjects have relocated in search of employment.

Via a close reading, I shall analyze two elements in the story: first, the textual silences or voids in the narrative and the child protagonist's discoveries about her family history

as a symbol for disremembered colonial and Caribbean histories; and secondly, the symbolic representation of lingering colonial socio-cultural attitudes toward race as enacted by the adult characters. Also, since the story's intratextual spaces are never openly named due to the prevalence of voids and silences in the narrative, I shall interpret the European/Caribbean dyad as it relates to Astrid Roemer's life experiences. Therefore, I shall interpret the Caribbean space and diaspora represented in the story as Surinamese – due to Roemer's national origin – and the European community in which the narrator lives as the European Netherlands – due to Roemer's immigration and long-term settlement in this community. My interpretation does not mean that these are the spaces originally intended by the author when she wrote the story. I suspect that one reason why the narrative loci are ambiguous is so that the experiences represented in the story will resonate with all Caribbean diasporic readers, as they have done with me.

Roemer's story is full of silences and textual voids. This is because the narrator is a twelve-year-old child who lacks familial information, context, and life experience. When the story begins, the unhappy girl lives with a Dutch mother and an Afro-Surinamese father in what the reader surmises is The Netherlands, due to the author's experiences, for this information is never stated in the text. The story starts with a significant presence – the Afro-Surinamese's grandmother's photo on the TV – and an absence, the biracial family's distance from this grandmother's home. The grandmother's presence is felt through her ever-present image, the monthly letters to the girl's parents with beautiful stamps for the girl's album, and a regular phone call from her parents to the older woman. Her absence is accentuated in terms of time and money, for she lives nine hours (by plane) and 3,000 guilders (1,361 euros) away. Due to these constraints of distance and finance, neither woman – grandmother nor granddaughter – have ever met. Moreover, although the girl is unaware, her grandmother's absence and their lack of loving interaction affect her profoundly.

Something that causes a significant source of unhappiness in the girl protagonist's life is her perception of the strained relationship between her parents. Although she does not understand their interactions, she perceives them and intuits that something is amiss. Unfortunately, like most children, she internalizes their unhappiness and blames herself for the familial dysfunction. Since the narration is first person, via the girl, the reader never glimpses factual information about the parents' life stories. We never learn where or how they met, when and why they married, or whether they still love each other.

The girl seems to misunderstand the parental arguments at the story's beginning. To the reader, these appear to be about the grandmother's and father's desire to take the girl to Suriname for the grandmother's birthday party. Since she has never met her grandchild, she fears dying without ever meeting her. The father tells the girl, "[m]y mother is going to be eighty years old this summer and she especially wants to see you," however his words do not quite make sense to her (Roemer, 2001, p. 349), (all further quotations are from Roemer, 2001, unless specified otherwise). She does not understand that her father

is homesick despite him telling her: "Every time I see you, my child, I miss my mother in a way that tears my heart apart" (p. 349). She has never visited Suriname, for it is also another void in the story, therefore she cannot feel homesick for a place she has never visited.

The parents' conversations appear to occur during the night when the child sleeps. This is most likely because the parents do not want her to hear. During one such incident, when it "was almost three o'clock in the morning," the protagonist "became a little afraid ... [her] heart pounded terribly. [She] ... believe[d] [her] ... body trembled too" (p. 349). Her father is upset after speaking to his mother on the phone, and the girl does not understand his strong emotions or her mother's tears. To her, their "quarrel ... was frightening," and she felt like she "was the cause of everything" (p. 349). She is too young and inexperienced to realize that her father is terribly homesick and that her mother's tears could be in reaction to her husband's pain. However, the child is not incorrect, for as the story unfolds the reader realizes that something is fundamentally wrong with the parents' relationship.

Another familial reality invisible to the child, therefore invisible to the reader, is the family's financial situation. We never know if the parents' distress has to do with the harsh financial reality that people from the Caribbean face when needing or wanting to go home, for flights to this part of the world are too often very expensive and hinder families' abilities to stay in contact. Financial hardship happens to be one of the issues in the protagonist's family. The cost of flights from The Netherlands to Suriname has not allowed the bi-racial, bi-ethnic family to visit the paternal grandmother, and this reality is painful for the adults in her life. This would cause her grandmother and mother to cry on their phone calls and her father's bouts of agitation.

In the European space where she lives, the protagonist's two parents are visibly different. The protagonist's relationship with her Dutch maternal family is also different; it is geographically close but emotionally strained. Because they live close by, they have regular contact, and this familial proximity accentuates her color/racial difference, her brownness, and this, too, is a source of sadness for the young girl. Since her short existence has transpired within a community in which she is racially different, she knows herself and her nuclear family to be the odd ones out. When she thinks about "who my parents are, about my mother, about where my father is from, about what I am, about who we are together. [It] often makes me sick. It is as if I have to throw up" (p. 349-350). Her maternal family comments on her brownness and blondness, pointing out her difference from the greater community and making her wish she had never been born. At the story's beginning, the reader gets the impression that this bi-racial couple lives in a space devoid of a Caribbean diasporic community. The story unfolds from the child's perspective. This child sees herself as having been born in a society where she is the only brown-skinned person, to grandparents who are not entirely happy about it, and to parents who cannot afford to visit her father's Surinamese family. She has grown

up feeling alone, disconnected from her mother's Dutch culture, and ignorant of all elements integral to her father's Caribbean culture. She has not had the comfort nor power that comes from the knowledge that Caribbean societies are multiracial and Afro-descended to different degrees. Neither parent has connected her to that side of her bio-cultural heritage.

The child does not know that people in her father's birth land are multilingual, culturally, musically, culinarily, and religiously syncretic. Neither does she know that due to the racial mixing of Europeans, Amerindians, Africans, and Asians, families have members that inherit completely diverse genotypes and exhibit different phenotypes. Many non-European Caribbean people are proud of their Afro-descendedness, or their multi-racialness. However, this is a reality the protagonist has never witnessed; it is an experience she has never had. It is a socio-biological norm that has existed for hundreds of years but has been kept from her. Instead, her short life has unfolded in a White European world that does not celebrate nor tolerate difference. She, as well as her father, are called "nasty words that people yell ... in the stree[t] [like] ... – honky, nigger and the whole alphabet of insults." (p. 350). This emotionally wounded child has "never complained to [her parents] ... about what happens to [her] outside" of her home. She has silently, painfully, taken in all of the racial 'teasing' "like lumps of oatmeal ... [she kept] swallowing" (p. 350).

Since the protagonist is twelve years old, she straddles a developmental threshold, transitioning from childhood into early young adulthood into what Piaget calls the Formal Operational Stage (Ansorge, 2020, para. 16). Due to her developmental stage, her familial unhappiness, and her socio-cultural abuse, her inner thought world fluctuates between self-blaming and deep pondering of abstract concepts such as prejudice, racism, and identity. We know that she has been the victim of verbal racial abuse, however the text does not reveal whether the bullies are children of her own age or adults. She is also aware that her father, too, has suffered verbal racial abuse.

Moreover, to make her social anxiety and sense of disconnectedness worse, she discovers that her parents' "fights are loaded with the nasty [racial insults] words that people yell at me in the street," (p. 350). Witnessing her mother's verbal racial abuse against her father makes her feel "ashamed to be the child of a woman with blond hair and grey eyes and a voice that sounds ... like people who are not black," and it makes her long "for a mother with a scarf on her head and skin so dark that I never would have to be afraid ... that the sun would ever burn me" (p. 350). Thus, she begins hating the woman she loves, and due to her coming of age process this realization is extremely painful and further shatters her familial paradigm. She realizes that her mother does not love her father, this makes her dislike her mother, and dislike herself. Even worse, as she matures and understands interactions, she realizes that although her parents dislike each other they remain married because they have a child, and this also make her dislike herself. It is a terrible situation for a child.

However, because she *is* still a child, her parents' dysfunctional interactions make her feel that she is "the cause of everything – everything" (p. 349) that made her parents quarrel. She was sure that all "those quarrels" her father had with her mother "certainly had a whole lot to do with me" (p. 354). Sadly, the verbal racial abuse she witnesses and the trauma endured and internalized during her formative years –in her familial and socio-cultural environments – cause her to develop the *toxic self-blame symptom*. This happens:

When children experience trauma, ... extreme ... or mild..., [and] they often are not allowed to feel how they feel, which is hurt, angry, enraged, betrayed, abandoned, rejected, and so on. Or ... they ... don't receive proper soothing and mental resolution to be able to heal and move on. (Cikanavicius, 2018, para. 5).

The most traumatizing event in the protagonist's life is discovering that her parents' fights are filled with racial insults. She knows the emotional pain this inflicts, becomes angry and resents her mother. It is unbearable to learn that the person hurting her father is the person on whom she is dependent, to whom she turns to have her needs met, and for physical and emotional protection. In the process of trying to understand the what and why of her parents' dysfunctional, unhappy marriage, the protagonist, whose "psyche is still developing ... see[s] the world revolving around [her]. This means that if ... something [is] wrong, [she will] tend to think [it is] somehow related to [her], that ... [it is] [her] fault" (Cikanavicius, 2018, para. 7). Thus, she is unable to eat, and suffers from constant nightmares that reflect her loneliness and environmental violence.

Once again, textual silences reign. The story never states the name of the European country where the girl lives or the name of her father's Caribbean land of birth. However, since Surinamese Astrid Roemer's diasporic experience is in Holland, I refer to these symbolic intratextual spaces by these names for this analysis. Caribbean scholars know that the Dutch empire – like other European empires – created multiracial colonies on Caribbean islands and the Atlantic coasts of the Americas to benefit the shipping industry, a plantocratic minority, and the economy of the metropolis. The relationships, processes, and praxes within such spaces were unimaginably complex. Since this essay interprets the characters as symbols of the colonial past and postcolonial proximity, we can read each character as a representation of one element in the triad of empire, colony, and postcolonial nation: mother, father, and child.

The narrative never reveals how the parents meet. That information – the familial history – is veiled, erased like colonial histories. As a diasporic Caribbean reader, I surmise that the father emigrated in search of employment, as many post-colonial subjects are forced to do. There he met a European woman and married, thinking this would allow him into the culture. However, despite marrying and building a family with an Afro-descended man, the woman engages in colonial legacy behaviors. She uses racial language against her husband, which in her child's eyes, denotes a lack of respect for him as a life partner and as a person. The lack of respect bleeds over onto her child, for she

too is Afro-descended. This concatenation of legacy words makes the daughter deeply dislike the mother and dislike herself. Thus, the interactions symbolically play out the colonizer-colonized, superior-inferior dyad, for the White/Dutch woman feels and acts socio-culturally entitled to insult other human beings based on a colonially constructed artificial racial binary classification; some purposefully, like her husband, and some unconsciously or ‘accidentally,’ like her child.

It is a fact that all couples argue; however, it is not healthy – for the marriage, family, and children – to hurl insults at each other, particularly racial epithets, especially when one has a biracial child. When the protagonist witnesses this type of parental interaction, it makes her wish that she had never been born. She internalizes the desire for self-effacement, for self-non-existence. That is tragic for someone who is twelve. Thus, this 20th century multiracial, multiethnic family in Europe becomes a microcosm that recreates the racist discourses, ideologies, and hierarchies that the European empires had imposed on their colonial spaces and subjects. This translated version of Roemer’s short story was published in 1999; however, the narrative time is another void that is not revealed to the reader, except that it takes place when airplanes and regular air travel exist.

The parents’ marriage is uncomfortable, difficult. It is more required than desired due to the existence of the child. Thus, the Dutch wife/mother – symbol of the [ex-]empire – berates and demeans her Afro-Surinamese husband – symbol of the colonial space/subject. If we interpret the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized as a type of marriage, a contract from which one cannot easily escape, the result of such a union is the postcolonial nation/child, who by default, will be multiracial and multiethnic due to the diverse groups to whom the European colonizers and the Indigenous, African and Asian colonized peoples belonged. The praxes of these empires in the colonized spaces were of inequality, hierarchies, and domination. These praxes led to socio-cultural attitudes in both spaces, the colony and the imperial metropolis. The idea that European colonizers – their descendants and contemporaries – would be discriminatory toward enslaved or oppressed Caribbean communities only while interacting in Caribbean spaces is beyond naive. When we interpret the family in the story as a metaphor for the colonial experience of the Netherland Antilles and the Greater Dutch Caribbean, certain interpersonal behaviors – such as racial insults – between the married couple and many intratextual silences that seem like possible family secrets make sense. For Caribbean scholars cannot negate that wounding racialized praxes and attitudes toward subjected Caribbean communities have embedded themselves deeply in the heart of the colonial/ neo-colonial enterprise.

Also, the way in which colonial/postcolonial Caribbean education has narrated and taught local histories has too often favored the “motherlands,” in other words, the empires. In order to construct a colonial/postcolonial historiography with the European

motherland as its North, many factual events must be misremembered and disremembered. This requires narrative silences, secrets, and voids; acts such as purposeful forgettings and veilings of realities. It requires the purposeful non-asking of uncomfortable questions such as: Why are there Afro-descended Dutch Caribbean individuals? Or, why can't the descendants of past enslavers accept the descendants of the peoples their ancestors displaced and oppressed? Traditionally, in literature, children symbolize the future of societies and nations. Both parents in Roemer's story, the empire and the colony, damage the child – the Caribbean identity/nation beyond the colony. The mother continues to practice racial verbal violence against the othered-father that the child loves; the father fails to teach his child about his culture by choosing to continue to be colonized.

It is true that being a member of a diaspora in a country that colonized and enslaved one's ancestors is "a harsh experience for people ... forced to leave their own country, which they love, only to be abused as foreigners, immigrants, black men in adopted homes" (Kurlansky, 1992, p. 221). This has been the case for the protagonist and her father. Due to her developmental and emotional maturation process and her personal experiences with prejudice, she understands:

what [her] father meant when he said that [although] he had been living here for twenty years and ... had married a woman of this country and that his child is born here ... they still want him to return to the land of his birth – as soon as possible. (p. 350)

Becoming personally aware of the socio-cultural milieu concerning race attitudes and relations in her mother's native country has made the child protagonist ill. She cannot eat and is plagued by nightmares of lonely, isolated nameless girls on mountains that explode into insects or mudslides. The child's continuous distress convinces the parents that they should allow her to visit her Surinamese grandmother for her eightieth birthday celebration. Interestingly, the mother "was the first to give in; [and]...allo[w] [the girl] to go ... to the birthday of [her] Grandma" (p. 352). Despite her difficult relationship with her husband, she seems to intuit that the trip to the fatherland will alleviate some of her daughter's emotional distress. However, the mother will not travel to the "father's country with the family" (p. 352).

Once again, the text is silent, presenting an information void, for neither child nor reader learns the mother's reason for not going. The woman states she does not "want to run the risk of being treated like an undesirable stranger in his country or by his family" (p. 352). Nevertheless, we do not know if she knows – or assumes–she will not be well received due to strained race relations in Suriname or if she assumes she will be treated the way her husband is treated in her country. However, the mother makes a point of taping a message on the cassette the child plays in her Walkman that says: "My darling, whatever you may experience in your fatherland, do not forget that there is also a woman who has given you a motherland!" (p. 352). The message seems to be: whatever

you experience there, among the others-of-color, remember that *I* have given you the foundation upon which to live.

As the story unfolds, the reader realizes that the isolation suffered by the child and her father need not have been inflicted on them. Ironically, it is not until the pair fly out to Suriname that the child discovers that an entire diasporic community exists. She discovers this on the plane, on her way out. The question here becomes: why hasn't my father connected with his people here in The Netherlands? Once the father and child are on the plane, all sorts of new experiences begin to unfold for the young protagonist. She is suddenly in a space where people are no longer like her mother, for most of the passengers are members of the diaspora. The people are different from what she is used to, but not different from her and her father. This encapsulated chronotope is her first experience within a group that resembles her, for "almost everyone on the plane had plenty of pigment" (p. 352). The space evokes a different culture also, for the way they "talked and laughed, joked and played" made her father cry with emotion "when the plane took off" (p. 352). She lacks the life experience to understand that despite having made a life for himself in Europe, her father, like "most Caribbeans [even] after thirty years away still identif[ies] ... with their/[his] island nationality" (Kurlansky, 1992, p. 223) and being among a group of people who evoke his identity and culture moves him to tears. The protagonist also realizes that almost "everyone spoke in their own language," a language she cannot name nor understand, for she, like many second-generation diaspora "children d[idn't] learn the language and custom[s] of their [parents'] country" (Kurlansky, 1992, p. 223).

Once the incomplete micro-family arrives at their destination, the father's "whole family had come to get" them, and to the girl's amazement, "there were ... many kinds of faces ... of races with so many ... kinds of languages" (p. 353). This is the girl's first experience with the Caribbean reality that families are phenotypically diverse due to the different levels of ethnic and biological hybridity. Thus, in this new locus, difference is not the exception – as it is in her life situation in Europe – but the rule. Here, everyone also has plenty of pigmentation, so being golden brown-skinned is nothing out of the ordinary. Slowly, things – ideas, observations, concepts, and preconceptions – begin to fall in different places.

Days before heading out to the grandmother's estate, the father and daughter stay at a hotel, where early in the mornings, they are "picked up and ... driven to different faces once more" by her father's "friends and relatives" and everyone "always [has fun] together" (p. 353). The change of place becomes a change of pace, and the atmosphere is immediately positive and celebratory. The girl is no longer engulfed by quarreling parents, bombarding insults at each other, frightening her, causing her to self-blame, and making her feel guilty for their unhappiness. She had flown "toward the country of my father ... [far] away from the country of my mother ... to rid me of my frightening dreams" (p. 352), and "after one week ... [she] did not wake up screaming at night

anymore” (p. 353). As her grandmother’s birthday approached, “no one heard [her] complain about frightening dreams, about feeling sick, and about [her] parents” (p. 357).

One of the most significant gifts for the young protagonist on this trip is the revelation that she belongs to an entire culture that had been kept from her by her parents by not visiting the Caribbean family and not engaging with the diaspora. Rather than an isolated loner, she is part of a love-filled community: a diasporic community that travels back and forth from The Netherlands to Suriname, a large multicolored and multiethnic family in Suriname, a group of ethnically compatible friends that value her father, and a paternal grandmother who has been waiting for over twelve years to meet her and take care of her. Since her father, Henri (we finally learn his name), is Ouma’s only son, and the girl the only grandchild, the “Grandma demanded all of [her] attention” (p. 357). And the girl “immediately loved her [grandmother], [who was] so totally different from [her] grandmother in [her] mother’s country” (p. 356).

The protagonist also belongs to the larger community of her grandmother’s friends and associates, who love her and her father because they share grandmother Ouma’s love for them. At Ouma’s home, the girl meets the “ancient man who lives with her [Ouma]... [with] ... bushy eyebrows ... [and] several fat women” who embrace her father, “a man with dreadlocks,” (p. 356) groups of girlfriends that love Ouma, the shaman, the lawyer, the friends from church, all of them excited and full of affection for Ouma’s visitors.

Her time in her father’s land becomes a locus of revelation and self-affirmation. She discovers the part of her identity that had been missing, empty, and wounded due to her ignorance about her father’s culture and incorporates it into her young soul. Her fractured self is reassembled with fruit-flavored potions, with the sharing of secrets, long walks in the forest, by “listen[ing] to each other’s stories,” and eating “hot meals with...many people out in the fresh air” (p. 357). But above all, by being treated as someone that matters, “somebody wise enough to know what the adults were discussing,” someone worthy enough “to learn our secrets” (p. 356). Many of the symbolic and actual silences and voids in her life are filled, and this makes the protagonist whole.

As I mentioned above, this is also a coming of age story. In it, the girl navigates toward womanhood, toward the light at the end of the existential tunnel of herself; she learns who she is and who she will be. She also comes to understand the painful reality of her parents’ difficult marriage as she learns the story of who her father was before meeting her mother. The protagonist’s story is one of becoming, acceptance, and inclusion, while her father’s is one of rejection and exclusion. The protagonist learns why her father left his homeland on the Saturday when Ouma’s lawyer processes the inheritance documents, bequeathing Ouma’s plantation to her granddaughter. After drinking champagne, Henri shares that he had loved “the daughter of [a] minister ... so much that he left his mother and his country forever when her parents refused to give their daughter

to [him] the son of a common woman” (p. 359). Ouma disinherits Henri for leaving and marrying “a woman of another race” and “because he had no other descendants but [the protagonist].” Henri would have “wanted to marry a woman of his own people,” and had wanted to give Ouma:

dozens of heirs if only [the] miserable father of the woman of his dreams had not constantly ... [waved] the bible at his daughter: after that, his hatred for ... the church ... increased; [but] he had missed his mother so much in all these years that all his dreams had been filled with pain. (p. 359)

When Henri and his daughter first arrived in Suriname, they stayed at a hotel, and while his child slept, he would meet up with his first love at the hotel’s bar. They would sit “looking at each other” (p. 354), not speaking. When the girl accidentally sees them, her impression is that her “father and the woman were so incredibly beautiful together that [she] could not keep her eyes off them” (p. 354). She saw them drink wine and dance “[s]ilently and passionately with the music” (p. 354). When everyone at the bar turned around to stare at the couple, it did not make sense to the child. She had not known that the woman her father “had danced and danced [with] ... every night at the hotel” (p. 359) was the love of his life. Since she is becoming old enough to understand adult interactions, she realizes that something is not quite right between her father and the unknown woman. She becomes violently ill, to the point of being hospitalized, and her first reaction is to contact her mother, which she does not do.

After spending the summer on the plantation with Ouma, Henri, and Ouma’s entourage and learning she would inherit and thus become “wealthy—a large landowner” (p. 357), the girl is an entirely different being. She misses her mother and realizes that despite all their difficulties back in the motherland, she does love her. She also ponders what brought her mother and Henri together while negotiating the newly discovered knowledge “that they stayed married because of [her]” (p. 357). She had intuited this in the motherland, and it had filled her with dread due to her unstable home environment. However, while among her father’s people, and after learning her father’s story, she accepts it as Henri’s sad, sorrowful, and tender fate. Therefore, she can live with the reality that “even though he does not really love my mother, my father ... loves his own mother and me” (p. 360).

In the story, Henri and his daughter travel to her place of paternal origin. There the girl encounters a culture that had been utterly absent from her life. She connects with a benevolent matriarchal power she did not know existed. In this place of paternal origin – Suriname – and via the affection of the paternal matriarch and “the people who were always with her [Ouma]” (p. 359), the girl is enriched thrice. She is a vessel showered with affection and companionship, with cultural knowledge and experiences, and finally with the material legacy of the bequeathed plantation/estate. This amazing experience, shrouded in love, requires that she make one of the most important decisions in her life at the age of almost thirteen. The granddaughter explains that Ouma had revealed only

to her “the secret of the plantation ... at the end of the dinner, without witnesses. It was a command that changed me from a child into an adult, from one moment to the next” (p. 358-359). That mandate states that “[o]nly the person who joins someone of the original African race will have a fertile life on this plantation because too much African blood still breathes in her soil” (p. 360).

Once again, Roemer’s text falls back into silences and voids, for we do not see how much information Ouma gives her granddaughter, although we do know that it does change the girl from a child into an adult in a day. That is a powerful statement. We do know that Ouma’s will and testament refer to the horrors committed during the colonial plantocratic period, when the treatment of the enslaved Africans was “a match for the horrors of the barbaric Middle Ages” (Teenstra, 1842, pp. 267–268, cited in de Kom, 2022). Therefore, whoever lives on Ouma’s land, seeped in the blood of tortured, mutilated and murdered enslaved Africans, cannot bring along with them a descendant of the original group of enslavers. In a primeval telluric space, long inhabited by lingering spiritual energies of Amerindian and African ancestors, that would be asking for a vengeful haunting.

When Ouma’s granddaughter returns to the European land of her mother, she is not and never will be the same, nevermore anxious, nor insecure. She has brought back a Surinamese *apinti* drum and postcards of maroon women and replaces Michael Jackson and Madonna posters with these, thus eliminating the banality of the West by replacing it with images of genuine culture. She is no longer the hapless child of a displaced Black man and a local blond woman, who felt herself to be a what, not a who, and who had wished for non-existence. Now, she is Ouma’s granddaughter, she has Ouma’s plantation, and she has already decided that her future life partner will be an Afro-descended Surinamese person, like her father. She is a young woman aware of power: the power of love and community, of culture, of a solid identity, and of choice.

I have chosen to interpret this story as a symbolic text. The first symbol that the narrative addresses and resolves is that of silences/voids. These represent the purposeful omission of historical information by the colonial powers (macrocosm), and the lack of familial cultural knowledge (microcosm). These voids and silences create chaos, turmoil, anxiety, insecurity, depression, and a sense of dread in characters, individuals or communities that do not know their own hi/stories. Their lives can feel like a jigsaw puzzle with missing pieces, without an image on the box lid to guide them. Filling the familial or historical information gaps gives the characters – literally and figuratively – a bigger picture, a wider panoramic image that makes intellectual and emotional sense, thus alleviating anxiety.

The protagonist’s Surinamese father, Henri, is a man without cultural or historic-familial context while in Europe during the protagonist’s early childhood. Despite living in Holland for over twenty years, he never interacts with the Caribbean/Surinamese diasporic community in his area. This allows his daughter to erroneously believe that she

is the only one of her kind, thus making her feel alienated. Once the daughter travels to his country of origin, she finds herself in her father's context, where she 'reads' his story and fills in the gaps. After that experience her father makes 'sense' to her and she no longer fears him. She can also forgive him for not (really) loving her mother, because he loves *her* – his child, and Ouma – his mother.

Henri is a symbol of the long-suffering colonial experience. He is a descendant of enslaved Africans and possibly Amerindians forced to work on Surinamese plantations. Many years later, in the post-enslavement 20th century, the missionary family of his Surinamese true love rejects him, for they deem him inferior because of what he interprets as his mother's common status, most likely socio-educational differences. Henri – a symbol for his people – is slapped down by another legacy of colonizer power and its hypocritically incompatible versions of Christianity, for Ouma is a practicing Catholic. Henri relocates to the country that had been the empire and marries a woman belonging to the colonizer's race. Thus, he loses his right to Ouma's land. He, like some Amerindians in the past, lost his ancestral habitat, due to alliances made with the colonizers. Henri's marriage to his blond, grey-eyed, Dutch wife is difficult for himself and for his child, for it has caused them to suffer internal and external prejudice and social rejection.

Ouma's granddaughter is the Caribbean present and future, born of the inevitable intercultural encounter between colonizers and the exploited local and transplanted peoples they oppressed during a particularly nightmarish chapter in the gothic horror book of history. It is a chapter written in blood; thus it cannot be erased, or ignored. Because it was written in blood, with all of the meanings and connotations of that word, history has become a revenant, whether emotional, or supernatural. This young protagonist travelled through an existential and cultural tunnel and arrived in a place where she was accepted and loved in all her brownness. This made her feel whole, reconstituted. She learned her father's sad past; this made her understand and forgive. She learned of the plantation/estate's violent past, and this made her take a stand that would shape the rest of her life. Her journey through the identity tunnel disclosed her family history and caused her to re-remember a past that had been veiled from her. She had therefore gained the knowledge that she so desperately needed, and could move forward, feeling that she "was not alone" (p. 360).

The story ends on a powerful note of hope. As grandmother Ouma's eightieth birthday celebration starts to wind down, the protagonist, no longer an insecure girl, but a centered young woman, is able to stop hating her mother, in a similar way to how she could understand and forgive Henry. She is once again able to feel love for her mother, "like crumbs of happiness," like "firecrackers" and acknowledges that her mother loves her. The images in her mind are of how "Mama laughs with her mouth open ... and how she embroiders my sheets – with clovers" (p. 360). She also recollects that not all interactions between her parents have been bad. In her mind she sees how her mother "always

always waits for Papa with our evening dinner, and ... she never-never goes visiting without Papa” (p. 360). The protagonist also has the powerful realization that she too, will be like her mother, for at almost thirteen she has decided that “[e]ven if I had to suffer my whole long life, all my heart and all my body would belong to a black person – just like you Mama, Amen!” (p. 360).

At this moment, she has the powerful realization that her mother has also suffered discrimination, in her motherland, due to her Black husband and bi-racial child. This is one issue of the micro-family’s situation she had never even started to consider. Due to her increasing emotional development, she is able to think of and feel for those she loves. She no longer blames nor expects perfection. Instead, her experience in Suriname allows her to feel connected to her parents once they are all back together in Europe. Henri’s daughter’s last act of familial solidarity is to tape the story of his inheritance (Ouma’s bequeathing of the land? The beauty and love of his people and culture?) onto a cassette as a birthday present for her mother. She wants to share what touched her, changed her to the core, makes her “cry out loud” (p. 361) and turned her into a young woman, reborn and centered, and secure in her *re-discovered*, and *re-remembered* identity.

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CONVIVIALITIES AND EDUCATION IN THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN AND BEYOND

THE FLIPPED CLASSROOM: ATTITUDES, PARTICIPATION SATISFACTION AND ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE AMONG SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN CURAÇAO

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Abstract

The aim of this study was to determine whether the academic performance of students learning English grammar improves by using the flipped classroom model and whether there was a relationship between the use of the flipped classroom model and their attitude to English, their levels of participation and their levels of satisfaction with the model itself. The research was conducted with a sample of 60 (n=60) VSBO track secondary school students in Curaçao. A flipped classroom experiment was performed, with a grammar test being administered at two measurement moments (MM), before the experiment (MM1) and after the experiment (MM2). Using questionnaires, data were also collected for the following variables: language attitude, participation and satisfaction with the experimental flipped classroom approach. The results showed that students who were taught in a flipped classroom performed better on the grammar test than those taught in a traditional setting. The difference between the performance scores on the grammar test before and after the experiment of 4.14% turned out to be significant ($p < .001$). At MM2 more positive attitudes on the part of the students were found toward English ($r = .35^{**}$) as well as high levels of satisfaction with the experimental flipped classroom approach ($r = .37^{**}$). There was a weak positive correlation ($r = .17$) at MM2 with increased levels of participation, which was not significant. The results on the MM2 grammar test appeared to be particularly strongly related to attitude ($r = .35$), satisfaction with the model ($r = .37$) and age ($r = -.30$).

Key terms: Curaçao, secondary education, flipped classroom, grammar, language attitude, participation, satisfaction

Introduction and literature review

The last twenty years have been significant in terms of a series of important transitions within the formal educational environment. Caner (2012) suggests that, especially at the higher levels of education, there has been a convergence of new technological resources and novel pedagogies, with technological advances paving the way for the implementation of more efficient and effective teaching and learning strategies, such as blended learning (Caner, 2012; Pappas, 2015). The research upon which this article is based focuses on the flipped classroom, which is considered to be a type of blended learning (TeachThought Staff, 2020). Garrison and Kanuka (2004) define blended learning as “the thoughtful integration of classroom face-to-face learning experiences with online learning experiences” (p. 96), while Uzunboyly and Karagozlu (2015) define the flipped classroom as “a pedagogical approach, [in] which ... activities that have traditionally taken place inside the classroom take place outside the classroom and vice versa” (p. 1). Clearly, this bold approach is in many ways the opposite of the current traditional pedagogical approaches that characterize Curaçao’s educational system. Blended learning in general and the flipped classroom in particular were designed to make learning fun, exciting, accessible, and flexible for students by transforming traditional classrooms into tech-friendly 21st century classrooms. Means et al. (2009) found that “instruction combining online and face-to-face elements had a larger advantage relative to purely face-to-face instruction than did purely online instruction” (p. 15).

The present research aimed to put these assertions to the test by experimental means. Given that the flipped classroom has been shown to yield positive results not only in overall performance, but also in the relationship between the student and the learning process, the study was expanded from measuring performance on grammar tests to assessing other variables as well, such as attitude, satisfaction and participation. The research was conducted with a sample of 60 (n=60) VSBO track secondary school students of English in Curaçao, who were exposed to the flipped classroom approach during an experimental period. An English grammar test was administered at two measurement moments (MM), before the experimental period (MM1) and after the experimental period (MM2). Using questionnaires, data were also collected for the following variables: language attitude, participation and satisfaction with the experimental flipped classroom approach. In the analysis of the data collected, special attention was paid to how all of the variables included in the study related to one another.

The flipped classroom was invented back in 2007 when two high school teachers decided to flip the traditional structure of their classroom (Uzunboyly & Karagozlu, 2015). Despite the flipped classroom being a rather new approach to teaching, it has significantly grown in popularity in educational settings around the world. According to several studies, the overall quality of education has significantly improved since the

integration of technology-based instruction with face-to-face learning (Pappas, 2015). While several roughly synonymous terms have been used in the past to refer to the flipped classroom (Hung, 2015; Lage & Platt, 2000), the approach nearly always involves the students acquiring initial exposure to new subject material outside of the classroom. This first exposure usually takes place via material posted online that students are able to access at any given moment. Subsequently, the time that they spend in the classroom is utilized to integrate that knowledge by means of problem-solving assignments, discussion, debates, and so on (Brame, 2020). Instruction outside of the classroom is typically provided through teachers making recordings and narrating screen recordings of the class material or collecting video lessons from reliable online sources (Hamdan et al., 2013). In a nutshell, students acquire the theory outside of the classroom and subsequently partake in extensive learning activities inside the classroom.

It goes without saying that if the classroom process is flipped, the roles of the teacher and students are subject to change as well. In a flipped classroom, the teacher does not play the traditional role of providing direct instruction, but instead becomes a facilitator who supplies class material online, designs learning activities and fosters a safe environment during face-to-face learning (Alias, 2010; Carnevale, 2003). This increases both interaction and personalized contact between teachers and students (Uzunboylu & Karagozlu, 2015, p. 143). In short, the teacher is in charge of gathering and supplying accurate content to her students as well as putting together thoughtful learning exercises for in-class activities. Students in a flipped classroom take on a different role, too. The responsibility to learn falls on the students, which makes them leaders in their learning process. Thus, students are able to work and learn at their own pace, since they are able to access class materials online at any given moment that suits them best. Subsequently, the face-to-face learning in class is used to delve deeper into the subject matter (Carnevale, 2003). Students thus take charge of their learning outside the classroom, then apply this newly acquired knowledge in learning activities in the classroom. This process is vital to accommodate the different learning styles of students, in order to avoid the disparities between traditional approaches to teaching and the personality types and preferred learning styles of students. By making the students aware that their learning process lies in their own hands, they may be more likely to become actively involved, as they decide what suits them best. With students attending to their own learning, there is more time for more focused and individualized contact between the teacher and her students. All in all, the flipped classroom approach enhances the educational experience by making learning flexible to the needs of the students and by providing collaborative, accurate learning activities in class.

The flipped classroom has been shown to yield many benefits for both students and teachers (Shi-Chun et al., 2014) including the following:

- 1) Students develop team working skills, communication skills and organizational skills, all of which are vital components for lifelong learners.
- 2) Students learn at their own pace, contrary to the traditional classroom where students are required to apprehend what is being taught in the exact moment when it is formally taught. In a flipped classroom, however, students are able to watch, rewind, and fast-forward the instructional videos as they see fit (Shi-Chun et al., 2014).
- 3) There is more space for collaborative learning activities among students (Berben & Vos, 2020). Teachers are able to provide students with more group assignments so that they participate in collective learning activities, discussions and peer review exercises. Collaborative learning activities encourage social interaction among students (Shi-Chun et al., 2014) and help them to learn how to work together in spite of their cultural diversity. As a result, this enables the students to assist each other in their learning process, mobilizing their complementary sets of skills. Students are encouraged to learn outside of the classroom anytime and anywhere it suits them (Uzunboylu & Karagozlu, 2015).
- 4) There is more one-on-one time between the teacher and students. For the most part, this aspect is a game changer, as it allows the teacher to attend to individual needs in a more effective manner.
- 5) The flipped classroom covers all the levels of Bloom's revised taxonomy of cognitive processes, with the processes at the lower levels of Bloom's taxonomy, which are remembering and understanding, taking place outside of the classroom, and those at the higher levels, which are applying, analyzing, evaluating and creating, taking place in the classroom with the teacher's guidance and peer support (Uzunboylu & Karagozlu, 2015; Brame, 2013).

On the other hand, the flipped classroom also comes with its challenges. First and foremost, it is time-consuming for the teacher. The process of creating and gathering class material for the online content requires a lot of time and effort on the part of the teacher, especially when searching for reliable sources that cover all the material. However, this is only time consuming in the beginning. It takes time to find appropriate videos, content and in-class collaborative activities that correlate with the unit to be taught. Carnevale (2003) claims that gathering content and resources for future classes goes smoother after doing so for the first flipped class. In addition, the effectiveness of the face-to-face sessions relies heavily on student participation and student motivation (Berben & Vos, 2020; Shi-Chun et al., 2014). In other words, the flipped classroom approach relies on the students preparing for their classes in advance by watching the provided online material (Berben & Vos, 2020). Also, students may resist doing what may seem to be extra work to them, such as viewing class material in their free time (Stone, 2012). The University of Waterloo (2015) therefore recommends that the

teacher deploy strategies to confirm that the students have viewed the provided online materials prior to coming to class.

Carnevale (2003) stresses the fact that it is completely normal for students to take some time in adjusting to a new style of teaching where they are responsible for their own learning. She goes on to place emphasis on the importance of explaining expectations and procedures prior to flipping the classroom. Similarly, Stone (2012) recommends that teachers heighten levels of enthusiasm among students by comparing the flipped class outcomes with those of previous non-flipped classes. Ultimately, if the teacher explains their expectations, works consistently and follows the schedule, students will tend to follow the lead.

Students from low-income families may not have the necessary means to access computers and the internet that the flipped classroom approach requires (Shi-Chun et al., 2014). According to an experiment done at a low-income school, some teachers and students were pleased with the flipped classroom, while others found it inappropriate (Rybisnky & Sootla, 2015). That this particular experiment resulted in students improving their procedural skills, but their higher order skills were not enhanced, as one would desire, suggesting that some students had less than the required levels of access to technology. It is therefore necessary to do an initial survey to collect data on the starting situation of students. If the teacher encounters students with lack of the required technological tools, the teacher must have a back-up plan to compensate for this.

Typically, the inductive and/or deductive approaches are used in a traditional grammar classroom, which leaves little to no time for interaction, discussion, reflection and questions, while the flipped classroom approach focuses explicitly on promoting active student engagement with the class material (Pudin, 2017). As per Bergmann and Sams (2014) in flipped classrooms, more class time is available for individualized instruction. Nicolosi (2012) finds that the flipped classroom approach supports students in switching from passive to active learning mode. Flipped classroom students have also been shown to develop active learning behaviors, learning autonomy, critical thinking skills, more positive attitudes toward learning, more efficient use of class time and a disposition for life-long learning, along with enhanced academic, collaborative and communication skills (Farrah & Qawasmeh, 2018; Clark, 2015). The results of a study done at the Eskisehir Osmangazi University in Turkey, indicate higher levels of self-regulation, social connectedness, motivation and participation among students in the flipped classroom as opposed to those in the conventional classroom (Jdaitawi, 2019). While Pudín (2017) argues that there is a lack of reliable academic research into the attitudes of students toward the flipped classroom approach, Bishop and Verleger (2013) claim otherwise in their survey of eleven studies investigating student perceptions of the flipped classroom, which show that the typical student view of the flipped classroom is frequently positive. Başal (2012) concludes that the majority of his students had a positive attitude towards the flipped classroom model. Studies done at

an American college (Alebrahim & Ku, 2020) and at a Norwegian higher education institution (Steen-Utheim & Foldnes, 2017) revealed that students found that the collaborative activities in a flipped classroom increased their engagement with the learning process as well as their academic performance. It appears that most negative comments by instructors concerning the flipped classroom have emerged from situations where they were not able to implement the model completely.

In addition to the flipped classroom positively affecting the engagement and attitude of students, it has also been proven to enhance student satisfaction levels. Pudín (2017) did a study involving 120 first-year university students where the participants expressed a preference the flipped model in learning English grammar, as well as enjoyment in learning at their own pace through a variety of activities in the classroom. Sajid et al. (2016) carried out a study in Saudi Arabia that revealed higher student satisfaction in a flipped classroom, leading them to conclude that online learning mediums will play a significant role in the future of education. A study done at Shenandoah University in the US revealed that the mean for flipped classroom students' grades was 5.4% higher than that for a similar group taught in a traditional classroom, with students unanimously finding the flipped classroom to be an engaging and effective teaching method (Pierce, 2013). An experiment conducted in Kazakhstan by Rybinski and Sootla (2015) found that the flipped classroom experience added more than 1.6 points to the average student's final grade. For all intents and purposes, one may deduce that the full implementation of the flipped classroom tends to yield positive results.

Research questions, instruments, participants, data collection and data analysis

The aim of the present study was to determine whether the academic performance of students learning English grammar improved by using the flipped classroom model and whether there was a relationship between the use of the flipped classroom model and their attitude to English, their levels of participation and their levels of satisfaction with the model itself. The research was conducted with a sample of 60 ($n=60$) VSBO track secondary school students in Curaçao. A flipped classroom experiment was performed, with a grammar test being administered at two measurement moments (MM), before the experimental flipped classroom method was utilized (MM1) and after the experimental flipped classroom method was utilized (MM2). Using questionnaires, data were also collected for the following variables: language attitude, participation and satisfaction with the experimental flipped classroom approach. Furthermore, an attempt was made to gain insight into the extent to which a relationship can be found between student characteristics such as age, gender, repeater status, and other influencing factors such as attitude, participation and satisfaction on the language performance of the students.

The study was designed to answer the following main research question, along with the following sub-questions.

Main research question

To what extent can a flipped classroom teaching method improve the performance of English language learners in skills related to English grammar in the third year of VSBO-track secondary education in Curaçao?

Sub-questions

1. How does students' performance in English grammar skills before flipped classroom instruction at Measurement Moment 1 (MM1) compare with their performance after flipped classroom instruction at Measurement Moment 2 (MM2)?
2. To what extent is there a relationship between attitude, engagement, and acceptance of the flipped classroom method, and students' performance on grammar in a flipped classroom teaching environment?
3. To what extent is there a relationship between other variables and students' performance on grammar in a flipped classroom teaching environment?

Participants

To answer these research questions, an empirical study was designed using a set of instruments, which included a preliminary questionnaire, two grammar tests and a survey, consisting of three main parts. Written permission was obtained from the school management prior to the study, and the informed support of the school management, the teachers and all the students who participated in the experiment was greatly appreciated. All results have been kept anonymous.

There were 60 participants (35 males and 25 females) from a wide array of ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds, including students whose main home languages ranged from Papiamentu and Spanish to Dutch and Chinese. All were third year students at the TKL-level (*Theoretisch Kadergerichte Leerweg*: pre-vocational secondary education track) (all translations in this article are by the authors, unless specified otherwise). The students' ages ranged between 13 and 17 years old, indicating that there were some students who had repeated an academic year or two.

Preliminary questionnaire

The flipped classroom model requires students to have access to the internet, as well as to a device that will consistently enable such access. For this reason, a preliminary questionnaire consisting of the following two questions was administered via Google Forms to the students participating in the study: 1) Do you have your own device (phone, laptop, tablet) that you can use to watch videos? and 2) Do you have access to internet at home so you can watch videos? 100% (n=60) of the students answered both questions in the affirmative.

Grammar tests at MM1 and MM2

As part of a flipped classroom experiment, grammar tests were administered at two measurement moments (MM), first before a 5 week-long experimental flipped

classroom method was utilized to teach English grammar (MM1) and then after the experimental flipped classroom method was utilized (MM2). During the 5 weeks of the experiment, the students were provided with videos on various platforms with content related to 11 targeted areas of English grammar 2 to 3 days prior to the classes where those areas were to be taught, in order to prepare them to take part in the flipped classroom learning activities during 12 scheduled classes of 45 minutes each. To encourage students to watch the videos, the researcher sent a reminder a day prior to each class. The targeted grammar areas were retrieved from two units of the book, titled *New Interface VMBO TL Yellow Label* (Cornford et al., 2010). The previously-designed tests had been reviewed by the English department as well as the exam coordinator at the school. In order to ensure the internal consistency of the tests and students' answers, the Reliability and Item-Total Statistics option of the statistical program was used to eliminate a number of items from consideration, including items with a too high a score (ceiling effect), too low a score (bottom effect) and items that showed no correlation with the rest. The number of items on the test administered at MM1 was thus reduced from 79 to 36, while the number of items on the test administered at MM2 was reduced from 80 to 56 (see Appendix 2). Each item on the grammar tests had a correct and an incorrect option. Correct responses were each scored as '1' and incorrect responses were each scored as '0'.

Survey with 3 main sections

The main survey was administered via Google Forms and consisted of some initial questions (such as age, gender, and repeater status) followed by three main sections regarding attitude, engagement, and satisfaction of the students. The three main sections of the survey presented a series of statements which could be responded to using a five-point Likert scale, as follows: 1 – Strongly disagree, 2 – Disagree, 3 – Neutral (neither agree nor disagree), 4 – Agree, and 5 – Strongly Agree (see Appendix 1).

The survey section concerning attitude towards the English language consisted of 12 statements, such as:

1 English is a beautiful language.	1	2	3	4	5
2 I like to speak English.	1	2	3	4	5

The survey section concerning engagement in flipped class activities consisted of 9 statements, such as:

1 I watch the video lessons prior to class.	1	2	3	4	5
2 I take notes while watching the video lessons.	1	2	3	4	5

The survey section concerning satisfaction with the flipped class methodology consisted of 12 statements, such as:

1 The flipped classroom is more engaging than the traditional classroom.	1	2	3	4	5
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2 The learning activities of the flipped classes were interesting and interactive.	1	2	3	4	5
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Analysis of results

The data collected from the tests and survey questionnaires were first transferred to Excel format and subsequently imported into the advanced SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences; IBM SPSS Statistics 23.0) platform for statistical analysis. This analysis included testing the tests and questionnaires for reliability by using Cronbach's alpha (α) coefficient measures. Items that were found not to be not reliable were excluded from the analysis, while items that were found to be reliable were included. For the test results, calculations and analysis first involved finding the means, standard deviations and doing a *t*-test to indicate whether there was a significant difference between the results at MM1 and MM2. Finally, Pearson correlations and regression analyses were used to investigate a possible relationships between these test results and a set of variables including attitude, engagement, acceptance, gender, age, and repeater status.

Results

Internal consistency and reliability of the data

The reliability of each instrument was established measured in terms of Cronbach's alpha (α) coefficient measures of internal consistency. According to Streiner (2003) a reliability coefficient of ≥ 0.70 is considered to be acceptable, while higher coefficients are considered good ($\geq .8$), and better ($\geq .9$). The results of the Internal Consistency test can be found in the table below (Table 1). The total number of participants for all instruments is 60.

Table 1 Results of the Cronbach's alpha internal consistency measures for the first and second grammatical tests (pre-test MM1 and post-test MM2), and each of the three sections of the survey questionnaire (attitude, engagement, and acceptance). The third column indicates the number of items on each instrument that showed sufficient internal coherence ($\alpha \geq 0.70$)

	Average α value	Items with $\alpha \geq 0.7$	Total responses
Pre-test (MM1)	0.87	36/79, $k = 36$	60
Post-test (MM2)	0.90	56/80, $k = 56$	60
Attitude	0.76	8/11, $k = 8$	60
Engagement	0.79	7/9, $k = 7$	60
Acceptance	0.81	11/12, $k = 11$	60

The internal consistency of the pre-test (MM1) had a good average alpha value of $\alpha=0.87$. The pre-test initially consisted of 79 items, but the responses to 43 of the 79 items showed insufficient coherence and were discarded, reducing the total number of

items considered for further analysis to 36. The internal consistency of the post-test (MM2) had a very good average alpha value of $\alpha=0.90$. The post-test initially consisted of 80 items but the responses to 24 of the 80 items showed insufficient coherence and were discarded, reducing the total number of items considered for further analysis to 56. All 3 parts of the survey had acceptable or good average alpha values, with none of the items having alpha values of $\alpha<0.70$. In general, it can therefore be concluded that all of the instruments that were used in this study were shown to be reliable.

Comparison of the results of the pre-test (MM1) and the post-test (MM2)

The first research sub-question for the present study was: How does students' performance in English grammar skills before flipped classroom instruction at Measurement Moment 1 (MM1) compare with their performance after flipped classroom instruction at Measurement Moment 2 (MM2)? In order to answer this sub-question, means, percentages, and standard deviations of scores on both tests were calculated and compared and a t-test was performed to establish the degree of significance of the difference in results between the pre-test (MM1) and the post-test (MM2), as shown in Table 2.

Table 2 Mean (M), standard deviation (SD), mean percentage (M%), standard deviation percentage (SD%), t-test values (t), and p-values (p) obtained from results of the pre-test (MM1) and the post-test (MM2)

	M	SD	M%	SD%	t	p	n	k
MM1	22.88	6.68	63.56	18.55	26.54	.00	60	36
MM2	38.12	8.07	68.07	14.41	36.58	.00	60	56

The results in Table 2 indicate that the average score on the post-test (MM2=68.07%) was higher than the average score on the pre-test (MM1=63.56%), with the results of the *t*-test and the *p*-value of <0.001 , indicating that this difference in performance between the two tests was significant. The figures listed in Table 3 below show the Pearson values for the correlations between age, gender, repeater status and results on the two grammar tests (MM1 and MM2),

Table 3 Pearson values for the correlations between age, gender, repeater status and results on the two grammar tests (MM1 and MM2)

	Age	Gender	R.S.	MM1	MM2
Age	1.00				
Gender	.03	1.00			
Repeater Status	.54**	-.13	1.00		
Grammar test MM1	-.01	.10	-.12	1.00	
Grammar test MM2	-.30*	-.07	-.18	.19	1.00

* = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$; *** = $p < .001$

The results in table 3 reveal two meaningful correlations: 1) the obvious positive correlation between age and repeater status; and 2) the negative correlation between age and results at MM2, which indicates that older students, essentially, those with a high repeater status, scored lower on MM 2. The negative, although not significant, correlation between age and MM2 results can be explained in the same way.

Attitude, engagement, and acceptance of the flipped classroom method

The second research sub-question for the present study was: To what extent is there a relationship between attitude, engagement, acceptance, and students' performance on grammar in a flipped classroom teaching method environment? In order to answer this sub-question, Pearson correlations were calculated between each of the variables MM2 (post-test results), attitude, engagement, and acceptance, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4 Pearson correlations between post test results (MM2), and questionnaire results concerning attitude, engagement, and acceptance

	Attitude	Engagement	Satisfaction	MM2
Attitude	1.00			
Engagement	.50**	1.00		
Satisfaction	.42**	.35**	1.00	
MM2	.35**	.17	.37**	1.00

* = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$; *** = $p < .001$

Table 4 indicates that the Pearson correlations between all variables, excepting the correlation between engagement and MM2, were significant at the $p < 0.01$ level. These results show that positive attitudes, levels of engagement, satisfaction with the method and test results were generally highly correlated, but that high engagement levels coincided less with high scores on MM2 than might be expected from this overall pattern.

Other variables

The third and final research sub-question for the present study was: To what extent is there a relationship between other variables and students' performance on grammar in a flipped classroom teaching method environment? In order to answer this sub-question, a Pearson correlation analysis was performed to determine the correlations between the following variables: age, gender, repeater status, attitude, engagement, acceptance, pre-test results (MM1) and post-test results (MM2). These results are listed in Table 5.

Table 5 Pearson correlations between students' age, gender, repeater status, attitude, engagement, satisfaction and test performance at MM1 and MM2.

	Age	Gender	Repeater Status	Attitude	Engagement	Satisfaction	MM1	MM2
1 Age	1.00							
2 Gender	.03	1.00						
3 Repeater Status	.54**	-.13	1.00					
3 Attitude	-.16	-.10	-.33**	1.00				
4 Engagement	.00	.20	-.23	.50**	1.00			
5 Satisfaction	-.18	.06	-.16	.42**	.35**	1.00		
6 MM1	-.01	.10	-.12	.08	.13	.02	1.00	
7 MM2	-.30*	-.07	-.18	.35**	.17	.37**	.19	1.00

* = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$; *** = $p < .001$

The results of the Pearson correlation analysis in table 5 indicates that:

- 1) Age is positively correlated at a significant level to repeater status and lower test performance levels at MM2.
- 2) Gender is not significantly correlated with any other tested variable.
- 3) Repeater status is positively correlated at a significant level with age and negatively correlated at a significant level with attitude.
- 4) Attitude is positively correlated at a significant level with engagement, satisfaction and test performance levels at MM2, but negatively correlated at a significant level with repeater status.
- 5) Engagement is positively correlated at a significant level with attitude and satisfaction.
- 6) Satisfaction is positively correlated at a significant level with attitude, engagement and levels of test performance at MM2.
- 7) Test performance levels at MM1 is not correlated at a significant level to any other tested variable; and,
- 8) Test performance levels at MM2 is correlated at a significant level to attitude and satisfaction and negatively correlated at a significant level to age.

These findings suggest that students who have had to redo an academic year (who naturally tend to be older) have more negative attitudes towards the English language than others and tend to perform at lower levels on tests. Otherwise, age, gender and repeater status seem to have no significant correlation with any other variable.

Regression analyses for all of the variables

Finally, regression analyses, which assesses whether one (simple regression analysis) or more (multiple regression analysis) predictor variable(s) account for variability in

results for any given dependent variable, were carried out for most of the variables. This was done to provide insight into the causal relationships between them. Searching for causal relationships using regression analysis did not reveal any clearly significant relationships besides those already mentioned.

Conclusions, discussion and recommendations

As mentioned above, the study upon which this article is based was designed to answer the following main research question, along with the following sub-questions:

The main research question was, to what extent can a flipped classroom teaching method improve the performance of English language learners in skills related to English grammar in the third year of VSBO-track secondary education in Curaçao?

The 3 sub-research questions into which the main question was divided were as follows. How does students' performance in English grammar skills before flipped classroom instruction at Measurement Moment 1 (MM1) compare with their performance after flipped classroom instruction at Measurement Moment 2 (MM2)?

To what extent is there a relationship between attitude, engagement, and acceptance of the flipped classroom method, and students' performance on grammar in a flipped classroom teaching environment?

To what extent is there a relationship between other variables and students' performance on grammar in a flipped classroom teaching environment?

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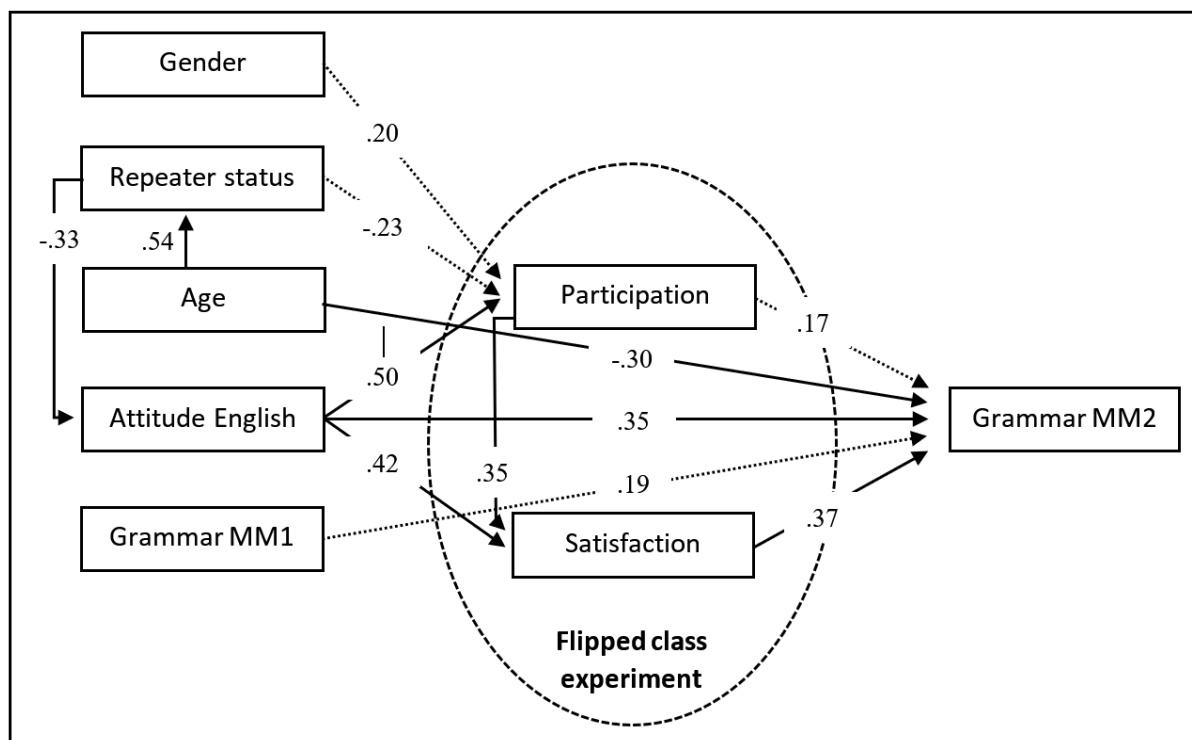
Overall, our findings suggests that, in answer to the main research question, it can be concluded that a flipped classroom teaching method can indeed significantly improve the performance of English language learners in skills related to English grammar. This conclusion is based on the evidence provided in response to the three sub-questions. The answer to the first sub-question can be found in Table 2 above, which indicates that, after participating in a five-week experimental intervention where the flipped classroom method replaced traditional teaching methods, students performed significantly better on a post-test (MM2), compared with their performance on a pre-test (MM1).

In order to answer the second and third sub-questions, the model represented in Figure 1 was created to illustrate the relationships between the different variables. To provide an overall picture, all of the relevant variables have been included in the model. Significant causal relationships are indicated by arrows and non-significant relationships by dotted arrows. Figure 1 can be considered to be a causal model for the effects of the variables age, gender, repeater status, attitude, and pre-test results (MM1) first on the composite variable Flipped Class Experiment (or engagement/participation plus acceptance) and then on the variable post-test results (MM2).

Attitude towards English appeared to be the strongest predictor for participation ($r = .50$) and for satisfaction ($r = .35$), which means that a positive attitude was the strongest

predictor for high performance levels on MM2 at the end of the flipped classroom experiment. The diagram also shows that the attitude of the students themselves was influenced by age via repeater status ($r = .54$). This indicates that students who had

Figure 1 A causal model for the effects of the variables age, gender, repeater status, attitude, and pre-test results (MM1) first on the composite variable Flipped Class Experiment (or engagement/participation plus acceptance) and then on the variable post-test results (MM2).



repeated a class more often had a less positive attitude, which in turn had a negative influence on their scores on the post-test (MM2) ($r = -.30$). Although the degree of engagement/participation had a weak direct influence on levels of test performance at MM2, it is striking that for the flipped class experiment itself (engagement/participation plus satisfaction), the students with a high degree of engagement/participation were certainly satisfied with the flipped classroom method ($r = .35$) and the more satisfied students were, the better they performed on the post-test (MM2) ($r = .37$).

The survey results also revealed that many students found that the flipped classroom had improved their understanding of English grammar and had made them more motivated to learn it. Students also generally enjoyed participating in active learning activities during class and found the flipped classroom to be more engaging and interactive than the traditional classroom. These results confirm earlier findings such as those of Rybinski and Sootla (2015) who found that students taught in a flipped classroom scored higher on the tests and reported higher satisfaction levels than other

students, as well confirming the findings of Farah and Qawasmeh (2018) who demonstrated improved satisfaction levels on the part of students in a flipped classroom, which in turn, positively affected students' academic progress. With these results in mind, we believe that implementing the flipped model in the classroom in a proper way leads to a notable positive effect on the performance of the students, and subsequently on the morale of teachers.

The present study had several limitations. The two grammar tests used (at MM1 and MM2) included a high number of items that needed to be removed from consideration as a result of the reliability analysis, and this decreased the correlation between results on the two tests. Regression analysis proved difficult due to the limited number of participants ($n = 60$) compared to the number of variables (8). In further research, time and effort should be allotted to formulating more appropriate tests as well as to assembling a larger group of participants. In any case future researchers should conduct similar studies on the island to see if these results can be generalized to other contexts (levels and tracks of education, public, parochial and private schools, etc.) or not.

Based on all of the above-mentioned findings and considerations, we strongly recommend that educators at all levels and in all contexts seriously consider the possibilities for better educational outcomes afforded by the flipped classroom method and seriously attempt to implement the flipped classroom method in a mindful way that suits their particular needs and the particular needs of their students.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Survey Questions on Attitude, Participation and Satisfaction

Gender:

Male

Female

Have you ever had to redo an academic year (ben je ooit blijven zitten?):

Never

Once

Twice

How old are you?

13-14 years old

15-16 years old

17 years old

In all three sections, the students have to choose from 1-5 for each statement.

Likert scale:

1 – Strongly disagree	1
2 – Disagree	2
3 – Neutral	3
4 – Agree	4
5 – Strongly agree	5

Section 1: Attitude towards the English language

Attitude

1. English is a beautiful language.
2. I like to speak English.
3. It is important for people in Curaçao to be able to speak English.
4. I feel embarrassed to speak English in front of other students.
5. In my opinion, the English language is difficult and complicated to learn
6. I get nervous when I have to answer a question in my English class
7. Studying foreign languages like English is enjoyable
8. I am interested in studying English
9. Knowing English is an important goal in my life
10. I look forward to the time I spend in English class
11. I prefer studying in my mother tongue rather than any other foreign language
12. If I have children in the future, I would want them to speak English.

Section 2: Participation during the Flipped classes

Participation

1. I watch the video lessons prior to class.
2. I take notes while watching the video lessons.
3. I re-watch the videos if I need more explanation.

4. I actively participate during the learning activity.
5. I participate better in a flipped classroom than in a traditional classroom.
6. I pay attention during the learning activities in class.
7. I ask questions to get more information when necessary.
8. I try to help classmates when they are having trouble with an assignment.
9. I work well in group assignments during class.

Section 3: Satisfaction levels towards the flipped model

Satisfaction

1. The flipped classroom is more engaging than the traditional classroom.
2. The learning activities of the flipped classes were interesting and interactive.
3. I enjoy participating in active learning activities during class instead of listening to passive lectures.
4. I learn best by doing rather than by listening.
5. The flipped classroom gives me better opportunities to interact with other students
6. I feel that the flipped classroom has improved my grammar understanding
7. I am more motivated to learn grammar through the flipped classroom
8. The flipped classroom reduces the amount of frustrating classes.
9. Class materials (online video explanations) were easily accessible.
10. I like watching the lessons on videos
11. I would recommend the flipped classroom to a friend.
12. I would rather have traditional teacher led lesson than watching a lesson video

Appendix 2: MM1, MM2 and survey questions that have been kept after reliability test

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MM1 items kept after Reliability Test (k=36)	
Past Simple	A1,A2,A3,A4,A5,A6,A7,A8,A9,A10
Much/Many	B2,B3,B6,
Word Order	C1,C2,C3,C5,C6,C7,C10
Possessive Pronouns	D4,D7,D8
A/An	E5,E6,E8
Have/has to	-
Present Perfect	G1,G2,G4,G7,G10
May/Might	-
Must/Should	I1,I4,I5
Relative pronoun	J2,J4
MM2 items kept after Reliability Test (k=56)	
Present Perfect	A1,A2,A3,A4,A5,A6,A7,A8
Irregular Verbs	B1,B2,B4,B5,B7,B8
Past Continuous	C1,C2,C3,C4,C5,C6,C7,C8
Can/Can't	D1,D2,D3,D4,D5,D6
Could/Couldn't	E1,E3,E4,E5,E6
Comparison	F1,F4,F5,F8

Used to	G1,G2,G3,G4,G5,G6
Past Simple	H1,H2,H3,H4,H5,H6,H7,H8
Short Answers	I3,I4,I7,I8
Adverbs	-
Word Order	K2

Survey Questions kept after Reliability Test (k=26)	
Attitude (k=8)	Att1,Att2,Att3,Att7,Att8,Att9,Att10,Att12
Participation (k=7)	Part1,Part2,Part3,Part6,Part7,Part8,Part9
Satisfaction (k=11)	Sat1,Sat2,Sat3,Sat4,Sat5,Sat6,Sat7,Sat8,Sat9,Sat10,Sat11

Appendix 3: Surveys Results

Attitude					
Likert Scale					
Statement	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neutral	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
1. English is a beautiful language.	1.7%	1.7%	16.7%	48.3%	31.7%
2. I like to speak English.	1.7%	5%	18.3%	51.7%	23.3%
3. It is important for people in Curaçao to be able to speak English.	1.7%	21.7%	48.3%	28.3%	0%
4. I feel embarrassed to speak English in front of other students.	31.7%	33.3%	16.7%	13.3%	5%
5. In my opinion, the English language is difficult and complicated to learn	36.7%	33.3%	13.3%	13.3%	3.3%
6. I get nervous when I have to answer a question in my English class	41.7%	16.7%	26.7%	6.7%	8.3%
7. Studying foreign languages like English is enjoyable	1.7%	6.7%	25%	53.3%	15%
8. I am interested in studying English	0%	0%	25%	45%	30%
9. Knowing English is an important goal in my life	0%	5%	28.3%	45%	30%
10. I look forward to the time I spend in English class	0%	0%	43.3%	36.7%	20%
11. I prefer studying in my mother tongue rather than any other foreign language	8.3%	43.3%	35%	8.3%	6.7%

12. If I have children in the future, I would want them to speak English	0%	0%	25%	4.7%	38.3%
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Participation					
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Likert Scale					
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Statement	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neutral	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
1. I watch the video lessons prior to class.	18.3%	6.7%	33.3%	26.7%	15%
2. I take notes while watching the video lessons.	36.7%	35%	15%	8.3%	5%
3. I re-watch the videos if I need more explanation.	30%	20%	10%	28.3%	11.7%
4. I actively participate during the learning activity.	0%	0%	8.3%	46.7%	45%
5. I participate better in a flipped classroom than in a traditional classroom.	0%	0%	28.3%	35%	36.7%
6. I pay attention during the learning activities in class.	0%	0%	3.3%	58.3%	38.3%
7. I ask questions to get more information when necessary.	8.3%	18.3%	31.7%	31.7%	10%
8. I try to help classmates when they are having trouble with an assignment.	6.7%	6.7%	31.7%	41.7%	13.3%
9. I work well in group assignments during class.	5%	1.7%	15%	40%	38.3%

Satisfaction					
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Likert Scale					
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Statement	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neutral	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree
1. The flipped classroom is more engaging than the traditional classroom.	0%	0%	11.7%	33.3%	55%
2. The learning activities of the flipped classes were interesting and interactive.	0%	1.7%	6.7%	41.7%	50%
3. I enjoy participating in active learning activities during class instead of listening to passive lectures.	0%	3.3%	6.7%	33.3%	56.7%

4. I learn best by doing rather than by listening.	0%	3.3%	25%	41.7%	40%
5. The flipped classroom gives me better opportunities to interact with other students	0%	1.7%	26.7%	48.3%	23.3%
6. I feel that the flipped classroom has improved my grammar understanding	1.7%	0%	30%	48.3%	20%
7. I am more motivated to learn grammar through the flipped classroom	0%	1.7%	21.7%	36.7%	40%
8. The flipped classroom reduces the amount of frustrating classes.	1.7%	3.3%	26.7%	40%	28.3%
9. Class materials (online video explanations) were easily accessible.	0%	5%	15%	36.7%	43.3%
10. I like watching the lessons on videos	8.3%	18.3%	21.7%	40%	11.7%
11. I would recommend the flipped classroom to a friend.	0%	1.7%	15%	38.3%	45%
12. I would rather have traditional teacher led lesson than watching a lesson video	28.3%	15%	26.7%	18.3%	11.7%

PAPIAMENTU I HULANDES NA KOMIENSO DI ENSEÑANSA SEKUNDARIO NA BONEIRU¹

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Abstract

The aim of this research is to gain insight into the progress of the languages Papiamentu and Dutch in secondary education in Boneiru. To achieve this, empirical research has been conducted on the relationship between passive vocabulary and text comprehension in both languages. The participants (n=100) were students at the beginning of secondary education (class 1 havo and vwo) and the following class (class 2 havo and vwo). In addition to language performance, possible relationships were also examined between students' characteristics, their home environment and their attitudes towards Papiamentu, Dutch, Spanish and English. Results of the analysis show that there is a strong and significant correlation between Papiamentu vocabulary and text comprehension and the same is the case for Dutch. There is no strong positive correlation between Papiamentu and Dutch, which points to the lack of transfer between Papiamentu and Dutch. Of the extra linguistic factors, some are related to language performance, including reading newspapers in Papiamentu at home. Also a positive attitude towards Spanish would show significant correlations with vocabulary Papiamentu and vocabulary Dutch.

Key terms: Bonaire Papiamentu, Dutch, vocabulary, text comprehension, language performance, extra linguistic factors

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Resúmen

Propósito di e estudio akí ta pa optené un bista di e progreso di e dos idiomanan papiamentu i hulandes den edukashon sekundario na Boneiru. Pa logra esaki, a realisá un estudio empíriko kaminda a investigá e relashon entre vokabulario pasivo i kompreshon di teksto den ámbos idioma. E partisipantenan (n=100) ta alumno na komienso di edukashon sekundario (klas 1 havo i vwo) i e siguiente klas (klas 2 havo i vwo). Banda di prestashon lingwístiko, a investigá posibel relashon ku e prestashonnan akí por tin ku karakterístika di e studiantenan, nan ambiente di kas i nan aktitut relashoná ku e idiomanan papiamentu, hulandes, spañó i ingles. Resultado di análisis ta mostra ku tin korelashon fuerte i signifíkante entre vokabulario papiamentu i kompreshon di teksto papiamentu i meskos ta konta pa hulandes. Entre papiamentu i hulandes no tin korelashon positivo fuerte, loke ta mostra riba falta di transferensia entre papiamentu i hulandes. Di e faktornan ekstralingwístiko tin algun ku ta mostra relashon ku e prestashonnan lingwístiko. Entre nan tin lesamentu di korant papiamentu na kas. Tambe un aktitut positivo pa spañó ta mostra un korelashon signifíkante relashoná ku vokabulario papiamentu i hulandes.

Palabra klave: Boneiru, papiamentu, hulandes, vokabulario, kompreshon di teksto, prestashon lingwístiko, faktor ekstralingwístiko

Den e konstelashon ku Boneiru ta for 2010, esta komo munisipio i direktamente bou di Hulanda, a kondusí último dékada na masha atenshon pa fortifikashon di hulandes den enseñansa na nos isla. Esaki sigur ta e kaso den enseñansa sekundario. Atenshon pa kualke área di edukashon semper ta di aploudí. Sinembargo, e posishon i e akontesimentunan ta pone e posishon di papiamentu na peliger. Papiamentu tin su lugá sí, pero no manera mester ta, komo idioma materno di mayoria habitante den e komunidad, i konsekuentemente tambe di estudiante na skol. Komo no tin muchu resultado di investigashon disponibel, spesífikamente pa Boneiru, i sigur pa idioma papiamentu, investigashon relashoná ku enseñansa di idioma ta nesesario. Esaki ta hustifiká e estudio presentá ku ta un investigashon empíriko, kaminda a kolekshoná dato den skol sekundario na Boneiru. Den e artíkulo akí, énfasis lo ta riba dominio di e dos idiomanan papiamentu i hulandes den skol. A base di dos aspekto relevante pa atkisishon di idioma lo haña un bista mas kla di prestashon pa e dos idiomanan den práktika di skol. E resultado lo tin ku indiká si tin progreso den dominio di vokabulario pasivo papiamentu i hulandes i alabes di kompreshon di teksto papiamentu i hulandes. Tambe lo haña indikashon si e faktornan ekstralingwístiko tin influensia riba dominio di e dos idiomanan. Resultado di e estudio akí por nifiká un kontribushon modesto, sin embargo relevante, pa redusí eskases di investigashon. Asina poulatinamente lo amplia konosementu i ta haña mas

informashon di kousa i antesedente di siñansa na skol i partikularmente riba siñamentu di idioma na Boneiru den propio konteksto insular. Klaro esaki ta un aporte na prinsipio i ta di konfia ku despues na kaminda lo promové mas estudio empíriko, tambe pa sostené tomo di desishon i pa kompañá desaroyo didáktiko.

1 INTRODUKSHON

Dominio di idioma ta un kondishon general pa por funshoná na skol. Na Boneiru e dos idiomanan papiamentu i hulandes ta okupá un lugá relevante den enseñansa. Na skol sekundario tambe ta usa tur dos idioma i tur dos tin nan propio lugá. E posishon i funshon di e idiomanan akí sa ta tópiko di diskushon den komunidat i enseñansa (Craane, Marten, Anthony & Severing, 2015).

Den e estudio akí dominio i progreso di papiamentu i hulandes na komienso di skol sekundario, partikularmente na havo i vwo, ta pará sentral. E pregunta prinsipal ta kon e studentenan ta progresá pa e dos idiomanan papiamentu i hulandes. Tambe lo averiguá kua ta e faktornan ku lo por tin influensia riba e dominio di e dos idiomanan akí. Pa por yega na kontesta riba e preguntanan akí lo duna promé un bista di e konteksto den kua e investigashon ta tuma lugá. Den e introdukshon akí lo relatá di (1.1) papiamentu den enseñansa sekundario na Boneiru i despues lo duna un resúmen di (1.2) algun aspekto teóriko lingwístiko i ekstralingwístiko. Den kapítulo 2 lo deskribí e diseño di investigashon pa e estudio akí. Seguidamente lo presentá e resultadonan di e investigashon den kapítulo 3 i finalmente lo sera ku konklushon i rekomendashon.

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Poblashon

Boneiru ta un isla den Karibe na parti sur di laman Karibe dilanti di kosta venezolano i ta un di e asina yamá Islanan Abou òf e islanan ABC (Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao). For di 10 di òktober 2010 (10-10-'10), momentu ku Antia Hulandes a stòp di eksistí, Boneiru ta forma parti di pais Hulanda komo un entidat públiko, meskos ku e islanan Saba i St. Eustatius.

Na promé di yanüari 2018 Boneiru tabatin 19.500 mil habitante. For di kuminsamentu di 2011 su poblashon a oumentá ku kasi 4 mil persona. Esaki prinsipalmente ta debí na e echo ku mas hende a establese riba e isla komo inmigrante, ku tabatin hende ku a sali, esta emigrante. Sigur no ta e kresementu natural di poblashon a kousa e kresementu. E kresementu akí na Boneiru a tuma lugá prinsipalmente entre 2011 i 2013 ku un promedio di 1000 habitante pa aña. Den e periodo di 2011-2017 mas ku 1.200 persona nasí na Antia a migra di Boneiru pa Hulanda. Ta trata di persona ku a nase na un di e islanan anterior di Antia òf na Aruba i ku tabata bibá na Boneiru. Den e mes periodo alrededor di 1.200 hulandes for di Antia a establese na Boneiru. E porsentahe di migrashon nètò pa e grupo akí ta mas òf ménos den ekilibrio. Un grupo konsiderabel di hóben ta migra pa Hulanda pa bai studia, i mayoria di nan ta regresá Boneiru despues di algun aña (CBS-NL, 2018: 31).

Edukashon sekundario

Edukashon general sekundario na Boneiru ta kuadra ku e sistema edukativo den parti europeo di Reino Hulandes. E alumnonan por inskribí na vwo, havo, vmbo òf na skol pa edukashon práktiko. Lenga di instrukshon ta hulandes, pero sí por sigui papiamentu komo materia opshonal. Na 1 di òktober 2017, Bonaire tabatin 1.108 alumno inskribí den enseñansa general sekundario: 519 mucha muhé i 589 mucha hòMBER. Tin mas mucha hòMBER (11%) ku mucha muhé (5%) na enseñansa práktiko i enseñansa spesial. Den vmbo e kantidat di mucha hòMBER i mucha muhé ta kasi igual. Na havo i vwo tabatin mas mucha muhé (10%) ku mucha hòMBER (8%) (CBS-NL, 2018: 31: 7).

1.1 Papiamentu den enseñansa sekundario na Boneiru

Na prinsipio Boneiru tabatin tres idioma ofisial, esta hulandes, papiamentu i ingles (Landsverordening, 2007) Pa loke ta trata gobièrnu lokal, promé ku 10-10-'10, tantu kolegio ehekutivo komo konseho insular ta reuní na papiamentu i esei a sigui sosodé te ku awor. A mantené e reglanan eksistente di ortografia di papiamentu, ku ta e ortografia igual na esun di Kòrsou fihá den Landsbesluit schrijfwijze Papiamentu en Nederlands (2008). Banda di esei a aprobá un lei nobo ku ta regla tráfiko di komunikashon skirbí i papiá ku ta hasi posibel pa un siudadano na Boneiru dirigí su mes na gobièrnu na papiamentu i risibí kontesta tambe na papiamentu (La Chispa, 2013).

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1.1.1 Idioma papiamentu

Papiamentu, ku ta e idioma mas papiá na e tres islanan abou, Boneiru, Aruba i Kòrsou, ta un idioma krioyo. Papiamentu ta un idioma krioyo ku a surgi den siglo 17 i ku tin un base portugues. E orígen eksakto i su desaroyo te ainda ta fuente di diskushon entre e lingwistanan interesá. Tin ta argumentá ku papiamentu a nase na Kòrsou for di un meskla di e vários lenganan afrikano di e katibunan importá i e idiomanan ku tabata papia na Kòrsou manera prinsipalmente, spañó, hulandes i idioma di e grupo hudiu.

Otro lingwista ta asumí ku papiamentu ta relashoná genétikamente ku lenga krioyo di afro-portugues di Cabo Verde, Guinea-Bissau i Casamance (Senegal) i, por lo tantu, tin un base portugues i afrikano oksidental. Den di dos parti di siglo 17 tabatin un proseso di releksifikashon for di léksiko spañó. Releksifikashon ta e fenómeno ku un idioma krioyo prinsipalmente ta remplasá gran parti di su vokabulario original pa esun di un otro idioma, miéntas su gramátika ta keda igual. Den e kaso di papiamentu ta trata di lenga spañó. Den lenga papiamentu aktual por haña palabra for di vários idioma manera: spañó, portugues, hulandes, ingles i tambe di algun idioma afrikano i di nativo amerikano, esta, palabra indjan. E siguiente ehèmpelnan ta ilustrá esaki.

spañó: pantaya < pantaya; atrako < atraco; teklado < teclado; sombré < sombrero

portugues: barbulètè < borboleta; kachó < cachorro; pretu < preto.

hulandes:	lesa < lezen; ònbeskòp < onbeschoft; skrufdrai < schroeendraai
ingles:	kiper < keeper; baiskel < bicycle, tènk < tank; tishùrt < T-shirt
afrikano:	pinda < Kongo: mpinda; makamba < Bantu: ma-kamba; yongotá < Wolof: djongotó
nativo:	orkan < Taíno: juracán; maishi < Taíno: mahíz; kunuku < Taíno: conuco; mahos < Arawak: muhusu

(Jonis, 2009; Jacobs, 2012, Joubert, 2013; wiki/Papiamentu, 2019). E variantenan di papiamentu ku ta papia na e tres islanan abou, esta, Aruba, Boneiru i Kòrsou tin relativamente asina tiki diferensia, ku habitantenan por komuniká sin difikultat. Loke ta ripará mesora ta diferensia den entonashon. Aparte di diferensia fonológiko tin algun diferensia leksikal, morfológiko i sintáktiko. Riba nivel leksikal por nota ku tin diferensia entre e variantenan insular: hèmchi, koneu (Aruba) i hèmber, konènchi (Kòrsou i Boneiru).

Loke ta karakterisá morfologia di e variante di papiamentu di Boneiru ta redukshon di e sufiho ‘-mentu’ i ‘-mento’ pa ‘-men’: ‘papiamento, papiamentu’ na Boneiru ta bira ‘papiamen’. Tambe tin e tendensia pa laga algun fonema den posishon final kai: Nos tin dos kas por bira No tin do ka. No solamente morfológikamente, pero tambe sintáktikamente e forma di redukshon akí ta manifestá: ‘Mi ta bai kas’ ta kombertí den ‘M’a bai ka’. Popularmente sa bisa ku ta ‘kòrta palabra’, esta diskurso abreviá.

Por topa e redukshon di zonido den posishon final na vários parti di e tres islanan. Loke ta trata ortografia di papiamentu tin dos variante ku e tres islanan ta apliká. Aruba tin su propio ortografia for di 1986 ku tin mas un base etimológiko miéntras ku Boneiru i Kòrsou ta hasi uso di un ortografia komun ku un base fonológiko, ku a keda aprobá for di 1976 riba nivel insular pa Konseho insular di Kòrsou i Boneiru. E ortografia akí Boneiru ta usa for di 1986, ora a introdusí papiamentu na skol básiko. Despues parlamento antiano a fiha ortografia di 1976 den un forma levemente revisá pa medio di un dekreto riba nivel di Antia, na 2008 (Landsbesluit schrijfwijze Papiamentu en Nederlands, 2008) i a introdusí esaki pa siudadano na 2009 (Jonis et al., 2009). Pa logopedista por hasi trabou diagnóstiko a hasi análisis di diferensia relevante entre papiamentu i hulandes. Asina por averiguá kon un ablante di papiamentu por desviá riba nivel fonológiko, morfológiko, sintáktiko, pragmátiko i mas, ora e ta papia hulandes (Bos, 2017).

Papiamentu na Boneiru

Pa gran parti di e komunidad di Boneiru, papiamentu ta e idioma ku ta papia na kas. Di e poblashon 64% papiamentu ta e promé idioma na kas, hulandes 15%, spañó 15 %, ingles 5 % i otro idioma 1%. Hopi strañero ku ta bibando ya pa un tempu na Boneiru ta komuniká na papiamentu ku otro. Despues di 10 di òktober 2010 ora struktura di Reino hulandes a kambia, poblashon lokal ta haña su mes konfrontá ku funshonario i otro migrante hulandes ku a bin den e servisionan riba e isla, pero ku no ta dominá e idioma

di mayoria. Tin grupo di habitante ta ekspresá regularmente nan preokupashon pa e kambionan demográfiko akí (Marten, 2017). E grupo akí ta teme ku kresementu di e grupo ku ta papia solamente hulandes i di e otro gruponan di migrante, manera di abla spañó, por menasá idioma i kultura propio di e isla karibeño. Boneiru tin chèns pa pèrdè su propio identidat.

Tin un desaroyo positivo di papiamentu den medionan di komunikashon. Mayoria emisor di radio i televishon ta transmití na papiamentu miéntras vários revista i korant ta hasi esfuerso pa skirbi e papiamentu ofisial, esta e ortografia ku tin e base fonológiko. E tereno kaminda papiamentu tin mas pèrdida ta den enseñansa. Desde aña 2010 enseñansa ta un responsabilidad di Hulanda i e kontròl di kalidat di enseñansa ta na enkargo di inspektornan hulandes. Hulandes a drenta mas i mas. Segun un investigashon di alfabetisashon di Stichting lezen en schrijven di aña 2015, 31.3% di e muchanan entre 9 pa 18 aña, idioma di kas ta papiamentu i serka 55%, papiamentu ta un di e mas idioma nan kua ta papia na kas. Solamente 3.3% ta papia hulandes so na kas. E idioma mas usá na skol ta papiamentu (49.7%), sigui pa hulandes (39.7%). Papiamentu (74.2%) ta e idioma mas papiá pafó di skol (CBS, 2015). Na mayoria skol básiko, papiamentu ta idioma di instrukshon den e promé dos añanan (grupo 1 i 2), despues ta pasa pa hulandes. Den enseñansa avansá papiamentu pa hopi tempu kaba tabata un materia obligatorio di èksamen. Desde aña eskolar 2014-2015 papiamentu a stòp di ta materia obligatorio di èksamen i a bira idioma opshonal den havo/vwo, conforme e leinan hulandes nobo (Inrichtingsbesluit WVO BES (2011). Tantu den havo komo den vwo papiamentu ta obligatorio te ku klas 4. E echo ku papiamentu a bira idioma di eskoho, tin tambe komo konsekuensia ku papiamentu ta haña un trato komo idioma straño moderno banda di franses. Tin Papiamentu1 ku ta obligatorio di 1 te ku 4 havo/vwo. Papiamentu2 ta pa esnan ku skohe papiamentu pa bai èksamen i esei ta kuminsá den klas 4. Den klas 4 e alumnonan ta haña Papiamentu1 i Papiamentu2 si nan skoh'é.

Pa Papiamentu2 klas 4 i 5 di vwo ta den un klùster. Esaki ta un medida ekonómiko ku no ta fasilitá e dunamentu di lès. E ta eksigí hopi diferensiasion ku no tur biaha ta na favor di e alumno. Den e tabèl 2 tin un komparashon di e tantu oranan ku ta duna den hulandes i papiamentu na Liseo Boneriano sekshon havo/vwo. Tin algun ora pa 'Zelfstandig Werken' ku ta un sistema nobo ku a introdusí ku e alumno ta traha riba su mes, e dosente ta den klas pa si mester di yudansa. Den práktika e alumnonan no ta hasi bon uso di e oranan akí. Tin KWT (Keuze Werktijd) ku e alumnonan di vwo-4/5/6 na mes momentu por skohe for di algun materia pa bai lès. Den práktika e eskoho no ta kai riba papiamentu.

Tabèl 1.1 komparashon di e kantidat di oranan di lès di papiamentu i hulandes na Liseo Boneriano

Ora di papiamentu i hulandes	Havo	Vwo
Hulandes	18	21
ZW(Zelfstandig Werken) HU	4	1
Total	22	22
Papiamentu1	13	10
Papiamentu2	2	2
ZW(Zelfstandig Werken) PA	3	1
KWT (Keuze Werktijd)	-	1
Total	18	14

Idioma di instrukshon ta hulandes pa tur materia ku eksepsyon di e materia papiamentu. E método pa Hulandes na havo/vwo ta Nieuw Nederlands i pa papiamentu ta usa Mosaiko, i Zonido di mi kurason. Nieuw Nederlands i Mosaiko ta konsiderá método sintético, esta ku ta kontené tur aspekto didáktiko di idioma. Mester remarká ku Nieuw Nederlands ta un método pa ablante hulandes i no un método pa usa pa duna hulandes na estranhero. Zonido di mi kurason ta sirbi pa ripití i sigui praktiká ortografia di papiamentu.

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1.1.2 Papiamentu na skol

Pa duna un bista di papiamentu su lugá den skol i tambe di progreso di papiamentu, un idioma krioyo, den konteksto di skol lo duna informashon tokante material pa siña idioma na skol sekundario i despues informashon tokante maneho di idioma na skol.

Material pa siña idioma na skol sekundario

Na fin di añanan nobenta, den enseñansa básiko a eliminá ‘brugklas’ i a introdusí formashon básiko. Den e reglamento di enseñansa nobo, pa promé biaha, papiamentu a haña posishon di un materia obligatorio den skol sekundario. Na 1998 a introdusí e método Mosaiko den promé klas di enseñansa sekundario (Severing et al., 1998). Segun tempu tabata progresando a desaroyá, i publiká seguidamente tomo pa vmbo, pa havo i vwo/hbo. Mientrastantu inovashon den enseñansa pa e chikínan a start. Na 2001 a kuminsá ku desaroyo di material pa enseñansa primario.

Asina poulatinamente a presentá un liña didáktiko kompletu pa materia papiamentu na skol ku ta kubri lès for di grupo 1 di enseñansa primario te ku vwo-6, mbo i hbo. Na 2001 ora ku a introdusí enseñansa di fundeshi na Antia Hulandes, i di mes tambe na Boneiru, papiamentu a bira un materia obligatorio den enseñansa for di 4 año na skol. Na 2015 a sera e

Tabèl 1.2 Deskripshon general di diferente método didáktiko pa kurso di papiamentu i papiamento den edukashon primario i sekundario na respektivamente e islanan Boneiru i Kòrsou i na Aruba.

Grupo/klas			Método		Tomo
			Boneiru/Kòrsou ¹	Aruba ²	
1	Primario	Primario abou	Trampolin	Rampa	1, 2
2		Primario abou	Trampolin	Rampa	3, 4
3		Primario abou	Salto	Baile di letter	1-10
4		Primario abou	Fiesta di idioma	Festival di idioma	A1, A2;
5-8		Primario ariba	Fiesta di idioma	Festival di idioma	B1, B2; C1, C2; D1,
1	Sekundario	vmbo, havo, vwo 1	Mosaiko	Cristal	1
2		vmbo, havo, vwo 2	Mosaiko	Cristal	2
3		vmbo 3 havo/vwo 3	Mosaiko	Cristal	3, 3
4		vmbo 4 havo/vwo 4	Mosaiko	Cristal	4, 4
5-6		havo/vwo 5/6/hbo	Mosaiko	Cristal	5/6

¹ Desaroyá pa: Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma, Kòrsou

² Desaroyá pa: Desaroyo di Curiculo, Aruba

liña didáktiko kompleto ku Mosaiko pa vwo 5 i 6 den un tomo (Severing et al., 2015). Na Kòrsou i Aruba dos identidat gubernamental a desaroyá den kooperashon ku otro material pa e liña didáktiko kompleto. Teniendo kuenta ku e dos ortografianan diferente di un banda di Boneiru i Kòrsou i di otro banda di Aruba, a desaroyá dos sèt di material. E konteksto sosial-kultural di e diferente islanan tambe a kondusí na dos diferente vershon di material na papiamentu i papiamento. E kooperashon estrecho a resultá den un liña didáktiko komun ku material konkreto ku ta varia. Tabèl 2 ta duna un deskripshon general di e diferente metodonan didáktiko pa kurso di papiamentu i papiamento den edukashon primario i sekundario na respektivamente e islanan Boneiru i Kòrsou i na Aruba, manera a desaroyá entre 1998 i 2015 pa e tres islanan abou.

Maneho di idioma pa skol

Na Boneiru tur alumno ku sali eksitoso for di skol primario ta bini huntu den un skol sekundario komun esta Komunitat di Skol Boneriano (KSB). E skol ta funshoná segun su Mishon i vishon formulá ku algun partikularidat relevante (2016-2020).

E maneho di idioma pa skol a keda deskribí den ‘Tweede Onderwijsagenda Caribisch Nederland 2017-2020’ (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, 2016). Ei por lesa ku ambishon ta pa mas tardá 2020 e alumnonan ta dominá e idioma òf idioma nan usá den lès sufisientemente pa por sigui enseñansa primario, drenta den skol sekundario i mbo; òf sigui enseñansa mas avansá (den region òf Hulanda Europeo) ku ta kuadra ku nan nivel di estudio. Nan mester por funshoná bon den komunidad i riba merkado laboral. Mayoria alumno ta haña lès intensivo den (por lo ménos) dos idioma. Pa Boneiru esei ta hulandes i papiamentu. Ta importante pa e enseñansa di idioma ta di bon kalidat, pasobra esaki ta determiná éksito den enseñansa avansá, merkado laboral i komunidad. Algun skol a minimalisá e atraso den dominio di idioma parsialmente, pero

ainda dominio di idioma di mayoria alumno no ta kumpli ku e normanan hulandes-europeo. Especialmente enseñansa di i den idioma hulandes ta un problema pa hopi skol, teniendo na kuenta ku pa mayoria alumno, hulandes ta un idioma ku apénas nan ta tende pafó di skol. Pa drecha e enseñansa di idioma ta importante pa tur partido konserní sigui forma i implementá un maneho di idioma konsistente.

Debate riba papiamentu i hulandes den enseñansa

E posishon di e dos idiomanan papiamentu i hulandes den komunidat i den enseñansa ta fuente di debate públiko enérgiko i emoshonal i den enseñansa kontinu. E resultadonan di enseñansa en general i pa idioma hulandes hopi biaha ta rason i motibu pa e diskushon por lanta atrobe. For di sifra di CBS ta mostra riba resultado desepshonante di havo (6%) i vwo (6%) den aña eskolar 2018-2019 na Liseo Boneriano (CBS-NL, 2018: 31: 7). E ta reprochá e echo ku ta duna hulandes demasiado importansia den enseñansa i ta neglishá idioma materno di mayoria di e studiantenan. E ta reprochá e sistema ku ta ekskluí un grupo grandi for di enseñansa i asina ta minimalisá nan chènsnan den enseñansa i den komunidat komo siudadano. E ta puntra su mes, ta kon ta hasi logra mihó resultado ku un idioma di skol estranhero? Refiriendo na maneho di skol sekundario (Scholengemeenschap Bonaire, 2016) e ta argumentá ku ta nota ku e alumno mes-ter dominá su idioma materno pa e por siña otro idioma.

Sinembargo ta hasi papiamentu ku tabata un idioma obligatorio awor un idioma opshonal. Asina estudiante lo tin ku skohe entre papiamentu i franses, lokual ta kontradiktorio. Tambe tin mas ku ta kuestioná posishon di papiamentu banda di hulandes den komunidat i den enseñansa ku argumentonan semehante (Prins-Winkel 1975; Dijkhoff & Pereira, 2010).

Banda di esaki tambe sa pone e debate den un kuadro mas amplio kaminda ta konsiderá e posishon minoritario di e idiomanan di isla chikí den desaroyo (Small Island Developing States, SIDS) den un konteksto poskolonial. E outornan akí ku ta studia e relashonnan di e variedat di idioma den komunidat for di un bista sociolingwístiko, ta eksplorá perspectiva tokante polítika, maneho i planifikashon di idioma komo diferente aspekto di kontinuashon di e tradishon estatal i e régimen lingwístiko di e kolonisadó antiguo. Algun ta relatá di resultado pa e islanan Aruba Boneiru i Kòrsou (Bröring & Mijts, 2017; Mijts, 2019).

1.2 Algun aspekto teóriko lingwístiko i ekstralingwístiko

Den e sekshon akí ta presentá den 1.2.1, Un modelo komunikativo, un kuadro skemátiko kaminda e diferente komponentenan di idioma ta den un relashon koherente. Despues lo deskribí algun noshon ku ta di importansia den e estudio akí den párafo 1.2.2 Vokabulario, kompreshon di teksto i faktor ekstralingwístiko.

1.2.1 Un modelo komunikativo

Investigashon ta mostra ku por distinguí algun aspekto di siñamentu di lenga ku huntu ta forma e konstrukshon ‘idioma’. E kuadro akí, ku ta base pa studia atkisishon di idioma i pa didáktika pa siña un idioma ta distinguí: (1) idioma papiá i skirbí i (2) idioma reseptivo i produktivo. Ora ta trata di idioma oral òf papiá bo por tende, un seri di zonido ku esun ku ta skucha por duna nifikashon. Serka idioma skibí a nota un seri di signo, serka nos den forma di lèter, ku bo por duna nifikashon. Ku idioma produktivo nos ta indiká produkshon di zonido di bos i signo por eskrito. Ora ta papia di idioma reseptivo ta risibí zonido i ta desifrá teksto por eskrito i finalmente ta duna esakinan nifikashon (Verhoeven & De Jong, 1991; Severing, 1997). For di e kuadro teórik akí, por dedusí e áreanan prinsipal ku ta di importansia pa siña idioma i tambe papiamentu, ku ta: skucha, papia, lesa i skibi. Durante bastante dékada a hasi uso di e modelo eksistente anterior di e partishon den e kuater abilidadnan akí. Mas resien internashonalmente ta hasi uso di un repartishon di abilidad ku e marko di referensia europeo ta presentá den e asina yamá Common European Reference Framework, CERF (Nederlandse Taalunie, 2006). E partishon akí ta kontené mas komponente. Debí na e echo ku a konsiderá ku e modelo akí no tabata sufisiente pa reflehá realidat kompleho di komunikashon, a surgi nesesidat pa adaptashon. Asina a añadí e aspekto di komunikashon na e kuadro akí, di tal forma ku interakshon entre mas hende, esta kòmbersashon òf interkambiá a keda añadí (Portafolio di idioma Papiamentu, Manual, 2015). Den tabèl 1.3 por mira e relashon entre e kuater komponentenan básiko i esunnan añadí.

Tabèl 1.3 Aspekto prinsipal di dominio di idioma²

Abilidad idiomátiko	reseptivo	produktivo	Komunikashon
Idioma Oral	SKUCHA	PAPIA	INTERKAMBIÁ
Idioma skibí	LESA	SKIBI	(KOMPETENSIA ³)

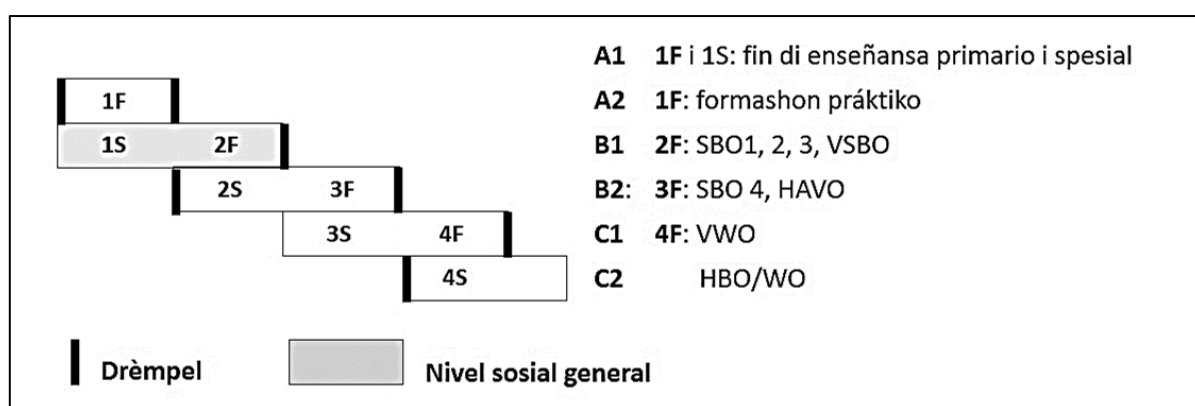
Desaroyo mundial a pone ku a desaroyá Kuadro di Referensia Europeo (KRE), ku ta usa awendia pa midi nivel di idioma di estudiante. Usando e kuadro presentá, KRE a introdusí 3 nivel pa husga esnan ku ta siña un idioma. Ta distinguí nivel prinsipal: A, B i C. Nivel A ta pa usadó prinsipiante di idioma, nivel B usadó independiente i nivel C ta pa usadó ábil di idioma. For di esakinan ta derivá e seis supnivelnan: A1, A2; B1, B2; C1, C2. Relatá na e tres nivelnan prinsipal i e seis supnivelnan, un siguiente komishon (Komishon Meijerink) a instituí nivel ku ta spesífikamente pa skol, esta e nivelnan F(undamental: fundamentele kwaliteit): F1, F2, F3, F4 i e nivelnan S(streefkwaliteit) : S1, S2, S3, S4. E nivelnan akí na Boneiru ta vigente ora ta trata

² Den su skema di deskripshon CEFR (Nederlandse Taalunie, 2006 p. 28) ta distinguí: (1) skibi, (2) papia (2a: produkshon i 2b: interakshon), (3) komprendé (3a: lesa i 3b: skucha).

³ Kompetensia ku ta deskribí grado di dominio di lenga, ta: gramátika, pronunsiashon, vokabulario, ortografia, struktura di teksto i fleksibilidat.

enseñansa di idioma. E ophetivo ta pa e studiantenan di havo i vwo rispetivamente alkansá nivel KRE: B1 i B2 i di e sistema di Meijerink: 3F i 4F. E nivelnan S ta spesialmente pa e alumnonan ku ta dominá e materia mas lihé ku e grupo promedio. Esaki ta enserá ku ta ofresé e alumnonan e materia di e nivel fundamental (F) ku ta sigui direktamente despues di su

Figura 1.2 Kuadro di referensia pa nivel di idioma



nivel aktual (p.e. 2F=1S). Figura 1.2 ta duna un bista di e Kuadro di referensia pa nivel di idioma (segun Portafolio Manual Papiamentu, 2015).

1.2.2 Vokabulario, kompreshon di teksto i faktor ekstralingwístiko

Ora ta trata dominio di idioma ta distinguí dos elemento lingwístiko klave, ku ta vokabulario i kompreshon di teksto. E dos komponentenan akí ta pronostiká prestashon total pa dominio di idioma asina fuerte, ku frekuentemente den investigashon ta skohe nan pa representá dominio di idioma den su totalidat. Kon bon òf kon limitá dominio i progreso den siñamentu di idioma ta, ta dependé di vários faktor no lingwístiko so, sino ekstralingwístiko. Seguidamente lo elaborá riba vokabulario, kompreshon di teksto i e posibel faktornan ekstralingwístiko akí (Goossens & Vermeer, 2009).

Vokabulario

Vokabulario, òf léksiko di un usuario di lenga ta kolekshon di tur palabra ku e ta disponé di dje. E palabranan ku un persona mes ta usa, ta pertenesé na su vokabulario aktivo. E palabranan ku e ta kompandé, pero ku e no ta usa ta forma parti di su vokabulario pasivo. Konosementu di palabra ta esensial pa un bon dominio di idioma. Prinsipalmente na skol konosementu di palabra ta importante. Finalmente, na skol ta pasa konosementu generalmente pa medio di teksto, kaminda palabra tin e papel di mas esensial, komo nan ta karga nifikashon. E studiantenan no por kompletá nan tareanan i nan no por kompandé un teksto, si nan tin un vokabulario insuficiente. Tambe konosementu di palabra ta importante pasobra ora ku mester derivá nifikashon di palabra deskonosí den un teksto, esaki ta dependé, pa gran parti, di e palabranan ku ta rònt di nan. Ménos

palabra un estudiante konosé, òf ménos nifikashon di palabra, mas tiki palabra e ta siña aserka, komo ta bira imposibel pa derivá nifikashon di palabra for di e teksto (Goossens & Vermeer, 2009).

Komprenshon di teksto

Komprenshon di teksto ta e kapasidat pa prosesá teksto skirbí, komprende su nifikashon i integrá esaki ku loke e lesadó sa kaba. Tin algun abilidadat básiko ku ta nesesario pa e proseso di lesamentu ku komprenshon tuma lugá na un manera efektivu. Un di e proménan ta konosementu di nifikashon di palabra i e kapasidat for di konteksto di e teksto. Kompetensia leksikal ta di sumo importansia pa lesamentu komprensivo. Vokabulario tin un relashon hopi estrecho ku lesamentu komprensivo. Alumno ku abilidadat tékniko mas desaroyá, vokabulario amplio, ku mas konosementu di palabra i ku relashon entre palabra mas fuerte ta mas kapabel pa komprondé un teksto skirbí, kompará ku un alumno ku e abilidadatnan menshoná ménos desaroyá. Un vokabulario amplio i bon desaroyá ku konosementu di palabra lòs pa forma teksto, ta hopi importante (Schoenbach, Greenleaf & Murphy, 2012; Heister-Swart, Bruggink, 2018). Investigashon ku ta studia relashon entre vokabulario i lesamentu ta mustra un korelashon di entre .63 pa .76 (Aarnoutse & Van Leeuwe, 1986). Ora ta midi dominio di idioma, ta resultá ku dominio di vokabulario ta sumamente importante. Asina estudio lokal, na skol sekundario na Kòrsou ta mustra un korelashon fuerte entre logronan na skol en general i lesamentu komprensivo (Severing, 1993; 1997; Juliana & Severing, 2012).

Faktor di influensia riba prestashon pa idioma

For di investigashon ta sali ku tin un kantidat di faktor ku tin influensia riba dominio di idioma. Esakinan ta konsiderá faktor ekstralingwístiko. Entre e faktornan ekstralingwístiko akí por distinguí (a) karakterístika personal di e estudiante, situashon na kas i aktitut di e estudiante relashoná ku idioma relevante. E karakterístika personal mas komun ta sekso, inteligensia, edat, lugá di nasementu, temporada di estadia den pais i idioma materno.

Pa haña un bista di (b) ambiente di kas por konsiderá entrada di mayor; yudansa di kas ku lès; si semper por hasi pregunta na kas; si na kas hendenan ta lesa hopi; si na kas ta informá kon ta bai na skol; si na kas tur dia ta lesa korant na sierto idioma i muchu mas. Importante pa estudio di idioma ta (c) aktitut ku ta indiká posishon di e partisipantenan relashoná ku sierto idioma. Ta trata di un asosiasion positivo òf ménos positivo ku un idioma òf un variante di idioma ta generá serka un ablante. Generalmente ta hasi uso di enkuesta ku ponensia, kaminda e partisipante ta skohe entre vários modalidat manera 1=hopi tiki, 2=tiki, 3=mas o ménos, 4=hopi, i 5=masha hopi. Ta presentá ponensia manera: Mi ta bon den papiamentu; Mi gusta lès di hulandes; Idioma ku mi tin mas gana di siña spañó òf Mi gusta wak sine na ingles. Di tal forma por determiná kon por akclará e diferencia den prestashon di idioma.

Relevansia di e investigashon akí

E investigashon akí lo pone dominio di lenga sentral. Lo konsentrá riba idioma skirbí reseptivo. Den e kaso akí lo enfoká riba *lesamentu komprehensivo* i tambe lo investigá un supkomponente indikativo ku ta *vokabulario pasivo* mirando e korelashon fuerte entre e aspektonan akí. Ku vokabulario pasivo ta indiká e kantidat di palabra ku e usuario di idioma ta disponé di dje. Ta trata di e palabra ku e ta komprondé. Generalmente ta tèst esaki den konteksto di un teksto skirbí. Vokabulario pasivo ta ménos difísil pa midí ku vokabulario aktivo. E último akí ta e kantidat di palabra ku e esun ku ta papia òf skirbi ta usa aktivamente.

2 DISEÑO DI INVESTIGASHON

E repartishon di e tésis akí ta komo lo siguiente. Lo tin na promé lugá e meta di e investigashon, den kua ta motivá e situashon ku a kondusí na e investigashon, sigui pa e preguntanan di investigashon i lo tin deskripsjon di e grupo di alumno ku ta partisipá. Despues ta deskribí e pruebanan selektá, ta deskribí e proseso di kolekshonamentu di dato i e konfiabilidat i valides di e instrumentario.

Midi abilidad di idioma

Ta un proseso integrativo den kua ta midí abilidadnan. Den un prosedimentu diskreto ta midí dominio léksiko i kompreshon di teksto. Si un alumno no ta dominá un di e área nan menshoná, e método akí ta bon pa diagnostiká i ta duna indikashon pa intervenshon didáktiko.

2.1 Planteamentu di e problema i meta di e investigashon

Meskos ku na Kòrsou, den un komunidat ku ta desaroyando intensivamente (Severing, 1997) bon enseñansa ku rendimentu ta un prioridat. Den komunidat tin hopi preokupashon pa e prestashon den enseñansa di un kantidat grandi di alumno ku ta un grupo di riesgo. Den tur análisis tokante kalidat i rendimentu di enseñansa idioma di instruksjon den enseñansa ta keda un problema. Boneiru a drenta den un status nobo na 2010 den Hulanda Karibense. Apesar ku den lei tin e espasio pa skolnan tin nan propio maneho di idioma a skohe pa tuma pa gran parti e leinan di enseñansa di Hulanda. E ròl di papiamentu, ku ta idioma materno di mayoria alumno, ta birando tantu na skol básiko komo na skol sekundario ménos importante. Na Komunidat di Skol Boneriano (KSB), e sekshon Liseo Boneriano havo/vwo, e oranan di e idioma straño hulandes ta subi i e idioma materno ta haña e status di idioma straño banda di un idioma fakultativo ku ta franses. E pensamentu akí ta mara éksito na dominio di idioma hulandes. No tin dato ku ta mostra ku si e resultado di maneho aki ta na benefisio di e alumnonan. Apesar di ta butando mas atenshon na idioma hulandes tòg konstantemente bo ta tende ku e alumnonan tin retraso den e idioma refiriendo na un solo idioma ku ta hulandes. Pa por

buska solushon mester tin dato konfiabel ku ta deskribí e problemátika, akclará koherensia i determiná kousa i konsekuensia.

Den e investigashon akí, di kua ta presentá resultado, desaroyo di prestashon di idioma na papiamentu i hulandes na final di aña 2 di enseñansa sekundario na Boneiru ta pará sentral. Lo investigá kon e proseso di siñamentu di e dos idiomanan durante e promé dos añanan enseñansa sekundario) di havo i vwo riba e isla ta funshoná mirando e kantidat di oranan mas di lès di hulandes kompará ku papiamentu. Un di e preguntanan ta tambe te den ki grado por detektá relashon entre e diferente prestashonnan pa e aspektonan di idioma i di lesamentu, esta partikularmente vokabulario i lesamentu komprensivo. Finalmente, lo trata di detektá faktor ku por influensia kresementu di vokabulario bilingwe i lesamentu komprensivo den e dos idiomanan.

E preguntanan di investigashon

Pa por haña un bista mas ekstenso di kresementu di kompetensia den e dos idiomanan papiamentu i hulandes na skol sekundario, den e investigashon akí lo buska kontesta riba e tres siguiente preguntanan klave.

1. Kua ta índole i grado di kresementu di vokabulario pasivo i di lesamentu komprensivo di e studiantenan den e promé dos añanan di havo/vwo (enseñansa sekundario) na papiamentu i hulandes na Boneiru?
2. Kua ta e relashonnan ku por haña entre prestashon pa vokabulario pasivo i lesamentu komprensivo na papiamentu i hulandes?
3. Kua ta e faktornan lingwístiko i e faktornan di trasfondo ku por influensia dominio di vokabulario pasivo i prestashon di lesamentu komprensivo na papiamentu i hulandes den e promé dos añanan di havo/vvwo (enseñansa sekundario) na Boneiru?

Similar na e investigashon di Juliana (2011) a hasi uso di e aserkamentu diskreto i un prosedimentu indirekto pa por midi dominio i kresementu di idioma. Di e aspekto leksikal a hasi uzo di un prueba di vokabulario pasivo na papiamentu i vokabulario pasivo na hulandes, tambe un prueba pa komprension di teksto na papiamentu i na hulandes. Pa e parti ekstralingwístiko a usa un lista di pregunta na papiamentu pa haña informashon di posibel influencia di faktornan riba e abilidadat leksikal i komprension di teksto na papiamentu i hulandes.

2.2 Operashonalisashon

A skohe e prueba di vokabulario pasivo i komprension di teksto di hulandes i papiamentu. Pa un operashonalisashon simpel a skohe pa e prosedimentu diskreto-indirekto. E alumnonan a haña un lista ku pregunta pa yena pa por haña un bista di e abilidadtan sosiolingwístiko. Por kompará resultado di e tèstnan formando grupo di alumno ku resultado semehante.

2.2.1 Konfiabilidat i valides

Komo vários di e instrumentonan a forma parti di investigashon anterior (Severing 1993; 1997; Juliana, 2011; Juliana & Severing, 2012), ta asumí ku nan ta válido i ku nan ta midi loke nan ta pretendé di midi. Pa kontrolá nan viabilidat o sea nan konfiabilidat, den e investigashon akí lo hasi kálkulo di konsistensia interno di kada prueba i enkuesta.

2.3 Kolekshonamentu dato

E poblashon ta tur e alumnonan di e promé dos klasnan di skol sekundario, ku a kaba finalisá skol básiko. Ta trata di alumno di havo i vwo di KSB sekshon Liseo Boneriano na Boneiru. E grupo di alumno ku a partisipá na e investigashon ta forma un muestreo representativo di e poblashon di alumno di e promé dos klasnan: H1, H2, V1 i V2.

Muestreo

Di KSB a skohe na Liseo Boneriano dos klas 1 ku ta di havo i vwo i tres klas 2 kual nan ta dos di havo i un di vwo. Ta trata di un grupo di 100 alumno di kua 40 ta mucha hòmber i 60 ta mucha muhé. Tabèl 2.1 ta duna un bista di e partishon di e partisipantenan den e muestreo ku ta konsistí di 100 alumno en total. E kantidat di alumnonan ta repartí den 24 di klas 1 di vwo i 20 di klas 1 di havo. Den klas 2 di vwo tin 20 alumno i den klas 2 di havo tin 36 alumno. E edatnan ta varia entre 12 pa 15 aña, kaminda e promedio pa nivel i tipo di enseñansa ta: H1=13.2 aña; H2=14.3 aña; V1=13.3 aña i V2=14.0 aña. E promedio pa henter e grupo di partisipante ta 13.8 aña ($SD=.79$, $n=100$).

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Tabèl 2.1 Partishon di e alumnonan partisipante riba nan nivel di skol

Nivel	Mucha hòmber	Mucha muhé	Total
Havo 1	8 (8%)	12 (12%)	20 (20%)
Havo 2	13 (13%)	23 (23%)	36 (36%)
Total havo	21 (21%)	35 (35%)	56 (56%)
Vwo 1	7 (7%)	17 (17%)	24 (24%)
Vwo 2	12 (12%)	8 (8%)	20 (20%)
Total vwo	19 (19%)	25 (25%)	44 (44%)
Total	40 (40%)	60 (60%)	100 (100%)

Instrumentario

E instrumentario a konsistí di kuater tèst. A usa dos prueba papiamentu i dos prueba na hulandes. Pa e parti sosiolingwístiko e alumnonan mester a yena un lista ku pregunta na papiamentu. E instrumentario na papiamentu ta konsistí di un prueba di vokabulario pasivo di 42 item i un prueba di kompreshon di teksto di 16 item (Maya i e galiña kòrá). E instrumentario na hulandes ta konsistí di un leeswoordenschattaak di 50 item i un tekstileestaak di 13 item (Een ongelooflijke nacht). Debí na e plaso di tempu ku tabata

kòrtiku entre e pruebanan, e teksto di komprension di hulandes tabata diferente for di esun na papiamentu. (wak figura 2). E tèst di vokabulario pasivo ta midi kon grandi vokabulario pasivo di e alumnonan ta. Por konsiderá tur e pruebanan, instrumentonan konfiabel i válido. E lista di pregunta ta forma un instrumento pa midi algun aspekto sosiolingwístiko di e alumnonan, manera, sekso, idioma materno i preferensia di idioma den diferente situashon. (Severing 1993; 1997) Pa medio di e informashon optené usando e instrumentario akí, por determiná riba kua nivel reseptivo e alumno ta den e proseso di atkisishon di idioma (Juliana, 2011).

Tabèl 2.2 Instrumentario pa e aspektonan di idioma papiamentu, hulandes i pa abilitat sosiolingwístiko

Aspekto	Idioma	
	Papiamentu	Hulandes
Leksikal	Vokabulario pasivo 2	Passieve woordenschat 2
Tekstual	Tarea pa lesa: Maya i e galiña kòrá	Leestaak: Een ongelooflijke nacht
Ekstralingwístiko	Lista ku pregunta pa alumno	

2.3.1 Komprension di teksto papiamentu i hulandes

A hasi uso di teksto den dos idioma pa por midi i kompará e abilitatnan den dos idioma. E temanan no ta mará na residensia, parti geográfiko ni na kultura pero ta den e esfera di interes di e alumnonan.

Pa evaluá komprension di teksto papiamentu i hulandes ta hasi uso di dos aspekto den e instrumentario. E alumnonan a traha e teksto (Maya i e galiña kòrá) na papiamentu di 16 item i na hulandes (Een ongelooflijke nacht) di 13 item. E alumnonan mester a traha e prueba kontestando preguntanan a base di eskoho múltiple

2.3.2 Vokabulario pasivo

E prueba ta midi e vokabulario reseptivo di e alumnonan mediante komprension di palabra skibí. Ta ofresé e prueba den forma di un frase ku tin un palabra suprayá. Abou tin opshon di kuater palabra pa skohe entre un sinónimo òf un deskripshon sinónimo i tres palabra pa despistá. Pues tin kuater alternativa di kua un so ta korekto. E pruebanan di (Juliana, 2011) hulandes ta konsistí di 50 item i e prueba papiamentu ta konsistí di 42 item. E alumno mester a skibi lèter di e kontesta korekto riba su blachi di kontesta.

Ehèmpel: Semper e ke dikta.

- a. manda
- b. gaña
- c ta promé
- d. traha diktado

2.3.3 Variabel ekstralingwístiko

Pa por determiná kon por aklará e diferensia den prestashon a kolekshoná informashon di trasfondo manera karakterístika sosiolingwístiko di e alumno, famia i skol. Pa haña e informashon e alumnonan a haña un lista pa yena, pa asina akumulá dato ekstralingwístiko (Juliana, 2011). Banda di dato personal, e partisipantenan mester a kontestá pregunta markando un sifra riba un skala di 1 te 5. 1=hopi tiki, 2=tiki, 3=mas o ménos, 4=hopi, i 5=masha hopi. E kuestionario usá tabata konsistí di un lista di pregunta kaminda a apliká eskala di Likert di siguiente manera. Totalmente di akuerdo=5; Di akuerdo=4; Indiferente=3; En desakuerdo=2; i Totalmente di desakuerdo=1.

Ehèmpel:

Mi ta sabí den hopi kos.	1..2..3..4..5
Na kas mi hendenan ta yudá mi ku mi lèsnan	1..2..3..4..5

2.4 Prosedimentu di tèst

E dosente di hulandes a funshoná komo guia di e pruebanan di hulandes i e dosente di papiamentu a guia e proseso di e pruebanan na papiamentu na e diferente klasnan. E alumno mester a traha en total kuater prueba i yena un enkuesta. Den dos simannan a traha dos prueba hulandes i dos prueba papiamentu i a yena e lista ku pregunta pa alumno. Koordinadó di e investigashon a duna e dosentenan ku a guia e tèstnan instrukshon, kon pa instruí e alumnonan pa e prosedimentu di tèst por bai mas sinkronisá posibel. E gruponan a traha prueba igual na mes momentu.

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2.5 Análisis di dato

Pa analisá e datonan kolekshoná, a hinka tur e skornan den e programa elektróniko Excel, pa despues usa SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) pa hasi e análisisnan estadístiko nesesario. Pa averiguá konfiabilidat di e tèstnan i di e lista di enkuesta a kalkulá e koefisiente di konfiabilidat ku Alfa di Cronbach, (α), pa asina midi konsistensia interno di e instrumentario. Pa kalkulá i kompará e skornan pa prestashon di idioma (variabel dependiente), sekso, idioma materno i preferensia di idioma den diferente situashon. (variabel independiente), a hasi uso di t-test. Pa determiná relashon entre e variabelnan a midi korelashon i a kalkulá e grado di signifíkansia na tres nivel: $p < .05$; $p < .01$ i $p < .001$.

A hasi uso di e siguiente tabèl pa interpretá e balor di Alfa di Cronbach (α) i tambe pa interpretá e koefisiente di korelashon (r) (Tilburguniversity.edu, 2020).

0.00 < r < 0.30: kasi ningun konsistensia interno
0.30 < r < 0.50: konsistensia interno abou
0.50 < r < 0.70: konsistensia interno moderá
0.70 < r < 0.90: konsistensia interno altu
0.90 < r < 1.00: konsistensia interno hopi altu

3 RESULTADO DI INVESTIGASHON

Den e kapítulo akí ta presentá e resultadonan di e investigashon empíriko akí ku ta trata dominio di papiamentu i hulandes den e promé klasnan di havo i vwo na Boneiru. E presentashon ta tuma lugá a base di e tres preguntanan di investigashon. Promé ku presentá e resultadonan ta diskutí e kalidat di e instrumentonan ku a usa pa kolekshoná dato serka e partisipantenan, esta e pruebanan pa vokabulario pasivo i e enkuesta pa e aspektonan ekstralingwístiko. Asina e promé paragraf (3.1) ta deskribí konfiabilidat di e instrumentonan. Den 3.2, korespondiendo ku pregunta di investigashon 1, ta duna un bista di e resultadonan di prestashon pa vokabulario pasivo papiamentu i hulandes i kompreshon di teksto papiamentu i hulandes. Banda di índole di e prestashonnan ta wak den ki grado por papia di kresementu di vokabulario pasivo i di lesamentu komprensivo di e studiantenan den e promé dos añanan di havo/vwo (enseñansa sekundario) na papiamentu i hulandes. Pa kumpli ku pregunta dos, den paragraf 3.3 ta averiguá kua ta e relashonnan ku por haña entre prestashon pa vokabulario pasivo i lesamentu komprensivo na papiamentu i hulandes. Siguiendo e di tres pregunta di investigashon lo determiná (3.4) kua ta e faktornan lingwístiko i e faktornan di trasfondo ku por influensia dominio di vokabulario pasivo i prestashon di lesamentu komprensivo na papiamentu i hulandes den e promé dos añanan di skol sekundario na Boneiru?

3.1 Konfiabilidat di e instrumentonan

Pa averiguá si e instrumentonan tin un konsistensia interno ta usa Alfa di Cronbach komo un koefisiente di viabilidat. Promé ta wak si e diferente preguntanan ta forma un totalidat konsistente. Pa kada tèst i pa e kuestionario a kalkulá viabilidat, kaminda a hasi uso di Alfa di Cronbach (α) pa esaki. Den tabèl 5 ta presentá e resultadonan di e diferente kalkulashonnan.

Tabèl 3.1 Bista di konfiabilidat di e instrumentonan ku a usa, presentando Alfa di Cronbach (α) i kantidat (k) di pregunta òf item den e tèst òf kuestionario i kantidat di partisipante (n)

Aspekto di idioma		α	k	n
Leksikal	Vokabulario pasivo papiamentu	.88	42	100
	Vokabulario pasivo hulandes	.91	50	100
Tekstual	Teksto papiamentu: Maya i e galiña kòrá	.86	16	100
	Teksto hulandes: Een ongeloflijke nacht	.73	13	100
Ekstralingwístiko	Aktitut lingwístiko	.71	60	99

E resultadonan ta mostra ku tur e instrumentonan ku ta usa den e investigashon akí ta konfiabel. Segun e kriterionan ku a presentá aki riba e tèst ku a usa pa vokabulario pasivo pa papiamentu ($r=.88$) tin un konsistensia interno altu (resultado entre $r=0.70$ i $r<0.90$). E tèst pa vokabulario pasivo hulandes ($r=.91$) tin un konsistensia interno hopi

altu. Pa e tekstonan pa midi kompreshon di teksto na papiamentu: Maya i e galiña kòrá, ($r=.86$) i pa midi kompreshon di teksto na hulandes: Een ongelooflijke nacht ($r=.73$) por konstatá ku ta trata di un konsistensia interno altu. Ku e último akí su balor pa konsistensia ta mas abou ($r=.73$), probablemente tin di aber ku e kantidat limitá di pregunta ($k=13$). Den e enkuesta ekstralingwístiko ku ta konsistí di 60 ponensia por distinguí vários karakterístika di e alumnonan. E lista kompleto ($k=60$) ku e variedat, sinembargo ta resultá konsistente. Esei ke men ku irespekto e echo ku e enkuesta ta inklui diferente tipo di variabel, e kontestanan riba e ponensianan ta indiká ku ta trata di un unidat, esta ku e karakterístikanan huntu ta forma e komponente ekstralingwístiko.

3.2 Progreso di papiamentu i hulandes na skol sekundario

Despues di a konstatá ku e instrumentario ta konfiabel, den e párafo akí lo presentá e resultadonan ku ta referí na e tres preguntanan di investigashon. Asina por duna un bista di e naturalesa i grado di prestashon pa vokabulario pasivo papiamentu i hulandes i kompreshon di teksto papiamentu i hulandes. Lo averiguá tambe, den ki grado tin kresementu di e partinan akí di dominio di e idiomanan papiamentu i hulandes. Den párafo 3.2.1 lo trata kresementu di vokabulario pasivo hulandes i papiamentu i den 3.2.2 lo konsentrá riba kresementu di lesamentu komprensivo pa hulandes i papiamentu den e promé klasnan di havo i vwo. Pa por kompará mihó a transformá kaminda ta nesesario e promedio (M) di e skornan porsentual (M%).

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3.2.1 Kresementu di vokabulario pasivo papiamentu i hulandes

Den e sekshon akí ta presentá resultado di e prueba vokabulario pasivo na papiamentu i su ekivalente Leeswoordenschattoon na hulandes. E prueba ta midi vokabulario reseptivo di e alumnonan, e ta midi kompreshon di palabra den teksto skibí. Promé ta duna resultadonan di e tèst Vokabulario pasivo na papiamentu i despues ta duna un bista di e resultadonan pa hulandes, separá pa klas 1 i 2 i pa havo i vwo.

Tabèl 3.2 Diferensia (t -test) entre skor promedio den porsentahe vokabulario pasivo papiamentu pa klas 1 i klas 2 pa havo i vwo ($k_{item}=42$)

	M	SD	Min.	Maks.	n	M%	SD%	t	df	p
Havo 1	23.75	7.91	9	36	20	56.55	18.83	-.735	54	$p<.466$
Havo 2	25.31	7.41	7	36	36	60.25	17.65			
Vwo 1	23.04	8.78	7	34	24	54.86	20.90	-.660	42	$p<.513$
Vwo 2	24.80	8.81	7	37	20	59.05	20.98			

E sifranan (tabèl 3.2) ta musta ku pa papiamentu e dominio di vokabulario pasivo pa havo i pa vwo ta krese ora kompará skor di klas 1 ku esun di klas 2. Ta bisto sí, ku pa klas 1 havo ta skor mas altu ku vwo. Pa klas 2 por opservá e mes fenómeno. Pa verifiká si e diferensianan ku ta konstatá, ta signifkante, a hasi prueba di t (t -test). E kresementu

entre havo 1 ($M=56.55$; $SD=18.83$) i havo 2 ($M=60.25$; $SD=17.65$) no ta significante $t(54)=-.735$, $p<.466$). Por mira algu di kresementu entre vwo 1 ($M=54.86$; $SD=20.90$) i vwo 2 ($M=59.05$; $SD=20.98$) pa vokabulario pasivo papiamentu, sinembargo esaki tampoko no ta significante $t(42)=-.660$, $p<.513$).

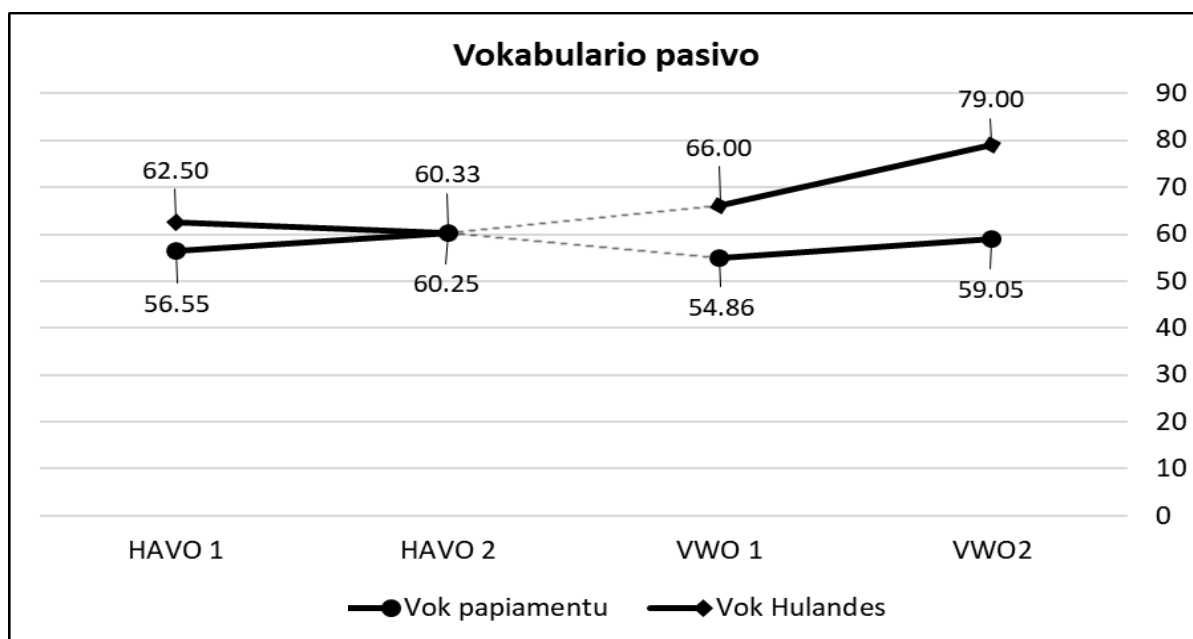
Pa hulandes e sifranan ta mostra ku dominio di vokabulario pasivo hulandes pa havo no ta krese ora kompará klas 1 i klas 2. Ta nèt kontrario. Havo 1 ta skor mas altu ku havo 2. Pa vwo e resultado ta manera por a pronostiká. Ei por mira un kresementu. A kontrolá si e diferensianan ku ta mira den e skornan pa vokabulario pasivo hulandes ta signifikante, a base di prueba di t (t -test).

Tabèl 3.3 Diferensia (t -test) entre skor promedio den porsentahe vokabulario pasivo hulandes pa klas 1 i klas 2 pa havo i vwo ($k_{item}=50$)

	M	SD	Min.	Maks.	n	M%	SD%	t	df	p
Havo 1	31.25	7.41	16	43	20	62.50	14.82	.436	54	$p<.664$
Havo 2	30.17	9.62	11	47	36	60.33	19.24			
Vwo 1	33.00	8.75	13	48	24	66.00	17.51	-2.413	42	$p<.02$
Vwo 2	39.50	9.07	13	48	20	79.00	18.14			

E kresementu negativo entre havo 1 ($M=62.50$; $SD=14.82$) i havo 2 ($M=60.33$; $SD=19.24$) no ta significante $t(54)=.436$, $p<.664$). E progreso di vwo 1 ($M=66.00$; $SD=17.51$) pa vwo 2 ($M=79.00$; $SD=18.14$) pa vokabulario pasivo hulandes si ta signifikante ($t(54)=-2.413$, $p<.02$) riba e nivel di $p<.05$.

Figura 3.1 Tendensia di oumento serka vokabulario pasivo hulandes i papiamentu den havo i vwo 1 i 2



Nota: E liña punteá ta indiká e tendensia entre e dos tiponan di enseñansa HAVO i VWO

E skor promedio den porsentahe total pa vokabulario pasivo hulandes ($M=65.86$; $SD=18.86$) pa studiante di tur klas ($n=100$) ta mas altu ku esun di papiamentu ($M=57.98$; $SD=19.21$). E diferensia ta signifkante riba un nivel altu: $t(99)=30.18$, $p<001$). Figura 2 ta ilustrá esaki den un gráfiko. Aunke ta trata di diferente grupo di studiante tòg a hasi uso di un liña kontinuo den e gráfikonan pa ilustrá e tendensia, asumiendo ku prestashon den klas 2 mester ta mas altu ku klas 1 i tambe basá riba e echo ku a tèst e studiantenan ku prueba idéntiko. E gráfiko ta visualisá e kresementu di vokabulario pasivo hulandes i papiamentu den havo i vwo 1 i 2. Por mira ku pa papiamentu e kresementu no ta tuma lugá di un forma regular. Pa hulandes e kresementu ta opvio, sinembargo prestashon den havo 2 ta mas abou ku havo 1. Si kompará e skor mínimo di papiamentu ku esun di hulandes por konstatá ku e kantidat di alumno ku ta skor abou, por mira ku pa Papiamentu e skor mínimo ta abou. Un posibel akklarashon ta ku tin un kantidat relativamente grandi di studiante ku ta papia hulandes na kas. Ora kompará e skornan porsentual (Skor%) pa vokabulario pasivo, por nota ku e skor di hulandes ta mas altu ku esun di papiamentu.

3.2.2 Kresementu di kompreshon di teksto papiamentu i hulandes

Den e párafo akí ta presentá resultado di e prueba pa kompreshon di teksto na papiamentu (Maya i e galiña kòrà) i e teksto na hulandes (Een ongelofelijke nacht). E prueba ta midi kompreshon di teksto skirbí di e alumnonan. Promé ta duna resultadonan di e tèst kompreshon di teksto papiamentu i despues ta duna un bista di e resultadonan pa hulandes, separá pa klas 1 i 2 i pa havo i vwo.

Tabèl 3.4 Diferensia (t -test) entre skor promedio den porsentahe (M%) kompreshon di teksto papiamentu pa klas 1 i klas 2 pa havo i vwo ($K_{item}=16$)

	M	SD	Min.	Maks.	n	M%	SD%	t	df	p
Havo 1	10.45	3.94	3	16	20	65.31	24.63	-.820	54	.416
Havo 2	11.36	4.01	3	16	36	71.01	25.05			
Vwo 1	09.25	4.39	2	16	24	57.81	27.41	-1.075	42	.288
Vwo 2	10.65	4.20	3	16	20	66.56	26.23			

E sifranan (tabèl 3.4) ta mustra ku pa papiamentu e dominio di kompreshon di teksto pa havo i pa vwo ta krese ora kompará skor di klas 1 ku esun di klas 2. Esei ta konta tantu pa havo komo pa vwo. Pa verifiká si e diferensianan entre e skornan promedio pa kompreshon di teksto na papiamentu ta signifkante, a hasi prueba di t (t -test). Pa verifiká si e diferensianan ku ta konstatá, ta signifkante, a hasi prueba di t (t -test). E kresementu pa kompreshon di teksto na papiamentu entre havo 1 ($M\%=65.31$; $SD=24.63$) i havo 2 ($M\%=71.01$; $SD=25.05$) no ta signifkante $t(54)=-.820$, $p<.416$). Por mira algu di kresementu entre vwo 1 ($M\%=57.81$; $SD=27.41$) i vwo 2 ($M\%=66.56$;

$SD=26.23$) pa kompreshon di teksto papiamentu, sinembargo esaki tampoko no ta signifkante $t(42)=-1.075, p<.288$).

Kontrali na papiamentu, pa hulandes e sifranan ta duna un bista konfuso (tabèl 3.5). Havo 2 ta skor mas abou ku havo 1. Pa vwo tin un kresementu mínimo i poko signifkante. A kontrolá si e diferensianan ku ta opservá den e skornan pa kompreshon di teksto hulandes ta signifkante, a base di prueba di t (t -test). E kresementu negativo

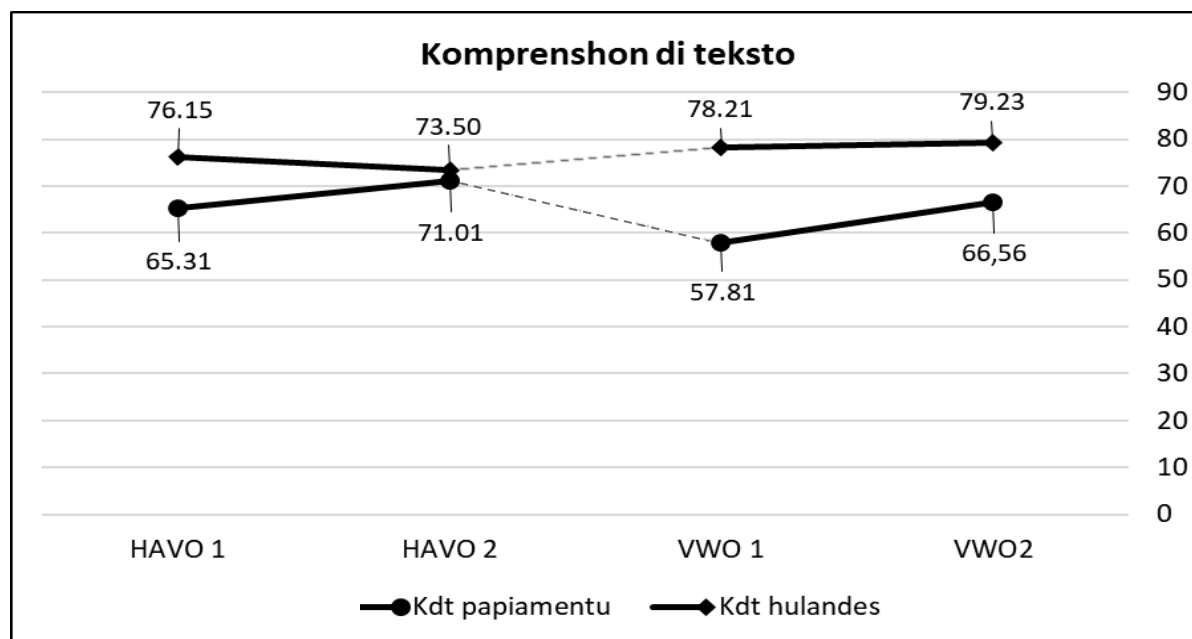
Tabèl 3.5 Diferensia (t -test) entre skor promedio den porsentahe (M%) kompreshon di teksto hulandes pa klas 1 i klas 2 pa havo i vwo ($k_{item}=13$)

	M	SD	Min.	Maks.	n	M%	SD%	t	df	p
Havo 1	09.90	2.47	4	13	20	76.15	24.63	.515	54	$p<.609$
Havo 2	09.56	2.36	4	13	36	73.50	25.05			
Vwo 1	10.17	2.51	4	13	24	78.21	19.34	-.158	42	$p<.875$
Vwo 2	10.30	3.10	3	13	20	79.23	23.82			

entre havo 1 ($M\%=76.15$; $SD=24.63$) i havo 2 ($M\%=73.50$; $SD=25.05$) no ta signifkante $t(54)=.515, p<.609$. E oumento di vwo 1 ($M\%=78.21$; $SD=19.34$) pa vwo 2 ($M\%=79.23$; $SD=23.82$) pa kompreshon di teksto hulandes tampoko no ta signifkante: $t(42)=-.158, p<.875$.

Pa por kompará e diferente pruebanan ku tur tin otro kantidat di pregunta (k) a hasi uso di e skornan porsentual (Skor%) pa ehekutá prueba di t (t -test). E skor promedio den porsentahe total pa kompreshon di teksto hulandes ($M\%=76.31$; $SD=19.67$) pa

Figura 3.2 Tendensia di oumento serka kompreshon di teksto hulandes i papiamentu den havo i vwo 1 i 2



Nota: E liña punteá ta indiká e tendensia entre e dos tiponan di enseñansa HAVO i VWO

studiante di tur klas ($n=100$) ta mas altu ku esun di papiamentu ($M\%=65.81$; $SD=25.89$). E diferensia ta signifikante riba un nivel altu: $t(99)=25.42$, $p<001$). Figura 3.2 ta ilustrá esaki den un gráfiko. Meskos ku na figura 3.1, ta hasi uso di un liña kontinuo aki den e gráfikonan, asumiendo ku prestashon den klas 2 mester ta mas altu ku esun di klas 1 i tambe e echo ku a midi ku prueba idéntiko.

E gráfiko ta visualisá e kresementu di kompreshon di teksto hulandes i papiamentu den havo i vwo 1 i 2. Por mira ku pa papiamentu e kresementu no ta tuma lugá di un forma regular. Pa hulandes e kresementu ta opvio, sinembargo prestashon den havo 2 ta mas abou ku havo 1. Si kompará e skor mínimo di papiamentu ku esun di hulandes por konstatá ku e kantidat di alumno ku ta skor abou, por mira ku pa Papiamentu e skor mínimo ta abou. E akklarashon anterior pa vokabulario ta haña mas evidensia ku esaki ta keda kousá pa un kantidat relativamente grandi di studiante ku ta papia hulandes na kas.

3.3 Relashon entre vokabulario i kompreshon di teksto papiamentu i hulandes

Pa kumpli ku pregunta dos, den e sekshon akí lo averiguá kua ta e relashonnan ku por haña entre tur e variabelnan lingwístiko, esta Vokabulario pasivo papiamentu (VPP), Vokabulario pasivo hulandes (VPH), Kompreshon di teksto Papiamentu (KTP), i Kompreshon di teksto hulandes (KTH). Pa e propósito akí lo kalkulá korelashon di Pearson (Pearson Correlation), di kua e resultatonan ta presentá den tabèl 3.6.

Por nota pa dominio di vokabulario pasivo un korelashon negativo signifikante entre papiamentu i hulandes ($-.278^{**}$). Esei por interpretá di tal forma ku studiante ku un vokabulario papiamentu grandi, ta disponé di un vokabulario limitá pa hulandes.

E korelashon di mas altu i signifikante ($p<.01$) ta entre vokabulario pasivo papiamentu i kompreshon di teksto papiamentu ($.738^{**}$). Esaki ta nifiká ku studiante ku ta disponé di un vokabulario amplio di papiamentu, ta skor altu tambe pa kompreshon di teksto papiamentu. Un relashon paresido ta resultá serka idioma hulandes. Vokabulario pasivo hulandes tambe ta korelá riba un nivel moderá ($.415^{**}$), sinembargo signifikante den un grado altu ($p<.01$) ku kompreshon di teksto hulandes. Esaki ta un indikashon importante ku pa tur dos idioma ta konta, ku un bon dominio di vokabulario ta relashoná skor altu pa kompreshon di teksto, esta, tantu pa papiamentu komo pa hulandes.

Tabèl 3.6 Korelashon (r) entre e abilitatnan lingwístiko papiamentu i hulandes ($n=100$)

	VPP	VPH	KTP	KTH
Vokabulario pasivo papiamentu (VPP)	1.00			
Vokabulario pasivo hulandes (VPH)	$-.278^{**}$	1.00		
Kompreshon di teksto Papiamentu (KTP)	$.738^{**}$	$-.282^{*.*}$	1.00	
Kompreshon di teksto hulandes (KTH)	$-.077$	$.415^{**}$	$.063$	1.00

*=Korelashon ta signifikante riba nivel $p<.05$; **=Korelashon ta signifikante riba nivel $p<.01$;
Korelashon Pearson

E patronchi di korelashon pa dominio di vokabulario i kompreshon di teksto ta komparabel ku patronchi ku a surgi den estudio anterior na skol sekundario na Kòrsou (Juliana & Severing, 2012). Mucha ku skor haltu òf abou pa vokabulario pasivo, tambe ta skor haltu òf abou pa kompreshon di teksto.

3.3.1 Diskushon kualitativo riba nivel di vokabulario i lesamentu

Den e párafo akí lo trata di apliká resultado di e kalkulashonnan ku un propósito mas práktiko. Hasiendo uso di e resultadonan kuantitativo, den e sekshon akí ta presentá un análisis mas kualitativo pa asina optené un bista mas profundo di prestashon di e alumnonan denter di e klasnan. E análisis akí ta importante tambe pa informá e dosentenan di e klasnan ku a partisipá den e estudio presente. Lo distinguí diferente nivel pa kada prueba. Aunke e estudio akí ta anonimisá, e dosente sí, mes lo por ubiká kada alumno den un di e kategorianan pa seguidamente hasi un aplikashon diagnóstiko. Promé a saka frekuensia i porsentahe di e resultadonan riba e kuater pruebanan tantu na hulandes komo na papiamentu. Usando kriterio for di Verhoeven & Vermeer (1993), ta parti e skor di e alumnonan den altu, promedio, bou di promedio, abou i hopi abou (Juliana, 2009: 368).

3.3.2 Nivel di vokabulario pasivo papiamentu i hulandes

Tabèl 3.7 ta duna resultado di e partishon di e skornan riba e pruebanan pa vokabulario pasivo papiamentu i hulandes. Pa e análisis akí a skohe pa pone resultado di havo 1 i 2 i vwo 1 i 2 huntu. E prueba pa vokabulario pasivo papiamentu tabatin 42 item. Pa e prueba akí a mantené e siguiente skornan: 0-27=hopi abou, 28-30=abou, 31-34=bou di promedio, 35-37=promedio i 38-42=altu. Prueba vokabulario pasivo hulandes tabatin 50 item. Resultadonan ta reflehá e siguiente skornan: 0-20=hopi abou, 21=27=abou, 28-32=bou di promedio, 33-44=promedio i 45-50=altu. Komo ku tin 100 partisipante (N=100), i esei ta koincidí ku e porsentahe, a kombiná e kolòm (Frek/%) di frekuensia (Frek) i esun di porsentahe (%).

Tabèl 3.7 Nivel di vokabulario pasivo papiamentu i hulandes pa havo i vwo huntu (n=100)

Nivel	Papia- mentu		Hulandes	
	Skor _{Pap}	Frek/%	Skor _{Hul}	Frek/%
1 Altu	38-42	00	45-50	09
2 Promedio	35-37	07	33-44	43
3 Bou di promedio	31-34	21	28-32	23
4 Abou	28-30	11	21-27	15
5 Hopi abou	00-27	61	00-20	10
Total	k=42	100	k=50	100

Pa loke ta trata e prueba di vokabulario papiamentu 0% di e alumnonan a skor altu, 7% a skor promedio, 21% a skor bou di promedio, 11% a skor abou i 61% a skor hopi abou. Solamente 7% di e alumnonan a skor un sufisiente pa e prueba vokabulario i 93% a skor bou di promedio te hopi abou. Pa e prueba di vokabulario pasivo hulandes, 9% di alumnonan ku a pasa e tèst a skor altu. 43% a skor promedio i 23% a skor bou di promedio. 15% tin skor abou, tanten ku 10% a skor hopi abou. Ta 52% a skor sufisiente i 48% a skor insufisiente.

3.2.3 Nivel di kompreshon di teksto papiamentu i hulandes

Tabèl 3.8 ta duna resultado di e partishon di e skornan riba e pruebanan pa kompreshon di teksto papiamentu i hulandes. Pa e análisis akí a skohe serka, kompreshon di teksto tambe pa pone resultado di havo 1 i 2 i vwo 1 i 2 huntu. E tèstnan ta trata di koherensia den teksto. E elementonan ku ta kai bou di koherensia den un teksto ta palabranan di funshon manera konhunshon (aunke, promé ku, etc.) i palabra indikativo (esei, esei ke men etc.).

Pa e prueba di teksto papiamentu (Maya i e galiña kòrá) por a haña un máksimo di 16 punto ($k=16$). E kantidat di punto ku e alumno a haña por kai den un di e siguiente kategorianan: 0-6=hopi abou, 7-8=abou, 9-1=bou di promedio, 12-14=promedio i 15-16=altu. Pa prueba teksto hulandes (Een ongelooflijke nacht) por a skor un máksimo di 13 punto ($k=13$). Interpretashon di e nivelnan ta lo siguiente: 0-5=hopi abou, 6-7=abou, 8-9=bou di promedio, 10-11=promedio i 12-13=altu.

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Tabèl 3.8 Nivel di kompreshon di teksto papiamentu i hulandes pa havo i vwo huntu ($n=100$)

Nivel	Papia- mentu		Hulandes	
	Skor _{Pap}	Frek/%	Skor _{Hul}	Frek/%
1 Altu	15-16	15	12-13	32
2 Promedio	12-14	36	10-11	33
3 Bou di promedio	09-11	19	08-09	19
4 Abou	07-08	09	08-09	07
5 Hopi abou	00-06	21	00-05	09
Total	K=16	100	K=13	100

E resultadonan den tabèl 3.8 ta duna un bista di resultado di prueba teksto papiamentu. 15% di e partisipantenan a skor un nivel altu i 36% a skor promedio. 19% a skor bou di e promedio, 9% abou i 21% hopi abou. E resultado akí ke men ku 51% partisipante a skor sufisiente pa e prueba i 49% bou di promedio te hopi abou. Mayoria mucha a skor

promedio. Esei ke men ku mayoria mucha por usa e palabranan di funshon manera konhunshon i palabra indikativo.

Den mes tabèl e resultadonan ta mostra ku pa e prueba di teksto hulandes 32% partisipante a skor altu, 33% a skor promedio, 19% bou di promedio, 7% a skor abou i 9% a skor hopi abou. Un total di 65% alumno a skor sufisiente i solamente 35% a skor insufisiente.

3.4 Dominio di idioma i faktor ekstralingwístiko

Siguiendo e di tres pregunta di investigashon den e siguiente sekshon lo eksaminá kua ta e posibel faktornan ekstralingwístiko ku por ta relatá na òf influensia dominio di vokabulario pasivo i prestashon di lesamentu komprehensivo na papiamentu i hulandes den e promé dos añanan di skol sekundario na Boneiru? Pa haña un bista mas detayá di posibel relashon, ku por ta unu di influensia di faktornan ageno entre e abilidadat leksikal i kompreshon di teksto na papiamentu i na hulandes, a kalkulá korelasyon entre e abilidadatnan akí i e abilidadatnan sociolingwístiko. Generalmente korelasyon (r) solamente ta indiká si tin relashon, koherensia i no nesesariamente un relashon kousal. Basá riba koefisiente di korelasyon solamente ta posibel di konkluí si peso i altura ta relashoná. No por konkluí ku un ta kousante di e otro. Kisas tin otro faktor ku tin influensia. Sinembargo pa buska relashon ku kisas por ta kousal, den e espasio limitá di e tésis akí lo limitá e kalkulashonnan na korelasyon di Pearson. Aunke un korelasyon no ta direktamente pa e propósito ei, e ta duna indikashon di un relashon. Si no tin un korelasyon difísilmente por tin un efekto kousal, kaminda e faktor ta influensia prestashon di idioma. Den e párafo akí ta distinguí e faktornan personal (3.4.1), di ambiente di kas (3.4.2) i aktitut di e alumnonan (3.4.3).

3.4.1 Relashon entre faktor personal i prestashon pa idioma

Tabèl 3.9 ta duna un bista di kantidat i porsentahe di promé idioma ku ta usa pa komuniká na kas serka e studiantenan. A hasi uso di un análisis di frekuensia.

Tabèl 3.9 Promé idioma di komunikashon na kas

Idioma di uso na kas	n	Porsentahe
Papiamentu	50	50.0
Hulandes	24	24.0
Spañó	14	14.0
Ingles	10	10.0
Chines	01	01.0
Ruso	01	01.0
Total	100	100.0

E idioma mas usá na kas ta papiamentu (50%) sigui pa hulandes (24%). Por mira tambe ku spañó (14%) ta mas frekuenta ku ingles (10%). Den e enkuesta e partisipantenan por a skohe mas ku un idioma. E siguiente tabèl (3.10) a mustra ku banda di e promé idioma tin un variedat amplio di otro idioma ku tambe ta usa na kas.

Tabèl 3.10 Kombinashon di idioma ku ta usa na kas den sekuensia di importansia

Kombinashon di idioma na kas	n	Porsentahe
Papiamentu	25	25.0%
Hulandes	22	22.0%
Papiamentu/hulandes	14	14.0%
Spañó	10	10.0%
Ingles/hulandes	07	07.0%
Spañó/hulandes	04	04.0%
Papiamentu/Ingles/Hulandes	03	03.0%
Papiamentu/Spañó	03	03.0%
Ingles	02	02.0%
Papiamentu/Ingles	02	02.0%
Chines	01	01.0%
Hulandes/aleman	01	01.0%
Hulandes/Sürnam	01	01.0%
Ingles/spañó/hulandes	01	01.0%
Papiamentu/árabe	01	01.0%
Papiamentu/chines	01	01.0%
Pap/Ing/Spa	01	01.0%
Rus	01	01.0%
Total	100	100.0%

E kombinashon mas frekuenta ta papiamentu i hulandes (14%). Ingles kombiná ku hulandes (7%) i spañó kombiná ku hulandes (4%). E partishon den e grupo di partisipante ta representativo pa e poblashon multilingual den komunidat na Boneiru.

3.4.2 Ambiente di kas

Pa por haña un indikashon di e ambiente di kas ta agrupá e 10 ponensianan den e enkuesta ku tabata destiná komo operalisashon di e faktor akí. Den tabèl 3.11 ta presentá resultado di kálkulo di korelashon entre e 10 ponensianan i e variabelnan lingwístiko, esta, Vokabulario pasivo papiamentu, Komprenshon di teksto papiamentu, Vokabulario pasivo hulandes i Komprenshon di teksto hulandes.

Tabèl 3.11 Korelashon entre ambiente di kas i prestashon pa papiamentu i hulandes

Ponensia	Papiamentu		Hulandes	
	VPP	KTP	VPH	KTH
1 Na kas mi hendenan ta yuda mi ku mi lèsnan.	-.024	.025	-.184	-.075
2 Semper na kas e hende grandinan ta bisa mi kiko no tin mag.	.132	.076	-.152	-.022
3 Na kas mi hendenan ta lesa hopi.	-.195	-.170	.112	.111
4 Si mi tin algu di puntra, semper mi por puntra na kas.	-.066	-.085	-.094	.062
5 Na kas semper nan ke sa kon ta bai na skol.	.103	.036	-.129	.082
6 Na kas tur dia nan ta lesa korant na papiamentu	.218*	.154	-.140	-.132
7 Na kas tur dia nan ta lesa korant na hulandes.	-.353**	-.461**	.362**	.071
8 Mi rumannan gusta siña.	.233*	.152	-.118	-.180
9 Mi tin hopi amigu ku ta papia otro idioma.	.176	.031	-.063	-.165
10 Tur ora mi sa tende mi hendenan papia diferente idioma.	-.165	-.184	.188	.193

VPP=Vokabulario pasivo papiamentu; KTP=Komprenshon di teksto papiamentu; VPH=vokabulario pasivo hulandes; KTH= Komprenshon di teksto hulandes

*=Korelashon ta signifkante riba nivel $p<.05$; **=Korelashon ta signifkante riba nivel $p<.01$

Korelashon Pearson

Ponensia 6 ta investigá si ta lesa korant na papiamentu ku frekuensia na kas. For di e korelashon altu i signifkante (.218*) por dedusí ku mas tantu den ambiente di kas, lesa korant na papiamentu, mas altu e estudiante ta presta pa vokabulario pasivo papiamentu. E koefisientenan di korelashonnan di mas fuerte ta figurá na e ponensia 7. Aki ta mira ku lesamentu di korant na hulandes den ambiente di kas ta relashoná ku skor altu pa vokabulario pasivo hulandes (.362**). Di otro banda lesamentu di korant na hulandes den ambiente di kas ta mustra un korelashon negativo den un grado signifkante ku vokabulario papiamentu (-.353**) i tambe ku komprenshon di teksto papiamentu (-.461).

E último akí por sugerí ku ta trata di estudiante for di kas hulandes, ku ta usa tiki òf nada di papiamentu na. Tambe por ripará ku si den ambiente di kas e otro rumannan gusta siña (8), skor pa vokabulario papiamentu ta resultá altu (.233*).

3.4.3 Aktitut di alumno

Ku aktitut pa idioma ta referí akí na e posishon di e partisipantenan. Ta trata di un aso-shashon positivo òf ménos positivo ku un idioma òf variante di idioma ta generá serka un ablante. Aki a agrupá e ponensianan ku ta referí na kada un di e kuater idiomanan: papiamentu (AP), hulandes (AH), ingles (AI), spañó (AS) i otro idioma (AO). Pa por haña un indikashon di aktitut (A) pa ku e kuater idiomanan: papiamentu (AP), hulandes (AH), ingles (AI), spañó (AS) i otro idioma (AO), ta agrupá e ponensianan di kada idioma. Despues di un kálkulo di konsistensia (Reliability Analisis) ku Alfa di Cronbach (α) a selektá 9 ponensia igual di e diesnan. Ku e 9 ($k=9$) ponensianan akí, a

sigui kalkulá. Den tabèl 3.12 ta presentá e resultadonan di e diferente kalkulashonnan di viabilidadat.

Tabèl 3.12 Bista di konfiabilidadat pa aktitut di kada idioma, presentando Alfa di Cronbach (α), kantidat (k) di pregunta òf item den e tèst òf kuestionario i e kantidat di partisipante (n)

Aspekto di idioma	α	k	n
Aktitut papiamentu	.72	9	100
Aktitut hulandes	.73	9	100
Aktitut ingles	.61	9	100
Aktitut spañó	.69	9	100
Aktitut otro idioma	.69	9	99

Resultado di e tèst di viabilidadat ta mostra ku e lista di ponensia pa aktitut ta varia. Pa papiamentu i hulandes por papia di konfiabilidadat fuerte, pero pa ingles, spañó i pa otro idioma e viabilidadat ta moderá. Aki ta aseptá ku ta trata di un instrumento sufisientemente viabel pa e siguiente komparashonnan.

Tabèl 3.13 Korelashon entre aktitut pa idioma i prestashon pa papiamentu i hulandes

Aktitut	Papiamentu		Hulandes	
	VPP	KTP	VPH	KTH
Aktitut papiamentu	-.277**	-.226*	.342**	.153
Aktitut hulandes	.343**	.384**	-.341**	-.143
Aktitut ingles	-.029	-.063	.049	-.113
Aktitut spañó	.416**	.300**	-.189	-.072
Aktitut otro idioma	.064	.073	.033	-.031

VPP=Vokabulario pasivo papiamentu; KTP=Komprenshon di teksto papiamentu; VPH=vokabulario pasivo hulandes; KTH= Komprenshon di teksto hulandes

*=Korelashon ta signifkante riba nivel $p < .05$; **=Korelashon ta signifkante riba nivel $p < .01$

Korelashon Pearson

Den tabèl 3.13 ta presentá resultado di kálkulo di korelashon entre aktitut di e partisipantenan i prestashon pa Vokabulario pasivo papiamentu (VPP), Komprenshon di teksto papiamentu (KTP), vokabulario pasivo hulandes (VPH) i Komprenshon di teksto hulandes (HKT).

E resultadonan den e tabèl ta duna un bista di kon aktitut di e studiantenan ta relashoná ku ku prestashon pa aspektonan di idioma papiamentu i di idioma hulandes. Generalmente por ripará ku e relashonnan mas fuerte ta entre aktitut pa papiamentu, hulandes i spañó na un banda i prestashon pa e dos idiomanan papiamentu i hulandes na e otro banda. E relashonnan pa ingles no ta signifkante. Aktitut positivo pa papiamentu ta

asosiá ku skor abou pa papiamentu i skor altu pa vokabulario hulandes. Aktitut positivo pa hulandes ta korelá ku skor altu pa papiamentu i skor abou pa hulandes i skor abou pa hulandes, aunke esei no ta signifíkante. Tambe por mira ku aktitut positivo pa spañó ta bai huntu ku skor altu pa papiamentu. Komprenshon di teksto hulandes no ta mustra muchu relashon ku aktitut positivo pa ningun di e idiomanan.

4 KONKLUSHON I REKOMENDASHON

Den e último sekshon akí ta presentá e konklushonnan di e investigashon presente, miéntras ta konsiderá e limitashonnan di e estudio akí, i lo formulá sugerensia pa investigashon posterior. Finalmente lo duna algun rekomendashon ku por ta di balor pa maneho riba diferente nivel, pa maneho, skol i pa mayor.

Konklushon di e investigashon presente

Manera tabata propósito di e investigashon akí, a haña un mihó bista riba progreso di papiamentu i hulandes na komienso di skol sekundario, esta havo i vwo na Boneiru. Saliendo for di e tres preguntanan di investigashon seguidamente lo presentá e konklushonnan ku a saka. Kálkulo a mustra ku tur e pruebanan i e enkuesta ku a usa komo instrumentario a resultá konfiabel despues di un análisis di konsistensia (Alfa di Cronbach).

Pregunta 1. Kresementu di vokabulario pasivo i di lesamentu komprensivo. Kresementu entre havo 1 i havo 2 no ta signifíkante. Por mira algu di kresementu entre vwo 1 i vwo 2 pa vokabulario pasivo papiamentu, sinembargo esaki tampoko no ta signifíkante. Ta remarkabel ku en bes di vokabulario hulandes di e studiantenan oumentá, e ta baha. Sinembargo, e kresementu negativo akí entre havo 1 i havo 2 no ta signifíkante. E kresementu di vwo 1 pa vwo 2 pa vokabulario pasivo hulandes si ta signifíkante ($p < .02$). Prestashon pa vokabulario pasivo hulandes pa estudiante di tur klas havo 1 i 2, i vwo 1 i 2 ta mas altu ku esun di papiamentu ($M=57\%$). E diferensia ta signifíkante riba un nivel hopi altu 99.9% ($p < .001$). E resultatonan ta indiká ku e studiantenan su skor no ta subi mashá ni pa papiamentu ni pa hulandes. Generalmente e skornan pa hulandes ta mas altu ku esunnan pa papiamentu.

Pregunta 2. Relashonnan entre vokabulario i lesamentu komprensivo na papiamentu i hulandes. Pa dominio di vokabulario pasivo tin un korelashon negativo signifíkante entre papiamentu i hulandes ($-.278^{**}$). Esei ke men ku estudiante ku vokabulario papiamentu grandi, ta disponé di un vokabulario chikí pa hulandes. Estudiante ku un vokabulario amplio pa papiamentu ta skor altu pa lesamentu komprensivo; e korelashon ta altu ($.738^{**}$). Meskos ta resultá pa hulandes. Estudiante ku un vokabulario ekstenso pa hulandes ta bon den lesamentu komprensivo; e korelashon ta altu ($.415^{**}$). Aki por konkluí ku mas altu konosementu di vokabulario ta, mas altu komprenshon di teksto tambe. Esei ta konta tantu pa papiamentu, komo pa hulandes. E patronchi di korelashon pa e

prestashonnan lingwístiko akí ta komparabel ku patronchi ku a surgi den estudio anterior na skol sekundario (Juliana, 2011; Juliana & Severing, 2012). Un análisis adishonal ta mostra ku pa vokabulario pasivo 61% di studiante ta skor hopi abou pa papiamentu i 43% ta skor riba un nivel promedio pa hulandes. Pa kompreshon di teksto 51% ta skor promedio pa altu i 65% ta skor promedio pa altu pa hulandes.

Pregunta 3. Influenta di faktor lingwístiko i di trasfondo riba dominio di idioma. E idioma mas usá na kas ta papiamentu (50%) sigui pa hulandes (24%). Por mira tambe ku spañó (14%) ta mas frekuente ku ingles (10%). E grupo di studiante ta forma un kombinashon multilingwe ku e idiomanan ku ta papia na kas: papiamentu, hulandes, spañó, ingles, chines, ruso. Vários studiante ta den un situashon multilingwe den ambiente di kas. E kombinashonnan mas frekuente ta: papiamentu i hulandes (14%), ingles kombiná ku hulandes (7%) i spañó kombiná ku hulandes (4%). Resultado ta indiká ku, si den ambiente di kas ta lesa korant na papiamentu, vokabulario di papiamentu ta altu (.218*). Si ta lesa korant na hulandes na kas, prestashon pa vokabulario hulandes tambe ta altu (.362**). Por ripará ku si den ambiente di kas e otro rumannan gusta siña, skor pa vokabulario papiamentu ta resultá altu (.233*). Ta resaltá ku studiante ku un posishon positivo pa ku papiamentu ta skor altu pa kompreshon di teksto na papiamentu (.342**). Studiante ku un aktitut positivo relashoná ku hulandes ta disponé di un vokabulario hulandes amplio (.384**). Kompreshon di teksto hulandes no ta mostra muchu relashon ku aktitut positivo pa ningun di e idiomanan.

Limitashon di e estudio akí

Aunke e estudio akí por ta di balor pa enseñansa na Boneiru i tambe pa tomo di desishon di maneho, e tin su limitashonnan. E pruebanan ku a usa pa midi kresementu a mostra un efekto di plafòn. Ta di rekomendá pa hasi un pretèst usando diferente prueba ku mas pregunta, pa regulá esei. Kisas mas pregunta por duna espasio pa eliminá algun item ora ta hasi prueba di viabilidad usando Alfa di Cronbach. E estudio akí pa vários motibu práktiko a hasi uso di un selekshon limitá di prueba, tèst i enkuesta. Un aserkamentu mas amplio lo por analisá i detektá mas eksakto kua ta e faktornan ekstralingwístiko ku ta influensia dominio di papiamentu, hulandes i otro idioma i siñamentu en general.

Investigashon posterior

Sin duda ta falta muchu mas investigashon tokante siñamentu di idioma den enseñansa lokal. Pa kuminsá ta bale la pena pa ripití e investigashon akí den un forma mas ekstenso. Tambe por enbolbí e klasnan mas altu pa asina haña un bista mas kompletu. Esei lo ta un base mas firme pa prepará mehorashon. Ta di rekomendá tambe pa banda di vokabulario i lesamentu komprensivo inkorporá tambe lesamentu tékniko i ortografia, komo esakinan tambe ta predektor pa dominio di idioma ora ta tèst. E aspekto oral tambe falta investigashon. E variabelnan konektá ku ambiente i kas di e muchanan,

manera entrada i edukashon di e mayor òf edukadornan tambe por involukrá. Asina mas patronchi di relashon lo surgi.

Rekomendashon

Vokabulario. Pa reforsá atenshon pa vokabulario, lo tin di pone muchu mas material didáktiko disponibel pa skol. Método pa amplia i profundisá vokabulario pa papiamentu i pa hulandes, ta nesesario, meskos ku material di referensia manera dikshonario (digital), lista di palabra pa e alumno- i dosentenan por usa den klas i na kas tambe. Sifra pa vokabulario i lesamentu komprehensivo por haña mas peso ora ta kalkulá promedio di punto.

Lesa ku kompreshon. Ta nesesario pa invertí den e úniko método sintético (konteniendo un síntesis di tur área di idioma) Mosaiko ku tin mester di revishon i ampliashon ku tomo separá ku mas teksto lokal i internashonal, ku un volúmen pa estilo i gramátika. Tur esaki lo nifiká un sosten adishonal pa lesamentu ku kompreshon.

Generalmente. Sigur mester sigui desaroyá material didáktiko pa e materia papiamentu. Sin duda mester desaroyá tambe mesora un método sintético pa hulandes na skol sekundario ku ta adekuá pa konteksto di e islanan abou.

Estímulo ekstralingwístiko. Situashon na kas indudablemente ta rekerí estímulo. Korant na papiamentu i hulandes riba papel òf digital mester por drenta muchu mas kas. Televishon na papiamentu i sigur tambe hulandes mester ta ampliamente disponibel. En general sí, tur emisora públiko hulandes (NPO 1, 2 i 3) lo por ta aksesibel pa tur siudadano, esaki lo motivá i sostené dominio di hulandes. Ampliashon di dominio di idioma i di idea i tópiko lo kultivá interes pa tema aktual i lo promové aktitut positivo relashoná ku hulandes i finalmente pa papiamentu tambe. Dominio i konosementu di propio idioma, esta papiamentu ta kondishon pa dominio di otro idioma i tambe pa dominio di otro idioma i pa atkerí konosementu di materia di skol. Na Boneiru ta imperativo pa reforsá tur kondishon nesesario pa asina papiamentu por floresé. Esei ta kuminsá na e aspekto legislativo i regulashon, i esaki ta bai te na promoshon ku muchu mas konvikshon i ku mantenshon di papiamentu den skol i den komunidat.

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THE EFFECT OF TASK-BASED LANGUAGE TEACHING ON THE PERFORMANCE OF HAVO-TRACK SECONDARY STUDENTS IN CURAÇAO

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Abstract

This article presents the results of a study that investigated the effectiveness of the Task-Based Language Teaching (TBLT) method in improving the grammatical skills of a group of 67 ($N=67$) English language learners in the first year of the HAVO-track of secondary education in Curaçao. For this research, a classroom-based experiment was performed with the test group which included grammar tests that were administered at two different measurement moments, before the experiment (MM1) and after the experiment (MM2). In addition to the grammar tests, questionnaires were administered to measure students' language attitude ($\alpha=0.90$), involvement ($\alpha=0.87$) and acceptance ($\alpha=0.89$). Results of the analyses showed that students who were taught using the TBLT method performed significantly better ($p<.001$) on grammar tests compared to students taught using the traditional teaching method. Furthermore, there was a significant positive correlation between the scores on the grammar test (MM2) and all other variables, including students' attitude toward the English language ($r=.323^{**}$), students' engagement during the experiment ($r=.271^{*}$), and students' acceptance of the new method ($r=.335^{**}$). The strongest variable influencing the TBLT experiment is the students' attitude toward English ($\beta=.69$), and a weaker influence appears to be age ($\beta=-.19$).

Key terms: Curaçao, secondary education, task-based language teaching, grammar, language attitude, engagement, acceptance

Topic and objectives of the study

This article examines the effectiveness of Task Based Language Teaching in improving secondary school English learners' grammatical skills. Success in teaching a foreign language generally depends on the methods, approaches and techniques used by the teacher, which may vary depending on factors such as the students' age and level of preparation. There are many methods and approaches that can be used to teach a foreign language, but all include listening, speaking, reading and writing skills as an essential part of the curriculum (Sadiku, 2015). To be able to communicate and interact with other people in the English language, students must master these four skills. There are some important components that influence the mastery of these skills, and the successful use of the English language goes hand-in-hand with the effective use of grammar. Therefore, the English grammar must be taught effectively in order for students to become efficient grammar users (Sadiku, 2015).

Understanding the grammatical components of the English language is a very important part of the language learning process. By learning the grammatical components of English, students can become better communicators. At school, teachers provide students with lessons aimed at improving all four skills. The general problem lies in the way that English grammar is taught in schools. Currently, the traditional teaching method most widely used around the world relies mainly on textbooks and teachers standing in front of the classroom to 'lecture' the students, who sit at their desks to receive explanations on a relevant topic (Harmer, 2015). Thus, it can be said that the traditional method is a more teacher-centered approach, in which students tend to adopt a more passive attitude. Because of this, it has been argued that the traditional method deprives students of the maximum range of learning opportunities (Rhalimi, 2016).

The Task-Based Language Teaching (TBLT) method adopts a more communicative approach, which deploys interactive and meaningful activities, thus engaging students to more effectively improve their levels of comprehension and production in a foreign language. Amer and Demirel (2020) claim that students who are taught using the TBLT method show significant improvement in terms of their proficiency, grades, and attitude towards the target language. The research on which this article is based was designed to test such claims, in order to reveal to what extent, the Task-Based Language Teaching method can improve students' performance in learning English as a foreign language, taking into consideration variables such as academic performance, students' attitude, students' engagement, and their acceptance of the TBLT method itself.

The specific objective of the study was to find out the extent to which the use of the TBLT method in grammar lessons could influence the performance of English language learners in the first year of HAVO-track secondary education in Curaçao. The study also considered other variables such as attitude, engagement, and acceptance of the TBLT method itself. Results were interpreted based on a number of instruments. Scores

on a grammatical test administered prior to the experimental TBLT classes at measurement moment 1 (MM1) were compared to the scores on a grammatical test administered after the experimental TBLT classes at measurement moment 2 (MM2). Data on students' attitude, engagement, and acceptance of the TBLT method were collected by means of a survey which was administered to the participating students at the end of the experiment (see Appendix 1 for a copy of the survey questionnaire). The results from the measurement of all of these and other variables were subjected to statistical analysis in order to establish possible relationships among them.

Literature review and a description of the TBLT method

The Task-Based Language Teaching method (TBLT) is a teaching method that involves a sequence of activities during class. During TBLT classes, students must perform meaningful tasks that involve the use of language (Weller, 2021) instead of just doing exercises on specific topics. The meaningful tasks that are assigned to students are designed to prepare them for real-world situations, contrary to traditional language teaching methods that focus almost exclusively on the theoretical aspects of the target language. TBLT, also known as Task-Based Language Learning (TBLL) or as Task-Based Instruction (TBI) was invented in the 1980s by N.S. Prabhu, a teacher in Bangalore in the south of India (Prabhu, 1987) who went on to teach at the National University of Singapore. The TBLT method emerged at a time when teachers were no longer satisfied with the way language was being taught using traditional methods. They were concerned that traditional methods did not correspond to the way language should actually be taught and learned, with students being exposed to foreign language rules and examples, then being expected to achieve flawless reproduction at an early stage, resulting in learners knowing the theoretical rules by heart, but not being able to apply them in context.

The TBLT method can be said to have emerged from the Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) approach, and therefore is often considered to be a subcategory of CLT. The incorporation of tasks is essential to this teaching method and the assessment of language learning is based on the outcome of each task, instead of being based only on the accuracy of use of the target language (Rhalmi, 2020). TBLT is believed to be very effective for gaining confidence and fluency in a target language. According to Prabhu, language acquisition is an unconscious process that is best facilitated by instilling in the learners a preoccupation with meaning, saying, and doing (Prabhu, 1987). His beliefs were that the use of tasks triggers the learner's natural mechanism for second language acquisition.

Richards and Rodgers (2001) explain that the TBLT method is an approach based on the use of tasks as the core units of instruction. Prabhu (1987) defines 'task' as, "An activity which require[s] learners to arrive at an outcome from given information through some process of thought and which allow[s] teachers to control and regulate

that process” (p. 24). This definition has since been slightly adapted and beautifully rephrased by David Nunan (2004). Nunan accessed the resources of other experts to conclude that there are two types of tasks: real-world or target tasks, and pedagogical tasks. Target tasks are tasks that are done outside of the classroom and in the ‘real-world’, whereas pedagogical tasks are tasks that are performed inside the classroom.

According to Rod Ellis (see Raya, 2009, p. 14), a task can be defined as an activity with the following four characteristics: 1) the focus is primarily on meaning, with learners being committed to the understanding and producing of messages that are designed to interact and communicate information; 2) any given task has some sort of ‘gap’ (information, reasoning, or opinion); 3) the learners’ own linguistic resources are used to carry out the task and fill such ‘gaps’; and 4) there is a clearly defined outcome. Although the exact definition of the term ‘task’ in TBLT remains a subject of debate, researchers all agree that the learning process requires active involvement with such tasks. It can easily be said that grammar is one of the dreariest aspects of teaching language. Consequently, language educators are constantly searching for new methods to make this process less tedious. Traditional methods for teaching grammar are based on a teacher-centered approach, which is all about recitation, and relies primarily on textbooks (Rhalmi, 2016), while more modern methods such as TBLT provide students with a more hands-on approach. The methodological principles of teaching grammar applying the TBLT method, includes scaffolding. Scaffolding refers the breaking up of the learning process into manageable chunks while providing a structure or a tool for each chunk, with learners building on their prior knowledge (Alber, 2014). Since TBLT is based on tasks, it gives learners the opportunity to use grammar in a meaningful context, and also gives students the opportunity to make mistakes (Verner, 2018).

In a TBLT framework, the goal set by the teacher should not be any particular grammar structure, per se. Teachers should instead choose a language goal, and plan their lesson around the chosen language goal. Teachers should think about what they ultimately want their students to achieve by the end of class. For this goal to be successfully achieved, it is important to consider and identify the necessary skills needed to do so. This is where teachers can begin to think about which grammatical components students need to master in order to reach the goal (Verner, 2018).

Once the teacher has completed all of the above-mentioned preparatory steps; the lesson is introduced to the students. It is of utmost importance that students understand exactly what is expected of them and what they need to achieve in relation to the given task. After the purpose of the task has been explained to the students, grammatical structures that are needed to accomplish it are reviewed, and grammar terms are explained if this is found to be necessary. Students are also allowed to ask questions regarding the grammatical component needed to accomplish the task at hand. After this step is completed, the lesson actually starts, with students interacting with one another while working on

the task to achieve the desired goals (Verner, 2018). Language tasks might include playing a game, participating in a role play that includes problem solving, or sharing an experience. No matter the assigned task, students will normally use the grammar structure that was presented at the beginning of class.

The final stage of a TBLT grammar lesson includes students' self-evaluation and the evaluation of the specific language structure targeted in the performance of the task. Students must be granted the opportunity to reflect on their performance when working on the task. This can easily be done together with the other members of the same group in which they performed the task. After students have finished this evaluation, they can share their findings with the rest of the class (Verner, 2018). Although the TBLT method does not strictly focus on each individual grammatical component, it is believed that through everyday tasks and interactive activities, grammar is acquired by itself, giving learners the opportunity to develop the necessary structures faster.

Sources indicate that the TBLT method has many apparent advantages, but the primary advantages of this approach include high levels of achievement in the areas of communicative competence, confidence and motivation in relation to real-world communicative needs in the target language (Nolen & Kim, 2019). Because the use of the target language to complete the necessary task is promoted, students' attention is on meaning rather than form (Nunan, 2004). In TBLT classes, students work in groups of two or three students, which builds a learning bond between them. Students can motivate each other to produce meaningful interaction on the assigned topic. Group work also increases the quality of student talk, helps individualize instruction, and promotes a positive affective climate (Long & Porter, 1985).

Although there are many benefits and advantages to using the TBLT method, some obstacles and challenges must also be considered. According to Swan (2005), there are studies which indicate that the TBLT method can diminish the nature of teacher's guidance to a certain extent, limiting it primarily to encouraging the students from the sidelines. To make sure that teachers make the most of this new role, they need not only to have high levels of knowledge and skill in the target language, but must also have a wide range of general knowledge. Some teachers therefore find the TBLT method to be very complicated, because it requires them to have high levels of creativity and competence in the design and organization of tasks (Swan, 2005; Hismanoglu & Hismanoglu, 2011). If the TBLT method is not executed correctly, students' progress can be jeopardized. In any case, educators must not underestimate the amount of work it takes to properly implement and execute the TBLT method.

N.S. Prabhu conducted some research on TBLT in India (Prabhu, 1987), and found that innovative students did better with innovative methods such as TBLT, while traditional students did better with more traditional methods (Baretta & Davies, 1985). Other studies on TBLT include that of Nadia Ben Amer and Ozcan Demirel (Amer & Demirel, 2020), who investigated the efficacy of the method with a group of 40 pre-intermediate

level English language learners in Argentina. These researchers made use of three methods to collect their data (Amer & Demirel, 2020, p. 979). The group of learners was split into two groups, a control group and an experimental group. Both groups were administered a pre-assessment prior to the start of the investigation and a post-assessment at the end of the investigation. Classroom observations were also undertaken by the researchers to see how the classes were being taught and how the students were actually performing in real time. The final instrument that was used during this investigation was a set of interviews with the language teachers (Amer & Demirel, 2020, p. 980). The data gathered with these three instruments were analyzed separately first, and afterward they were analyzed together. Results demonstrated that students who were taught using the TBLT method showed significantly greater improvement in English proficiency compared to students in the control group. This was reflected not only in the grades achieved by the TBLT learners, but also in terms of their attitudes to learning. It is also worth noting that the teachers themselves found the TBLT method to be superior to more traditional methods (Amer & Demirel, 2020, p. 982).

Marlina (2014) conducted a study of 42 first year English students over a period of eight months (August 2012 to March 2013) at the Siliwangi University on the island of Java in Indonesia. The aim of this research was to show whether or not TBLT could improve students' grammatical skills in English, and to assess classroom conditions when English grammar was being taught using the TBLT method. Prior to the investigation, many students did not actively participate in grammar classes. Aside from the fact that grammar exercises were monotonous and were done individually, 'smarter' students tended to dominate the classes by giving all the correct answers, silencing the other students in the process (Marlina, 2014). Marlina used pre-tests and post-tests to determine if there was any progress in students' achievement levels, as well as questionnaires, observations and teachers' diaries to triangulate her results, which revealed that after students were taught using the TBLT method, their scores improved significantly in the areas of both spoken and written proficiency. Aside from test scores, class conditions also improved. Students indicated on the questionnaires that tasks were a fun way to learn grammar and made it easier to be actively involved in class. However, students indicated as well that they felt nervous when having to present group and when feedback had to be given to peers. According to Marlina, the Task-Based Language Teaching method was very beneficial to first grade students at the Siliwangi University (Marlina, 2014). Several definitions of the term 'attitude' from different contexts and perspectives are considered by researchers in fields such as psychology and education, especially when it comes to language learning. According to Montaña and Kasprzyk's (2008) theory of planned behavior, attitude is determined by an individual's own personal beliefs regarding outcomes and attributes related to particular behaviors, with strongly positively valued outcomes or attributes correlated with having a positive attitude towards a given behavior, and strongly negative outcomes or attributes correlated with having a

negative attitude towards a given behavior. Many researchers also agree that high levels of motivation combined with a positive attitude towards a given target language, help in learning that language (de Bot et al. 2006).

Willis and Willis (2007) state that the most important characteristic of the TBLT method is that it boosts confidence by providing learners with the appropriate environment to use the English language in the classroom without feeling anxious or being afraid of making mistakes. A study by Asma (2018) in Antalya, Turkey demonstrates that the TBLT method enhances students' competence in English and encourages confidence, pleasure and motivation in learning, while improving teachers' attitudes as well. Raya (2009) finds that TBLT not only encourages students to learn the English language, but also enhances their creativity and classroom participation. Farizka et al. (2020) demonstrates that TBLT increases students' degree of interest, attention, curiosity and engagement, as long as teachers make their instructions clear from the outset of each class session.

Methodology: Research question, study design, data collection and data analysis

The specific objective of the present study was to find out the extent to which the use of the TBLT method in grammar lessons could influence the performance of English language learners in the first year of HAVO-track secondary education in Curaçao. The study also considered other variables such as attitude, engagement, and acceptance of the TBLT method itself. In order to achieve the study objectives, the following research question and sub-questions were formulated:

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Main research question

To what extent can a Task-Based Language Teaching method improve the performance of English language learners in skills related to English grammar in the first year of HAVO-track secondary education in Curaçao? The main research question was divided into 3 sub-questions.

Sub-questions

1. How does students' performance in English grammar skills before TBLT instruction at Measurement Moment 1 (MM1) compare with their performance after TBLT instruction at Measurement Moment 2 (MM2)?
2. To what extent is there a relationship between attitude, engagement, acceptance, and students' performance on grammar in a Task-Based Language Teaching method environment?
3. To what extent is there a relationship between other variables and students' performance on grammar in a Task-Based Language Teaching method environment?

This study emerged from the identification and analysis of a generalized problem in the schools on the island, namely the lack of engagement on the part of students during

English grammar lessons. Therefore, the design of this empirical quantitative study can be classified as a form of Action Research (AR).

The management team of the participating school acknowledged the importance of the study and pledged its support and consent for conducting of the study with their students. I would like to give my most sincere and grateful thanks to the students and the management team for their enthusiasm in participating in this research project. All parties involved in this investigation were informed accordingly before the start of the experiment.

Initially it was agreed upon that the investigation would take place over the course of a complete secondary school period (seven weeks), but because of the COVID-19 pandemic, the planning was adapted to a shorter five-week time span. The investigation was therefore conducted over a 5-week-period, where the 67 participating first year HAVO-track secondary students of English as a foreign language were first given a pre-test (based on the grammar structures prescribed by the curriculum), then taught English grammar using the TBLT method during three classes per week, for a total of fifteen classes of 45 minutes each, and thereafter given a different post-test (based on the same grammar structures included in the pre-test) as well as a survey questionnaire to complete (see Appendix 1).

The target group for this investigation consisted of 67 first year HAVO-track secondary school students of English as a foreign language. These students had a range of educational and social backgrounds and were between the ages of 12 to 15 years and most had done their primary education in Dutch, Papiamentu, or both. At the end of their primary school careers, students in the Dutch system that prevails in Curaçao are required to take a national test, and their results on this test plays a major role in determining how they will be tracked in secondary school. Those who score highest on the test are assigned to the highest tracks, such as HAVO. This means that the students who participated in this study were among the highest-achieving first year secondary school students on Curaçao. It must also be noted that some students had repeated an academic year, meaning that for some of them this was not the first time taking first year classes (Repetition rates: Never=86,6%; Once=11,9%; twice=1,5%).

All of the instruments that were used for this research can be classified as quantitative research instruments, since the data that were collected were all numerical. The specific instruments that were used were, grammatical tests (pre-test and post-test) and a survey that consisted of three different questionnaires. The grammatical tests covered the curriculum prescribed areas of Demonstrative Pronouns, Pronouns, Present Simple, and Present Continuous. Each item on the tests had a correct and an incorrect option. Correct responses were each scored as '1' and incorrect responses were each scored as '0'. Examples of the items on the tests include the following:

Jessie and Peter usually ----- (come / comes) over on Saturday. ----- (Do / Does) she and her sister share a room? There is too ----- (much/many) water in the bath tub.

The first section of the survey questionnaire was about students' attitude toward learning, the second section was about students' engagement with learning, and the final section was about students' acceptance of the TBLT method.

The questionnaires presented a series of statements which could be responded to using a five-point Likert scale, as follows: 1 – Strongly disagree, 2 – Disagree, 3 – Neutral (neither agree nor disagree), 4 – Agree, and 5 – Strongly Agree. The survey took one complete class session to be completed. In that session, the researcher was present to provide clear instructions about the mechanics of filling out the questionnaire as well as to answer students' questions. The survey questions can be found in Appendix 1 and the results of the survey can be found in Appendix 2.

The data collected from the tests and survey questionnaires were first transferred to Excel format and subsequently imported into the advanced SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences; IBM SPSS Statistics 27.0.1) platform for statistical analysis. This analysis included testing the tests and questionnaires for reliability by using Cronbach's alpha (α) coefficient measures. Items that were found not to be not reliable were excluded from the analysis, while items that were found to be reliable were included. For the test results, calculations and analysis first involved finding the means, standard deviations and doing a *t*-test to indicate whether there was a significant difference between the results at MM1 and MM2. Subsequently, Finally, Pearson correlations and regression analyses were used to investigate a possible relationship between these test results and a set of variables including attitude, engagement, acceptance, gender, age, and repeater status.

Findings

Internal consistency and reliability of the data

The reliability of each instrument was established measured in terms of Cronbach's alpha (α) coefficient measures of internal consistency. According to the Institute for Digital Research and Education, a reliability coefficient of ≥ 0.70 is considered to be acceptable, while higher coefficients are considered good ($\geq .8$), and better ($\geq .9$) (Institute for Digital Research & Education, 2013). The results of the Internal Consistency test can be found in the table below (Table 1). The total number of participants for all instruments is 67.

Table 1 Results of the Cronbach's alpha internal consistency measures for the first and second grammatical tests (pre-test MM1 and post-test MM2), and each of the three sections of the survey questionnaire (attitude, engagement, and acceptance). The third column indicates the number of items on each instrument that showed sufficient internal coherence ($\alpha \geq 0.70$).

	Average α value	Items with $\alpha \geq 0.7$	Total responses
Pre-test (MM1)	0.73	22/28, $k=22$	67
Post-test (MM2)	0.78	25/31, $k=25$	67
Attitude	0.90	11/11, $k=11$	67
Engagement	0.87	9/9, $k=9$	67
Acceptance	0.89	11/11, $k=11$	67

The internal consistency of the pre-test (MM1) had an average alpha value of $\alpha=0.73$. The pre-test initially consisted of 28 items ($k=28$), but the responses to 6 of the 28 items showed insufficient coherence and were discarded, reducing the total number of items considered for further analysis to 22 ($k=22$). The internal consistency of the post-test (MM2) had an average alpha value of $\alpha=0.78$. The post-test initially consisted of 31 items ($k=31$) but the responses to 6 of the 31 items showed insufficient coherence and were discarded, reducing the total number of items considered for further analysis to 25 ($k=25$). All 3 parts of the survey questionnaire had very good average alpha values of $\alpha>0.87$, with none of the items having alpha values of $\alpha<0.70$, so all of the responses to all of the original items were considered for further analysis. In general, it can therefore be concluded that all of the instruments that were used in this study were shown to be reliable.

Comparison of the results of the pre-test (MM1) and the post-test (MM2)

The first research sub-question for the present study was: *How does students' performance in English grammar skills before TBLT instruction at Measurement Moment 1 (MM1) compare with their performance after TBLT instruction at Measurement Moment 2 (MM2)?* In order to answer this sub-question, means, percentages, and standard deviations of scores on both tests were calculated and compared and a *t*-test was performed to establish the degree of significance of the difference in results between the pre-test (MM1) and the post-test (MM2), as shown in Table 2.

Table 2 Mean (*M*), standard deviation (*SD*), mean percentage (*M%*), standard deviation percentage (*SD%*), *t*-test values (*t*), and *p*-values (*p*) obtained from results of the pre-test (MM1) and the post-test (MM2)

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M%</i>	<i>SD%</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>k</i>
MM1	.7164	0.45414	0.033	0.021	12.91	.00	67	22
MM2	.9403	0.23872	0.038	0.010	32.24	.00	67	25

The results in Table 2 indicate that the average score on the post-test (MM2=38%) was higher than the average score on the pre-test (MM1=33%), with the results of the *t*-test and the *p*-value of <0.001. indicating that this difference in performance between the two tests was significant.

Attitude, engagement, and acceptance of TBLT

The second research sub-question for the present study was: *To what extent is there a relationship between attitude, engagement, acceptance, and students' performance on grammar in a Task-Based Language Teaching method environment?* In order to answer this sub-question, Pearson correlations were calculated between each of the variables MM1 (pre-test results), MM2 (post-test results), attitude, engagement, and acceptance, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3 Pearson correlations between pre-test results (MM1), post test results (MM2), and questionnaire results concerning attitude, engagement, and acceptance

	MM1	MM2	Attitude	Engagement	Acceptance
MM1	1				
MM2	.401**	1			
Attitude	.513**	.323**	1		
Engagement	.426**	.271*	.754**	1	
Acceptance	.320**	.335**	.634**	.619**	1

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level.

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 3 indicates that the correlations between all of the variables were significant at least at the $p < 0.01$ level, while 1 of them was significant at the $p < 0.05$ level. This shows that all of the variables were significantly correlated. These results show that students with a positive attitude towards the English language also had better scores on the tests, higher levels of engagement in the classroom and higher levels of acceptance of the TBLT method.

Other variables

The third and final research sub-question for the present study was: *To what extent is there a relationship between other variables and students' performance on grammar in a Task-Based Language Teaching method environment?* In order to answer this sub-question, a Pearson correlation analysis was performed to determine the correlations between the following variables: age, gender, repeater status, attitude, engagement, acceptance, pre-test results (MM1) and post-test results (MM2). These results are listed in Table 4.

Table 4 Pearson correlations between pre-test results (MM1), post test results (MM2), questionnaire results concerning attitude, engagement, and acceptance, as well as age, gender and repeater status

	MM1	MM2	Attitude	Engagement	Acceptance	Age	Gender	Year repeat
MM1	1							
MM2	.401**	1						
Attitude	.513**	.323**	1					
Engagement	.426**	.271*	.754**	1				
Acceptance	.320**	.335**	.634**	.619**	1			
Age	-.090	-.160	-.344**	-.425**	-.324**	1		
Gender	-.093	-.201	.053	.100	-.042	-.230	1	
Year Repeat	-.265*	-.382**	-.454**	-.508**	-.350**	.682**	-.164	1

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level.

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 4 indicates that there is a strong negative correlation between repeater status and age on the one hand, and the variables attitude, engagement, and acceptance on the other. This means that students who were older and had to repeat an academic year showed more negative attitudes toward the English language, were less engaged in class, and were less accepting of the TBLT method. The variable gender had no significant correlation with any other variable.

Regression analyses of all of the variables

Finally, regression analyses, which assesses whether one (simple regression analysis) or more (multiple regression analysis) predictor variable(s) account for variability in results for any given dependent variable, were carried out for most of the variables. This was done to provide insight into the causal relationships between them. Table 4 shows that age and repeater status correlate highly ($r=.68^{**}$), which means that the older students have repeated school years. To avoid multicollinearity, which reduces the reliability of regression analyses, only age was considered, rather than both age and repeater status. For similar reasons, the closely correlated variables engagement ($\beta=.60$) and acceptance ($\beta=.51$) were merged into a composite variable labeled 'TBLT' and regression analysis was used to determine the proportional contribution of each of the other variables to the new composite variable 'TBLT'.

A multiple regression analysis was used to investigate the influence of the variables age, gender, attitude and pre-test results (MM1) on the one hand on the variable TBLT (engagement plus acceptance) on the other. The quality of the regression model is good ($R=.80$), with R^2 indicating that 63.2% of the variance in the variable TBLT

($R^2=.63$) is explained by these four other variables considered together. The Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) table shows that the entire model is significant ($F=26.63$; $df=66$; $p<.001$). The results of the regression analysis revealing influence of the variables gender, pre-test results (MM1), attitude and age on the composite variable TBTL (engagement plus acceptance) are shown in Table 5.

Table 5 Influence of the variables gender, pre-test results (MM1), attitude and age on the composite variable TBTL (engagement plus acceptance)

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
	B	Std. Error	Beta (β)	<i>t</i>	Sig.
(Constant)	7.034	2.278		3.088	.003
Gender	-.095	.200	-.038	-.477	.635
Pre-test (MM1)	.121	.246	.045	.492	.624
Attitude	1.297	.180	.691	7.209	.000
Age	-.316	.143	-.187	-2.218	.030

Another multiple regression analysis was used to investigate the influence of the variables age, gender, attitude, TBLT (engagement plus acceptance), and pre-test results (MM1) on the one hand, on the variable post-test results (MM2) on the other. This analysis ($F=3.76$; $df=66$; $p<.01$) showed that the variable pre-test results MM1 ($r=.29$) was the only variable with direct significant ($p<.05$) effects on post-test results (MM2), as shown in Table 6.

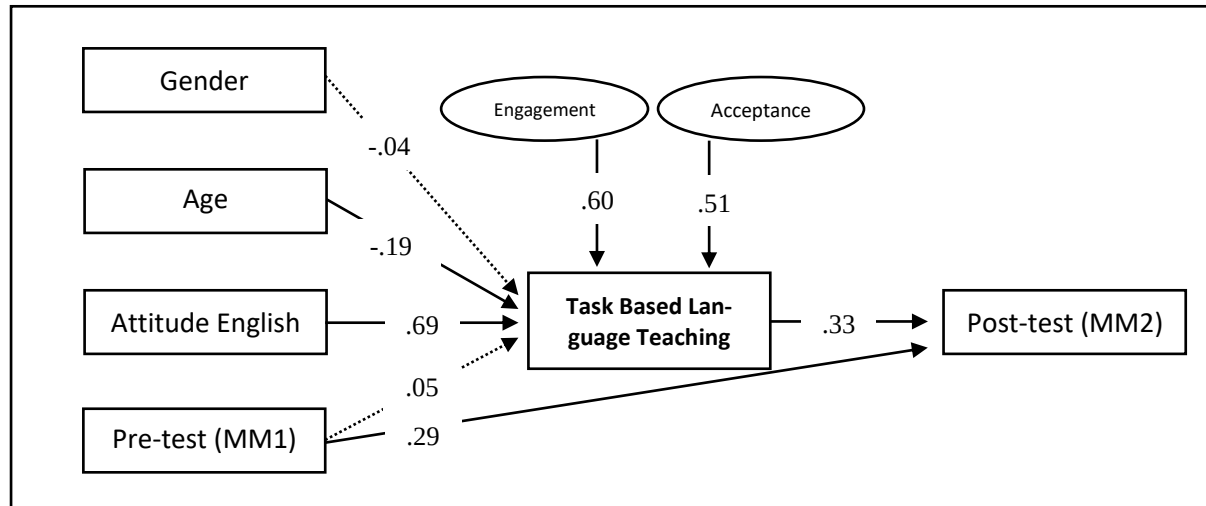
Table 6 Influence of the independent variables Gender, Grammar MM1, Attitude, Age, and TBLT on the dependent variable GrammarMM2

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
	B	Std. Error	Beta (β)	<i>t</i>	Sig.
(Constant)	1.131	.690		1.639	.106
Gender	-.100	.056	-.205	-1.767	.082
Pre-test (MM1)	.154	.070	.294	2.218	.030
Attitude	.011	.069	.030	.157	.876
Age	-.035	.042	-.107	-.840	.404
TBLT	.029	.036	.150	.814	.419

Summary of results

From the tables above, the model represented in Figure 1 was created to illustrate the relationships between the different variables. In order to provide an overall picture, all of the relevant variables have been included in the model. Significant causal relationships are indicated by arrows and non-significant relationships by dotted arrows. Beta values are also included.

Figure 1 A causal model for the effects of the variables age, gender, attitude and pre-test results (MM1) first on the composite variable Task Based Language Teaching (TBLT, or engagement plus acceptance) and then on the variable post-test results (MM2)

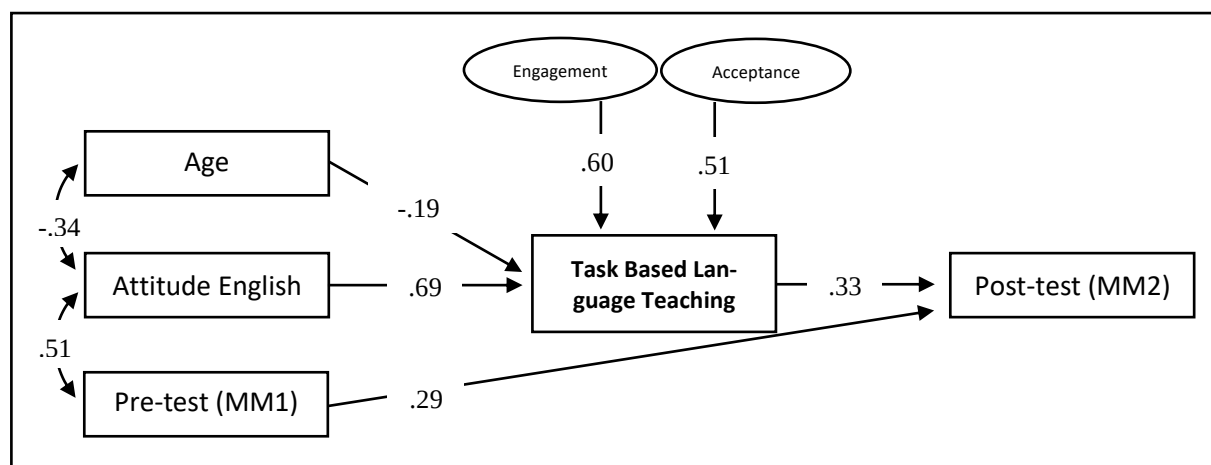


The strongest variable influencing TBLT was the students' attitude toward the English language ($\beta=.69$). The variable post-test results (MM2) is mainly predicted by the variables pre-test results (MM1) and TBLT (engagement plus acceptance) that have significant influence.

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To illustrate these relationships in more detail, the model presented in Figure 2 was composed, including only these significant correlations.

Figure 2 A causal model, including only the significant variables, for the effects of the variables age, attitude and pre-test results (MM1) first on the composite variable Task Based Language Teaching (TBLT, or engagement plus acceptance) and then on the variable post-test results (MM2)



Conclusions, discussion, limitations and recommendations

The main aim of the present study was to determine the effectiveness of Task-Based Language Teaching (TBLT) on the academic performance of students learning the grammar of English as a foreign language, specifically HAVO-tracked first year secondary school students in Curaçao. In order to carry the study out, several instruments were designed and administered, including a grammatical pre-test administered prior to the experimental TBLT classes (MM1), a grammatical post-test administered after the experimental TBLT classes (MM2) and a survey questionnaire that collected data on variables such as age, gender, repeater status, attitude towards the English language, engagement in class, and acceptance of the LBLT teaching method. These instruments proved to be internally consistent, and the sample size of 67 students turned out to be sufficient to be able to perform the necessary analyses.

The findings indicate that, as a result of a 5 week, 15 forty-five-minute lesson LBLT experimental intervention, students' results improved significantly and that there was a clear correlation between the variables attitude, engagement and acceptance and performance on the post-test (MM2). The strongest variable influencing students' performance was their attitude toward English, with engagement, acceptance and performance on the pre-test (MM1) also playing an important role, age and repeater status playing only a minor role and gender playing no role at all. These results provide a strong indication that the Task-Based Language Teaching had a positive effect on the students' outcomes, not only in terms of their test scores, but also in terms of their attitude toward English, engagement in class and acceptance of the LBLT method itself.

The results of the present study thus confirmed earlier findings that had suggested that the TBLT method has a positive effect on students' motivation, engagement and grades. Even with the limited time and sample size permitted by the COVID pandemic and other factors, the study yielded significant results. In order for the findings to be fully validated, however, a larger group of students at many different levels and in many different tracks should be included in future studies, which should take place over a longer time span and take into consideration a full range of foreign language skills beyond the area of grammar, which was the focus of the present study. These limitations aside, the present study represents a strong endorsement for the potential value of the TBLT method in our schools, as long as it is implemented consistently and adapted to the particular needs of students, which differ from one classroom to the next.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Survey on attitude, engagement and acceptance

General information

1. Age: _____ years
2. Gender: ☐ Boy ☐ Girl
3. Did you ever repeat an academic year?
☐ Never
☐ Once
☐ Twice

This survey consists of three sections. Students have to choose from 1-5 for each given statement using this Likert scale: 1 = strongly disagree / 2 = disagree / 3 = neutral / 4 = agree / 5 = strongly agree

Section 1 – Attitude towards the English language

1. I like to speak English.
2. English is a beautiful language.
3. It is important for people in Curaçao to be able to speak English.
4. I enjoy speaking English in front of other students.
5. In my opinion, the English language is easy to learn.
6. Studying foreign languages like English is enjoyable.
7. I am interested in learning English.
8. Being able to speak English is an important goal in my life.
9. I look forward to the time I spend in English class.
10. I prefer to listen to songs in English
11. If I have children in the future, I would want them to speak English.

Section 2 – Engagement during the Task-based language teaching classes

1. I used only the English language to complete tasks.
2. I did all tasks because they were interesting.
3. I ask my classmates or the teacher for explanation when needed.
4. I actively participate during tasks.
5. I participate better in a TBLT classroom than in a traditional classroom.
6. I am not afraid to give speech in small groups.
7. I ask questions to get more information when necessary.
8. I try to help classmates when they are having trouble with a task.
9. I work well in group assignments during class.

Section 3 – Acceptance levels towards the task-based language teaching method (TBLT)

1. I learn best by doing rather than by listening.
2. The TBLT method is more engaging than the traditional classroom.
3. The learning activities of the TBLT were interesting and interactive.
4. I like doing different tasks during class.
5. I am more motivated to learn grammar through the TBLT method.
6. I enjoy participating in active learning activities during class instead of listening to passive lectures.
7. The TBLT gives me better opportunities to interact with other students.
8. I feel that the TBLT has improved my grammar understanding.
9. The TBLT method reduces the amount of frustrating classes.
10. Class materials/tasks were easy to understand, as offered in TBLT.
11. I would recommend the TBLT method to a friend.

Appendix 2 Survey results

Section 1 – Attitude towards the English language

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I like to speak English.	1.5%	3%	25.4%	41.8%	28.4%
2. English is a beautiful language.	0%	4.5%	17.9%	47.8%	29.9%
3. It is important for people in Curaçao to be able to speak English.	0%	4.5%	26.9%	38.8%	29.9%
4. I enjoy speaking English in front of other students.	1.5%	9%	32.8%	32.8%	23.9%
5. In my opinion, the English language is easy to learn.	3%	16.4%	17.9%	37.3%	25.4%
6. Studying foreign languages like English is enjoyable.	3%	4.5%	25.4%	44.8%	22.4%
7. I am interested in learning English.	1.5%	7.5%	17.9%	40.3%	32.8%
8. Being able to speak English is an important goal in my life.	9%	9%	25.4%	29.9%	26.9%
9. I look forward to the time I spend in English class.	0%	10.4%	23.9%	37.3%	28.4%
10. I prefer to listen to songs in English	3%	7.5%	28.4%	35.8%	25.4%
11. If I have children in the future, I would want them to speak English.	0%	6%	20.9%	38.8%	34.3%

Section 2 – Engagement during the task-based language teaching classes

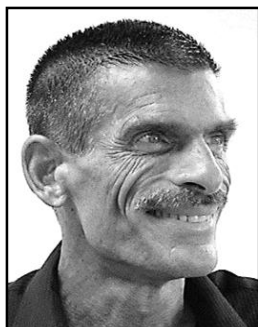
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I used only the English language to complete tasks.	0%	9%	25.4%	41.8%	23.9%
2. I did all tasks because they were interesting.	0%	6%	17%	28%	16%
3. I ask my classmates or the teacher for explanation when needed.	1.5%	10.4%	29.9%	35.8%	22.4%
4. I actively participate during tasks.	0%	6%	19.4%	44.8%	29.9%
5. I participate better in a TBLT classroom than in a traditional classroom.	0%	3%	25.4%	43.3%	28.4%
6. I am not afraid to give speech in small groups.	9%	14.9%	17.9%	29.9%	28.4%
7. I ask questions to get more information when necessary.	1.5%	13.4%	23.9%	40.3%	20.9%
8. I try to help classmates when they are having trouble with a task.	4.5%	6%	29.9%	37.3%	22.4%
9. I work well in group assignments during class.	3%	6%	23.9%	38.8%	28.4%

Section 3 – Acceptance levels towards the task-based language teaching method (TBLT)

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I learn best by doing rather than by listening.	0%	3%	23.9%	46.3%	26.9%
2. The TBLT method is more engaging than the traditional classroom.	0%	1.5%	25.4%	44.8%	28.4%
3. The learning activities of the TBLT were interesting and interactive.	0%	1.5%	16.4%	47.8%	34.3%
4. I like doing different tasks during class.	0%	3%	20.9%	43.3%	32.8%

5. I am more motivated to learn grammar through the TBLT method.	0%	6%	28.4%	41.8%	23.9%
6. I enjoy participating in active learning activities during class instead of listening to passive lectures.	0%	6%	22.4%	35.8%	35.8%
7. The TBLT gives me better opportunities to interact with other students.	0%	1.5%	23.9%	46.3%	28.4%
8. I feel that the TBLT has improved my grammar understanding.	0%	6%	19.4%	46.3%	28.4%
9. The TBLT method reduces the number of frustrating classes.	0%	3%	23.9%	44.8%	28.4%
10. Class materials/tasks were easy to understand, as offered in TBLT.	0%	9%	26.9%	35.8%	28.4%
11. I would recommend the TBLT method to a friend.	0%	3%	19.4%	46.3%	29.9%

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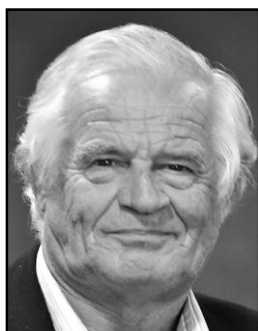
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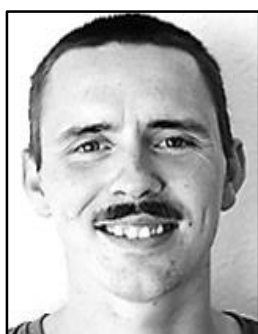
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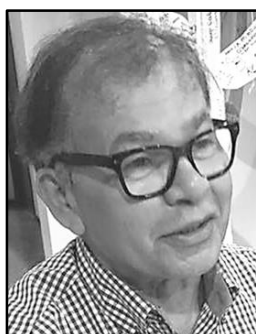
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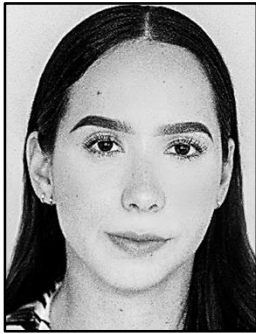
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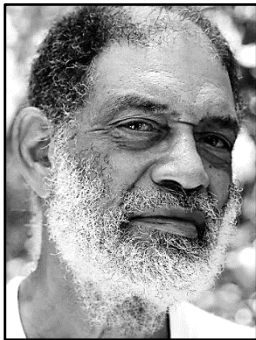


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